1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Man Mound

Other Name/Site Number: Greenfield Man Mound, Man Mound Park

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, October 31, 2016.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Man Mound Road Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Town of Greenfield Vicinity: N/A

State: Wisconsin County: Sauk Code: 111 Zip Code: 53913

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private:	Building(s):
Public-Local: X	District:
Public-State:	Site: X
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	0	buildings	0
sites	1	sites	0
structures	0	structures	0
objects	0	objects	0
Total	1	Total	0

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: Late Woodland Stage in Archaeological Region 8

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Sub:
Religion	Ceremonial Site
Funerary	Graves/ Burials

Current:	Sub:
Landscape	Park
Agriculture/Subsistence	Agricultural Field

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other: Mound

MATERIALS:
Foundation: N/A
Walls: N/A
Roof: N/A
Other: N/A

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Introduction and Summary

The Man Mound (47SK27, also known as the Greenfield Man Mound) is the only surviving monumental earthen anthropomorphic effigy in North America. The effigy depicts a horned humanoid figure, feet to the north and head to the south, walking towards the west. It was constructed by participants in the effigy mound ceremonial complex during the Late Woodland period (ca. AD 750–1200). The site is located within Man Mound County Park and an adjoining pasture, northeast of Baraboo, Wisconsin, in Section 28, Town 12N, Range 07E, in the civil township of Greenfield (Figure One). In 1907 the mound became one of the first archaeological sites purchased for preservation purposes in the United States.

The Man Mound is significant under Criterion 4 as the only surviving monumental earthen structure in North America that depicts a humanoid figure. The mound exhibits a higher degree of anatomical detail than other known humanoid effigy mounds and is an excellent example of effigy mounds in general. The mound also represents a deviation from the usual practice of constructing zoomorphic, rather than anthropomorphic, mounds. The form of the mound is similar to depictions of horned shamanic or spirit beings documented across the continent, executed at much smaller scales in a wide range of media. As such, the Man Mound may represent an important figure not only in the effigy mound ceremonial complex, but in Native American world views as a whole.

The site is significant under Criterion 6 as the only known surviving Late Woodland ritual site centered around a monumental anthropomorphic sculpture. The site has yielded and is likely to yield information of major scientific importance, shedding light upon Late Woodland stage societies in the Eastern United States. The site preserves information helpful in reconstruction of Native American religious beliefs and practices, social structure, the expression of identity through symbol and style, the iconography of horned figures, and reconstruction of the effigy mound ceremonial complex itself.

Description

The Man Mound is a monumental bas-relief earthen sculpture of a horned humanoid figure. The head of the effigy points towards the south, and it appears to be ‘walking’ westward. Two horns (or horns on a headdress) extend from the top of the head, which appears to be shown face-on. The upper right arm is held parallel to the torso; the lower arm angles somewhat towards the body, and the hand angles slightly away. The upper left arm angles slightly away from the body, while both the lower arm and hand angle away more sharply still. Both legs are held in line with the body, knees slightly bent towards the west, with the right leg bent more than the left leg. Survey measurements obtained in the 1850s show that the figure, as originally built, had prominent feet that pointed westward (Canfield 1859a). The heel of the left foot was raised as though the figure was taking a step forward. The full figure was 214 feet (65 m) in length.

Today the existing mound is somewhat smaller. Portions of the lower limbs of the figure have been damaged. A paved rural road flanked by drainage ditches cuts east-west through the lower legs. This road, now known as Man Mound Road, was constructed soon after the mound’s discovery ca. 1859/1861. The original feet of the mound, located north of Man Mound Road in a cow pasture, have been worn level with the ground surface by bovine trampling. The missing portions of the mound are now represented by white painted legs on Man Mound Road and white plastic cut-outs of the feet in the pasture north of the road.

The rest of the figure, from the knees to the horned head, is intact and well-defined. This portion of the Man Mound is preserved within the western half of Man Mound County Park. The mound has been seeded with low-maintenance prairie grasses that are periodically weed-whipped and is clear of trees and shrubbery. The

remaining portion of Man Mound County Park is covered with a mixture of mowed lawn, scattered shade trees, and a few ornamental shrubs. The mound is separated from the eastern half of the park by a wooden post and rail fence. The park is bounded on its western and southern sides by forest, on its eastern side by a residential lot, and on its northern side by Man Mound Road.

A bronze and stone commemorative marker, placed at the site during the park's dedication in 1908, sits immediately east of the rail and post fence near the entrance to the mound area. It was moved to that location during the 2008 centennial re-dedication ceremony, and originally had been placed near the western property line of the park on the other side of the Man Mound. A more recent historic marker supported by a pole base is located next to the 1908 marker. Neither marker is included in the count because of the markers' small scale. A small gravel parking lot is located east of the fence. The far eastern section of the park contains playground equipment originally associated with the Hoege Schoolhouse, which still stands as a private residence just east of the park boundary.

Environmental Setting

The Man Mound, like most other known Late Woodland (ca. AD 700–1200) effigy mounds, is located within the expanse of Settlement Era (ca. 1830s) oak savannah. The savannah was bounded on the north by the transition to northern hardwoods and conifer forest (Curtis 1959:15–17), on the south and west by the 1830s tree line and the transition to open tall-grass prairie, and on the east by Lake Michigan. Within the savannah, a patchwork of oak stands and barrens, prairies, sheltered hardwood forests, and wetlands offered a range of resources to both human and non-human residents (Curtis 1959; Finley 1976).

The eastern boundary of the savannah is the only ecological boundary that can be said with complete certainty to have remained the same in the centuries between the erection of the last effigy mounds and the initiation of the federal General Land Office surveys in the 1830s, though a similar savannah mosaic has been inferred for the Late Woodland period (Griffin 1994). The period of effigy construction coincided with the warm and wet conditions of the Neo-Atlantic (AD 700–1300) (Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000:101; Cleland 1966:31). The ranges of turkey, deer, rabbits, opossums, and other species shifted northward during the Neo-Atlantic (Cleland 1966:33–34). At the onset of the "Little Ice Age" or Neo-Boreal, circa AD 1300, annual mean temperature declined sharply, even as average precipitation continued to increase. The result was heavy snowfall and major spring flood events, which were particularly severe in western Wisconsin (Knox 1988).

The Man Mound is located on the northern flanks of the Baraboo Range, at the far eastern boundary of the unglaciated Driftless Area (Figure Two). The Baraboo Range is an erosion-resistant monadnock composed of a Precambrian quartzite and rhyolite syncline. The syncline is mantled with Cambrian conglomerates, sandstones, dolomites, and other sediments. Cambrian sediments were removed from higher elevations by erosion during the Pleistocene, exposing the quartzite core of the range (Martin 1965:57–59; Schultz 1986:62–67). The exposed portions of the syncline form an eastward-pointing 'V' shape. The two sides of the 'V' form the North and South Ranges of the Baraboo hills.

The center of the 'V' is occupied by the Baraboo Valley, an area of Cambrian bedrock buried beneath Quaternary sediments. The Baraboo River flows through the valley, entering the valley from the north through a narrow gorge in the North Range (the Upper Narrows) and exiting northward through a second gorge (the Lower Narrows). The Baraboo River then flows eastward, paralleling the north flank of the North Range for several more miles before joining the Wisconsin River. Prior to the Wisconsinian glaciation the Wisconsin River flowed southward through the Baraboo Range. The last glacial advance blocked the northern end of the river channel and the empty gorge now contains Devil's Lake, the only natural lake of any size within the Driftless Area (Mickelson 1997:45). The current course of the Wisconsin River takes it southward until it

encounters moraines on the north side of the North Range, then eastward to circle around the east end of the Baraboo Range before flowing westward into the Driftless Area.

The Man Mound is located approximately two miles west of the Lower Narrows of the Baraboo River, at the northern base of an east-west trending ridge of Precambrian and Cambrian strata. The ridge lies between the main Baraboo valley to the south and a small side-valley (Figure Three). The main body of the North Range forms the northern wall of the unnamed side-valley. Conglomerates and quartzites are exposed on the side of the North Range facing the Man Mound. An intermittent stream drains the western half of the side-valley, flowing westward from the main body of the North Range for approximately three miles before emptying into Leech Lake. A second intermittent stream flows southward from the summit of the North Range through the far eastern end of the side-valley before winding around a small unnamed ridge (hereafter referred to as 'Man Mound ridge') and then continuing on to join the Baraboo River a little under two miles southeast of the Man Mound. The remainder of the eastern portion of the side-valley is occupied by a small wetland.

Human Settlement in the Baraboo Locality

Native Americans have maintained a presence in the Baraboo Range since the withdrawal of the continental ice sheets ca. 13,000 years ago. By the onset of the Woodland period ca. 500 B.C., the region was home to a substantial human population. Groups of earthworks were built within and near the Lower Narrows and the gorge containing Devil's Lake, in the Baraboo Valley, and along the banks of the Wisconsin Rivers at the Wisconsin Dells, Portage, and Prairie du Sac. Most Early and/or Middle Woodland mound construction was centered around the Lower Narrows. Most Late Woodland mound sites cluster near the Dells, modern Baraboo, Wisconsin, and the Prairie du Sac. Purple Baraboo pipestone and quartzite were quarried by residents at outcrops in the range (Broihahn 2003). The Baraboo Range also sits near one of the most important intersections of pre- and post-Contact trade routes, overlooking portages between the Fox, Wisconsin, and Rock drainages.

As noted, the Man Mound is situated on the southern margin of an unnamed level-bottomed valley between two ridges of the North Range. The valley has not been subjected to formal archaeological survey, and the distribution of sites within it is unknown. At present, only two pre-Contact archaeological sites besides the Man Mound have been reported within the valley and one site has been reported on the summit of the isolated ridge that makes up the southern valley wall. Other sites are located further away in the Baraboo valley (Figure Four).

The current resident of the Hoege Schoolhouse, located immediately to the east of the Man Mound, reports the presence of a site (47SK702) on the north side of the valley, between the base of the main body of the North Range and the wetland. Her father reportedly picked up artifacts from this area, and possibly at other undocumented sites in the valley. Her family's artifact collection includes Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, Early Woodland, and Late Woodland projectile points, two small celts, other bifaces, and a possible Late Paleoindian biface.

In the early twentieth century, Wisconsin Archaeological Society surveyors reported the former presence of a group of three mounds (47SK393) of unknown form in the east end of the valley. Surface indications of the mounds were destroyed by 1906 (Stout 1906:246). During the same survey, a linear mound (47SK64) was discovered on the summit of the ridge that comprises the southern valley wall. At that time, the linear mound measured 165 feet (50.3 m) in length, 15 feet (4.6 m) in width, and was one and a half feet (0.5 m) high (Stout 1905). Surface indications of the eastern end of the mound have since been plowed away (Peterson 1979). The linear mound is approximately 850 feet (259 m) southeast of and 110 feet (33.5 m) above the Man Mound. The relationship of the linear mound to the Man Mound, if any, is unknown.

Cultural Context

Late Woodland Populations in the Area of Effigy Construction

Late Woodland peoples have been famously characterized as the "good gray cultures" (Williams 1963:297)—an uninteresting population of egalitarian foragers and horticulturalists who lived after the collapse of Hopewellian ceremonial and exchange systems and before the emergence of stratified Mississippian chiefdoms. This perception of the Late Woodland stage is, however, unfair since the Late Woodland period was one of significant innovation. Subsistence, settlement, and technology evolved along multiple trajectories, with a general trend towards less-mobile settlement strategies and maize horticulture (see McElrath, Emerson, and Fortier 2000). Ritual systems changed as well, as new mound-building and mortuary ceremonies replaced or modified Hopewellian ritual practices.

Around AD 700, in southern Wisconsin and small areas of adjoining states, some Late Woodland communities began to design and construct monumental earthen sculptures resembling birds, bears, water spirits, and other beings (Figure Five). Taxonomically, populations who engaged in effigy mound construction are grouped within the Effigy Mound variant of the Late Woodland stage (Benn and Green 2000:480; Green 1996), but the appellation brings with it an implication of social unity that has not been demonstrated. Social organization during the Late Woodland period was more likely to have centered on independent bands and/or seasonal villages linked by cross-cutting lines of kinship, alliance, ritual, and trade. Different Late Woodland populations both within and outside of the area of effigy construction were marked by varying levels of similarity in behavior or material culture. Seen from this perspective, effigy construction may be interpreted as a notable feature of a ritual complex shared by different Late Woodland populations (Rosebrough 2010).

Late Woodland subsistence within the region of effigy construction usually is characterized as mixed foraging with minor horticulture, with an emphasis on the collection and processing of resources for bulk storage. Horticultural strategies focused on the cultivation of small amounts of maize, chenopodium, squash, and other crops. Important wild foods included deer, mussels, nuts, fish, and possibly wild rice (Benn 1979; Benn and Green 2000; Salkin 2000; Stevenson, et al. 1997; Stoltman 1990; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000; Zalucha 1985). During the course of the Late Woodland period seasonal mobility declined and maize horticulture intensified, though at different rates and to different degrees in different regions (Rosebrough 2010; Salkin 2000; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000).

Excavations at Late Woodland habitation and mortuary sites have revealed evidence for ceramic, lithic, bone, ground stone, and textile craft traditions (Hurley 1975; McKern 1928:Plate LI, Figure 1; Rowe 1956:56). Bow-and-arrow technology was introduced into the Upper Midwest shortly before the emergence of the effigy mound ceremonial complex, and several styles of small arrow point types were utilized by local Late Woodland populations (Baerreis 1953; Hurley 1975; McKern 1930; Stevenson, et al. 1997). Pottery styles manufactured and exchanged by participants in the effigy mound ceremonial complex varied regionally and included ceramics grouped within the Madison and Collared wares, Grant series ceramics, and Angelo Punctate. With the exception of incised and punctated Angelo Punctate jars, ceramics were decorated by impressing woven cordage or textiles into the wet clay to form geometric patterns (Boszhardt 1996; Rosebrough 2010; Stevenson, et al. 1997; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000).

Evidence for the long-distance trade of exotic items or raw materials during the Late Woodland stage is sparse, an observation that has been interpreted as evidence for social and economic egalitarianism. Orthoquartzite, obtained from sources just outside of the borders of effigy mound construction in west-central Wisconsin, appear to have been the most common non-perishable long-distance trade item in the region. Awls and other tools made from copper also have been recovered from habitation and mortuary contexts, though it is unclear whether the copper was obtained from Lake Superior sources or from local glacial till. Tool stone, purple

Baraboo pipestone, galena cubes, and ceramic jars were obtained within the area of effigy construction and traded between effigy-building communities (Boszhardt 1998:95; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000:511–512).

Site distributions suggest that effigy mound-building populations were somewhat territorial, since mounded ritual sites are concentrated within approximately twenty discrete localities distributed along major rivers and lakeshores (Figure Six). It seems likely that each locality served as the core territory of one or more Late Woodland communities (Rosebrough 2010). Different localities are separated by gaps in the distribution of mounded sites, particularly in eastern Wisconsin. The Man Mound site is sited at the northern fringe of the Baraboo locality, separated by some ten to fifteen miles from the neighboring Eagle Township, Four Lakes, Buffalo Lake, and Central Wisconsin localities.

Mound style and effigy symbolism vary geographically. The effigy mound assemblages found within each locality are dominated by a small number of effigy types, representing a fraction of the total symbolic vocabulary of Late Woodland mound builders. Which types are dominant, however, often change from locality to locality, so that rare types in one locality are the dominant types in other localities. Since effigy mounds are thought to be symbols that identify particular social groupings, the uneven distribution of effigy types provides significant information concerning Late Woodland social geographies. The Baraboo locality, where the Man Mound is located, contains an unusually diverse assemblage of effigy types, perhaps indicative of greater social diversity over the temporal span of effigy mound construction. Though some effigy symbols (like horned anthropomorphs) were shared between the Baraboo locality and the neighboring Eagle Township locality to the west, other aspects of the Baraboo locality effigy assemblage are more characteristic of neighboring localities to the east.

Broader differences between Late Woodland populations are observable at regional levels (Figure Seven). Late Woodland sites are divided into five taxonomic phases: the Keyes/Eastman phase of northeastern Iowa, southwestern Wisconsin, and northwestern Illinois (Benn 1980; Stoltman 1990), the Lewis phase of west-central Wisconsin and southeastern Minnesota (Boszhardt and Goetz 2000), the Horicon and Kekoskee phases of eastern Wisconsin (Salkin 1987), and the Des Plaines phase of northeastern Illinois (Bird 1998; Titelbaum and Emerson 1998). On-going research illuminating Late Woodland life ways in Central Wisconsin and north of Lake Winnebago in east-central Wisconsin may necessitate the creation of additional phases for those regions. The extent to which phase-level divisions mirror social divisions and identities is unknown and should not be overestimated.

Populations affiliated with the Keyes/Eastman phase come closest to matching prevalent stereotypes of effigy mound builders (Rosebrough 2010). Keyes/Eastman phase settlement systems are thought to have followed a pattern of seasonal dispersal and aggregation, leaving behind ephemeral open-air and rock shelter sites. Distinctive traits associated with the phase include early (though minor) maize utilization, bulk processing of fresh water mussels and the formation of large shell middens, and a preference for grouped horizontal cord decoration on Madison ware jars (Benn 1980:212; Benn and Green 2000; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000). In addition, Keyes/Eastman phase effigy mounds are distinguished by naturalistic design and the common use of bear, bird, fork-tailed bird, and short-tailed animal symbols (Rosebrough 2010).

Though originally defined as belonging to contemporary and co-resident Late Woodland populations with distinct origins (Salkin 1987, 2000), the Horicon and Kekoskee phases instead seem to represent a temporal and geographic continuum of sedentism and maize horticulture among Late Woodland populations living in eastern Wisconsin between AD 700–1200 (Clauter 2003; Rosebrough 2010; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000:514). Horicon-Kekoskee habitation sites are distinguished by variable levels of group mobility and shifting patterns of ceramic style. Horicon phase sites are often ephemeral, with small storage pits and scatters of Madison ware. Kekoskee phase sites may yield both Madison and Collared ware ceramics, keyhole structures, large storage pits, evidence for increased maize production, and even palisades. Other sites found in the region fall between

the two extremes and are not readily identifiable by phase (e.g., Salkin 2005). Effigy mound groups associated with both phases are dominated by long-tailed zoomorphic forms portrayed in an abstract manner (Rosebrough 2010).

Lewis phase sites are distinguished by a high proportion of long-tailed effigy forms depicted in a naturalistic style, a ceramic assemblage that includes a non-cord-impressed pottery type (Angelo Punctated), and a projectile point assemblage dominated by serrated Madison Triangular points fashioned from quartz and orthoquartzite (Boszhardt and Goetz 2000). Settlement and subsistence strategies centered upon occupation of floodplain-margin habitats, supplemented by hunting and collecting excursions into nearby uplands. Stylistic similarities between Angelo Punctated jars and Mankato Incised ceramics in Minnesota suggest information exchange between Lewis phase and prairie border populations (Wendt 2002:13–14).

The Des Plaines phase incorporates Late Woodland sites in northeastern Illinois, including some within the southernmost limits of zoomorphic mound construction. Two versions of the phase have been proposed (Bird 1998; Titelbaum and Emerson 1998), duplicating the Horicon-Kekoskee phase controversy in Wisconsin. Settled horticultural villages have yet to be linked to the phase, though maize is not uncommon (Emerson and Titelbaum 2000:421–422). The notable rarity of zoomorphic mounds throughout most of northeastern Illinois suggests that Des Plaines phase communities seldom participated in the effigy mound ceremonial complex.

Late Woodland habitation sites in central Wisconsin typically are ephemeral, suggesting the presence of mobile, band-based communities. Mounded sites, however, may be quite large, and are typified by a 'processional' structure with mounds arranged in long lines or multiple rows (Moffat and Boszhardt 2007). With regard to the northeastern portion of the area of effigy construction, little is known about Late Woodland societies north of Lake Winnebago. Excavations in this area have revealed repeated occupation of some sites and mounded ritual centers (e.g., Hurley 1975).

Though the Baraboo locality is technically within the geographic limits of the Keyes/Eastman phase, the locality sits at the border between the Keyes/Eastman phase, the Horicon-Kekoskee phases, and central Wisconsin communities. Few habitation sites have been excavated in the Baraboo locality, so that local patterns of settlement, subsistence, and inter-locality interaction must be inferred using information gained from adjoining regions. Settlement models derived from studies in the adjacent western Driftless Area suggest a seasonal round with population dispersal into the uplands in winter months and population aggregation in the larger river valleys in the summer (Benn 1979, 1980; Mallam 1976; Storck 1972; Theler 1987). The application of this model to the Baraboo locality is uncertain due to a lack of supporting data and the locality's position on the margins of the Driftless Area. Neighboring populations to the north and east may have been somewhat less mobile, particularly after AD 1000, and the same may have held true for the Baraboo locality (Salkin 2000; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000).

