

**Ocmulgee National Monument:
AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY**

by
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**Ocmulgee National Monument
Macon Georgia**

1986

National Park Service

United States Department of the Interior

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PREFACE

The desire of the National Park Service to produce administrative histories led Southeast Regional Historian Lenard Brown to the campus of the University of Georgia late in 1983. Lester Stephens, Chairman of the history department, informed me of the quest by the Regional Historian for prospective authors and a meeting was subsequently arranged between myself and Mr. Brown. A recent graduate of the University, I had written a paper concerning Ocmulgee National Monument and was eager to conduct additional research. A proposal to write an administrative history of Ocmulgee National Monument was accepted by Mr. Brown, who then contacted Superintendent Sibbald Smith at the monument. Superintendent Smith reacted favorably to the proposal and arrangements were made to employ me as a VIP (Volunteer In Parks) the following summer. Research for the project began at Ocmulgee on April 2, 1984.

The summer of 1984 was devoted strictly to research and included trips to the National Archives in Washington D.C., and the Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, Florida. The material collected during research efforts was put on hold as the summer ended, and I began work at Georgia College in the masters of history program. Employment as a seasonal ranger at Ocmulgee was obtained for the summer of 1985 and work resumed on the administrative history. The process of sifting through abundant information for the most relevant and beneficial facts proved to be tedious, but work advanced. In August the project was completed,

thanks to the assistance of many individuals.

As with many works, it would be impossible to thank everyone who contributed time, information, criticism, and encouragement over the past year. Certainly Lenard Brown is to be thanked for kindling my interest in the project. Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss and Historian Barry Mackintosh provided much assistance during my Washington visit and were a great source of encouragement during the initial stages of the project. The staff of the Smithsonian Institution (Anthropological Department and Processing Lab) was also friendly and willing to assist.

The staff at the Southeast Archeological Center was extremely cooperative in providing information from files and personal interviews. I extend my gratitude to Richard Faust, Chief of, SEAC, for allowing me freedom to operate, and to staff archeologists George Fischer and John Walker for providing information. The excitement expressed by Judy Hellmich in relation to Ocmulgee, and her willingness to direct my research efforts, also made my job a lot easier.

Interviews with several former superintendents and employees of Ocmulgee furnished me with new insight into the operation and administration of the monument during various stages of its development.

The present staff at Ocmulgee National Monument has been more than helpful and encouraging during the past two summers. Superintendent Sibbald Smith has shared his experiences and goals, but has allowed me to write without interference as to content and perception. Sylvia Flowers has been more than loyal to the project over the past two summers and has spent time

during and after work; reading manuscripts, offering suggestions, and providing resources. Chief Ranger Phil Noblitt arrived shortly before the summer of 1985 and quickly assumed the responsibility of overseeing the project; providing direction, encouragement, constructive criticism, and just enough pressure to keep the work proceeding smoothly. My thanks also to Leni Covey for typing most of the manuscript and making revisions.

Special thanks and appreciation must be given to my wife Regina Marsh, who exhibited a great deal of patience while I spent days away and nights awake working on the paper.

Alan Marsh
August 1, 1985

CHAPTER I

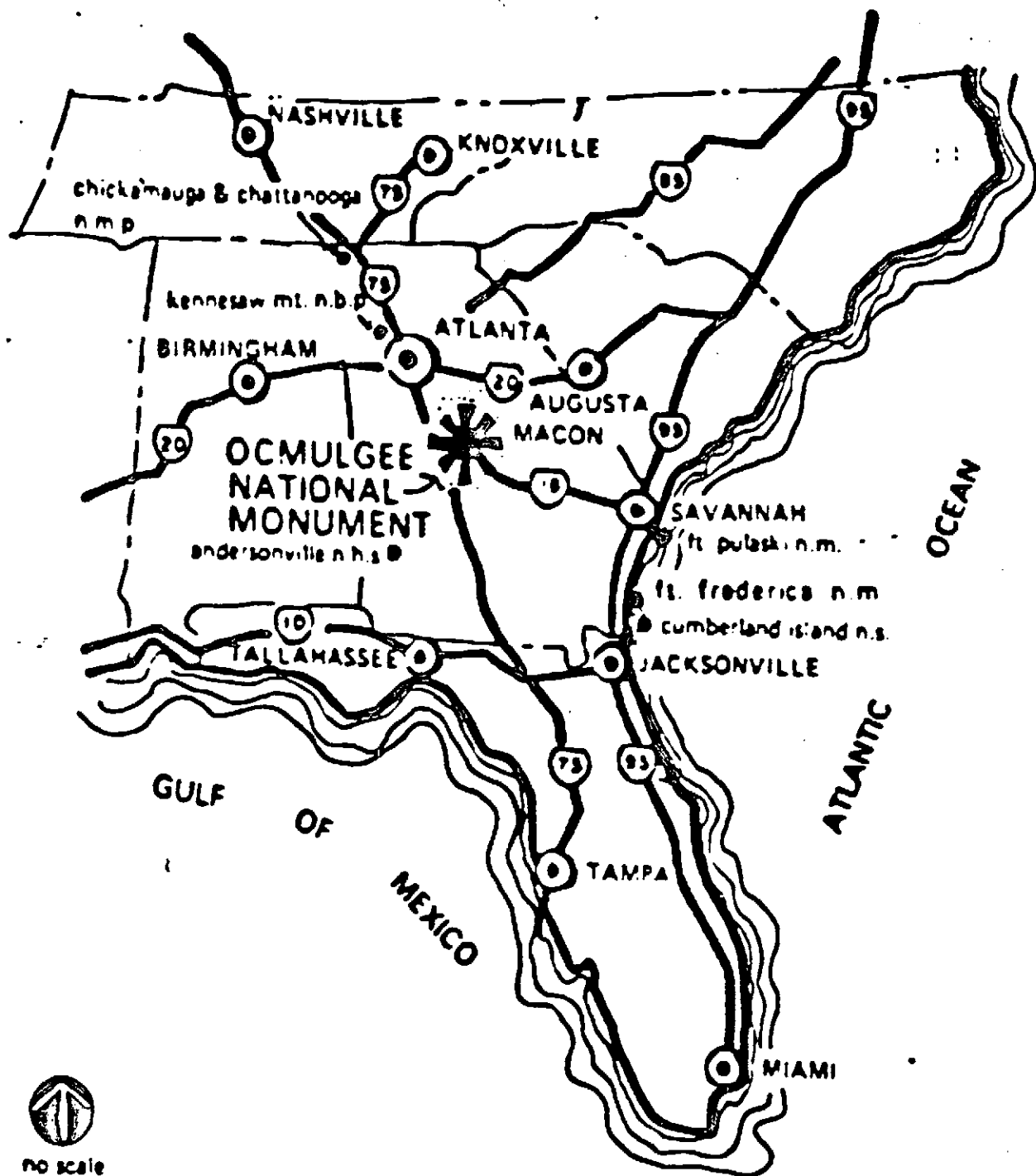
MORE THAN MOUNDS

Ocmulgee National Monument, established by proclamation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, is located on the east bank of the Ocmulgee River in Macon, Georgia (Map 1). Within its 683.48 acres are prehistoric trenches, nine earthen Indian mounds, a reconstructed earthlodge, a late 17th - early 18th century trading post site, and a Civil War earthwork.¹ A detached 45 acre section of the monument, known as the Lamar site, is located three miles downriver and contains two of these mounds (Map 2). The features of the monument also include a 19th century residence and a visitor center.

The monument's main section is part of a geographical fall line, a transitional zone between the piedmont region and the lower coastal plain. At one time this area was part of ancient Indian fields which extended along the river and came to be known as the Ocmulgee Old Fields.

Management and Use Before 1930

Indian arrival to the Macon Plateau area came approximately 12,000 years ago after a southeastward migration across North America. These nomadic hunters, or Paleo-Indians, were succeeded by hunters and gatherers of the Archaic period (9000-1000 B.C.), incipient agriculturalists of the Woodland period (1000 B.C.- A.D. 900), and established farmers of the Early Mississippian period

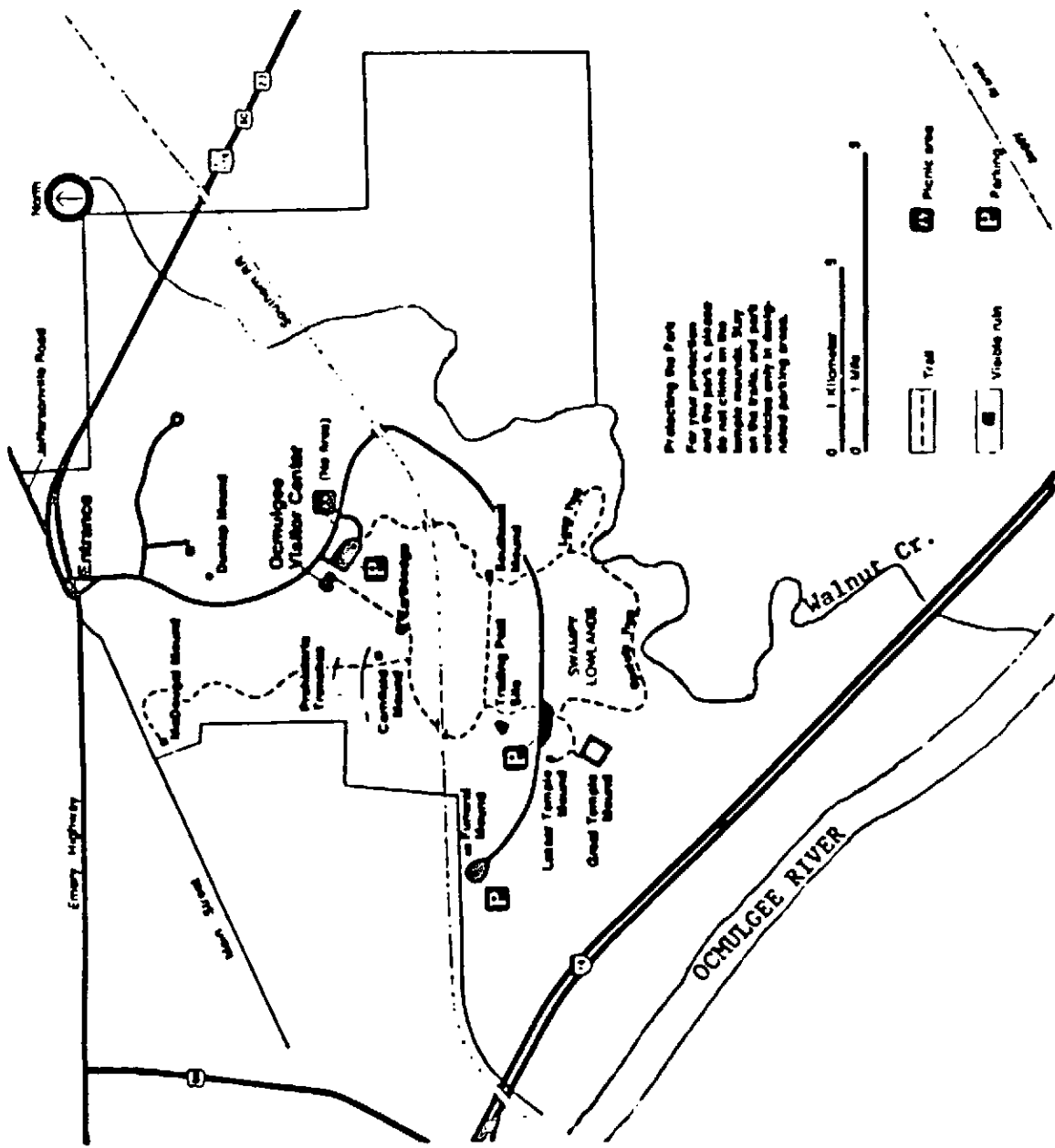


MAP 1

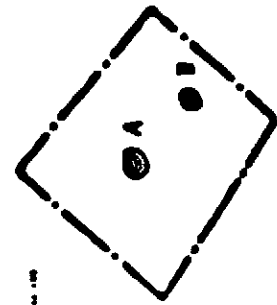
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OCMULGEE NATIONAL MONUMENT
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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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MAP 2
 Ocmulgee National Monument



Lamar Mounds: not open to public.

(A.D. 900-1100). Prior to the end of the latter period, Macon Plateau people also occupied the Lamar site downriver. By about A.D. 1350 these people had developed a new culture, also known as Lamar, that blended Mississippian and Woodland elements. In 1540 Hernando De Soto encountered people of the Lamar culture, possibly at the Lamar site, and established the first European contact in the area. The Lamar people declined probably due to disease and cultural disruption caused by European contact and by 1650 remnants of the culture had relocated along the Chattahoochee River. These Indians, known to the English as Lower Creeks, returned to central Georgia about 1690. They settled at the Lamar site and near an English trading post on the Macon Plateau. In 1715 these villages joined the unsuccessful Indian uprising known as the Yamassee War. At its conclusion they again returned to the Chattahoochee but continued to frequent the Macon Plateau area until the early 1800's.

The most noticeable archeological features of the Macon Plateau are the earthen mounds constructed by the Early Mississippians. The mounds, along with earthlodges and fortification trenches, were built prior to the waning of the culture around A.D. 1100. Although the fate of these Indians is unknown, their mounds continued to attract attention. In 1739 one of General James Oglethorpe's rangers made the first written account of the mounds. Subsequent accounts were written by James Adair (published 1775), the botanist William Bartram (1775), and Charles C. Jones, Jr. (1873).² According to Adair, Indians claimed they could hear mysterious singing and dancing while camped near the Macon Plateau.³

The area continued to exert an influence over the Indians after

the time of Adair. In 1805 the Creeks ceded most of the land on the east side of the Ocmulgee River to the United States government. Excluded from the cession were 15 square miles containing the Indian mounds of the Ocmulgee Old Fields. The Creek Indians ceded more land in 1821 but it was not until 1826 that the 15 square miles of Ocmulgee Fields were officially ceded to the United States. The land was auctioned off to settlers by 1828 and the Macon Plateau became home for yet another culture.

The Plateau underwent extensive transformation during the 19th century. Railroad cuts destroyed a portion of the Lesser Temple Mound in 1843 and much of the Funeral Mound during the early 1870s. In 1856 the Dunlap House, a plantation cottage, was constructed on the Macon Plateau. Confederate troops (Macon Home Guard) constructed a U-shaped earthwork south of the house during the early 1860s to protect a trestle over Walnut Creek. In 1864 Federal troops approached Macon but halted at the Dunlap House where they established headquarters.