An Overview of the Effigy Mound Ceremonial Complex

The effigy mound ceremonial complex was adopted by Late Woodland populations in southern Wisconsin and portions of surrounding states ca. AD 700. After surviving for several centuries, it fell from favor between AD 1000 and AD 1200 (Salkin 2000; Stevenson, et al. 1997; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000). The most notable feature of the complex is the construction of monumental zoomorphic earthworks or 'effigies' in combination with conical, linear, and other geometric mound forms. The precise form of the ceremonial complex varied from community to community, and even from site to site. Some effigy and geometric mounds were built during single-stage construction episodes using local soils placed over unaltered ground surfaces. Others were built up of elaborately stratified colored sediments and charcoal layers over prepared mound floors or intaglio bases. A variety of features were constructed within Late Woodland effigy and geometric mounds, including

hearths, deposits of mussel shell, clay, marl, or muck, and secondary deposits of burned stone, ash, and/or calcined bone (see Barrett and Hawkes 1919; McKern 1928, 1930).

Based on a sample of well-excavated mounds in Wisconsin for which burial presence and absence could be determined, as many as 87 percent of Late Woodland zoomorphic mounds were used to mark or contain human burials (Rosebrough 2011). The only consistency in burial regime was the preferred placement of the deceased near the "hearts" of effigy mounds, followed by placement at alternative but anatomically significant locations such as heads, mid-bodies, or hips (Rosebrough 2010). Human remains frequently were placed in or under the centers of geometric mounds as well.

Articulated and bundle burials, cremations, pit burials, primary mound floor, and primary mound fill burials are all encountered in Late Woodland mounds. Effigy and linear mounds rarely contain more than the remains of one or two individuals, while some large conical mounds mark multiple bundle or ossuary burials and may contain dozens of individuals (e.g., Rowe 1956). Funerary offerings seldom were included with burials. Those that have been documented include ceramic jars, triangular arrow points and knives, awls, celts, harpoons, ceramic elbow pipes, canid mandibles, deer bones, and 'heirloom' or curated (pre-Late Woodland) projectile points (Baerreis 1966:108; Barrett and Hawkes 1919; Holliday 2000; Maxwell 1950; McKern 1928, 1930; Orr 1936:113; Rowe 1956; Thomas 1894:88; Wittry and Bruder 1955).

Effigy mound ceremonialism was conducted at multiple ritual sites within each locality, though it is unclear how many ritual sites were active at any given time. Over half (59%) of all mound sites with zoomorphic mounds consisted of isolated effigies like the Man Mound. However, each defined locality contained ritual sites where multiple mounds were constructed, and most localities were home to one or two sites that were far larger than the rest—up to hundreds of mounds in some instances. Some localities contained only a few mounded sites, while others contained dozens (Rosebrough 2010).

Many aspects of effigy mound ceremonialism remain unexplored. Enclosures and other earthworks are sometimes found at sites with Late Woodland mounds (e.g., Lewis 1886a:7). Scattered discoveries hint at the existence of non-mounded graves adjacent to or between mounds (e.g., Egan-Bruhy and Weir 1992). Both large and small pit features have been found next to mounds (Evans 1961; Richards, et al. 2012; Wittry and Bruder 1955). Activity areas and/or habitation sites may also be located adjacent to mound groups, as at the Nitschke group in Dodge County, Wisconsin, where Late Woodland artifacts and a small ridged field have been reported (Clauter 2011:6).

Excavations in inter-mound areas on the Pabst Farms property in Waukesha County, Wisconsin, in 2011, revealed numerous small pit features. Some features produced a few Late Woodland potsherds, bits of wood charcoal, fish and bird bone, debitage, and/or fire cracked stone; up to one-third contained no cultural material at all. A single cobble and clay-lined feature, similar to the rare 'cists' found in some effigy mounds (e.g., McKern 1928:263), was identified as well (Richards, et al. 2012).

Artifacts similar to those found at Pabst Farms, including debitage, calcined bone, pot sherds, and tool fragments, often are recovered from the fill of Late Woodland mounds. However, mound fill also often yields objects pre-dating the Late Woodland period. The frequent recovery of such items has led to an assumption that soil used for mound fill was obtained from older habitation sites or activity areas, leading to the accidental inclusion of refuse into finished mounds (e.g., Rowe 1956:51). However, the incorporation of older material and 'refuse' may have been a deliberate aspect of effigy mound ceremonialism, designed to link mound construction to the ancestors or the living, to ritual activities taking place at other locations, or to on-site feasting activities.

The mechanism of transport for artifacts found in mound fill is still unclear. Re-fits have been found between multiple sherds found in different mounds at opposite ends of the Nitschke mound group in Dodge County,

Wisconsin (Clauter 2011:19–20). Several possibilities explain the re-fits. A common borrow area containing debris from earlier habitation or ritual activities might have been targeted inadvertently, a common borrow area might have been seeded with artifacts during ritual activities, or artifacts might have been deposited within two or more mounds being built simultaneously. In the latter instances, 'refuse' may have been created during ritual conducted in conjunction with mound construction, perhaps as part of feasting activities.

At individual mound sites, construction was constrained by local topography and influenced by the presence or absence of natural and man-made features. Most effigy mounds were built within sight of water, whether lake, river, or spring. Mounds were built on a variety of landforms, from fluvial terraces to ridge tops and lakeside bluffs. Mounds built on narrow landforms like ridge lines were often arranged in one or more rows along the longest axis of the landform, with the oldest mounds built nearest water or on the highest points. However, the same 'processional' pattern appears at sites constructed on level ground, indicating that other factors affected site layout as well. In some instances, mounds appear to have been arranged with regard to significant natural features, as at sites where elongated mounds point towards springs or nearby bodies of water. The impact of natural features and landform on non-mound mortuary activity or ritual is unknown at this time.

When complete, Late Woodland mounds stood between three and six feet (1–2 m) in height. Most conical mounds ranged between fifteen and thirty feet (4.5–9 m) in diameter, though significantly larger examples are known. Linear mounds averaged around twenty feet (6 m) in width, and between 100 and 400 feet (30 and 122 m) in length. The largest linear mounds extended up to 700 feet (213 m) or more (McLachlan 1914:139, 156). The largest known effigy mounds were of comparable size. Bird mounds recorded in Richland County and Dane County, Wisconsin, had wingspans upwards of 900 and 700 feet (274 and 213 m) respectively (Dean 1873:415; Lewis 1886a:23).

As noted, the animals and/or spirits depicted by effigy mounds vary from locality to locality and region to region. The most widespread forms are those of birds, bears, long-tailed creatures commonly known as "panthers," and several varieties of shorter-tailed animals. Less common types include those representing cranes or waterfowl, birds with forked tails, and animals with elongated bodies. The remaining effigy mound types truly are rare, and include deer, rabbits, horned birds or bats, buffalo, fish, rattlesnakes, and anthropomorphic mounds like the Man Mound (Rosebrough and Birmingham 2005; Rosebrough 2010; Rowe 1956). Modern classification systems underestimate the number of species depicted by effigies by a significant, though unknown, amount. Multiple avian species (e.g., hawks, eagles, etc.) certainly are represented within the 'bird' category.

Participation in the effigy mound ceremonial complex ceased prior to AD 1200. It is presumed that new ritual and mortuary practices gained favor, subsuming or replacing older ceremonial traditions. By AD 1000 some Late Woodland peoples in the area of effigy construction had begun to aggregate in small semi-permanent settlements and to construct raised fields (e.g., Salkin 2000). A few Late Woodland communities (Aztalan being the most prominent) participated in Middle Mississippian exchange. 'Mississippianized' Oneota and Silvernale communities appear in the archaeological record at this point, and may trace their origins, at least in part, to effigy mound-building Late Woodland populations (Stoltman and Christiansen 2000). Residents of at least one Silvernale community in the Red Wing area engaged in effigy mound ceremony (Maxwell 1950), and there is no reason at present to suggest that some emergent Oneota communities might not have done the same for a brief period before the effigy mound ceremonial complex was abandoned.

History of Investigations

Early Surveyors and the 'Discovery' of the Man Mound

The first non-Natives to take note of the effigy mounds were surveyors. In 1817, Maj. Stephen Long came across a group of animal-shaped mounds near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, while looking for a site to build a fort. Long, a military man, mistook the earthworks for fortifications and puzzled over their apparent ineffectiveness (Kane, et al. 1978:86–87). Additional zoomorphic effigies were discovered in the 1830s by Federal and local surveyors and scientists working to map the territory and its resources prior to full-scale settlement (General Land Office 1834; Lapham 1836; Smith 1838). Surveyors often interpreted the effigy mounds as totems of Native American Nations (e.g., R. Taylor 1838:104).

By 1850, controversy was growing concerning the authorship of Midwestern earthworks, with some advocating for construction by Native Americans and others opining that the civilizations of Mesoamerica or members of an extinct race were responsible (Silverberg 1986). Increase Lapham, civil engineer and naturalist, obtained funding to locate and survey effigy mounds from the American Antiquarian Society and began an intensive survey of effigy mound sites in Wisconsin. The result was the first scientific, systematic, and regional study of effigy mounds to be completed and published— *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, published by the Smithsonian Institution. Lapham suggested that the mounds had been built by Native American peoples, and that knowledge of mound building had been lost with the passage of time (Lapham 1855:29).

William Canfield, the 'discoverer' of the Man Mound, arrived in Sauk County in 1842, and took employment as a civil engineer. In 1859, while surveying in Greenfield Township, Canfield was contacted by local farmer Abram Hoege who told him about an odd mound on his property (C. Brown 1908:139; Cole 1918:143). On July 23, Canfield surveyed the brush-covered mound, which proved to be a gigantic effigy of a horned human figure (C. Brown 1908:139) (Figure Eight). The first sketch of the mound was drawn on a page in Lapham's *Antiquities* (Rob Nurre, personal communication 2013). The use of *Antiquities* as a sketch pad was not a matter of happenstance. Canfield had previously sent copies of his surveys of effigy and other mounds to Increase Lapham, and some had been published in *Antiquities* (e.g., Lapham 1855:Plate XLVII). Thinking that Lapham might find the 'new' mound of interest, Canfield accordingly forwarded Lapham a copy of his map (C. Brown 1908:139).

Lapham did find it of interest. He quickly prepared a short article detailing Canfield's discovery, in order to bring it to wider public attention.

> I wish to announce the discovery by Mr. William H. Canfield, near Baraboo, in Sauk county, of an ancient artificial mound, or earth-work, of the most strange and extraordinary character of any yet brought to light. It represents, as will be seen by the accompanying drawing…very clearly and decidedly, the human form, in the act of walking, and with an expression of boldness and decision that cannot be mistaken (Lapham 1859:365).

Lapham suggested that two other effigies in Wisconsin previously described by surveyor Richard Taylor (1838) and settler Stephen Taylor (1843) also depicted human beings. However, Lapham (1859:366) recognized that mounds of "the same general form" often represented fork-tailed bird effigies rather than human figures.

Canfield himself wrote surprisingly little about the mound. Though he published two extensive compilations of documents about the history of Sauk County (Canfield 1861a; 1891), adding his own thoughts and observations, he confined discussion about the Man Mound to a few descriptive lines (1861b:17). Canfield (1861b:17–18) opined that the creators of the mound, and of other earthworks in the Baraboo area, belonged to a tribe of

Moundbuilders who had emigrated from the vicinity of Mexico, settling in colonies among the aboriginal ancestors of Wisconsin's Native Nations.

Continuing Survey and More 'Man' Mounds

During the late 1800s, local surveyors continued to map mounds, sending notice of their discoveries to prominent antiquarians like Stephen Peet, a Wisconsin resident and editor of the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.* In 1872 Canfield discovered a second horned 'man' mound in northwestern Sauk County, near the modern town of La Valle. As before, Canfield sent his measurements to Lapham (n.d.). A map of the La Valle site appears in the pages of the *American Antiquarian*, suggesting that either Canfield or Lapham forwarded another site sketch to Peet (1890:Plate III).

During the same period, surveyors and excavators began to search for, explore, and map mounds in earnest. The Bureau of American Ethnology embarked on a program of excavation that encompassed mound sites throughout eastern North America, with the goal of confirming or falsifying the 'lost race' hypothesis once and for all. BAE workers opened only two zoomorphic mounds in Wisconsin, finding nothing more than a rock (Thomas 1894:49, 59). Cyrus Thomas (1894:709–710), in his summary of the BAE explorations, concluded that the effigy mounds had been sculpted by members of one or more Siouan-speaking Nations.

A second large scale survey was initiated by Minnesota businessman Alfred James Hill, who hired Theodore Hayes Lewis to find and map mounds across eastern North America and the Great Plains. The Hill-Lewis surveys comprised the largest privately funded archaeological survey ever initiated in North America (Arzigian and Stevenson 2003:8–9; Finney 2006; Haury 1993; Keyes 1928; Lewis 1898a, 1898b). Over a period of fifteen years Lewis, a former schoolteacher and skilled surveyor, filled forty field notebooks with meticulous measurements and sketches. In 1886, while mapping a dense cluster of Late Woodland ritual sites along the Wisconsin River in Richland County, Wisconsin, Lewis discovered additional anthropomorphic effigy mounds (Lewis 1886a:26–28, 34–51). His reaction to the discovery was subdued, to say the least. A letter to Hill states only that "I have two mds that may be men & will get a horned bird" (Lewis 1886b).

The Richland County 'man' mounds are the only anthropomorphs recorded in Lewis' notebooks and letters. In May of 1886 Lewis visited Canfield at his home in Sauk County, but Lewis' papers do not contain any mention of the Man Mound (Lewis 1886c). Lewis may have decided that the mound was well-mapped enough already. Lewis' supplemental notebooks (Lewis 1882–1895a:51) record a trip to Canfield's La Valle site the same month; he found several bird and animal-shaped mounds, but did not relocate the 'man' mound.

Stephen Peet almost certainly visited the Man Mound—probably not long before Lewis met Canfield. Several of the letters penned by Lewis that May note that Peet recently had passed through southern Sauk County. The two were bitter rivals. Where Lewis was sullen, careful, and secretive, Peet was effusive, prone to leaps of logic, and published copiously. Peet relied upon correspondents for most of his data and as a result the quality of his information was often poor. Peet (1898:46) did describe a trip to Baraboo in the company of Peabody Museum archaeologist Frederick W. Putnam, and Putnam is known to have visited the Man Mound (C. Brown 1908:154). During that trip, Peet and Putnam located what Peet (1883:340, 1898:46, 319), at least, interpreted as another anthropomorphic effigy (now vanished) on the south side of Baraboo, Wisconsin.

Like Lapham and Thomas, Peet argued that the effigy mounds were the handiwork of Native American populations, and again suggested that their makers spoke a Siouan language (Peet 1890:219). Accordingly, he drew extensively (though uncritically) upon Native American oral history, ethnology, and iconography to support his speculations. With regard to the horned anthropomorphic mounds—and the La Valle man mound in particular—Peet (1898:276–277) proposed that the figures represented 'Heyoka', a contrarian Lakota divinity associated with rainfall, renewal, and abundance.

Into Obscurity

Lewis published little concerning his findings, in accord with Hill's plan to keep their partnership secret until final monographs could be prepared. Hill's unexpected death in 1895 brought the Northwestern Archaeological Survey to an abrupt end (Lewis 1898a). Lewis' survey notebooks and maps, housed at Hill's home for safekeeping, were turned over to Hill's heirs. Lewis was accused of attempting to steal Hill's research (*American Archaeologist* 1898). Eventually, Lewis' notebooks and correspondence found their way into the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (Winchell 1911). The existence of additional 'man' mounds in Richland County was never brought to public attention, and surface indications of the mounds themselves were plowed away. A similar fate appears to have befallen the La Valle man mound prior to Lewis' 1886 visit to the site.

After its discovery, the Man Mound was subdivided between different owners, and the feet of the effigy changed hands several times over the next few decades. When first surveyed by William Canfield in 1859, the entire mound appeared to be under the ownership of Abram Hoege. Just after Canfield's first visit to the Man Mound, an east-west road was cut through the lower legs of the figure, separating the feet from the body of the mound (Canfield 1859b, 1861a). The feet of the effigy, north of what would be known as Man Mound Road, were transferred through a succession of owners: from J. Wing to Ed Barstow (Tucker 1877), and from Barstow to J. T. Palmer (Smith and Seaman's 1893). The Palmer estate sold the parcel to Jacob Weirich prior to 1908 (Alden Publishing Company 1908), and the parcel remains in the hands of the Weirich family today. At some point, probably between construction of the Wing farmstead and 1908, surface indications of the feet faded away. While the feet of the effigy passed from one owner to another, the Hoege family retained ownership of the remainder of the mound.

Rediscovery and Preservation

In 1903, the Wisconsin Archeological Society under the leadership of Charles E. Brown broke away from the Wisconsin Natural History Survey to become an independent organization. Between the formation of the Archeological Society and Brown's death in 1944, Archeological Society members conducted regional surveys and published their results in *The Wisconsin Archeologist*. Two years later, the Sauk County Historical Society (SCHS) established itself as an auxiliary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The stated goals of the SCHS included cooperation with the Archeological Society in the preservation of archaeological sites and education of County citizens about Wisconsin's Native past (Stout 1906).

Wisconsin Archaeological Society members and local residents Harry E. Cole and Arlow B. Stout conducted the first large-scale survey of the eastern half of Sauk County. Cole was a charter member of the Archaeological Society and an editor of the *Baraboo News*. Stout taught science at the Baraboo High School, and would go on in later years to become an accomplished botanist (Scott 1958). In 1905, as the pair examined properties northeast of the village of Baraboo, they relocated the Man Mound and discovered the linear mound (47SK64) on the ridge to its southeast (Stout 1905, 1906).

Stout (1905) noted the damage caused by construction of Man Mound Road, but observed that the body of the mound was "in perfect condition" (Figure Nine). The parcel had been logged, and the mound was covered by a thicket of brush and second-growth timber. An interview with Alba Hoege, the landowner, disclosed the alarming fact that he was planning to break ground on the parcel and begin cultivation. The Man Mound had been rediscovered in the nick of time (Cole 1918:141).

Stout quickly purchased an option on the land surrounding the effigy, and on December 27, 1906, presented a plan at a special meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society in Milwaukee to raise $300 to acquire the site. Archeological Society leadership formulated a strategy whereby select members would take advantage of

positions they held in other social organizations, by appealing to those organizations for funds. Key players included Cole, Stout, Brown (then serving as secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society), and Julia A. Lapham, daughter of Increase Lapham and chairwoman of the state Federation of Women's Clubs landmarks committee (Cole 1918:142).

The goal of the Archeological Society's strategy was eventual co-ownership of the Man Mound by the Archeological Society, the Sauk County Historical Society, and the Federation of Women's Clubs. Julia Lapham's position in the Federation of Women's Clubs was particularly valuable. The Federation of Women's Clubs had already raised over $1000 in the past three years to preserve landmarks and mark historic sites, including Native American mounds and trails. Members of the Woman's Literary Club of Evansville, Wisconsin, the Twentieth Century Club of Baraboo, Wisconsin, and other Federation organizations, quickly added $66.75 to Archeological Society coffers (Cole 1918:144).

By July 8, 1907, statewide donations exceeded the price of the parcel. On October 12 of that year the Archeological Society and SCHS jointly purchased the site from the Hoege family; legal issues prevented title from jointly passing to the Federation of Women's Clubs. The remaining donations were directed towards development of the new park (Cole 1918:142–143). Cole had the property cleared of undergrowth and "useless" trees, had new grass seed sown and boundary and hitching posts erected, and took care of "other matters necessary to [the park's] improvement" (C. Brown 1908:147).

The Dedication of Man Mound Park

Many Archeological Society members who had played important roles in the site's preservation were named to a new Man Mound committee, including Ms. Lapham, Cole, Stout, and Brown (Cole 1918:143). On August 8, 1908, Archeological Society and SCHS members gathered in Baraboo for that year's Joint State Assembly. That afternoon, the Assembly journeyed four miles northeastward to dedicate Man Mound Park (Figure Ten). Brown (1908:142), commenting later on the festivities, described the Man Mound as it existed on its dedication day:

> The Man Mound lies on almost level ground, its great length stretching south from the country highway and being in plain view of all persons passing. To the north and east of its location lies a spacious and almost level valley, dotted here and there by farm houses, cultivated fields, and woodlands. A short distance in its rear and bounding the property on that side rises a steep ridge, the wooded slope of which furnishes a beautiful setting to the scene. The great effigy and park were in fine condition. All in a short space of time the grounds, once a tangle of young trees, shrubs, and wild vines, had been converted into a pretty park surrounded on three sides by a curtain of young forest trees. Here and there on the property young trees and shrubs had been allowed to remain to afford shade and add to the beauty of the surroundings.

In an address to the crowds gathered to dedicate the mound, Brown called the purchase of the park "only secondary in importance to the preservation of the great Serpent Mound and the establishment of Serpent Mound Park in Adams County, Ohio" in 1886 (C. Brown 1908:142–143; Cole 1918:139–140). Though Brown lauded the successful preservation and restoration of the Serpent Mound, he focused on the purchase as a model for the preservation and management of other archaeological sites, including Man Mound (C. Brown 1908:143; Cole 1918:140). Pioneering the tactic that Archeological Society members expanded upon to buy the Man Mound, Frederick Ward Putnam of the Peabody Museum enlisted the help of a group of women in Boston to raise the necessary funds to save the Serpent Mound (Dexter 1965:113). Putnam himself sent his congratulations to the Assembly (C. Brown 1908:154), and it is likely that Putnam, Brown, and those attending the dedication envisioned the purchase of the Man Mound as the next step in a wider movement to preserve earthworks in order to transform them into educational parks.

Ms. Portia Martin of Baraboo, addressing the crowd, remarked upon the significance of the occasion by noting that:

> Among the large number of symbolic earth works which still remain uninjured within Wisconsin's borders, mute records of early Indian occupancy, this great monument, by its peculiar character, stands alone. Nor has it a counterpart in any part of the world and for that single reason alone, if for no others, is deserving of the prominence we today accord it by its preservation and appropriate marking (Cole 1918:146).

The Hon. John M. True of Baraboo, accepting the new park on behalf of the new Joint Committee for the Man Mound, described the mound as "of the greatest interest and importance of all Wisconsin's celebrated emblematic earthworks…" (Cole 1918:147).

Though a Native American presence was invoked by White speakers during the ceremonies, the Native voice was absent. Instead, the significance of the site was interpreted through the filter of early twentieth century Euro-American/Native relations. Native connections to the site, established through construction of the mound, were treated as a phenomenon that had come to an end. The White speakers at the dedication emphasized similarities between their own lives and those of the Native creators of the mound and framed themselves as the heirs to Native tradition.

A bronze tablet was unveiled by Portia Martin, who noted that:

> the custom of erecting commemorative monuments of earth, stone, wood, or of other lasting materials is as old as humanity itself, and is common to savage and civilized people alike in every part of the world. As is evidenced by their thousands of imitative and other earthworks distributed over its length and breadth, the custom of constructing such memorials was common also to the primitive red men of our own state (Cole 1918:145).

Charles E. Brown displayed a wampum belt during the ceremony. Brown's belt had been woven by a Ho-Chunk woman—a Nation with no history of wampum belt production. The item was likely modeled after objects created for trade with non-Native residents of the region, conforming to Euro-American expectations of a pan-Indian culture in which all Natives lived in tipis, wore feathered bonnets, and made wampum. Brown's description of the wampum-maker further typified Euro-American perceptions that Native hegemony over and connections to their own ritual sites had come to an end. He described her as:

> …a member of a once brave and powerful tribe of Wisconsin redmen, and whose ancestors, if we accept the judgment of the leading authorities of our state and country, constructed in prehistoric time upon the soil this great mound and thousands of other interesting monuments, which remain to us and which we desire to preserve to our descendants as indications of their early dominion, religion, arts and customs (Cole 1918:143).

Not only were mound sites perceived as educational exhibits, the Native peoples themselves were as well. Brown unfurled a flag presented to the Wisconsin Archeological Society by Chief LeFleur of the Lac Court Oreilles band of the Chippewa. The flag had been given to the Society in appreciation of the "care and courtesies" shown to Lac Court Oreilles band members when they, as part of a group of 100 Native Americans, were exhibited to Wisconsin school children during the Wisconsin State Fair of 1906 (Cole 1918:143).

By the time Man Mound park was dedicated, the other recorded anthropomorphic mounds had been destroyed. Members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society remained unaware of the prior existence of humanoid effigies in Richland County. Lewis' Wisconsin notebooks had been gathering dust in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society for many years, and the mounds themselves probably were plowed flat shortly after Lewis

left the region. The La Valle disappeared between Canfield's survey in 1872 and Lewis' resurvey of the site in 1886. Other reported 'anthropomorphic' mounds (i.e., Lapham 1859) were reinterpreted as depictions of fork-tailed birds (C. Brown 1908:140).

After the Dedication

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Man Mound Park remained much as it was at the time of its dedication. Children attending the adjacent Hoege schoolhouse played on and near the mound (Daunene Jelinek, personal communication 2008). In the mid-1960s additional purchases expanded the boundaries of Man Mound park eastward. Sauk County acquired the Hoege schoolhouse and adjoining land comprising three-quarters of an acre in 1964 and obtained a 0.22 acre parcel south of the Hoege schoolhouse in 1968. The schoolhouse itself, and land immediately surrounding it, were sold in 1968. The schoolhouse was remodeled for residential purposes and remains a private residence today.

In 1965 the Sauk County Historical Society noted that it had done "considerable work to beautify the site" (SCHS 1965). The Wisconsin Archeological Society quit-claimed its interest in the parcel containing the Man Mound to SCHS the following year, though Sauk County conducted most maintenance at the site after 1950. It is presumably during this period that a parking lot was added between the mound and the schoolhouse and a small restroom structure was built in the new southeastern corner of the park. By the late 1970s the mound was enclosed by a cedar rail and post fence. A small wooden viewing tower stood outside the fence east of the right arm of the effigy. The Man Mound was listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) at the national level of significance in 1977 (the boundaries were expanded in 2010 to include the area of the feet on the north side of Man Mound Road).

On July 15, 2008, as the centennial of the park's dedication approached, Senator Herbert Kohl read a statement recognizing the importance of the Man Mound and honoring preservation efforts on the floor of the Senate (Congressional Record 2008:S6717–S6718). A similar statement was read by then Representative (now Senator) Tammy Baldwin in the House of Representatives on July 31 (Congressional Record 2008:E1670–E1671). On August 9, 2008, the park was rededicated. Speakers at the rededication ceremony included representatives of the Ho-Chunk Nation, SCHS, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Wisconsin Archeological Society, the Wisconsin Archeological Survey, and the Federation of Women's Clubs. Both Sauk County and the Governor of Wisconsin issued proclamations proclaiming August 9, 2008, to be "Man Mound Day". This time Native voices were prominent, and Tribal members continue to be involved in park planning.

Integrity

The portion of Man Mound lying south of Man Mound road is in excellent condition (Figure Eleven). The mound is being maintained by volunteers in a 'no-mow' policy. Vegetation management is limited to removal of invasive or woody species and weed-whipping when the mixture of lawn and prairie grasses that now covers it gets too tall. The level area surrounding the mound is maintained in mown lawn, and the contrast in vegetation types enhances visibility of the effigy and discourages foot traffic on the mound. With regard to the missing or invisible portions of the mound, Canfield's measurements have been used to temporarily 'reconstruct' the figure. An outline of the mound's lower legs has been painted on the pavement of Man Mound Road. The Weirich family has taken the area of the feet out of pasturage and volunteers have pinned cut-outs of white plastic in the shape of the feet to the ground surface.

Though portions of the lower limbs of the Man Mound have been damaged by cattle and road construction, the mound's distinctive, significant, and essential attributes remain intact and in excellent condition. The figure still represents clearly a well-defined and anatomically-detailed horned humanoid form. The integrity of the figure as a monumental sculptural representation of a shaman or spirit has not been compromised. The majority of the

distinctive stylistic elements that set the effigy apart from other 'man' mounds are still readily apparent. Furthermore, detailed survey measurements obtained by Canfield just prior to the construction of Man Mound Road mitigate the impact of disturbance to the lower limbs and are sufficient to allow full reconstruction of that portion of the mound should future circumstances allow it.

The mound's character as a potential funerary monument and archaeological site also remains uncompromised. If burial features are present, they should be located in the undamaged 'heart' or head of the mound. The torso and head of the Man Mound are smooth and unpitted, suggesting that the mound has not been looted or explored—a near-miraculous occurrence given the mound's proximity to a population center. Damage to the internal structure of the mound should be minor, for the same reasons. Structural complexity within effigy mounds is generally limited to heads and torsos, while extremities often are constructed of simple earthen fill. There also is potential for the survival of sub-surface portions of the feet in the Weirich parcel and perhaps even survival of sub-surface features under the pavement of Man Mound road.

Aside from Man Mound Road, ground disturbance immediately adjacent to the mound itself has been minimal and consists of installation of posts for the cedar fence and original viewing platform (since dismantled) south of Man Mound Road. Cattle have also churned the uppermost levels of soil in the pasture area surrounding the feet north of Man Mound Road. There is thus a high potential for the survival of ritual features and activity areas adjacent to the mound, particularly within Man Mound County Park.

The original setting of the mound has been modified by the construction of Man Mound road, the installation of park structures, and the erection of one farmstead and one schoolhouse. New interpretive signage has been installed along the cedar rail and post fence separating the mound from the parking area. The parking area itself has been graveled, but remains unpaved. The park facilities and schoolhouse, while not associated with the period of significance of the mound, are associated with people and events that played key roles in the mound's later history and preservation. Apart from those changes, the setting of the mound has been minimally altered. The largest change in that regard is the substitution of cornfields for prairie grass. The forested Baraboo Range and wetlands within the valley containing the mound remain more-or-less the same as during the period of significance.

Conclusions and Summary

The Man Mound (47SK27) was constructed by a Late Woodland community that participated in the effigy mound ceremonial complex, sometime between AD 700 and 1200. It is probable that the figure was constructed as part of wider ritual activity, perhaps to mark the grave of one or more community members. Other ritual features should exist within and around the mound. The mound represents a rare effigy type, documented only in adjacent Sauk and Richland Counties, Wisconsin. All other recorded examples of this mound type have been destroyed. The Man Mound is thus the only known anthropomorphic ritual monument recorded in North America to remain extant. The mound exhibits a high degree of anatomical detail compared to the other known examples of its type and represents an exceptional example of Late Woodland stage artistry.

Though the lower extremities of the figure have suffered some damage, the mound otherwise is intact and unexcavated. The mound was moved into public ownership at a remarkably early date and has thus been well-cared for and protected over the past century. Integrity of the mound, any adjacent archaeological deposits, and its setting are high.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide:__ Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A__ B__ C X D X

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D X E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: 4, 6

NHL Criteria Exceptions: 5

NHL Theme(s): III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Design

Areas of Significance: Archaeology/Prehistoric; Religion; Art

Period(s) of Significance: AD 750 - 1200

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: Effigy Mound Culture, Late Woodland Stage

Architect/Builder: N/A

Historic Contexts: I. Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations
B. Post-Archaic and Pre-Contact Developments
12. Post-Archaic Adaptations of the Mississippi Valley
15. Eastern Farmers
C. Prehistoric Archaeology: Topical Facets
3. Prehistoric Social and Political Organizations
5. Prehistoric Arts/Handicrafts
10. Prehistoric Religion, Ideology, and Ceremonialism
11. Prehistoric Social Differentiation
XVII. Landscape Architecture

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Man Mound, located in Sauk County, Wisconsin, was built between AD 750 and 1200 by Effigy Mound variant populations and is nationally significant as the only known surviving anthropomorphic effigy in the Upper Midwest of the United States and as a rare example of a pre-Contact era monumental Native American depiction of a human or humanoid form. The rare form of the mound and the high artistic values embodied in the figure compared to other anthropomorphic effigies make the Man Mound eligible at the national level. The Man Mound also has the potential to yield important information about cosmological beliefs, ritual activity, and social organization during the Late Woodland stage (AD 700-1200). As the only known surviving example of an anthropomorphic effigy mound, a form that likely depicts a shaman or deity prominent in Late Woodland cosmology (and potentially ancestral to similar figures documented in the post-Contact era), the mound is thus eligible at the national level.

The period of significance (750-1200) is defined by Effigy Mound variant population's participation in the Effigy Mound ritual complex, which arose sometime around AD 700 and fell from favor between AD 1000 and AD 1200 (Salkin 2000; Stevenson, et al. 1997; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000).

The Man Mound is nominated under National Historic Landmark Criteria 4 and 6. The Man Mound (also known as the Greenfield Man Mound, to distinguish it from other recorded anthropomorphic effigies) was previously listed on the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance in 1978. In 2010, a major revision expanded the original nomination and increased the boundaries of the site to better reflect current knowledge and research concerning the Man Mound and its history.

Criterion Four

Introduction for Criterion Four

The Man Mound is eligible for consideration as a National Historic Landmark under Criterion 4 as an example of a man-made structure that is especially valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction. The Man Mound is the only surviving earthen anthropomorphic mound in North America. In addition, it is an especially fine example of Late Woodland effigy mound construction, which might justifiably be said to be the artistic zenith of the millennia-long tradition of mound construction in Eastern North America. The Man Mound communicates the cultural and aesthetic values of its Late Woodland designers, exhibiting an unusual degree of anatomical detail in comparison to other monumental anthropomorphic figures and zoomorphic effigy mounds. The form of the figure emphasizes both the skill of its designers and creators and the importance of the entity depicted. As a potential burial place, the Man Mound falls within Exception 5 as it derives national significance from its exceptionally distinctive design.

Monumental Anthropomorphic Figures in N. America

Images of spirits and shamans resembling the Man Mound survive in a host of other media. Most such images are small in scale, and appear as pictographs and petroglyphs at rock art sites across North America (e.g., Clouse 2004; Edging and Ahler 2004; Hedden 2004; Nevin 2004; Rajnovich 1994; York, et al. 1993). Fewer than 100 were constructed to larger—and even monumental—scales. Three types of monumental anthropomorphs have been documented in the Americas: intaglios or geoglyphs, petroforms, and effigy mounds like the Man Mound (see Figure Twelve). Of the three types of anthropomorphs, only effigy mounds like the Man Mound exhibit substantial sculptural or structural relief and only effigy mounds have the potential to contain complex internal features.

Humanoid geoglyphs or 'earth pictures' are found in the deserts of southern California, Nevada, and Arizona. The geoglyphs were created by removing dark desert pavement to expose the lighter-colored soils and sediments beneath the weathered surface. Approximately sixty images of humans or humanoid spirits have been documented there along the Colorado and Gila rivers. The smallest geoglyphs are less than six feet (1.8 m) long, while the largest is 171 feet (52.1 m) in length (Gilbreath 2007:289; Johnson 1985:10). None bear horns on their heads, and in many cases heads are missing from the figures entirely. Often, figures without heads are paired with complete anthropomorphs. Some of the humanoid figures are associated with dance circles, serpent or feline geoglyphs, lines, or other abstract forms (Johnson 1985). The geoglyphs have not been firmly dated, but at least one author has suggested that they were created ca. AD 1000, during the period of effigy construction in the Midwest (Gilbreath 2007:289).

Fewer than thirty anthropomorphic petroforms or 'boulder effigies' have been documented in the U.S. and Canada (Danziger and Callaghan 1983; Hudak 1971). These figures were created by arranging boulders and cobbles to create outline or stick-figure forms. At least four were constructed in the southwestern United States, within the region of anthropomorphic geoglyphs; three are of the stick-figure type, while the fourth is constructed in outline. A minimum of sixteen anthropomorphic petroforms were created at sites in the north-central United States and adjacent areas of Canada: three in Montana, three in South Dakota, three in Saskatchewan, six in Alberta, and one in southeastern Manitoba (Bryan 1967; Danziger and Callaghan 1983; Kehoe and Kehoe 1959; Lewis 1891, 1889; Simms 1903; Wormington and Forbis 1965). Humanoid petroforms in the mid-continent are divisible into three distinct styles. Box-like bodies were favored on the Great Plains, circular bodies in Montana, and stick-figures in Alberta and Manitoba. Most petroforms are relatively small, averaging about ten feet (3 m) long. They are believed to have been constructed in the post-Contact period, though some have suggested that petroform construction began as early as AD 500 (Danziger and Callaghan 1983:140–142, 154–156). As with the documented humanoid geoglyphs, the known humanoid petroforms do not exhibit obvious horns.

Including the Man Mound, at least five definitive anthropomorphic earthen effigy mounds have been documented—all in Wisconsin, and all attributable to the Late Woodland effigy mound ceremonial complex (Figures Thirteen and Fourteen). Two 'man' mounds were located in Sauk County (Canfield 1872; Canfield 1859a; Lapham 1859) and four more were found in Eagle Township in Richland County (Lewis 1886a:26–28, 47–50). With the exception of one mound in Richland County, all of the humanoid figures were depicted with horns or horned headdresses.

Five other effigies—four in Wisconsin and one in Iowa—were identified as potential anthropomorphs by commentators, but for various reasons, those identifications are in doubt (Figures Thirteen and Fifteen). They are included here because of design details or uncertainties that do not allow a humanoid status to be conclusively ruled out or their identification as anthropomorphs in historic literature. These five potential anthropomorphs were located in Richland County (S. Taylor 1843), Dane County (R. Taylor 1838), Jefferson County (Lapham n.d.), and Trempealeau County, Wisconsin (West 1907), and Clayton County, Iowa (Lewis 1885). In any case, there are reasons to believe that the mounds are avian effigies rather than anthropomorphic effigies.

La Valle Man Mound (47SK80)

The La Valle Man Mound was mapped by W. Canfield in 1872, years after Canfield's discovery of the more-famous Man Mound in Greenfield Township. Canfield's (1872) map indicates that the La Valle anthropomorph was located near two zoomorphic effigies (one bird and one water panther with horns or ears) and several geometric mounds. All surface indications of the La Valle anthropomorph vanished prior to 1886 (Lewis 1882–1895a:51), so Canfield's measurements are the only record of the mound.

The head of the La Valle anthropomorphic mound was oriented towards the northeast, and the mound as a whole was configured as if it was walking towards the southwest. Canfield's measurements indicate that the effigy was approximately 230 feet (70 m) long and had an arm-span of over 110 feet (33.5 m). The arms of the effigy were held out to either side, nearly at right angles to the torso, and were disproportionately short in comparison to the rest of the figure. The torso, in contrast, was disproportionately elongated. Both legs were relatively straight, terminating in feet that pointed to the figure's right side.

Eagle Township Man Mound (47RI38)

The Eagle Township anthropomorph was located in the midst of the massive Eagle Township site, a large complex of bird, bear, and feline effigies, geometric mounds, and habitation/activity areas on the north bank of the Wisconsin River in Richland County. The anthropomorphic figure was oriented with its head to the east (downstream relative to the nearby Wisconsin River). The legs of the figure were straight to slightly curved and formed a narrow 'V' angling away from the body. The left arm of the figure was held nearly straight, extending slightly away from the body. The right arm was bent at the elbow, with the end of the arm closer to the waist of the figure. The torso was elongated and narrow and the head was rounded. Hands and feet were not depicted and the figure lacked horns. It was 106 feet (32.3 m) long, and 43 feet (13.1 m) wide at its widest point from 'hand' to 'hand'. When found in April of 1886 the mound stood approximately two feet (0.6 m) high (Lewis 1886a:47–50). No surface traces of this mound remain.

The Twin Man Mounds (47RI319)

Lewis mapped two identical anthropomorphic mounds at the Man Mound group in Richland County. The paired anthropomorphs were located approximately three-quarters of a mile northwest of the Eagle Township 'man' mound, just over one-half mile north of the Wisconsin River. They lay immediately south of a straight-winged bird effigy mound and just southeast of a bear effigy mound. Lewis noted that other mounds were being plowed flat in fields to the north, east, and west.

The two anthropomorphic mounds were constructed side-by-side, oriented with their heads to the south. Both had short horns or projections extending away from their heads. The western anthropomorph may have been intended to show a figure walking westward since the left leg was in line with the body while the right leg was slightly curved and kicked back away in a 'stepping' posture. The left arm was bent at the elbow, with the hand held further away from the body. The right arm of the figure was angled away from the body but bowed slightly as if the arm was bending and moving back towards the torso. The western figure was just over 100 feet long and measured 60 feet at its widest point, from 'hand' to 'hand'.

The eastern anthropomorph had straight arms that angled away slightly from the body. The legs of the figure were straight, formed a narrow 'V' with feet spaced 18 feet (5.5 m) apart, and were shifted slightly eastward and out of line with the torso. The figure was 100 feet (30.4 m) long and was 55 feet (16.7 m) at its widest point, from 'hand' to 'hand' (Lewis 1886a:26–28). No surface traces of either mound remain.

South Side Mound (47SK12)

Conflicting descriptions of an effigy in the South Side group raise the possibility that an anthropomorphic mound was located approximately 3.5 miles southwest of the Man Mound in what is now Baraboo, Wisconsin. Stephen Peet, in the company of eminent Harvard archaeologist Frederick Ward Putnam, mapped the figure at the southern end of a line of either zoomorphic effigies or conical mounds. Peet described his mound as a human figure with jointed limbs, but no horns or headdress. The arms were held in a position identical to the Man Mound, with one elbow bent inward and another bent outward, but the legs were described as either indicating a sitting posture or angled to one side of the body (Peet 1883:340, 1898:46, 319).

Canfield, who might have been expected to document another human-shaped mound in the midst of a village he knew well, did not map or describe the figure. In later correspondence with the Wisconsin Historical Society, Wisconsin Archeological Society member Arlow Stout noted that Canfield thought the mound represented a bird. However, a nearby home-owner whom Stout interviewed thought that the limbs had been jointed and estimated that the mound originally was about 120 feet (36.6 m) long. Stout thought that if the mound was a 'man' mound, then "it was a very imperfect one" (Stout 1900–1910). All surface indications of the mound were destroyed prior to Stout's visit to the site ca. 1906.

Schaeffer (47RI39)

A fourth possible anthropomorphic mound in Richland County was reported by S. Taylor in 1843; however, the effigy lacked characteristics of a true anthropomorph. The 'arms' were straight, disproportionately long (130 feet [39.6 m]), and extended at right angles from the body. In form and proportion the 'arms' were identical to the wings of bird effigies found at adjacent sites. The 'head' was minimally depicted and bore two bulbous 'horns' or projections that Taylor (1843:34) interpreted as a pair of heads that "gracefully recline over the shoulders". The figure was oriented towards the south. It was approximately 105 feet (32 m) long and stood three feet (0.9 m) high.