Near the turn of the century additional changes occurred on the Macon Plateau. The McDougal Mound suffered damage when it was used for fill dirt during the construction of east Macon. By the early 1920s the plateau had served as home for a fertilizer factory, brickyard, open-pit clay mine, railroad roundhouse, and dairy farm.⁴ During the 1920's the mounds were also used for hill climbing by motorcycle enthusiasts.⁵

Preservation and Speculation

Efforts to preserve the Indian mounds of the Macon Plateau

were first begun during the 1920's by General Walter A. Harris, a prominent Macon attorney (Appendix B). Harris wrote the Bureau of American Ethnology on February 3, 1922, and expressed an interest in acquiring and preserving the Indian remnants of the Ocmulgee Fields.⁶ The letter was acknowledged by the Smithsonian Institution but nothing more developed and the issue apparently lay dormant for seven years. In 1929 Harris attempted to attract the interest of the Smithsonian Institution once again. In April of that year the General wrote the Bureau of American Ethnology, suggesting that the city of Macon provide funds for Smithsonian led excavations.⁷ Bureau Chief M.W. Stirling arrived in Macon twenty days later and visited the Indian mounds. Although Stirling recommended the mounds be excavated, it was not until November of 1933 that Maconites Walter Harris, Dr. Charles C. Harrold, and Linton Solomon persuaded the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce to support a movement to purchase and restore the mounds. The Society for Georgia Archaeology (created a month earlier), Macon Historical Society, and Junior Chamber of Commerce, then began the process of land acquisition. The organizations also initiated efforts to obtain New Deal relief labor. With the help of Representative Carl Vinson of the Sixth District the goal was reached in December, 1933. The Civil Works Administration (CWA) granted funds for excavations at the Ocmulgee site and the Smithsonian agreed to oversee the project. The Smithsonian appointed anthropologist Arthur R. Kelly of Harvard University to direct the excavations and James A. Ford to assist.

Preservation of the "Indian Mounds" was the prime concern of local organizations in obtaining New Deal labor. The Civil Works

Administration, however, was more concerned with the employment of the local population. The availability of a local labor supply supported formation of a New Deal project near Macon, and the CWA, once it began archeological excavations, served to promote the goals of local preservationist. The CWA, and other agencies which conducted work at Ocmulgee, uncovered evidence of 10,000 years of Indian occupation while employing several hundred workers. Fortunately, the availability of labor in Macon, and the interest shown by the Smithsonian and local groups, sustained New Deal labor at Ocmulgee throughout the 1930s and early 1940s.

The federal CWA project which began December 20, 1933, was switched to a state CWA project the following February. Archeological responsibilities were transferred to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) in April of 1934. These early excavations received national attention and created excitement throughout the local community which was never equalled during later excavations. Some Maconites viewed the Ocmulgee Fields as the "lost colony" of Roanoke, while others envisioned Macon becoming a resort city with an annual Indian corn festival.⁸ Many citizens speculated about the past and future of the Indian mounds but General Harris and other concerned individuals worked to ensure their immediate protection. Prompted by these local leaders, Representative Vinson contacted the National Park Service about the possibility of establishing a national park or monument at the Ocmulgee Fields. An answer to Vinson's letter came on January 6, 1934, only 17 days after excavations began on the Macon Plateau. National Park Service Director Arno B. Cammerer replied

that "the Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations (the National Park Service) will be very glad to investigate these mounds to determine their value."9 With Smithsonian excavations proceeding, few Macon citizens questioned the value of "their" mounds and legislation to establish a unit of the National Park System soon followed.

Legislation and Land Acquisition

Representative Carl Vinson introduced a bill in the House of Representatives on February 5, 1934, to establish Ocmulgee National Park. The bill, H.R. 7653, requested that the Secretary of the Interior secure 2,000 acres of land on behalf of the United States. The bill was reported to the House Committee on Public Lands which, at the request of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, made revisions. Ickes recommended passage of the bill on condition that land acquisition be secured by public or private donation instead of government appropriation and that the title designation be changed to Ocmulgee National Monument (Appendix C). The Interior Secretary viewed Ocmulgee as having "national-monument character, being similar to lands set apart in Western States for scientific purposes...."10 The House Committee on Public Lands adopted the recommendation of Ickes and submitted the revised legislation to the House on May 15, 1934, in report 1657. The House passed the measure without debate on May 21, 1934.

The same legislation introduced by Vinson in the House was introduced February 8, 1934, in the Senate as S. 2679 by Georgia Senator Walter F. George. The bill was acted upon on May 22 when the Senate read the measure twice and referred it to the Senate

Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. This committee incorporated Ickes suggestions as the House had done and two days later sent the revision to the Senate in report 1156. The Senate approved the bill on June 6, and on June 14, 1934, approval was received from President Roosevelt, authorizing the establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument (Appendix D). The actual establishment, however, depended on the receipt of necessary land by the United States government from public or private donations. The task of acquiring the land fell upon the city of Macon and local organizations.

The Society for Georgia Archaeology, Macon Historical Society, and Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce had tried since November 1933 to acquire land but limited financial resources hampered their efforts. In early April 1934, Gen. Harris invited all Macon civic organizations to send representatives to a conference to discuss future developments and benefits of the Indian mounds. Twenty-five civic organizations were represented at the conference and each group endorsed the "Indian Mounds" project and establishment of a national park.¹⁰ The initial enthusiasm of the organizations was short lived, however, because Vinson's bill was revised to prohibit government appropriations for land acquisition. Harris echoed the frustrations of many Maconites when he told a local audience that Macon could maintain the Indian mounds and land if she were responsible for buying them.¹² The National Park Service, worried that local attitudes in Macon would threaten passage of Vinson's revised bill, began efforts to "enlighten" the local populace. Through Representative Vinson, Park Service Director Arno B. Cammerer expressed the advantages of establishing a Public Works Administration (PWA) program for construction of roads, recreation

facilities, a headquarters, and utility buildings. A FWA project, according to the Director, would probably result in an immediate expenditure of \$75,000 with \$10,000 in annual maintenance funds.¹³

Local leaders, although still upset over revisions in the Vinson bill, maintained their desire to protect and preserve the mounds. Another conference of civic organizations was held June 4, 1934, and representatives voted for a city-wide campaign to raise \$25,000, contingent on Senate passage of the bill. A committee of one hundred civic representatives which was to direct the drive, however, had not been formed when Presidential approval of the bill was received on June 14th. The citizens of Macon, like the civic organizations, seemed to have little interest in the development of the Ocmulgee mounds. Dr. Harrold criticized the "disappointing response...from Macon people" and even a year later Dr. Kelly stated that "never before...have I seen so little general interest or concern evidenced as in Macon...."¹⁴

June, July, and August of 1934 brought many visits to Macon by National Park Service personnel. Verne E. Chatelain (Chief Historian), M.J. Winter (Assistant Historian), Herbert E. Kahler (historical section), Oliver G. Taylor (Chief Engineer of Eastern Division), and Kenneth Simmons (Landscape Architect) all made trips to Macon to examine the area and give advice on methods of acquiring the necessary land for monument establishment.¹⁵ The Macon Historical Society was primarily responsible for land acquisition and by May, 1935, the society held ownership to nearly 500 acres. At that point funds of the Macon Historical Society, Society for Georgia Archaeology, and Junior Chamber of Commerce

were once again exhausted. Leaders turned to the people of Macon. A fund drive was started May 15, 1935, by the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce, a civic committee headed by W.E. Dunwody, and the Jaycees Indian Mounds Committee headed by Gus Jones. On June 4th the organizations reached their goal of \$8,500 for land acquisition although much of the money came in the form of pledges and arrived three days after the original deadline.