Taylor's (1843:Plate VI, Fig. 6) original illustration of this mound shortens the arms/wings, making the figure appear human-like. When drafted to scale, the effigy looks far more like a bird. At least four bird effigies in the vicinity bore horns; another horned bird was located in Marquette County in central Wisconsin (Lewis 1886a:41, 53–54; Moore 1907; Peet 1892:302, Fig. 1; S. Taylor 1843:27). These rare horned bird effigies may have been intended to represent spirits or owls. Taylor's effigy has 'legs' or a long forked-tail and is thus unlikely to portray an owl. The effigy instead may represent a fork-tailed species like a swallow or swallow-tailed kite, a powerful spirit such as a Thunderer, an avian/human transformation, or a costumed dancer.

The precise location of Taylor's effigy is not known, since surface traces of the mound vanished prior to Lewis' survey of the region. Taylor's account suggests that it was located on or near a Section line, approximately three-quarters of a mile east of the Eagle Township anthropomorph, in the vicinity of a group of zoomorphic effigies and geometric mounds.

Blue Mounds #1 (47DA51)

This effigy mound was one of the first to be reported in print and was discovered in the midst of a group of zoomorphic effigies and geometric mounds by the side of the Native American trail between Madison and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin (R. Taylor 1838:90–91). R. Taylor identified the mound as a human figure based on the apparent depiction of arms and legs. The mound was oriented towards the west, had a rounded head with no horns, straight 'arms' extended outward at right angles to the body, and straight 'legs' that formed a distinct 'V' shape as they angled away from their junction with the body. The mound was 125 feet (38.1 m) long, and had an 'arm span' of 140 feet (42.7 m). As with the Schaeffer effigy in Richland County, the form of the mound suggests a fork-tailed bird or avian/human transformation. T. H. Lewis (1882–1895b:44–45) identified the mound as such when he conducted a second survey of the group in 1891. As of 2013, all surface traces of this mound have been destroyed.

Jorgensen III (47JE656)

The last potential anthropomorphic effigy reported in Wisconsin is one of the least convincing. Lapham (n.d.) received information about the mound from Mr. James C. Brayton, a local resident of Jefferson County, Wisconsin, but never observed it directly. A tiny sketch of the mound, based presumably on Brayton's description, shows what appears to be a typical fork-tailed bird effigy (though lacking a beak)—with the notable

addition of two rises on the torso interpreted as breasts. Brayton apparently identified the mound as an oversized representation of a humanoid female.

The effigy was destroyed prior to Lapham's visit to the region, and it is unclear exactly what Brayton saw. The 'breasts' may have been conical mounds superimposed on the effigy or natural features such as tree-falls. Alternately, Brayton may have observed a depression over the 'heart' area of the mound (e.g., Toth 2004) and interpreted the higher elevations to each side of the depression as breasts. Lapham's notes are clear that both 'legs' and parts of one 'arm' had been destroyed, but does not state when. If they were gone when Brayton first observed the mound, he may have assumed the prior existence of non-existent 'legs' after concluding that the effigy depicted a female human figure.

The Man Mound, Compared to Other Monumental Anthropomorphic Figures

The Man Mound, as an effigy mound, exhibits greater anatomical detail, vertical relief, and internal structure compared to humanoid geoglyphs and petroforms. The Man Mound also exhibits a key diagnostic trait lacking in geoglyphs and petroforms—its horns—that helps associate the figure with shamanic ritual and cosmology. Furthermore, the Man Mound is constructed to a truly monumental scale. It is much larger than any other surviving anthropomorphic figure and was surpassed in size only by the now-destroyed La Valle Man Mound.

Several factors combine to make the Man Mound a unique creation even among known examples of 'man' mounds. Variation in effigy mound style is visible at several different spatial levels. Zoomorphic mounds in the western area of effigy mound construction were constructed using a naturalistic and anatomically-detailed style. Zoomorphic mounds in the eastern area of effigy mound construction exhibit a more abstract style, with few anatomical details depicted. The Man Mound is an example of the 'western' or naturalistic effigy style, with clearly-depicted hands, feet, jointed limbs, and horns.

The Man Mound also exhibits locality-level style, perhaps emerging from differences in local traditions of outlining and sculpting mounds. Such traditions may have been passed from person to person through observation or instruction. Stylistic variation at this level is apparent in the manner that limbs, wings, heads, and bodies were depicted, as well as the degree of sculptural relief exhibited by individual mounds. The Man Mound and the La Valle Man Mound, both built within the future confines of Sauk County, are (or were) twice the size of the Richland County 'man' mounds. They were built with clearly jointed limbs, elongated torsos, and well-defined feet, whereas the Richland County 'man' mounds were built with shorter torsos, no feet, and straight to curved limbs.

Finally, the Man Mound is distinct from the La Valle Man Mound, a difference that may be attributable to their creation by different mound designers. The Man Mound has lowered arms, well-defined hands, and a rounded head with horns that are spaced well apart. It was built to portray a walking or traveling pose. The La Valle Man Mound had raised arms, indistinguishable hands, a small head, and horns that originated from the same point on the head. It was built in a standing or prayerful pose.

The Man Mound as a Sculptural Funerary Monument

The sculptural component of effigy creation was not lost on 19th century observers like Stephen Peet, who often rhapsodized on their aesthetic qualities. As Peet (1890:80) declaimed,

> A sculpture gallery is furnished by these earth forms which is unequalled by any works of art. We only need to divest ourselves of the impressions which the fields and houses make to feel that it is a gallery full of life and one which conforms to the scenery…Very few understand what

> perfection there was originally in these colossal figures, carved out of the earth and covered with the green sward. They seem to move under one's feet.

As a structure, the Man Mound represents a sculptural monument, built of earth and sediments rather than wood or stone (Figure Sixteen). Inexact parallels to Late Woodland effigy mounds may be found in American funerary architecture and art. During the late 19th and early twentieth centuries in particular, elaborate monuments incorporating sculptures of human figures, angels, animals, and plants, infused with both religious and secular symbolism, were erected over the graves of prominent citizens (J. G. Brown 1994; Keister 2004). Such monuments not only honored and identified the dead, they communicated the social status and values of the deceased, the deceased's family, and the deceased's community.

Many, if not most, effigy mounds marked the graves of Late Woodland deceased. The construction of an effigy mound may have denoted a degree of status, or at least indicated the social role of the deceased. The animal or spirit represented in effigy form communicated information concerning the social identity of the deceased. Finally, the finished monument could have served as a point of reference that reinforced group tenure or territorial claims (e.g., Charles and Buikstra 1983; Mallam 1976). The landscape itself was modified in order to reflect the relationships between the deceased, the deceased's family or cohorts, the community, the spirits, and the land. Similarly, in modern life, funerary monuments serve as foci for familial, community-level, and even National ritual designed to strengthen social solidarity and emphasize desired values (e.g., the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier).

Effigy mounds represent some of the largest sculptural monuments created by Native American populations in North America. Effigy mounds were modeled using a mixture of soils, sediments, and burned organic materials. At most sites, vegetation and topsoil were removed to form the shape of the mound, leaving a flat mound 'floor'. Soil and sediments were then placed on top of the mound floor and modeled to form the finished effigy. At other sites, figures in the round were created by excavating the form of the animal in intaglio and then modeling the figure inside and above the intaglio (Barrett and Hawkes 1919:18). Finished sculptures created in this manner are half-embedded in the earth and are difficult to distinguish from relief sculptures in the absence of archaeological excavation. In rare instances, as at the Panther Intaglio in Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, intaglios were not filled in (Lapham 1855:36, Plate XXVII, Figure 1).

The material composition of effigy mounds varies from mound group to mound group. Many examples are composed of topsoils and subsoils available at the mound site. Others incorporate clays, sands, marls, charcoal, and other materials chosen on the basis of their color, place of origin, and/or composition. At some sites distinctive sands and sediments were used to cover or outline the floors of effigy mounds prior to the creation of the main body of the mound (McKern 1928:295–296, 1930:483). The most elaborate effigy mounds yet documented, found at Kratz Creek in Buffalo County, Wisconsin, were composed of alternating layers of charcoal and red, white, and yellow sediments (Barrett and Hawkes 1919). Since the Man Mound has not been excavated or tested, it is unknown which construction techniques its builders utilized.

During the process of effigy construction, the landscape itself was integrated as a sculptural element. At many sites, sloping ground was used to display effigies, imbuing them with a sense of movement. Bird mounds appear to 'swoop' up and down hillsides, bears to 'walk' beside streams, and water spirit mounds seem to descend into or emerge from springs or other bodies of water. Where effigies occur adjacent to flowing water, they are often oriented as if moving downstream. Where effigy mounds were built on narrow landforms like drumlins and ridgelines they often form winding processions that follow the line of highest elevation. At Man Mound, the landscape was used to elevate the head of the anthropomorphic effigy above the level of its feet, setting it 'upright' and in a walking position.

Integrity Statement for Criterion Four

Though the Man Mound is no longer a complete structure, due to disturbance of portions of the lower limbs and feet, it retains the distinctive, significant, and essential attributes that set it apart from other monumental anthropomorphic figures, and from zoomorphic effigy mounds. The head, arms, hands, torso, and upper legs of the feature continue to communicate the walking posture of the figure. The stylistic attributes that set the figure apart from other 'man' mounds, including details of the head, horns, arms, and torso, are still intact. Those features that identify the mound as a potential shaman or spirit are intact and well-defined. Significant internal construction features, if present, would remain within the torso and/or head of the figure. Sub-surface or intaglio excavations still may mark the position of the feet. Canfield's survey measurements preserve details of the missing portions of the mound, so that it will be possible to fully or partially reconstruct the entire figure if Man Mound Road is re-routed sometime in the future.

Summary for Criterion Four

As an exemplar of traditional culture, landscape architecture, and the arts, the Man Mound is a particularly fine expression of the cultural and aesthetic values of its makers. With regard to external style, it is the most anatomically-accurate and detailed monumental anthropomorphic figure known. Other documented monumental anthropomorphic figures in North America were built using different materials, were built to smaller scales, or lacked the distinctive details (horns, hands, jointed limbs, etc.) that distinguish the Man Mound. The Man Mound's internal features and construction have the potential to shed light on the range of construction methods utilized by Woodland artists and mound designers. Since all other known examples of anthropomorphic effigy mounds have been destroyed, the Man Mound represents the last chance to document construction techniques used for that mound type. As a sculptural funerary monument, the Man Mound captures Native American conceptions of the cosmos and afterlife, and encodes them into the earth itself.

Criterion Six

Introduction

The Man Mound is eligible for consideration as a National Historic Landmark under Criterion 6, as it is a property that has yielded and is likely to yield information of major scientific importance, shedding light upon Native American societies in the United States. The Man Mound expresses the cultural values of participants in the effigy mound ceremonial complex, and, to varying degrees, those of the Native residents of eastern North America. The Man Mound also represents a transformation of the environment—particularly the creation of a cultural landscape that recorded details about Late Woodland social organization and geography. As such, the site reasonably may be expected to yield data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas about Native North American ritual, social organization, and iconography to a major degree.

Specifically, the site has the potential to yield information concerning four major research questions:

1. What activities were associated with the effigy mound ceremonial complex and, more broadly, with Woodland Tradition mound ritual?
2. How did Native American residents of the Eastern Woodlands express social identity through iconography?
3. Was social inequality present in Late Woodland societies, and what form did it take?
4. How have Native North American religious beliefs, practices, and associated iconographic symbols evolved?

The Man Mound and the Effigy Mound Ceremonial Complex

The Man Mound has the potential to yield exceptionally significant information concerning Woodland ritual practices, particularly those ritual practices associated with the effigy mound ceremonial complex. Larger mound groups were constructed over longer periods of time, sometimes during the course of centuries. Assemblages of artifacts and features found at such sites thus represent palimpsests created during multiple ritual events associated with different ritual specialists, mounds, and mound types. Any features or activity areas at the Man Mound site are attributable to events centering upon a single mound symbol—in this case a very rare mound symbol—and its associated ritual specialists and social group. Because the Man Mound and its immediate setting have excellent integrity, there is high potential for intact features both within and without the mound, and for intact special use areas near the mound. Such features and use areas have the potential to shed light on the deeper origins of effigy ceremonialism, details of specific ritual events, and the relationship between particular ritual practices and different social groups.

The Origins and Spread of Effigy Ceremonialism

Preserved features and internal mound structures at the Man Mound site may provide information concerning the survival of earlier mound ritual into the Late Woodland period. The effigy mound ceremonial complex represents an elaboration of Early and Middle Woodland mound ritual, involving an expansion in the range of mound forms constructed and a movement towards individual burial rather than group burial in more elaborate mound forms. Artificial mound construction began in earnest in the upper Mississippi River drainage around 700 BC, following a period in the Late Archaic stage in which cemeteries were placed on natural knolls or rises (e.g., Ritzenthaler and Niehoff 1958). The first mounds in the area were conical in form, mimicking the topography of the cemetery knolls, and usually contained multiple sets of human remains (Overstreet, et al. 1996).

During the Middle Woodland period (ca. AD 0–500) Hopewellian ritual practices were incorporated into existing mound ritualism. Multiple individuals, perhaps members of single kin groups or sodalities, were interred beneath conical mounds within large, rectangular sub-floor pits, on stone or earthen platforms, or within floor-level stone, clay, or log chambers. Mounded Middle Woodland tombs were used to house a mix of extended, seated, partially articulated, and bundled burials, typical of periodic re-opening and long-term use of tomb chambers and/or associated charnel structures (Lapham 1855; Logan 1976:25–26; Philips ca. 1911).

As the Late Woodland period began, mortuary and mound-building ceremonialism evolved again. Late Woodland populations in Wisconsin and adjacent areas of surrounding states continued to construct conical mounds, but also built new geometric and zoomorphic mound forms. The association between mound construction and mortuary ritual remained strong (Rosebrough 2011). The frequency of communal or multiple interment diminished sharply in favor of individual interment or interments placed in individual pits within mounds. Funerary objects were placed with the dead with decreasing frequency and took the form of locally-produced projectile points and cooking jars rather than ceremonial items or items obtained through long-distance exchange (Logan 1976:29–31, 40–46; Stoltman and Christiansen 2000:500–501, 503). Many aspects of early mound ritual survived to be incorporated into effigy mound ceremonialism, including occasional use of colored sediments, secondary deposition of ash, charcoal, and fire-cracked rock to create ‘altars’, sod removal, floor preparation, and the creation of sub-mounds over burials and other features (e.g., Beaubein 1953; Green and Schermer 1988; McKusick 1964; Van Langen and Kehoe 1971).

These long-term patterns suggest increasing elaboration of existing mound ceremony, including the emergence of parallel mortuary and ritual trajectories (non-mound, conical, other geometric, and effigy burial) that may have been associated with different sub-populations living within Late Woodland communities. Effigy mound

ceremonialism, in particular, shows a shift towards ritual events focused on individuals and totemic spirits, combined with a decrease in overt signs of economic inequality. Dating of the Man Mound and an examination of its structure and associated features have the potential to provide additional data concerning this aspect of the evolution of Woodland mound ceremonialism and society. Was the mound built to mark a single grave, a communal burial pit, or no burial feature at all? Were ritual goods placed in or near the mound, or do artifacts found at the site express the seeming economic egalitarianism associated with other effigy mound groups? Were anthropomorphic images a late elaboration on earlier zoomorphic mound ritual or an early experiment? Finally, what is the relationship between mounds and their associated features and special use areas?

Mound Ritual

Woodland mounds may have served several simultaneous ritual functions. It has been suggested that the cooperative labor involved in mound construction reinforced ties between community members or members of different communities (Mallam 1976; Staeck 1998). The construction of a mound may have established a connection to a given territory (C. Brown 1911; Charles and Buikstra 1983; Radin 1990:32–33). Staeck (1996) and Rosebrough (2010) have argued that mound ceremony was used by some individuals to demonstrate control over spiritual and societal realms. In this, Late Woodland mound construction may have paralleled 18th century Hidatsa mound ceremonialism, when dancers affiliated with the Sunset Wolf bundle built mounds to sing and fast upon (Brooks 1995:150). As Staeck (1998) correctly notes, no one function necessarily excludes another. Mounds probably played multiple roles in many arenas of Late Woodland society.

Effigy construction may have been sparked by the death of one or more individuals, scheduled seasonal ritual, alliance negotiation, or other events. The frequent occurrence of articulated burials within effigy mounds suggests that ritual often was tied to a community death. However, bundle burials and cremations also are found within effigy mounds. If effigy mounds were symbolic of corporate or sodality affiliation, then ritual may have been tailored to particular social groupings. Differential mortuary treatment linked to clan and/or moiety affiliation has been documented in the post-Contact period (Radin 1990:92; Skinner 1924:49–50) and must be considered as a possibility in the Late Woodland period as well. Some features found within effigy mounds, such as hearths, pebble or clay-lined cists, colored sediments, and/or deposits of shell, burned animal bone, and stone, may be attributable to ritual regimes associated with particular social segments. If so, consideration of features found within the Man Mound may help identify any social segments linked to the mound.

Though it might be expected, given the repeated association of effigy mounds and human burials, that the Man Mound contains burial features—that hypothesis has not been proven yet. Future research, perhaps conducted with improved non-invasive or minimally-invasive techniques, may be able to identify burial features or at least features consistent with the presence of burials within the mound. If human remains are present, it may be possible to associate them with particular ritual features both within and without the mound, and thus further elucidate rituals linked to the social segment symbolized by ‘man’ mounds. If human remains are absent from the mound, then it may be that the Man Mound and other humanoid mounds served a novel role within Late Woodland mound ceremony.

Off-Mound Ritual

While the range of features and burials included within Late Woodland mounds is relatively well understood (see Rosebrough 2010), a complete portrait of Late Woodland mound ritual is lacking. Though some have speculated that mound sites served as ritual centers where world-renewal ceremonies were conducted (i.e., Benn 1979; Mallam 1976, 1984), that hypothesis has not been tested through excavation of off-mound areas. At present, it can be confirmed that activity areas do occur adjacent to some mounds (Clauter 2011; Evans 1961; Richards, et al. 2012; Wittry and Bruder 1955). However, it is unclear what types of activities occurred in each

area, how activity areas correlate temporally to mounds and mound groups, and how (or even if) specific features or activities correlate to individual mounds or individual people buried within those mounds.

The high degree of integrity of off-mound portions of the site is favorable to the preservation of ritual features. As a result, examination of off-mound areas has the potential to answer some of the larger questions about Late Woodland ritual. What kinds of features are present? Are multiple activity areas associated with the mound? Do features overlap, suggesting periodic re-use of the site for ritual purposes? Are features present within Man Mound County Park different than features found at Pabst Farms and other effigy mound sites (see Richards, et al. 2012)?

An appeal to general ethnographic analogy provides support for the idea that mound construction was only a single component of a broader ritual program. Similarities in mortuary ritual found among Central Siouan and Central Algonquian populations resident in the mid-continent provide a base for speculative reconstruction of effigy ceremonialism (e.g., Fletcher and La Flesche 1970:589–593; Radin 1990; Rohrl 1967; Skinner 1924:48–49, 50–52, 1926:254–256; Walker 1991:70–71, 115, 122–123). Ethnography suggests that after the death of a community member, survivors gathered to feast and listen to orations given by shamans, elders, and family members. The deceased was instructed in their next courses of action. Fires were kindled so that the deceased could find their way along the path of the dead. As they orated, shamans and others demonstrated their grasp of arcane knowledge, instructed the living about the afterlife, and calmed grieving community members.

It is quite likely, though not empirically demonstrable, that similar orations were part of mound ceremony. The inclusion of muck and marls in mounds calls to mind the initial journey of the dead through a watery Underworld (e.g., Baerreis 1954:44; McKern 1928:362–363). Features built of fire-cracked rock and ash, deposits of burned bone, and hearths invoke the creation of light and the preparation of food for the living or the dead (Brown and Drexel 1921:130; McKern 1928:261–263, 1930:512, Plate LXVIII-2). Clay and pebble-lined cists, placed in the upper levels of mound fill, may have been meant to hold offerings or to serve as symbolic points of passage between the worlds of the living and the dead (McKern 1928:263–265).

Mounds as Symbols of Identity

The Man Mound has the potential to illuminate how Late Woodland residents of eastern North America utilized iconography to express social identity. As detailed below, it is probable that effigy mounds represent totems or emblems symbolic of particular segments of the Late Woodland population (i.e., clans, bands, sodalities, etc.). Furthermore, the creation of a totem from the earth itself, as a permanent modification of the landscape, may have emphasized connections between particular territories and specific social segments. The Man Mound, which probably depicts a shaman or anthropomorphic spirit, is a curious exception from the more usual practice of portraying animals or zoomorphic spirits. It emphasizes both the range of images utilized by Late Woodland artisans and their persistence of such images in the Native iconography of North America.

As an example, an Ojibwe birch bark petition sent to Washington D.C. in 1849 depicts signatories as totemic spirits rather than individual human beings (Figure Seventeen). In the bark record, a crane, three martens, a bear, a humanoid Nibiinaabe (water spirit), and a catfish are shown in procession. The creatures are connected to one another and to a series of lakes by ‘power lines’. The animals represent the lineages to which the different signatories belonged, while the power lines denote their single purpose and their attachment to their homeland (Schoolcraft 1851: Pictograph A, Plate 60).