Funds collected during the drive helped purchase additional land but the transfer of property to the United States government presented new problems. As a result, tension between the Park Service and local community soon developed. The Park Service became frustrated with the manner in which local leaders were handling land-related matters and local leaders in turn felt resentment toward Park Service attitudes. In December 1934, Acting Director A.E. Demaray informed Dr. Harrold that the transfer of titles could not take place without maps defining monument boundaries.¹⁶ The following month Demaray wrote Vinson that plans were slowed down because the National Park Service had to locate funds and personnel to obtain proper topographic maps; a task he thought would be accomplished "by persons interested in Macon."¹⁷ Demaray may have been interested in the Indian mounds and not Macon but persons interested in both, such as Dr. Harrold, were quick to express their resentment toward NPS officials. Dr. Harrold complained to Demaray in December 1934, that the Director's men (except Winter) were always in a big hurry to return to Washington.¹⁸ NPS Acting Custodian for Ocmulgee, Herbert Kahler, agreed with Dr. Harrold some months later that "the feeling appears to be present that the Park Service is somewhat indifferent to

efforts made by this group [Macon Historical Society]."19

The transfer process was also slowed down because of problems with the deeds and titles of the acquired land. Nathan R. Margold, Solicitor for the Department of Interior, was responsible for examining deeds and titles sent to Washington by the Macon law firm of Harris, Russell, Popper, and Weaver. Margold's examination revealed that, among other items, records were incomplete because of the breaks in the chain of title, defects in lot descriptions, and three unreleased mortgages.²⁰ Time was required to clear up various errors in deeds and titles. The Macon Historical Society, in the interim, continued to work in an attempt to acquire property which the federal government desired to be included within Ocmulgee National Monument. The specific tracts sought by the Park Service belonged to the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Railroad Company and the Bibb Manufacturing Company, businesses which were either unwilling or unable to relinquish their property.

One target of acquisition was an abandoned right-of-way consisting of 8.38 acres of land owned by the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Railroad Company. General Harris suggested obtaining a quit claim deed to avoid condemnation proceedings but James F. Wright, Solicitor for the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company, informed the Solicitor of the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Company that condemnation proceedings would be the best solution.²¹ The abandoned right-of-way was of no use to the railroad company. However, mortgage release provisions in 1907 to the New York Trust Company and Willard V. King specified that the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Railroad Company could not make any release unless the

property was sold, contracted to be sold, or exchanged for other property.²² To avoid a time consuming and possibly unsuccessful campaign, Gen. Harris decided to forego efforts to obtain a quit claim deed and to pursue condemnation proceedings instead. On March 9, 1936, condemnation proceedings were filed in U S. District Court (Middle District of Georgia, Macon Division) by T. Hoyt Davis, District Attorney.

The United States also filed condemnation papers against Bibb Manufacturing Company, a Macon textile mill. Officials of the Bibb Company had cooperated with the Macon Historical Society in 1933 by allowing excavations to be conducted on company land. In 1935 the General Superintendent of the Bibb Company served as chairman of the finance Committee of City Council and had helped acquire city support for land purchases made by the Historical Society.

Cooperation with the Historical Society, however, did not mean that the textile company had to cooperate with the National Park Service. The Bibb Company was willing to allow archeological exploration but it was not willing to surrender its high ground at the Funeral Mound. The textile company was less concerned with other property sought by the government, but officials believed that the high ground was the only place for future mill expansion and that the loss to stockholders could not be justified.²³ Though interested local leaders tried desperately, they failed at attempts to acquire the property peaceably. Not wishing to agitate the prosperous and well established Bibb Company, a compromise was formulated and presented by Dr. Harrold to NPS Acting Assistant Director Verne Chatelain on April 23, 1935.

"The line has to stop somewhere, and I honestly think

that if we can get all [land] lying to the South of the railroad and the small tract of the Bibb Manufacturing Company lying East of the creek run and North of the railroad that we should be able to travel. The fight to get more will be too bitter and too hard... Mound C is almost torn to pieces at any rate. We can completely tear it down, then rebuild it 200 feet South of its original site.... 24

Two days later Chatelain replied that "I feel a compromise is not the best solution of this problem; but rather than face a stalemate, I shall suggest it....I feel [the property] should be included and you should try to bring it in: the compromise, in other words, should be more properly regarded as a postponement of that addition."25

The Bibb Company, elated over their victory, proceeded the following June to offer \$250 to the Macon fund drive (for land acquisition) in addition to a \$475 subscription by its directors. The company also promised 38 acres of land if plans for a national monument matured.26 The victory, however, was only temporary for on March 9, 1936, condemnation proceedings were filed against Bibb Manufacturing Company by District Attorney T. Hoyt Davis on behalf of the United States government.27

Bibb Manufacturing company fought condemnation proceedings by filing a demurrer on May 30, 1936. The textile company claimed that the property in question was of immense importance for future expansion and that it was not necessary for inclusion in the proposed Ocmulgee National Monument. The Bibb Company also challenged the constitutional right of the federal government to condemn land and establish monuments, a right Bibb attorneys stated as belonging to states under the Tenth Amendment.28 The United States District Court disagreed with the Bibb Company's argument

and overruled the demurrer on June 26. On July 8 appraisers awarded the Bibb Company \$1,274 for 24.7 acres of land. The Bibb Company, angry at the ruling, filed an appeal on July 11 and requested a jury hearing. One week later company officials withdrew their appeal. The final judgement was signed July 25, 1936, by District Judge Bascom S. Deaver. The judgement ordered compensation to the Bibb Company and also ordered payment of \$35 to the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Railroad Company for 8.38 acres, an amount awarded earlier by assessors and not contested by company officials.²⁹ Subsequently, the Bibb Company donated 33.5 acres outright, possibly to show the Park Service that the company was not really hurt by the loss and possibly to keep their pride intact.³⁰

The award payment to the two companies was to be paid by the Macon Historical Society but the money had been sent to Washington D.C. prior to appeals by the Bibb Manufacturing Company. Three months after the final judgement by Judge Deaver the payment still remained in Washington and proceedings in Macon were at a standstill. Local proponents of the Ocmulgee project became impatient over the delay, failing to understand that the National Park Service was a government bureaucracy which was responsible for other areas besides Ocmulgee.

Macon citizens pushing for the establishment of a monument did, however, have support in the ranks of the National Park Service. Olinus Smith, NPS Engineer, agreed that establishment of a monument was taking too long. Smith wrote the Deputy Chief Engineer in Washington to explain "just what a condition the Ocmulgee National Monument has reached through inattention and apparent lack

of interest [by the NPS]."31 Condemnation payments were finally made within the next two months and all deeds and titles were vested in the government. On December 23, 1936, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established Ocmulgee National Monument by Presidential proclamation. The newly established Monument consisted of 678.48 acres, far short of the 2,000 acres originally proposed by the Vinson bill in 1934. The one-time dream of Macon business leaders for a 30,000 acre park, game refuge, and fish hatchery was also unrealized.³²

With 678 acres acquired and deemed suitable for National Monument purposes, President Roosevelt's proclamation stated that "the Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument...."³³ Administration of Ocmulgee National Monument was officially and finally the responsibility of the National Park Service.