Late Woodland effigy mounds depict similar animals and spirits. The most common effigy forms are those of birds, bears, water panthers, and animals with short tails. Less common effigy mound types include those representing waterfowl or cranes, birds with forked tails, and animals or spirits with elongated bodies. The remaining effigy mound types truly are rare, and include deer, rabbits, horned birds or bats, buffalo, fish,

rattlesnakes, and anthropomorphic mounds like the Man Mound (Rosebrough and Birmingham 2005; Rosebrough 2010; Rowe 1956). Modern classification systems underestimate the number of species depicted by effigies by a significant, though unknown, amount. Furthermore, geometric mounds may have had their own meanings, now indecipherable to modern observers.

The earliest Euro-American explorers identified effigy mounds as totemic emblems ("…representations of those national or family badges…" [R. Taylor 1838:104]). Decades later, after many more effigy sites had been identified and recorded, Stephen Peet noted that different types of effigy mounds were concentrated in different parts of Wisconsin. He hypothesized that each concentration of mound symbols represented a "clan center" where a specific social grouping had resided (Peet 1892). Confidence in the totemic hypothesis declined in the twentieth century, following the initiation of a long-running debate concerning similarities between common effigy types and post-Contact clan totems (Hall 1993:42–42; McKern 1928:279; Radin 1990:32–33; Rowe 1956; West 1907). However, given the centuries-long temporal gap between the two symbolic sets, the fluid nature of Native American population dynamics, and significant Contact-era population decline, a one-to-one match between effigy symbols and post-Contact clan totems should not be expected.

More important is whether the distribution of effigy symbols is consistent with that expected in a totemic system. As Peet (1892) first observed, effigy mounds of different types are concentrated within localities that serve as their 'core ranges', surrounded by diffuse halos of outliers. Within each locality one or two effigy types predominate, while other mound forms comprise minority types—if they are present at all. As one moves away from a locality that comprises the core range of a particular effigy mound type, the number of effigy mounds of that that type diminishes. In the case of rare types like 'man' mounds, the fall-off pattern may be abrupt. In other cases, fall-off may be more gradual, with the type becoming first a secondary dominant type in neighboring localities, then a minority type in localities still further away (Rosebrough 2010:381–397).

The more common the effigy type, the more core ranges it has, and the wider the area such mounds are distributed across. Some common and widely distributed mound types, such as bird effigies and short-tailed animals, have many core ranges. However, such types likely include multiple species that might be found to have spatially restricted ranges and fewer core ranges if they could be distinguished. Though some of the more recognizable mound types (i.e., bear mounds, water spirit mounds) are associated with several core ranges, the more precisely the taxon of an effigy mound can be identified, the fewer core ranges it has. 'Man' mounds have two core ranges: the Baraboo and Eagle Township localities.

This pattern is not consistent with that expected if effigy mounds represented animals and spirits seen during visions. In that case, different types should be distributed more or less uniformly. Neither do observed distributions of effigy mounds match the habitats and ranges of fauna living in the region. Instead, the observed distribution of effigy types is consistent with the use of effigy mounds to represent sodalities or corporate entities that inhabited different territories. For example, a corporate group or sodality linked to goose symbolism would have built most goose mounds within its home territory or territories. Over time, intermarriage and travel would have given group members the opportunity to move into other localities. Most population movement would have occurred between the 'home' locality and neighboring localities, with fewer group members moving to distant localities. The result would have been the creation of one or more core ranges for goose mounds, and a fall-off pattern in construction frequency outside of each core range. By AD 1200, each locality within the area of effigy construction would have boasted a unique assemblage of effigy mounds, representative of the corporate groups and/or sodalities that resided there during the centuries of effigy mound construction.

Charles and Buikstra (1983:119–120) note that the construction of formal mortuary areas like mound groups correlates both to the degree of sedentism in a particular region and to the extent to which corporate groups

competed for limited resources. They suggest that mounds served as landmarks that were used by relatively mobile populations to confirm their claims to particular territories. Following Charles and Buikstra's reasoning, effigy mound builders transformed the landscape to reflect their perception of social reality. Totemic symbols of identity were embossed upon the earth, legitimizing access to local resources. At the same time, the creation of earthen emblems linked both living and deceased to ancestral lineages or sodality totems and allowed effigy builders to avoid use of the communal charnel facilities.

Given these observations, it is possible that the Man Mound marks the gravesite of one or more members of a specific segment of the Late Woodland population. At the same time, the mound might have validated the tenure of that social segment within the Baraboo locality. The nature of the sub-population in question is, at present, uncertain. If effigy mound symbols were used to identify members of different kinship networks, then the mounds may have been totems of corporate groups like clans or lineages—much like the Nibiinaabe totem of the Ojibwe. If effigy mounds served as sodality symbols, then effigy mounds may have been associated with warrior's societies, ritual societies, or dance societies. Use of animal imagery in that respect is documented among post-Contact groups as well, as in a Lakota drawing of power-lines connecting an elk to Elk Dreamer Society dancers (J. E. Brown 1992:107).

Since 'man' mounds are quite rare, and are found only in two adjacent localities, they may record the birth and spread of a short-lived social segment. Alternatively, 'man' mounds may have been atypical anthropomorphic portrayals of beings more often depicted in zoomorphic form, such as water spirits or bears. The identity of the Man Mound—and thus the identity of the social segment associated with it—has been a source of much speculation. Hypotheses have ranged from depictions of the Siouan deity Hekoya (C. Brown 1908:150), to the culture-hero Red Horn/Morning Star, to a powerful shaman (Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000:121, 205). Regardless of the identity of the horned figure, the Man Mound site provides a clearer view into processes not easily identified at sites with more common mound types.

Shamanism and Social Status

Investigations of the Man Mound site have the potential to clarify whether social inequality was present in Late Woodland societies, and if so, what form it took. Effigy mounds, as monumental structures associated with the graves of a select few individuals, hint that traditional conceptions of social status, based on observations of economic inequality, may be inadequate to describe Native American populations in North America. The Man Mound, unlike most effigy mounds, additionally appears to depict a shaman or transformative spirit associated with shamanism. As such, it either portrays an individual likely to have achieved high status within Late Woodland communities or a being associated with high status individuals.

Late Woodland populations within the area of effigy construction are characterized as egalitarian, with minimal or muted differences in social status. The usual material indicators of economic ranking are not found at Late Woodland sites (Stoltman and Christiansen 2000:511). The few Late Woodland structures excavated in the study region to date are small and have yielded only utilitarian scraps (Hawley, et al., 2009; Meinholz and Kolb 1997). Evidence for the long-distance exchange of non-utilitarian objects or raw materials in the study area is minimal (Stoltman and Christiansen 2000). The few portable Late Woodland art objects found in the region appear to be linked to ritual rather than personal adornment (e.g., Benn and Green 2000:456, Salzer and Rajnovich 2000). Burial goods are rarely encountered within mounds. The Nitschke site is a prominent exception to this rule, but even there funerary goods were utilitarian in nature and made of local materials (McKern 1930).

And yet, seemingly egalitarian Late Woodland communities interrupted their normal subsistence regimes to construct monumental earthen structures, often capping the burial of a single person and potentially marking

tenure for only a portion of the local community. Based on broad ethnographic correlates to other Native North American societies, the ritual associated with effigy construction was probably directed and controlled by shamans, elders, or ritual sodalities who kept at least some aspects of their craft secret. The construction of massive monuments under the direction of individuals who withheld knowledge from fellow residents does not lend itself readily to a portrait of an egalitarian society.

An examination of Late Woodland mortuary practices as a whole also provides evidence of mortuary treatment that raises questions concerning social differences. Not all Late Woodland individuals were accorded mound burial, suggesting that social identity or status influenced mortuary treatment. Isolated skeletal elements, cremations, and flexed burials have been found at rock shelters and open air sites lacking mounds (Porubcan and Lurie 1998; Salkin 1979, 1987:76; Stoltman 2003; Wittry 1959). The non-mounded Montello Sewer site in central Wisconsin has been interpreted as a burial area for individuals who were scaffolded and then cremated rather than buried within mounds (Salkin 1979).

Goldstein (1995:116) has argued that the effort expended upon funerary ritual was correlated to the deceased's status in life. In her hypothesis, individuals interred in mounds enjoyed higher (or at least different) status than those individuals left *sans* mounds. Bundle burials, given the most effort-intensive type of burial (scaffolding, bundle preparation, then mound construction), might represent individuals deserving of particular attention. Status differences in Late Woodland societies might also be estimated by considering the impact of an individual's death on their community. In this perspective, articulated burials within mounds represent a different class of individuals, since their deaths seem to have required cessation of everyday activities in order to raise a mound. However, mound burial was not possible during several months out of each year, and mound ritual may have been a seasonal, scheduled event. Weather and season of death may have combined to determine mortuary treatment as much as social factors did.

Staeck (1996) and Richard Krause (1995) link the process of mound construction, rather than simple burial within a mound, to status and prestige. Krause (1995:141) notes that mounds "…were both stage settings for public ritual and tokens of traditional forms of authority, as evanescent and potentially egalitarian as they seem to have been". Through mound ceremonialism, Late Woodland ritual leaders advertised their ability to manipulate potent cosmological and natural forces. The conflation of mound ritual with mortuary activities meant that Late Woodland ritual specialists controlled the fates of the dead. In societies nominally ruled by consensus, such perceived power might have created a psychological tipping point, giving ritual specialists influence over the behavior of fellow community members.

In societies across the globe, shamans and their cognates serve as preferred intermediaries between community members and various cosmological realms. Ritual specialists often function as situational political leaders, psychologists, and keepers of group tradition and history (Halifax 1979:4, 21–22). Shamanic power may be held by few individuals per community, or shared relatively widely (e.g., Lee 1984:111, 113). Mound ritual gave ritual specialists the opportunity to demonstrate their power, strengthening their influence within their communities. Over time, the successful acquisition of prestige may have manifested in different types of social ranking systems, from overt ranking during the Middle Woodland and Middle Mississippian periods to masked ranking (Trinkaus 1995) during the Late Woodland period.

In archaeological practice, prestige often is identified through observation of unequal control and display of material wealth—a perspective steeped in Western bias. As Trinkaus (1995) notes, prestige may also be gained through the ownership and control of significant knowledge. Individuals privy to essential but arcane knowledge are capable of psychological coercion, through either threats or promises. In consequence, they can accumulate social, political, and economic power through the *de facto* control of subsistence, reproduction, health, and the afterlife. Such achieved status may be transformed into a system of ascribed status or a more

permanent form of social ranking when it is passed on through lines of kinship or through controlled induction into ceremonial societies. When social rank is hidden by leveling mechanisms (either self-imposed or external), a system of masked ranking is in place. High-ranking individuals in societies with masked ranking may appear materially impoverished (or at least to be on equal economic footing with the remainder of their community), belying their true status (Trinkaus 1995).

Ethnographic studies provide evidence for masked ranking among Native American Nations in the upper Mississippi and Missouri drainages. Several Nations linked social status to a system of bundle ownership or accumulated material wealth. Medicine bundles fell into two types: personal and corporate/tribal. Personal bundles were usually buried with their owners while corporate/tribal bundles were passed to the next generation. Supernatural power invested objects within each bundle, allowing bundles to serve as conduits through which power passed to their owners or to the community at large. In some Nations marriages were carefully arranged to keep corporate/tribal bundles within particular family lines, while in others rules of inheritance had the same effect. By controlling bundles, those family lines controlled the crucial rituals the bundles made possible, allowing crops to grow, hunts to succeed, and the world to be in balance (Bowers 1950, 1965; Hanson 1980; Radin 1990:393–394).

Recognition of bundles in archaeological contexts is made difficult by the nature of their contents, which were of mundane character, usually perishable, and often animal-based (e.g., Radin 1990:394). As a result, whether or not Late Woodland peoples utilized medicine bundles is unknown. At least some burials within effigy mounds were accompanied by unusual objects with no clear purpose. An articulated burial of a child, found on the floor of a bear effigy at Nitschke, in Dodge County, Wisconsin, was accompanied by "parts of animal bones, including two leg bones of a fawn…" A canid cranium was found with a burial in a water panther effigy at the same site (McKern 1930:501, 508). A partial coyote mandible was found next to the skull of a burial in a goose effigy mound at Willow Drive, in Dane County, Wisconsin (Baerreis 1966:108). The partial skull of a deer, with antlers attached, was found lying on the legs of an articulated female burial in a water panther effigy at the Stockbridge site in Calumet County, Wisconsin (Rowe 1953:146). These animal remains may have been contained within bundles, or may have represented food offerings, sacrifices, or other ritual objects.

Shamans and corporate bundle-holders, as intermediaries and travelers between worlds, would have been obvious choices to direct effigy mound ritual. Mallam's (1976) work in Iowa demonstrated that mounds at a single group are more likely to share formal similarities than mounds at different groups—suggesting that they were designed by single mound designers or designers who worked closely together. Mound construction techniques within single sites are often uniform, with more variation apparent between mounds at different sites than mounds at single sites (Barrett and Hawkes 1919; McKern 1928, 1930; Rowe 1956; Wittry and Bruder 1955). Construction methods used at single sites cross-cut mound type, suggesting that ritual specialists directed ritual associated with multiple corporate groups or sodalities residing within their localities (see Barrett and Hawkes 1919; McKern 1930:442, 483–484).

The Man Mound, as a potential funerary structure, may preserve evidence for differential mortuary treatment by Late Woodland societies. As a ritual structure, it records the actions and cultural values of ritual specialists—whether shamans, bundle holders, or other individuals. As a structure, the mound represents a modification of the landscape to portray a shaman or shamanic totem. As a result, the site provides what may be a unique window into Late Woodland ritual activities and mortuary treatments. Future research may reveal evidence for shamanic ritual, bundles or other ceremonial items, or the interment of high status individuals within the mound.

Iconography and Ideology

Finally, the Man Mound has the potential to contribute to understanding of the history and evolution of Native American iconography and ideology. In outline, it is comparable to horned humanoid figures found across North America, in both pre- and post-Contact contexts. As a monumental earthen sculpture, the Man Mound expands the range of media used to create horned humanoid representations. As a potential funerary structure, the Man Mound expands the association of horned humanoids beyond rock art sites and portable art to formal ritual sites associated with mortuary and mound ceremony. By taking the Man Mound in context, and in comparison with other examples of horned humanoid figures in other contexts, it may be possible to use the Man Mound to reconstruct other aspects of Late Woodland ideology.

What or Who Does the Man Mound Portray?

Though human figures are common in Native American art, and many are horned, the vast majority of the effigy mounds constructed in eastern North America are zoomorphic rather than anthropomorphic (Rosebrough 2010). While the precise meanings of effigy mounds cannot be determined with the evidence at hand, an appeal to general ethnographic analogy suggests that they depict totemic animals and/or other spirit beings in animal form. In very rare instances, as at the Man Mound, Late Woodland mound builders departed from animal-based symbolism and built mounds depicting humans or anthropomorphic spirits. Rather than interpreting the Man Mound and its counterparts as something completely different, however, ‘man’ mounds may be seen as representations of the ‘human’ end of a spectrum of human/animal/spirit transformation.

In the world views of the Native Nations of North America, animal/human, mundane/spirit, and living/ancestral transformations are common phenomena. For example, a recorded Ho-Chunk funeral oration for a bear clan member describes the transformation of the soul of the deceased into a spirit bear retracing the steps of the clan’s ancestors (Radin 1990:101). Nations as distant from one another as the Algonquin and Apache share stories of Water Spirits who transform into human form and emerge into our world to seek human spouses (see Pijoan 1992). Similar beliefs may have been held by Late Woodland residents of the region.

Identification of the Man Mound as a transformative being is made possible by the prominent horns on the figure’s head—a feature shared by the La Valle Man Mound and the Twin Man Mounds). In Native American iconography and costume, horns are worn by both humans and spirits—a distinction that is not as clear-cut as it may seem to Western eyes. Native North American spirits are capable of transforming to human form as circumstances demand. The Ho-Chunk origin narrative for their water spirit clan records just such an event:

> …and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked (Radin 1990:194).

Horns also identify shamans (Vastokas 2004:286), who may transform into animals in body, in spirit, or who may serve as intermediaries for spirits originating in other realms (see Hedden 2004:337; Riboli 2004:255–259). As Vastokas (2004:286) notes,

> The cone and the horn, in particular, are pervasive signs of power and status in the iconography of circumpolar shamanism, appearing throughout the Americas and the Eurasian northern

> hemisphere in rock-art as well as the ceremonial costume of shamans…In fact, it is likely that horns are the most ancient signs of shamanic power and transformation…

Thus horns, in Native iconography, denote the nature of the being depicted, not the identity of the being itself (e.g., Sundstrom 2004:162), similar to halos in European art. As an example, in post-Contact Ojibwe Mide iconography, horns indicate that a figure has spiritual power or wisdom beyond that of other individuals. Horns are portrayed on shamans, skilled healers or singers, and spirit beings (Rajnovich 1994:94) (Figure Eighteen). Rajnovich (1994:96) notes that the Native sign-language gesture for Mide shamans involved making 'horns' with the index and middle fingers of one hand, then moving them in an ascending spiral, associating the horns with movement or power rather than the person.

Horned Beings and the Lower World

Throughout much of North America, Native peoples divide the universe into vertical tiers. The human or Middle World lies between Upper and Lower worlds, each associated with different animals and inhabited by specific sets of spirit beings. The path of the dead crosses the boundaries between the worlds, mimicking the daily movement of the sun through the cosmos. The dark and chaotic Lower World is the realm of water spirits (D. Brown 1937). The Upper and Lower worlds and their respective inhabitants oppose one another in a perpetual and evenly-balanced battle, with humans caught in between. In Native American art and literature, spirits originating from either world are depicted as animals, humans, or mixtures of the two (Lankford 2004:208–215; Reilly 2004:127–129; Townsend 2004:21–22).

The Lower World is associated with death, fertility, and medicine, and is home to spirits that renew both plant and animal life. Horns are depicted on many Lower World spirits, particularly the most powerful water spirits said to rule the realm. In the Midwest and Great Lakes, such spirits are feline or serpentine in form, bearing the "horns of power" (Rajnovich 1994:102–104). In some North American traditions water spirits (particularly serpents) were lovers or husbands of Old Woman, a Lower World deity associated with the replenishment of game animals, rebirth, and sexuality (Bowers 1950:262–263, 1992:334).

The antiquity of water spirits is confirmed by artworks created over the last two millennia (Townsend and Sharp 2004). Feline-form water spirits appear as effigy mounds, identified by their unusually long and sometimes curving tails (e.g., C. Brown 1911, 1936; Stout 1910). A few examples have prominent horns (Lewis 1885–1888:47). Some linear mounds with forked ends and/or so-called 'catfish' mounds may represent horned serpents (e.g., Lapham 1855:Plate XIII, No. 2.; Lewis 1891–1892:49–50). Horned water panthers appear in rock art and on portable art as well, as do horned serpents (e.g., Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000:108; Boszhardt 2006; Dewdney and Kidd 1962:36, 84–85; Diaz-Granados and Duncan 2005:127; Duncan and Diaz-Granados 2004:201; Salzer 1997:61). Native informants in British Columbia identified horned human figures at rock art sites as representations of "River Spirit Man", a humanoid water spirit who controls aquatic and terrestrial animals (York, et al. 1993:174–175, 235).

Water spirits are dangerous, but also serve as shaman's patrons and contacts in the Lower World—and by extension the land of the newly dead. Among the Ojibwe, horned serpents guard and protect medicine lodges and the shamans who work within them (Rajnovich 1994:107–108). Ojibwe shamans have the ability to pass into the Lower World and the realm of the water spirits in order to obtain medicine (Dewdney and Kidd 1967:14). If so moved, water spirits also may give gifts to ordinary humans that they take pity upon, including children (Dieterle 2012b).

Horned Beings and the Upper World

The Upper World is associated with light, warfare, and renewal, and is inhabited by celestial and storm spirits. Horns are associated with Upper World spirits in the oral traditions of some Native Nations, though with lesser

frequency than with Lower World spirits. Nonona, the Cheyenne thunder spirit, is depicted with bison horns (Sundstrom 2004:162). Cheyenne and Lakota Contraries or Heyoka—individuals who receive visions granted by the Thunderers—wear headdresses fashioned from fur and bison horns (Hand 2010:40–44). As noted previously, some avian effigy mounds do sport horns, suggesting that the association between horns and avian spirits has considerable time depth in the region.

Hall (1997:132–139) hypothesizes that contrarian ritual, despite its avian associations, is rooted in the Lower World. People also become Contraries due to a fear of lightning—a trait associated with the water spirits continually at war with the Thunderers. The very concept of contrariness is associated with the Lower World as well, since there day/night, winter/summer, and even normal patterns of behavior are reversed with respect to the Middle World. The association of Lower World traits to avian or Upper World spirits is itself a form of contrariness, as is the appearance of Upper World traits in Lower World contexts, such as the burned embers that emerge from the water prior to the appearance of the ancestral White Water Spirit in Ho-Chunk narratives (Radin 1990:194). Accordingly, Hall ties the origins of the seemingly Upper World-based Contrary societies like the Heyoka to rituals of the Lower World and the dead, world renewal, fertility, and the replenishment of life on Earth.

Costume

The use of horns to ornament headdresses is particularly well-documented on Great Plains, but seems to have extended back well into the pre-Contact era in the Eastern Woodlands as well. Hopewell burials excavated at Mound City in Ohio were accompanied by fur, cloth, and copper headdresses with copper horns and/or antlers (Mills 1922:452, 544–547). Ethnographically, such headdresses are reserved for shamans, members of particular ritual societies, Contraries, and high-ranking elders and warriors. The same may have held true during the Woodland period.

Post-Contact analogy provides examples of the range of roles played by horned headdresses and those who wore them. The Buffalo Doctor Society of the northern and central Great Plains boasted members from numerous tribes. Society members wore horned headdresses and served as shamans who specialized in the treatment of wounds received in warfare. Their power was obtained from bison spirits (Howard 1965:117). Bison headdresses were also worn by Buffalo Dancers, men who had dreamed of bison and were qualified to dance in rituals that called bison herds nearer to a village (Hand 2010:110–101).

Prominent war veterans among the Lakota were permitted to join the White Badge society and wear ermine/bison horn headdresses (Hand 2010:143–144; Hook and Pegler 2001:110). The Chief's Society, founded by a shaman who had a vision of a bison spirit, was composed of elder men permitted to wear bison horn and hide bonnets. Wissler (1916:36–38) suggests that the Chief's Society was a local variant of the Buffalo Dancer society. Rock art found in the northwestern Great Plains depicts shield-bearer warriors wearing similar headdresses, suggesting that the association between horns and warfare in that region pre-dates the Contact era (Keyser and Klassen 2001:196, 240).

Oral Tradition

Oral tradition also provides potential clues to the identity of the Man Mound. By coincidence or not, the Man Mound is located between two places prominently associated with horned spirits in Ho-Chunk tradition: Devil's Lake and the Wisconsin Dells. Devil's Lake is said to be a portal used by water spirits to move between the Lower and Middle worlds. The water spirit known as Traveler was the son of one of the four primordial water spirits created by Earthmaker to stabilize the corners of the world. He is known to have assumed human form, to have married a human woman, and to have spent a great deal of time living among humans. During one of

his sojourns in the Middle World, he emerged from Devil's Lake and traveled to and from Lake Winnebago, seeking battle with a Thunderbird (Dieterle 2012a). This route leads directly past the site of the Man Mound.

A primordial green water spirit is said to have carved the channel of the Wisconsin River and to have created the Wisconsin Dells—a series of deep sandstone canyons northeast of Devil's Lake. One version of the tale credits the green water spirit with the creation of Devil's Lake as well, formed when the spirit made a great leap and plunged back through the earth into the Lower World. Again, the Man Mound stands between the Wisconsin Dells and Devil's Lake (Yellow Thunder to Saunders 1947).

Summary

An overview of spirits, deities, and social categories linked to horned beings reveals a consistent association between horns, spiritual power, the Lower World, healing and renewal, and shamanic ritual, and less-common associations between horns, warfare, opposition, and the Upper World. By extension, the Man Mound may hold such associations as well. The Man Mound may portray a shaman, a Contrary, a totemic water spirit or other spirit, or a primordial deity like Traveler.

If the Man Mound and its counterparts represent shamans, then they are the only effigy mounds known to have depicted a social category involved in mound construction and ritual. If the Man Mound and similar mounds were meant to represent Lower World spirits, then the mounds provide a glimpse of animal/anthropomorphic transformation at the heart of shamanism and Native American conceptions of the cosmos. In either instance, the Man Mound depicts a figure at the very heart of the effigy mound ceremonial complex and thus represents the complex as a whole.

Integrity

The Man Mound site retains a high degree of archaeological integrity. Subsurface disturbances to the site are limited to those portions of the lower legs within the right of way of Man Mound Road. Narrow ditches excavated on either side of the roadbed represent the most serious disturbances, as they extend at least two feet into subsoil (Figure Nineteen). The slopes of the ditches are stable and covered with vegetation, preventing erosion of the mound. The road itself was built in the early 1900s and may not have penetrated as deeply into sub-surface levels; it is roughly level with the surrounding ground surface. Truncated archaeological features have been found immediately below road pavement in urbanized settings (e.g., Schneider and Richards 2010), raising the possibility that sub-surface features remain below rural Man Mound Road. Though surface indications of the figure's feet are no longer present in the cattle pasture north of the road, there remains a possibility that sub-surface features and perhaps even intact mound floors or intaglios have survived.

Sub-surface disturbances south of Man Mound Road, within the limits of Man Mound County Park, are limited to a few post holes east and west of the mound, soil compaction caused by vehicular traffic in the parking area, and holes created during periodic planting of ornamental trees and shrubs. The parcel has never been cultivated. As a result, the site retains the ability to inform researchers about Late Woodland ritual and post-Late Woodland use of mound sites.

The most significant structural elements of the effigy mound—the head and torso, where burial and other features should be located—are intact and in pristine condition (Figure Twenty). As noted, there is no evidence that the mound has been looted or excavated. The most important external attributes of the mound—the horned head and lowered arms—are undamaged, so that the mound remains capable of informing studies of iconography, cosmology, and style. Those portions of the mound that have been damaged were recorded in detail by Canfield prior to disturbance.

Conclusions and Summary

The Man Mound is the last surviving Native American monumental anthropomorphic earthen sculpture and ritual center in North America and is eligible for consideration as a National Historic Landmark under both Criteria 4 and 6. With regard to Criterion 4, the mound is an example of a structure that is especially valuable for the study of Native American effigy mounds and Woodland tradition funerary monuments. With regard to Criterion 6, the site has yielded and is likely to yield information of major scientific importance concerning the pre-Contact Native American societies of North America.

Though the mound has suffered some damage, the essential characteristics of the mound remain and missing portions of the mound have been mitigated by collection of metric data sufficient to allow full or partial reconstruction in the future. The mound and surrounding landscape retain exceptional integrity, preserving significant evidence of Late Woodland ritual, iconography, ideology, and social structure. The Man Mound continues to communicate the cultural and aesthetic values of its designers, and represents a transformation of the environment by Late Woodland peoples, turning the natural environment into a built environment. The Man Mound remains an exceptional example of Woodland tradition mound construction, encapsulating key features of the effigy mound ceremonial complex.

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York, Annie, Richard Daly, and Chris Arnett
1993 They Write Their Dreams on the Rock Forever: Rock Writings in the Stein River Valley of British Columbia. Talonbooks, Vancouver.

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1985 Floral Analysis of Sites 47-Gt-365 and 47-Gt-366, Grant County, Wisconsin. *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society*, 32:75–90.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR #78000138 Listed: 11/30/1978
Boundary Increase: NR #10000211, Listed: 04/26/2010
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Sauk County Historical Society

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 1.51

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
A	16	0283960	4818538

Verbal Boundary Description: The boundary is as follows: beginning at the southwestern corner of Man Mound Park, thence north for 309.5 feet across Man Mound Road and onto the Weirick parcel, thence east for 134 feet, thence south for 95 feet back across Man Mound Road to the northern boundary of Man Mound Park, thence east for 113.5 feet, thence south for 214.5 feet, thence west for 247.5 feet, returning to the southwestern corner of Man Mound Park and the point of beginning. The total area enclosed is 1.51 acres.

Boundary Justification: The boundary incorporates the entirety of the Greenfield Man Mound, including portions where surface indications are not readily visible in the Man Mound Road and north of it. South of the road, the boundary includes the entirety of the original (ca. 1908) Man Mound Park, which included the parking area. The parking area is essential to preserving the critical perspective for understanding the mound, providing visitors the minimum view shed necessary to fully observe the mound. Woodlands and a farmstead obscure the mound from the north, west, and south, and views from the northeast across Man Mound Road are not possible due to private ownership and property access restrictions. Furthermore, excavations at other effigy mound sites in Wisconsin have identified associated features within a radius of up to 100 feet (30 meters) of mounds. On the east side of the mound, the boundary incorporates this area of highest artifact and feature potential within the publically-owned portion of the site. The remainder of modern Man Mound Park, owned by Sauk County, is excluded from the boundary as it does not add to the view shed, is less likely to contain associated ritual features, and does not contain contributing resources.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

PHOTOGRAPH INFORMATION

List of Photos and Photo Identification Information.

Name of Property: Man Mound
County and State: Sauk County, Wisconsin
Name of Photographers: Amy Rosebrough; Amy Rosebrough; Ethan Brodsky; Rob Nurre; John Broihahn
Photograph Dates: August 8, 2008 and April 9-11, 2014
Location of Original Digital Files: Wisconsin Historical Society

Photo Number	Description	Camera Direction
1	The Man Mound during the park's rededication ceremony in 2008, looking south from a point north of Man Mound Road (with legs painted on the pavement), towards the drainage ditch on the south side of Man Mound Road and surface features of the effigy in the park beyond.	S
2	The Man Mound in 2008, looking towards Man Mound Road.	N
3	General aerial view of the Man Mound following a spring burn in 2014, outlined according to Canfield's measurements, high angle.	SE
4	The Man Mound in late evening of April of 2015, looking north from a point south of the horned head (foreground) towards Man Mound Road and the 'reconstructed' feet (background).	N
5	The Man Mound and surrounding park facilities in 2014.	SE

Photo Log

Photo 0001:
Photo courtesy of Amy Rosebrough
August 8, 2008
Image File Name: Man Mound From South

Photo 0002:
Photo courtesy of Amy Rosebrough
August 8, 2008
Image File Name: Man Mound From North

Photo 0003:
Photo courtesy of Ethan Brodsky
April 11, 2014
Image File Name: Man Mound Aerial 2014

Photo 0004:
Photo courtesy of Rob Nurre
April 8, 2014
Image File Name: Man Mound Post Burn 2014 Low Sun Angle

Photo 0005:
Photo courtesy of John Broihahn
April 9, 2014
Image File Name: Man Mound 4-9-15 010

Photos



Photo 0001: The Man Mound during the park's rededication ceremony in 2008, looking south from a point north of Man Mound Road (with legs painted on the pavement), towards the drainage ditch on the south side of Man Mound Road and surface features of the effigy in the park beyond.



Photo 0002: The Man Mound at the time of the rededication ceremony in 2008, looking northward from a position behind the horned head towards Man Mound Road. Note the undisturbed head, torso, arms, and upper legs, and minor area of sub-surface disturbance created by the post and rail fence (far right).



Photo 0003: General aerial view of the Man Mound following a spring burn, outlined according to Canfield's measurements, high angle.



Photo 0004: The Man Mound in late evening April 2015, looking north from a point south of the horned head (foreground) towards Man Mound Road and the ‘reconstructed’ feet (background).



Photo 0005: The Man Mound and surrounding park facilities in 2014.

FIGURES

Figure Number	Description of Figure
1	The Greenfield Man Mound, showing park facilities, park boundaries (thin black lines), proposed NHL boundary (thick black line), and locations of nearby structures.
2	Location of the Man Mound site in relationship to features of the Baraboo Range.
3	Location of the Man Mound on the U.S.G.S. 1975 Baraboo 7.5' Topographic Map (UTM:16/0283960/4818538), showing proposed NHL boundaries. Note position of mound at northern base of ridge on the south side of a small side valley.
4	Location of pre-Contact mound and habitation sites in the vicinity of the Man Mound site.
5	Location of mound groups containing zoomorphic and/or anthropomorphic mounds.
6	Probable Late Woodland communities and/or territories, as revealed by clusters of mound groups containing zoomorphic and anthropomorphic mounds (select localities are labeled).
7	Approximate geographic boundaries of defined Late Woodland phases that participated in the effigy mound ceremonial complex. Phases have not been defined yet for central Wisconsin or east-central Wisconsin.
8	Canfield's map of the Man Mound (Canfield 1859).
9	The Man Mound ca. 1908, outlined in white. Image looks southeast across Man Mound Road towards the effigy mound and 'Man Mound Ridge' (background). Image probably obtained from the top of a building associated with the Weirich farmstead. Image Wisconsin Historical Society WHi-77565.
10	Dedication of Man Mound Park in 1908. Photograph courtesy Sauk County Historical Society.
11	Aerial photograph of Man Mound County Park, with overlay showing intact and disturbed portions of the Man Mound, park boundaries (white line), and location of the Hoege Schoolhouse (now a private residence).
12	Examples of other large-scale anthropomorphic figures identified in North America, compared to the Man Mound (far left). Note difference in scale between geoglyphs and the Man Mound and between geoglyphs and petroforms.
14	Location of known man mounds (solid figures), possible man mound (light figure), and probable avian mounds identified as man mounds (question marks
14	Confirmed and probable anthropomorphic mounds, shown to scale. Note size difference between Sauk County (La Valle Man Mound and Man Mound) and Richland County (Twin Man Mounds) horned anthropomorphs. The form of the South Side probable anthropomorph is reconstructed based on descriptions and measurements provided by Peet, Putnam, and Stout and presumes that the figure had divided legs.
15	Selected mounds identified as anthropomorphs in published literature, to scale. All three effigies likely represent birds. Jorgenson and Judge's Scrawl mounds not shown.
16	Copy of an 1849 Ojibwe pictograph used to petition Washington D.C. for fishing rights, attributed to Chief Kechewaishke (also known as Bizhiki) of the Lake Superior band (Schoolcraft 1851:Pictograph A, Plate 60).
17	Selected horned figures in Native American iconography. Top row: petroglyphs and pictographs of human figures. Middle row: petroglyphs, pictographs, and birch bark engravings of horned water panthers and serpents. Bottom row: horned effigy mounds recorded in Wisconsin.

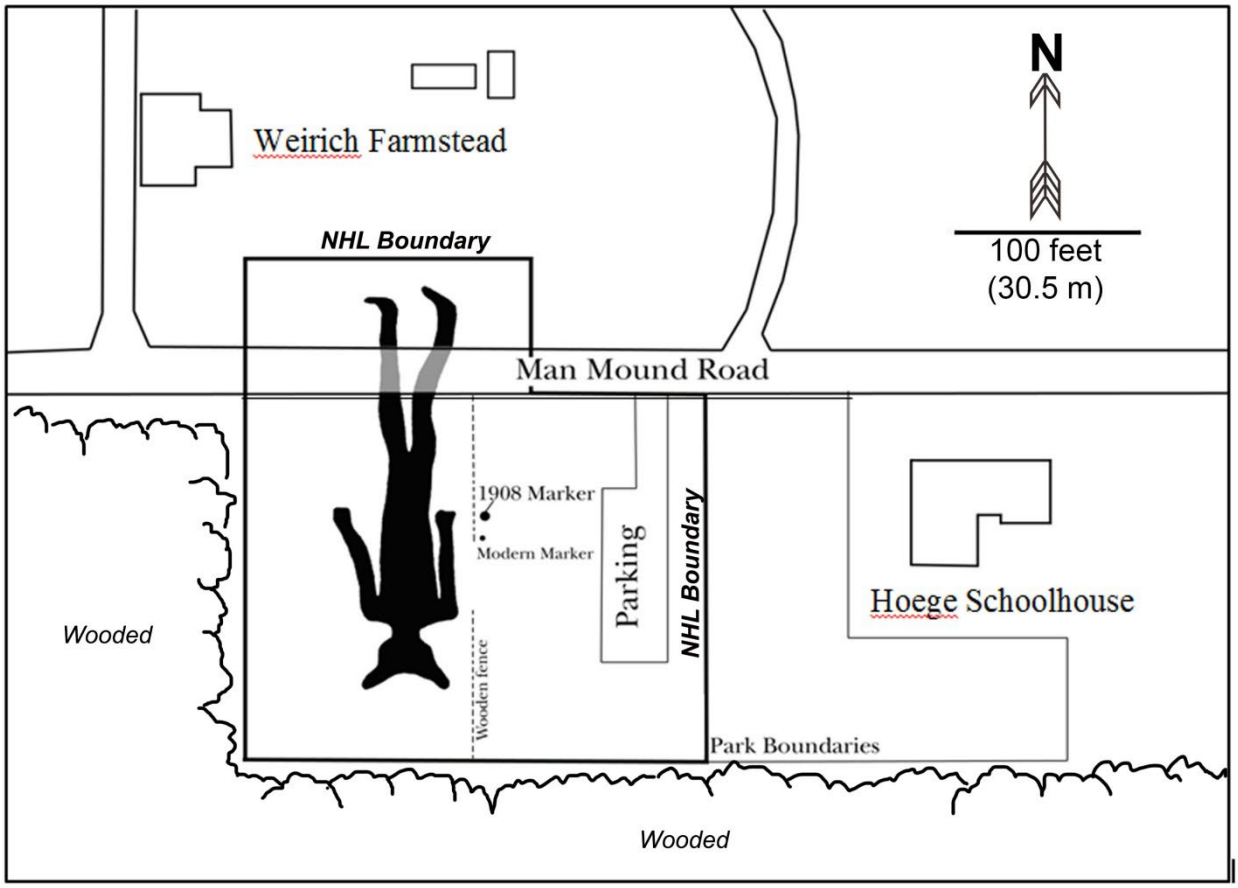


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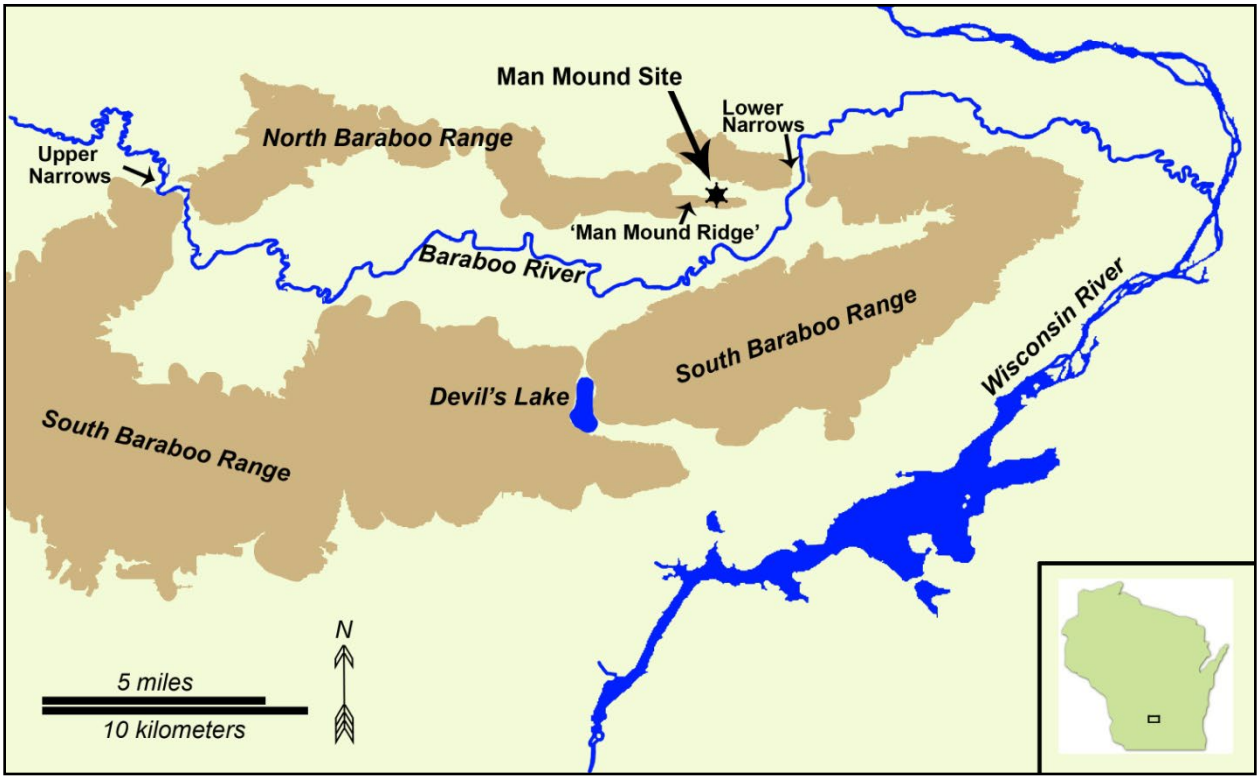


Figure Two: Location of the Man Mound site in relationship to features of the Baraboo Range.