CHAPTER II

NEW MONUMENT AND NEW DEAL

Initial Planning

The National Park Service officially assumed administrative responsibility of Ocmulgee in December 1936, although unofficial supervision had been given since authorization of the monument in 1934. The Park Service was aware that continued archeological research was needed, but Service officials were also concerned with development of the monument. In 1935, service personnel, Congressman Vinson, Gen. Harris, and Dr. Harrold devised a list of needed development projects. The plan called for the construction of a museum and restoration of various archeological features, but the majority of items dealt with general physical developments such as road improvement, tree planting, and fence construction.

In 1937 a similar but more comprehensive plan was prepared and sent to the Director's Office in Washington by Herbert Kahler, Superintendent of Fort Marion (now Castillo de San Marcos) and Fort Matanzas National Monuments. The six-year plan included physical developments for improvement and beautification of the monument. High priority was also placed on the construction of a museum-administration building and a contact station at Mound "A". The fifth and sixth years of the plan proposed development of the detached Lamar site; including construction of a levee, parking

area, contact station, and caretaker's building.¹

Two years later development of Ocmulgee National Monument was still a high priority of the National Park Service. In 1939 the Service devised a master plan for the monument. The plan covered various construction needs, with much emphasis placed on development of archeological features at both the monument's main section and the Lamar site. Major development of archeological features included the following:

Main Unit Proposals

- Mound A: Construct permanent stairway to top.
- Mound C: Complete shelter and provide stratigraphic section.
- Mound D: Develop post town house site. Exhibit in situ or reconstruct superstructure.
- Prehistoric Cornfield: Construct protective shelter. Other proposals for protection and preservation considered.
- Prehistoric Trenches: Remain as at present, ditch covered with sod.
- Trading Post: Restore stockade.
- Burials: Obliterate present burial shelter at trading post site of four Creek Indians and construct permanent shelters.
- Council Chamber: Existing.

Lamar Site Proposals

- Reconstruct the palisade within the levee.
- Restore all prehistoric houses found.

The Master Plan, while proposing reconstruction at the Lamar site, acknowledged that development would have to wait for further archeological investigation and completion of the levee.⁵

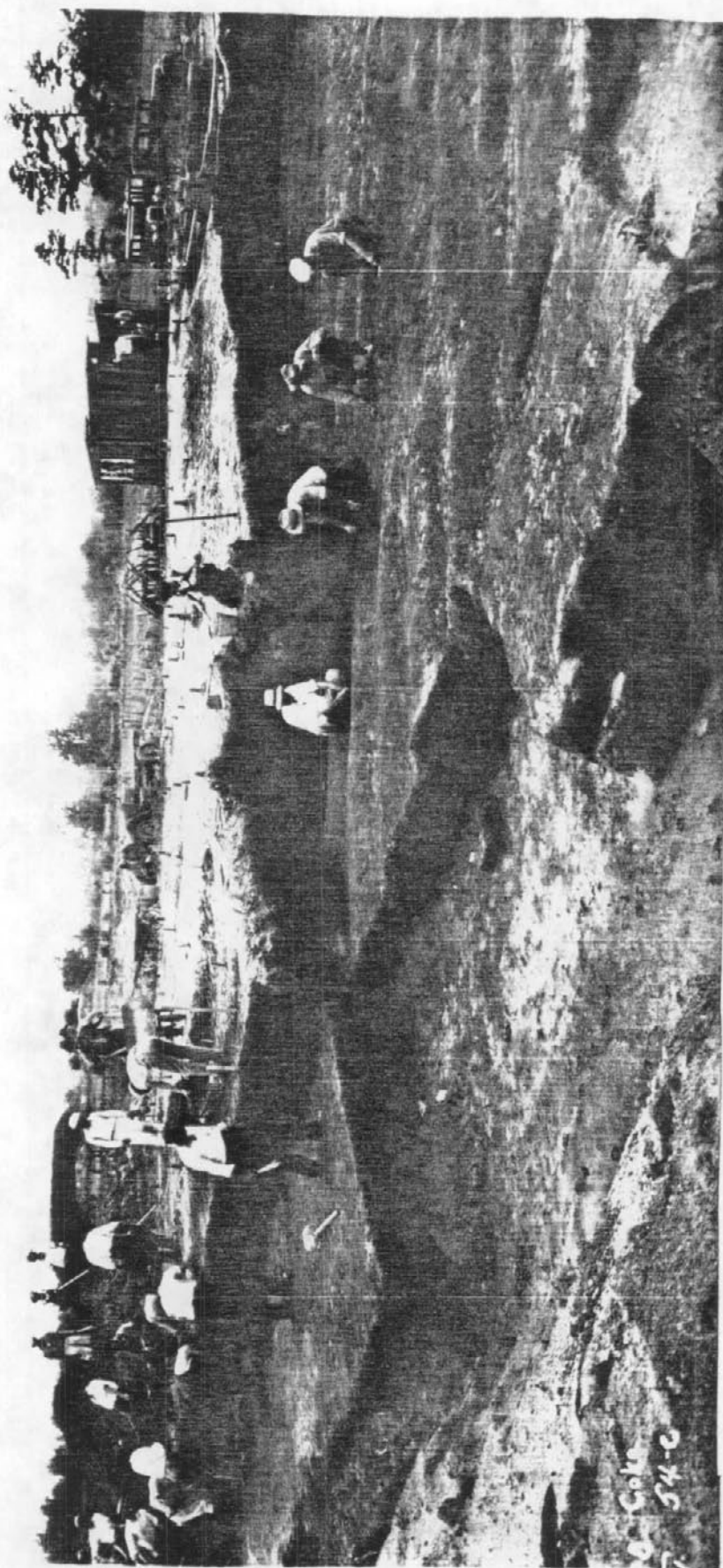
General development plans, along with road and trail

development, were also an important feature of the 1939 Master Plan (Appendix E). Proposals included construction of a two lane tunnel underneath the railroad track and construction of two foot bridges where nature trails crossed the railroad track. The dual traffic proposal remained an issue for several years while the construction of foot bridges has continued to appear in planning documents into the 1980s.

New Deal Labor and the NPS

Early development plans for Ocmulgee were based on archeological work which was conducted in the area between 1933 and 1936. During that time excavations were undertaken by the Civil Works Administration (CWA), Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and Works Progress Administration (WPA). Dr. Kelly directed each group and earned the distinction of overseeing the largest archeological field party in the United States. The National Park Service continued the use of relief labor in 1936, and in 1937 additional relief labor was provided through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). By the end of 1940 work at the monument had been conducted by the CCC, WPA, Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), and Public Works Administration (PWA).

New Deal relief agencies had a profound impact on Ocmulgee National Monument. Their work, however, is difficult to trace because so many projects were conducted simultaneously and different agencies participated in many of the same jobs. Despite these limitations, accomplishments of New Deal relief agencies during this time (1936-1942) should be examined in order to gain



Excavations during the 1930s revealed cultivated soil beneath Mound "D" (Cornfield Mound).

insight into the many developments at the Monument. A look at Park Service Administration in relation to relief labor can also be provided.

The large number of relief workers at Ocmulgee allowed the National Park Service to conduct a wide variety of projects. Some relief workers concentrated on laboratory operations while others conducted archeological explorations under the supervision of Dr. Kelly, a National Park Service employee as of 1936. Ocmulgee's first Acting Superintendent, James T. Swanson, was responsible for administration of the monument. With a small staff, however, and relief laborers already committed to various development projects, his role consisted primarily of maintaining work already in progress. The next five superintendents at Ocmulgee would supervise continuing New Deal projects until World War II decreased both labor and money. Two important projects during this period, construction of a museum and reconstruction of an earthlodge, will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Workers at Ocmulgee held other jobs before the Great Depression forced them to seek employment on New Deal projects. These laborers, accustomed to certain freedoms in their previous occupations, suddenly found themselves thrust into a system known for its numerous rules and regulations- the federal bureaucracy. Park Service administrative personnel, however, viewed New Deal workers as a temporary work force and did not strictly enforce NPS regulations. This feeling created an atmosphere of independence within the ranks of relief laborers and contributed to a relaxed mood among some workers. Three enterprising ERA employees

exemplified this atmosphere when they were allowed to establish concession stands within monument boundaries for workers. One relief employee sold drinks, sandwiches, and cakes at ERA offices at the Dunlap House while two other employees sold drinks at the ERA tool shed and museum vicinity.² The practice was permitted until Superintendent William Lockett arrived in 1940 and brought the matter to the attention of higher NPS officials who decided that sales should cease.

A report filed in 1938 by Herman E. Myers, Regional Fiscal Supervisor, also revealed administrative shortcomings at Ocmulgee National Monument. Myers found the records at Ocmulgee disorganized and the filing system not up to standards. The Fiscal Supervisor attributed the problems to inexperienced enrollees who served as clerks. Myers summed up his overall opinion of personnel at Ocmulgee the following way:

"as some one has said, they were 'just an irritation', and this about covers the attitude of the personnel at this monument, as to handbook, memorandums, correspondence and other regulations."³

Despite the apparent lack of interest in regulations, Park Service staff and relief employees contributed greatly to the development of Ocmulgee National Monument. One of the most important New Deal agencies was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), formerly known as the Emergency Conservation Work. The CCC began work at Ocmulgee in May 1937 and employed about 200 young men. The men of camp NM-4 (Company 1426) performed many functions during their five-year stay at the monument, including road and parking area construction, levee construction at Lamar, lab work at the Macon Municipal

Auditorium where artifacts were housed, and construction of a protective shelter over Mound "C". The CCC was also responsible for guiding visitors, planting vegetation along nature trails, and conducting work on the earthlodge.

The CCC shared work at Ocmulgee with the Emergency Relief Administration. ERA laborers devoted a large quantity of time to laboratory work and nature trail development. They also conducted excavations at Lamar, erected boundary fences, and helped in construction of a museum building. ERA workers belonging to a non-construction project were also used as guards at the monument's main unit and Lamar. Six men were kept on duty at all hours, seven days a week.⁴

In 1938 the Branch of Historic Sites decided to halt further excavations at Ocmulgee (except where construction was planned) until the mass of information collected from 1933 to 1938 could be scientifically studied. Examination of material was conducted by workers (mainly WPA) at the Macon Auditorium laboratory. The employees also examined material from other Georgia sites and from neighboring states. Countless hours were spent typing analysis cards, restoring pottery, preparing reports, and producing drawings. Lab personnel also studied skeletal material although much was sent to Columbia University in New York. The large volume of material collected for lab examination created a need for additional help and in 1940 a pottery laboratory was established inside the partially completed museum-administration building.

The 1940's were a time of change at Ocmulgee National Monument. On June 13, 1941, 5 acres of land at Lamar were acquired from Mr. A.C. Gledhill and added to the monument by Presidential

proclamation. Unfortunately, the following months brought less exciting news for National Park Service personnel. In November 1941 the Emergency Relief Administration halted work at Ocmulgee and the following year archeological work almost came to a complete stop. The prime concern of the United States government was national defense, and Ocmulgee, along with numerous other Park Service units, suffered the consequences. The CCC continued to work at the monument into 1942 but 60% of its time was devoted to defense work at nearby Camp Wheeler.⁶ Were it not for the presence of Camp Wheeler, however, the CCC would probably have been removed from Ocmulgee long before its departure in July of 1942. The extra time afforded the monument by the CCC, although limited, allowed additional construction work on buildings, levees, and burial shelters.

Upon closure of the CCC camp, activity at Ocmulgee came to a standstill. Only the monument's Junior Archeologist was left to serve as guide and interpreter for the public. Official visitation records were not kept during the war years but regardless of numbers the monument was understaffed. In 1944 the staff consisted of Superintendent Lockett, one laborer, a ranger for six months, and a clerk for seven months.⁷ The main duties consisted of patrol and guide service.

Numerous agencies arose from President Roosevelt's "New Deal". These agencies played an important role throughout the nation and throughout the National Park Service. At Ocmulgee National Monument, a Park Service unit which was heavily affected by New Deal labor, the efforts of these agencies is easily discernable.