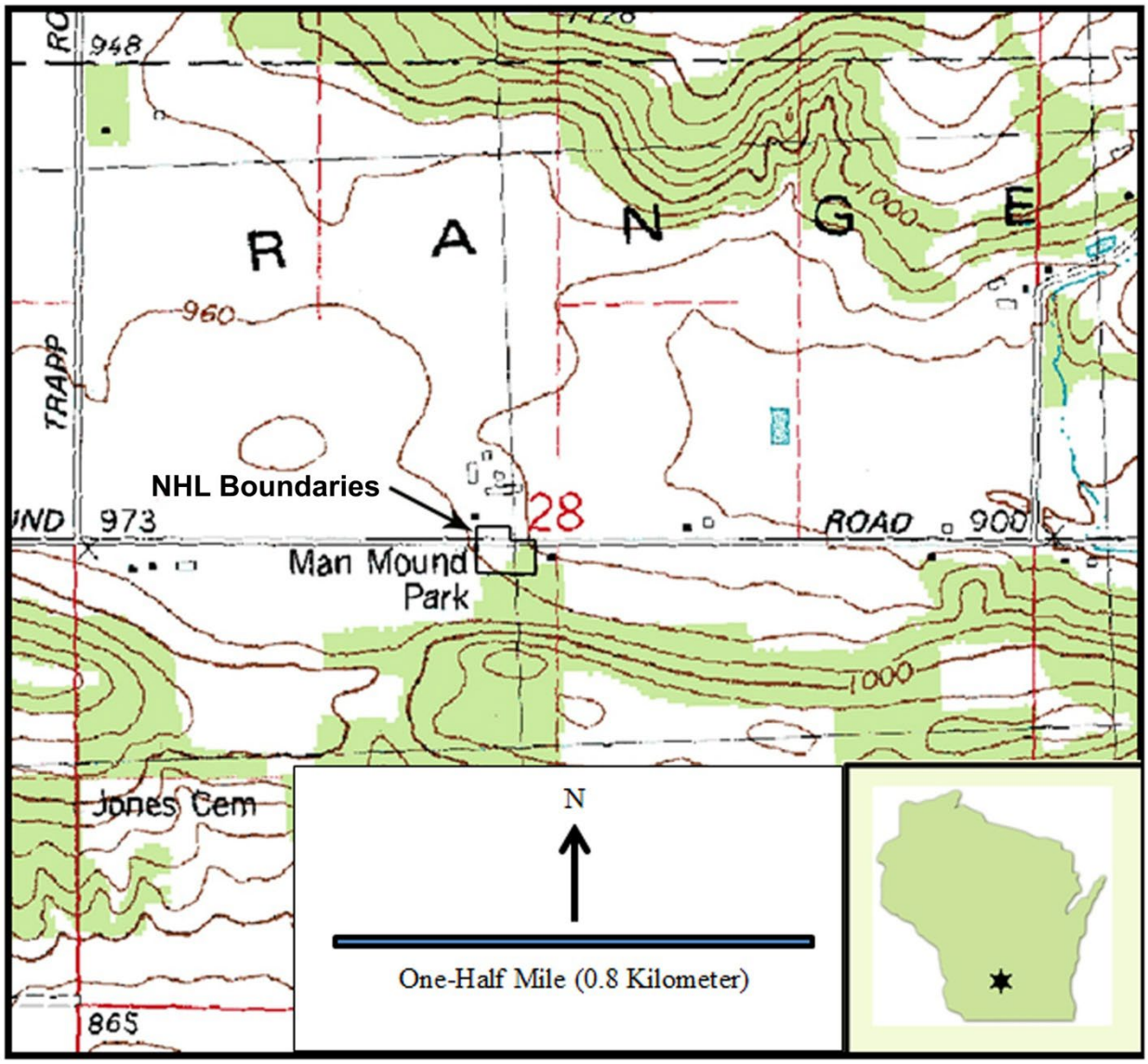


Figure Three: Location of the Man Mound on the USGS 1975 Baraboo 7.5' Topographic Map (UTM: 16/0283960E/4818538N), showing proposed NHL boundaries. Note position of mound at northern base of ridge on the south side of a small side valley.

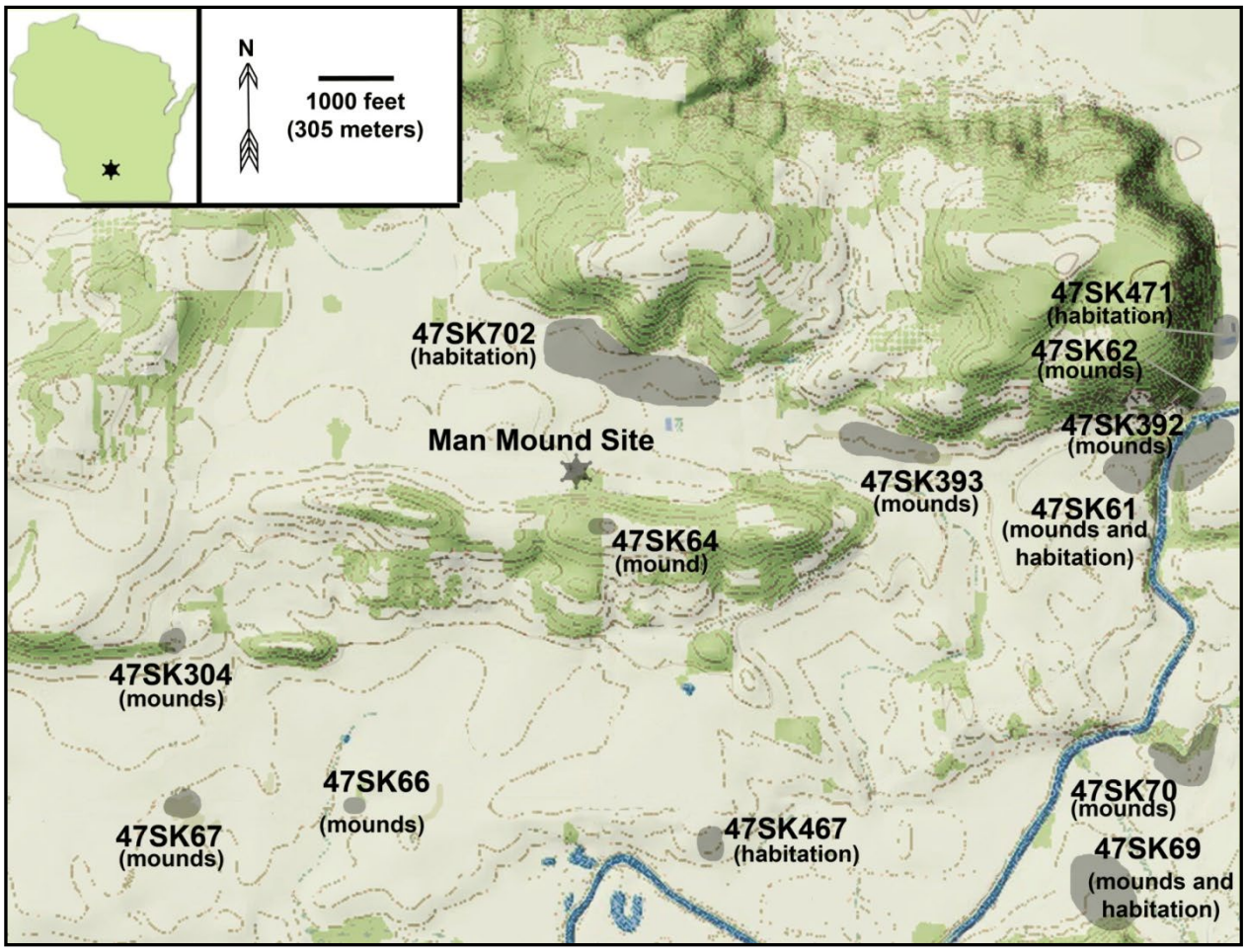


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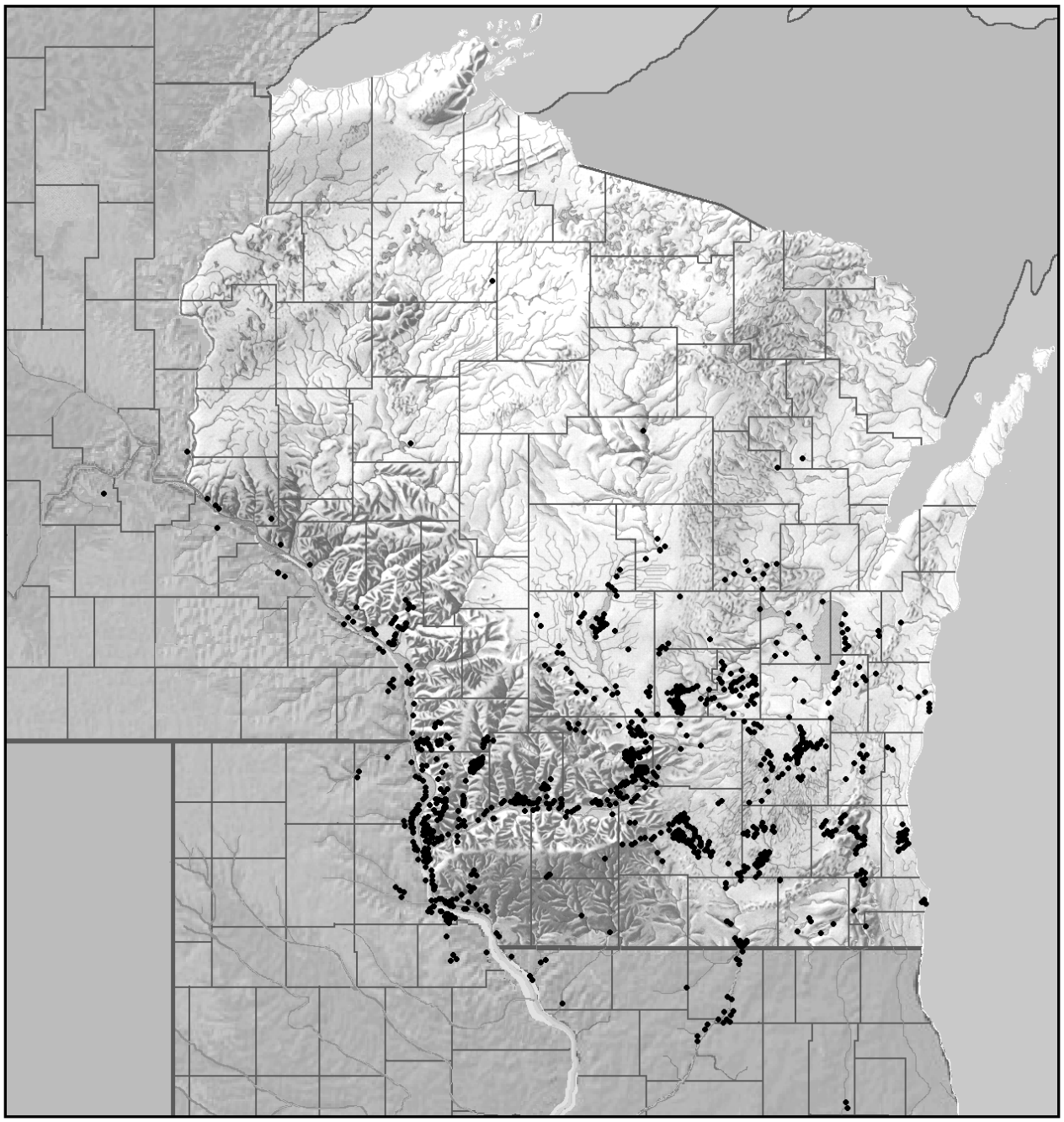


Figure Five: Location of mound groups containing zoomorphic and/or anthropomorphic mounds.

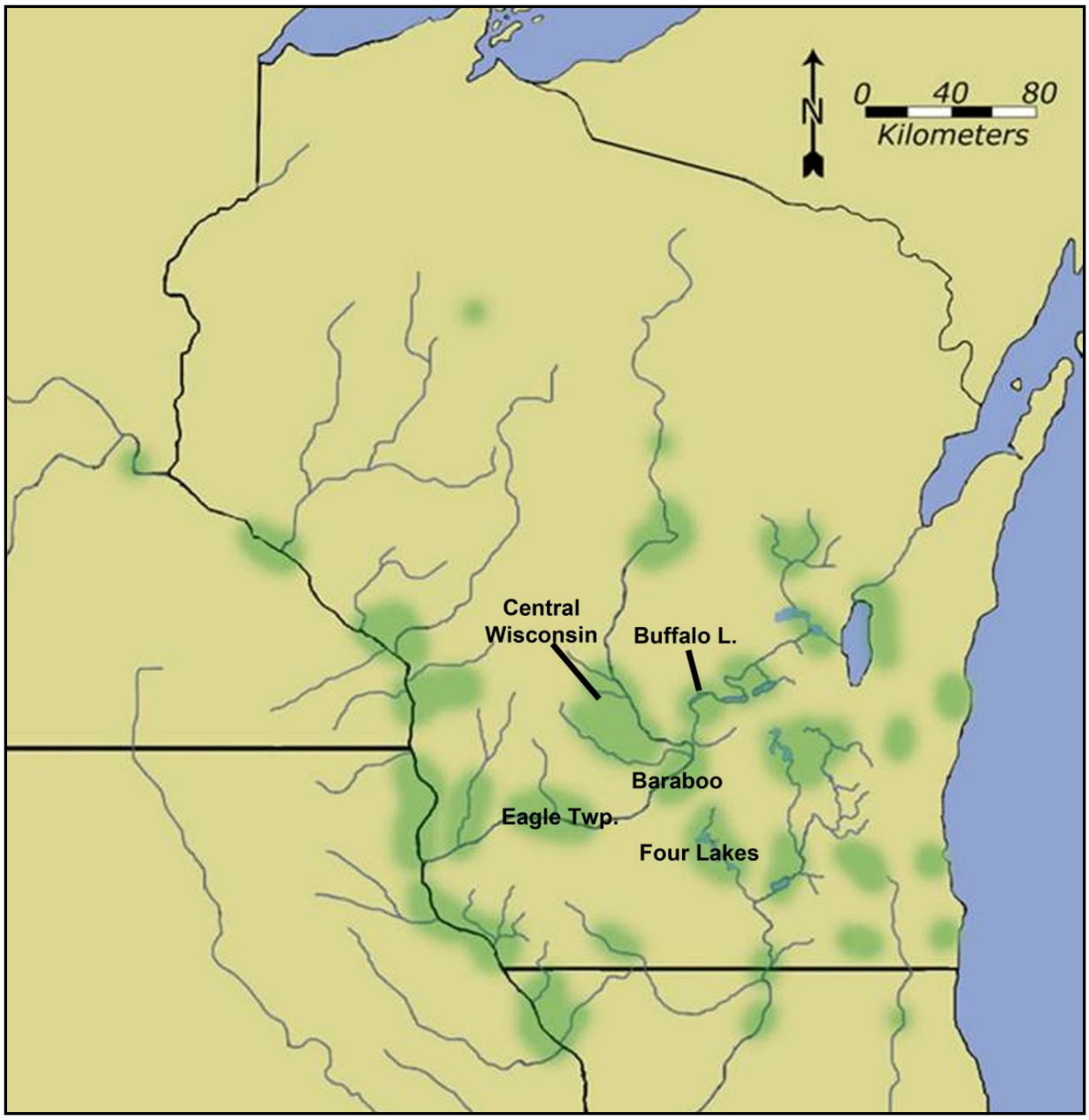


Figure Six: Probable Late Woodland communities and/or territories, as revealed by clusters of mound groups containing zoomorphic and anthropomorphic mounds (select localities are labeled).

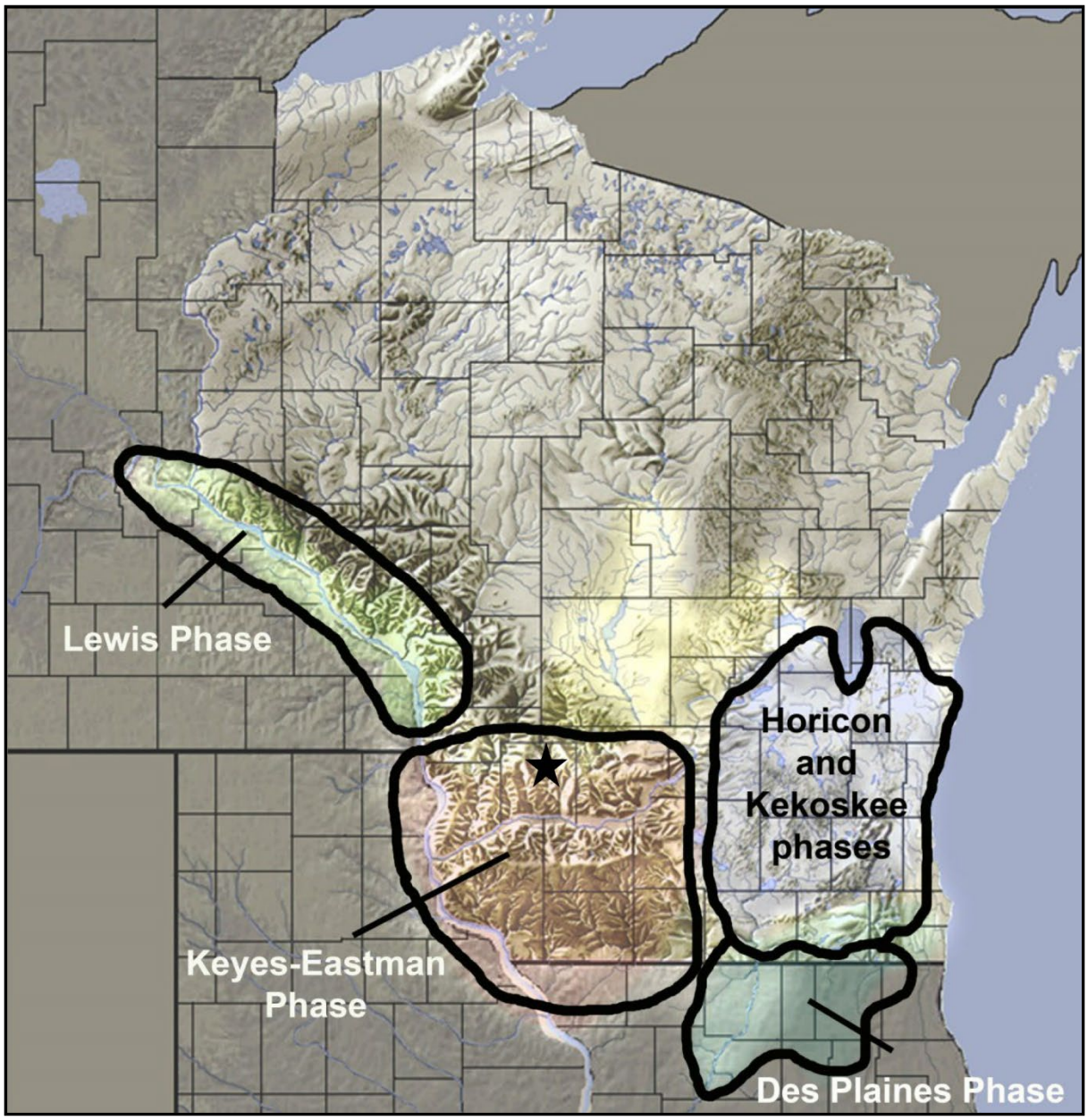


Figure Seven: Approximate geographic boundaries of defined Late Woodland phases that participated in the effigy mound ceremonial complex. Phases have not been defined yet for central Wisconsin or east-central Wisconsin.

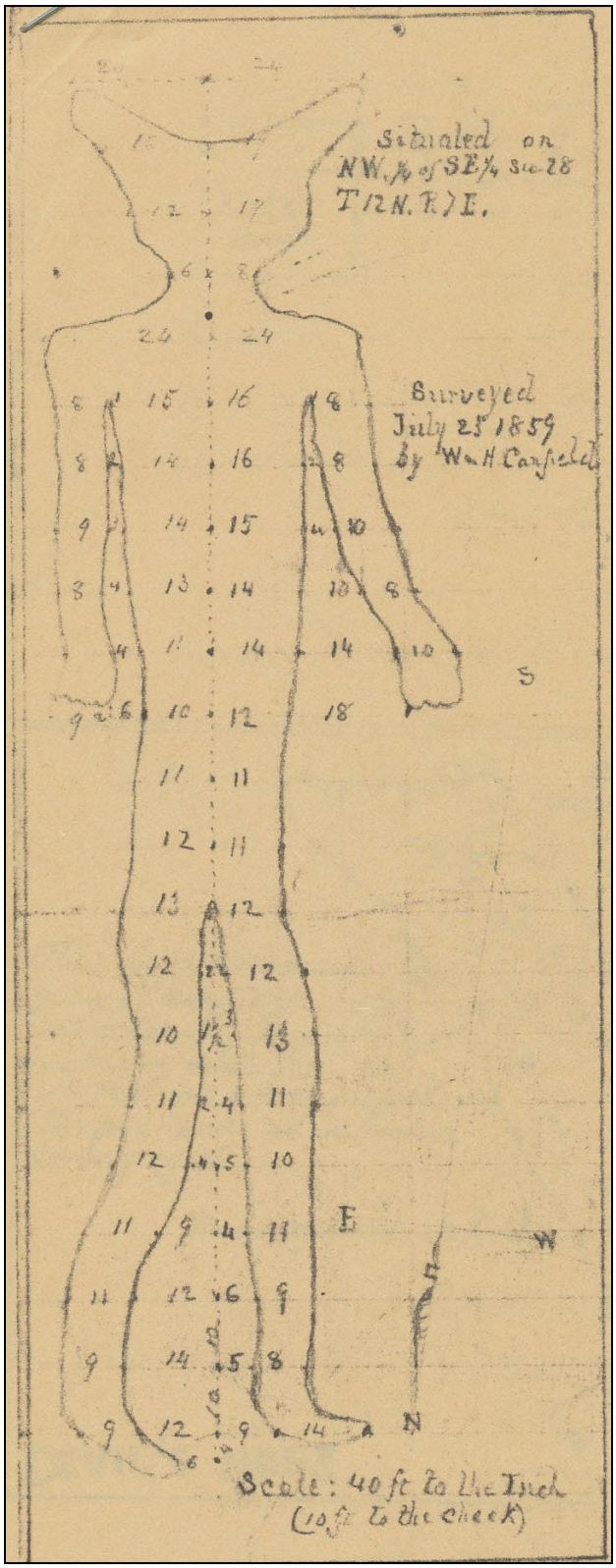


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Figure Ten: Dedication of Man Mound Park in 1908. Photograph courtesy of Sauk County Historical Society.

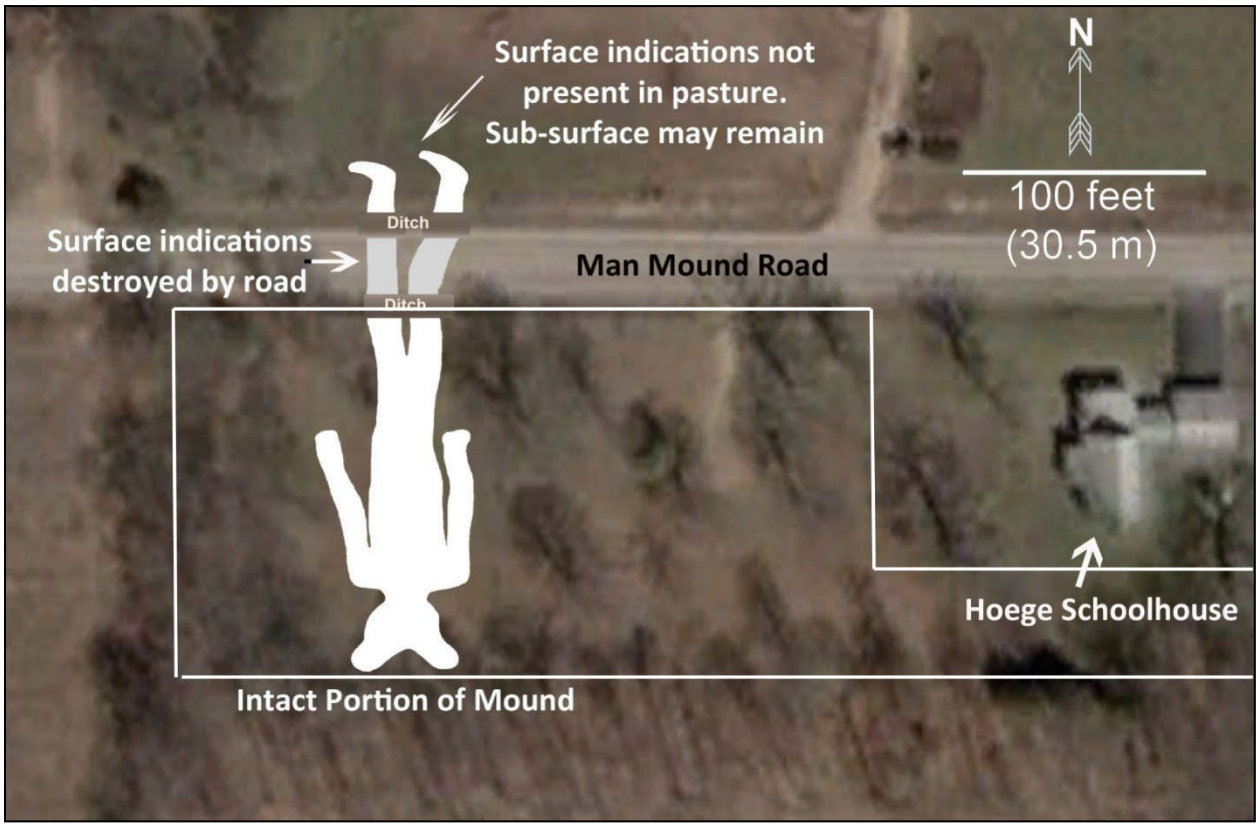


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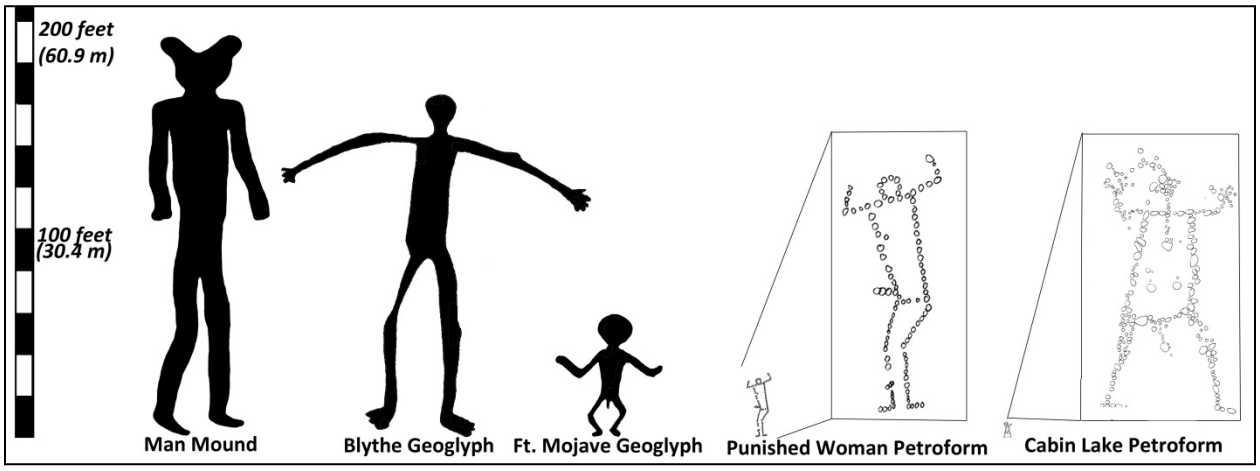


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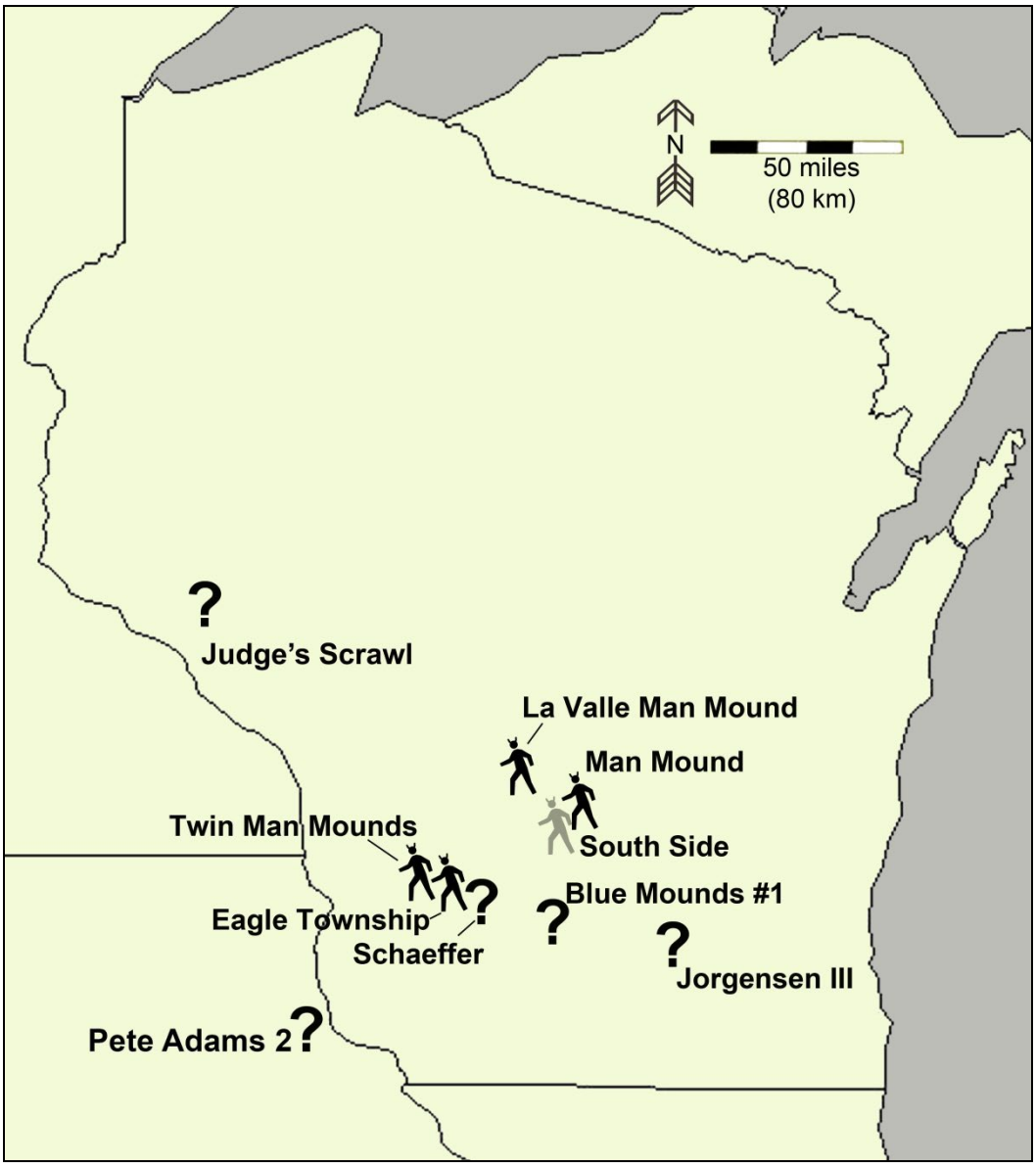


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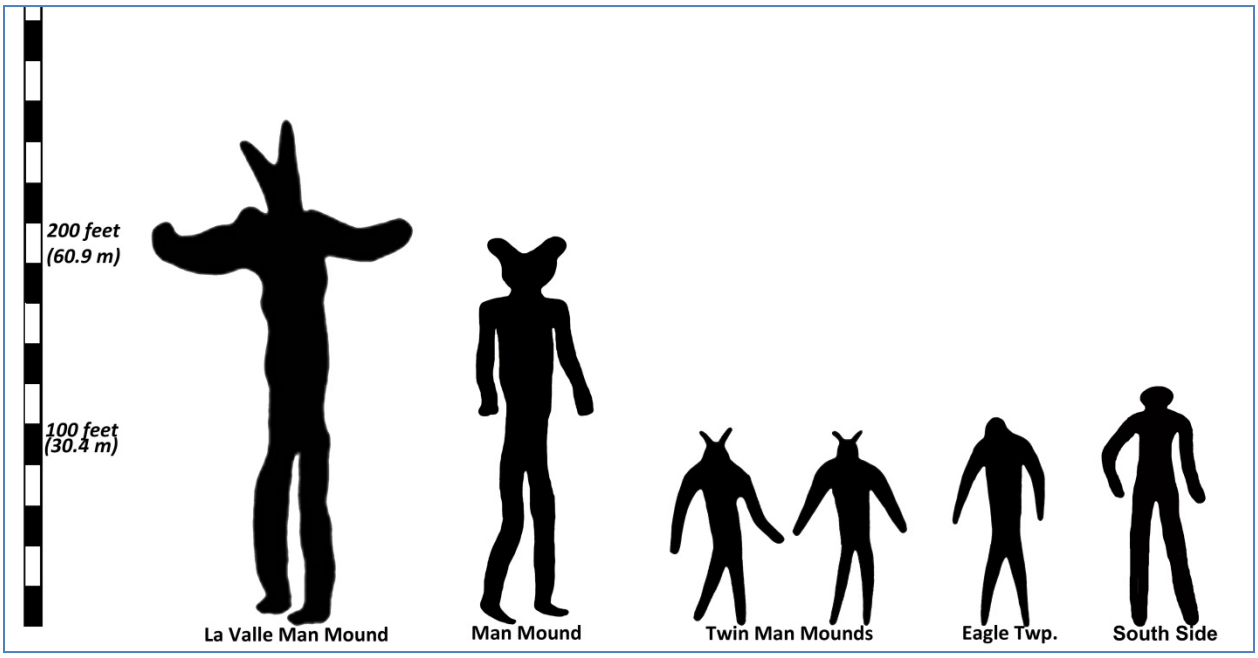


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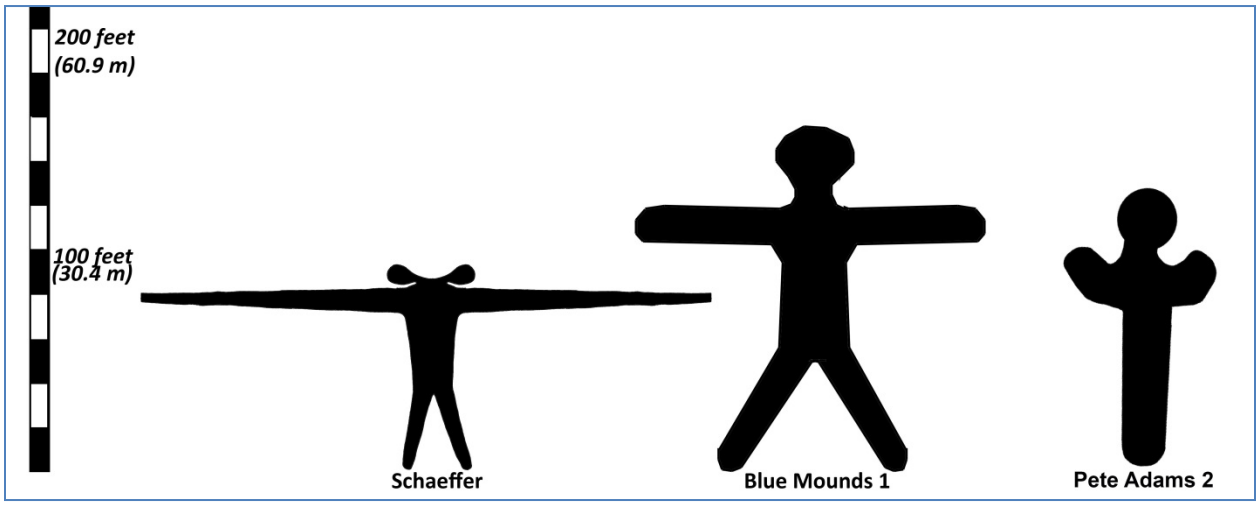


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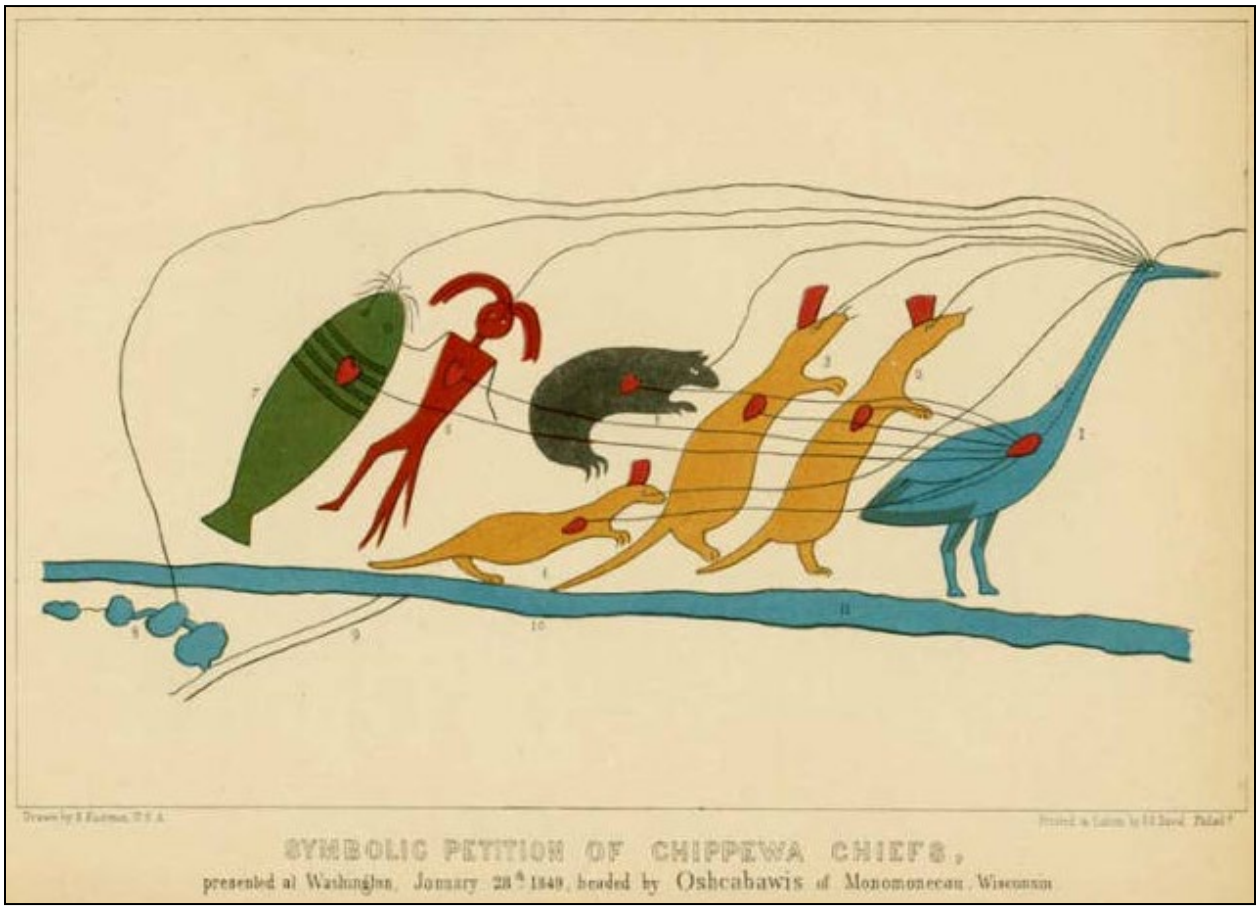


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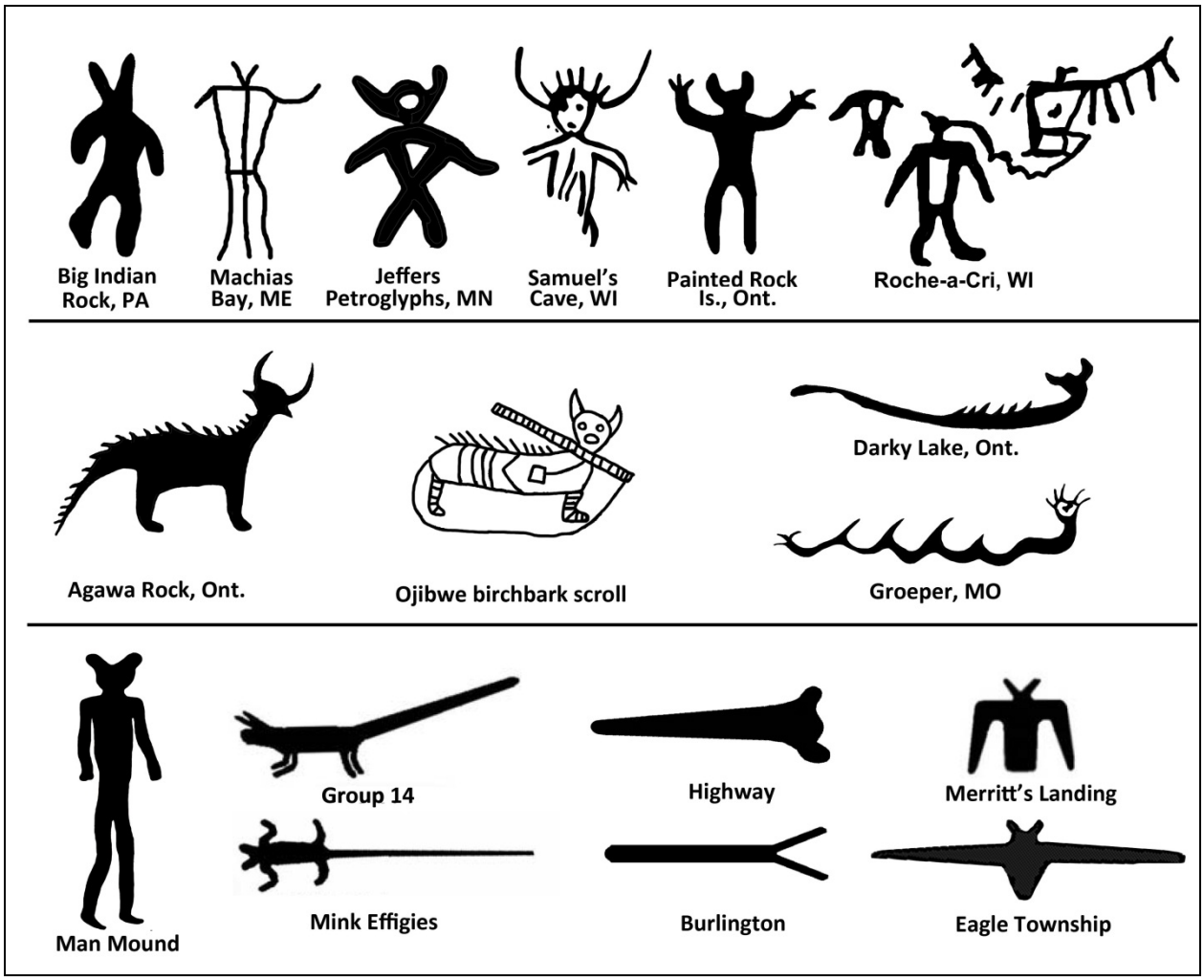


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