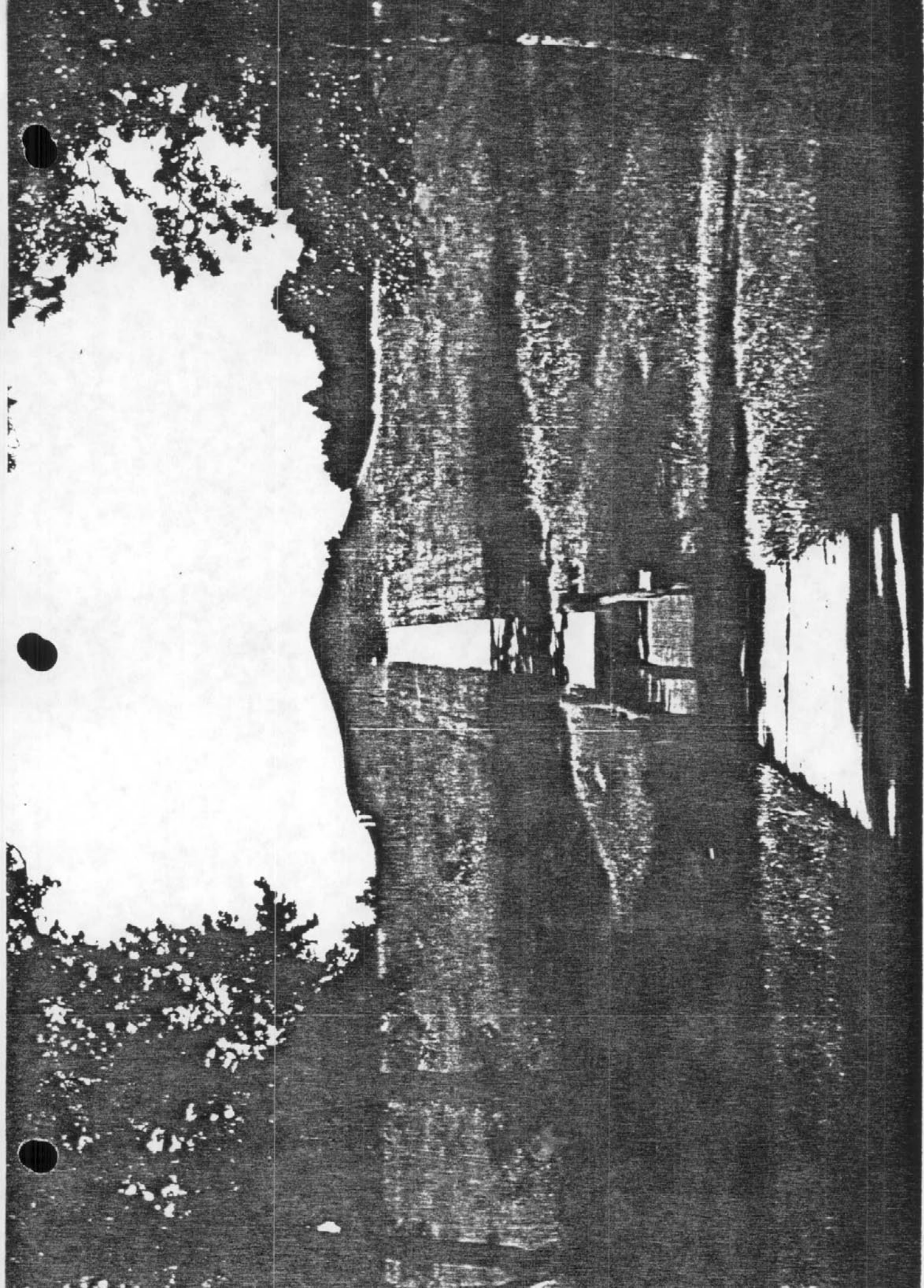
CHAPTER III

ACCOMODATIONS FOR INTERPRETATION

Mississippian Earthlodge

Among the many projects conducted by New Deal relief agencies at Ocmulgee, perhaps none were more important than the restoration of the ceremonial earthlodge, or council chamber. Located on the northern section of the Macon Plateau, the earthlodge is the best preserved structure of this type in the Southeastern United States and contributes greatly to the significance of Ocmulgee National Monument. Because of its immense importance to the study of Southeastern Indian culture and to Ocmulgee National Monument, an examination of restoration and preservation efforts will be presented in the following account.

During initial excavations in 1933, a small rise was noticed in a cultivated field on the Macon Plateau. In early 1934 excavators began a test trench which eventually entered the 3-foot high knoll. Near the mound's center archeologists uncovered a band of red clay and the trenching method was abandoned for horizontal stripping. Thin layers of soil were meticulously removed until a circular clay structure, 42 feet in diameter, was uncovered. Further archeological work with trowels, brushes, and whisk brooms unearthed clay seats inside a low clay wall, a central fire pit, and charred timbers and cane on the floor. A clay effigy platform



View of the Ceremonial Earthlodge, entranceway on the left.



Clay effigy platform found inside Earthenlodge.

in the shape of a bird was discovered that extended toward the fire pit from the west side of the wall. Archeologists were able to determine that the structure, a ceremonial earthlodge or council chamber, had collapsed when fire burned through the roof's wood and cane supports. The layer of earth atop the supports then fell through upon the floor, extinguishing much of the fire and ultimately preserving the remaining timbers and clay surface. This evidence of construction provided the field crew and National Park Service representatives with a unique opportunity to reconstruct the chamber based on the architectural plan of native Americans. Soon after initial excavations in 1934, the importance of the earthlodge became apparent and several weeks later a temporary protective shelter was placed over the excavated area. The "temporary" shelter, a circular wall of conduit tile covered by a wooden roof, would stand over the clay remains until December 1936. The shelter did not completely conceal the floor from wind and air; therefore Park Service personnel, as unofficial advisors, sought solutions for protecting the clay floor. Meetings in late 1935 by Dr. Kelly, James Swanson (NPS Assistant Architect), and Olinus Smith (NPS Engineer) yielded a basic plan for correcting the earthlodge situation. The plan called for a concrete shell with steel beams to be erected over the earthlodge floor and outside the wall of the temporary shelter. The tile wall would be incorporated in the construction of a clay wall inside the chamber. Reconstruction plans also included a simulated roof opening, or "smoke hole". This feature would serve as the central location for earthlodge lighting and ventilation. To provide interpretation, visitors would be allowed to enter the council chamber on a wooden walkway extending three quarters

of the way around the chamber interior. These ideas were approved as a preliminary plan by the Director of the National Park Service on March 25, 1936. After architectural and engineering details were added, the Director gave final approval on June 8, 1936.

Although the CWA and FERA had worked on excavations at the earthlodge site, the process of restoration was begun by the WPA on December 21, 1936, two days before President Franklin D. Roosevelt established Ocmulgee National Monument. The protective shelter was torn down, contrary to original plans, and a concrete wall built in its place. Roof construction, begun in February 1937 by WPA laborers, consisted of sheath covered boards radiating from a center wooden nucleus. The wooden form was then covered with a layer of concrete and supporting steel rods. "Considering the great quantity of steel in the roof...and the fact that the majority of relief laborers used on this particular portion of the concrete work had no previous experience of this kind, the result was entirely satisfactory."2 An entrance corridor, also constructed of concrete, was built along the original clay lines revealed during excavation. Upon placement of a waterproof membrane over the roof, the structure was covered with dirt and sodded. To complete the authenticity, based on archeological evidence, the earthlodge interior was restored with posts, beams, overhead rafters, and cane matting.

In April 1937 the CCC joined the WPA in efforts to restore the earthlodge. CCC enrollees puddled clay in a large pit, mixed the clay with straw, and applied the mixture onto the inner concrete wall of the council chamber. A fire was built at the entrance and

fans used to blow hot air inside. After several weeks of drying, the wall sunk badly and the clay was removed and replaced with clay bricks mixed with straw. Completion of the wall was succeeded by installation of a steel walkway into the lodge and the addition of electric lights and fans, a welcomed change from the acetylene lamps and small gasoline powered exhaust system. On November 1, 1937, the reconstructed earthlodge was opened to the public.

Since its restoration the earthlodge has presented problems for the National Park Service. Visitors have vandalized the inner walls by carving initials into the clay, and during the early 1950s park archeologist Gus D. Pope Jr. reported that "one of our most disturbing problems is the occasional spitting of tobacco juice by older country people on the earthlodge floor."³ To deal with this dilemma, park guides were instructed to stress the chamber floor's antiquity and importance if they noticed someone chewing tobacco during a tour. Vandalism of the earthlodge was, and continues to be, a prime concern of the National Park Service. The major challenge faced by the Service however, has been the preservation of the clay floor against deterioration.

The earthlodge floor dried out during the 1930s as a result of exposure to air during early excavations and exposure to heat (from fires) during the restoration process. In 1938 various chemicals were tested for use on the clay floor and in 1940 the chemical Alvar was used. Treatment with Alvar continued for several years after the initial application in 1940. Despite chemical treatment, deterioration of the earthlodge clay continued to worry National Park Service officials. The problem was listed as a threat to cultural resources as late as 1981 in Park Service documents.⁴

Despite installation of electric blowers in 1937, the high humidity in the chamber induced mold growth, caused visitors to faint, and produced a vile odor. Superintendent Jesse D. Jennings complained to the Park Service Southeast Regional Director in September 1938 that the stench in the council chamber after numerous visitors, made the earthlodge trip "a grim and harrowing experience".⁵

Solving the humidity problem became a major concern of the National Park Service during the 1930s along with preservation of the earthlodge floor. In 1938 National Park Service Architect James Swanson suggested installation of an air conditioning system, but Park Service Engineer Olinus Smith advised the Regional Engineer that air conditioning the earthlodge would be of no value because of high maintenance costs and difficulty of operation.⁶ The Park Service's Branch of Engineering was assigned the task of studying the ventilation situation but no major steps were taken and park rangers at Ocmulgee began cleaning fungus off the structure with chemicals. Despite the use of chemicals throughout the following years fungus problems persisted. In 1967 archeologist Norman Ritchie sent mold samples from the earthlodge to a plant pathologist for analysis. Pathologist Samuel Rowan, U.S. Department of Agriculture, suggested the use of ultraviolet lamps or methyl bromide if the environment of the earthlodge was unable to be changed.⁷ Park Service officials considered alteration of the environment too costly and the other suggestions were not guaranteed effective. Also, the lamp method would have had to be conducted when visitors were not present and fumigation

would have required closing the earthlodge for 72 hours. Chemical treatment continued and in 1972 the National Park Service realized that additional drying and flaking of the earthlodge interior was resulting from the use of ventilation fans. Use of the fans was limited in 1973 and the Park Service decided to contact a consulting and engineering firm.

Kidd and Associates, an Atlanta firm, contracted with the National Park Service in July 1973 to study the earthlodge and suggest improvements and methods of preservation. A detailed study was conducted and Kidd submitted a final report on April 2, 1974.8 Three major recommendations were made by the firm in the report. The Park Service, desiring a final solution to earthlodge problems, acted upon two of the suggestions. One involved installation of a partition in the earthlodge to separate visitors from the clay exhibits. The other suggestion was to increase the moisture of the clay by continually wetting the soil. Kidd and Associates warned that this method could be detrimental and suggested making tests first. The Park Service decided to forego the moisturizing attempt but did accept the partitioning plan. The walkway was removed from within the earthlodge and a transparent, walled viewing platform erected instead. With the addition of a taped narrative and synchronized lighting, the project was completed.

The third recommendation made by Kidd, and one accepted by the National Park Service, was the installation of a climatological control system to regulate temperature and humidity. The system installed in the earthlodge consisted of a five ton self-contained air conditioning unit with a 12.5 kw heater. Mounted humidistats and thermostats located in the viewing and exhibit areas maintained

relative humidity from 40 to 95% and temperature from 70 to 80^o F. According to the Superintendent's Annual Reports of 1975 and 1976, installation of the viewing platform and climate control system was completed by January, 1976, at a cost of \$93,678.00.

The addition of the climatological control system seems to have solved the problems of humidity, molding, and drying that had plagued the earthlodge for 40 years. Although the use of air conditioning was suggested in 1938, the Park Service sought a solution which would prove to be efficient and economical. This effort to conserve funds, along with the lack of precedent concerning earthlodge restoration and preservation, contributed to the continuation of earthlodge-related problems and the use of chemicals which eventually discolored the clay walls in several places.

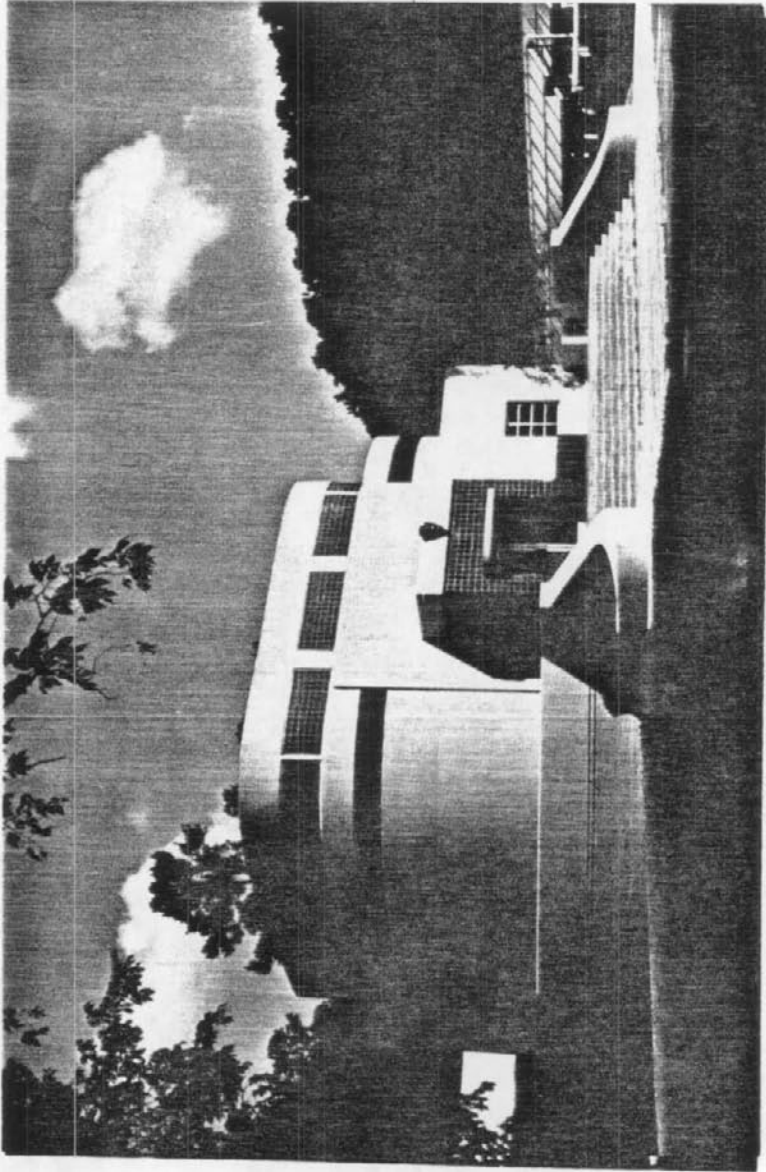
Another step in protection of the earthlodge was taken in 1984 with the installation of a monitoring system. Audio signals are picked up inside the earthlodge and transmitted to a receiver located in the administrative offices. This system allows Park Service personnel to monitor situations which threaten the interior of the earthlodge.

The National Park Service has progressed in its struggle to preserve and protect the Macon Plateau earthlodge, but past experiences should not be forgotten. Future administrators of Ocmulgee National Monument must realize that the reconstructed earthlodge is a unique feature of the monument and the main visitor attraction. Despite high costs, proper maintenance of the earthlodge is essential.

Museum-Administration Building

New Deal relief labor at Ocmulgee during the late 1930s was also responsible for the initial construction of a museum - administration building, later referred to as the Visitor Center. Soon after excavations began on the Macon Plateau in 1933, archeological field crews began to unearth large numbers of artifacts. The need to display a portion of the material and to create public awareness of excavations and finds led to the construction of a temporary wooden museum during the mid 1930s. Plans for a permanent museum were made in all early Park Service planning documents, and in 1937 chances seemed good for this desire to become reality. Efforts by Georgia Congressmen to acquire a \$50,000 WPA allotment failed, however, and proponents of the project had to wait until 1938. Meanwhile, the Indian Mounds Commission, chaired by Walter Harris, pushed Georgia representatives in Congress to obtain a Public Works allotment. In April of 1938 the National Park Service and Georgia Congressmen were able to have a WPA allotment included in the federal budget. Approval of the budget was delayed and proponents of the museum building became wary. Regional Director Carl Russell wrote General Harris that "none of us will be quite content until the completed structure is a reality."⁹ Director Russell's statement could have been made thirteen years later and still have been true.

Securing funds for construction was not the only challenge faced by the National Park Service. Officials were also presented with the question of design. The Park Service usually constructed buildings which complemented the environment of an area and did not



Ocmulgee National Monument Visitor Center.

contrast with existing buildings. At Ocmulgee, however, there were no existing buildings (except a mid 19th century farm house) and the Indian mound related environment of the area did not make for easy design planning. The solution advanced by NPS architect James T. Swanson was a departure from normal Park Service policy. The final architectural blueprints contained an "Art Moderne" structure; smooth walls, rounded corners, flat roofs, and geometric forms. The design also incorporated a geometric frieze (Art Deco), detailed by the Branch of Plans and Designs, which simulated Lamar Bold Incised pottery found in the area of the monument.

As could be expected, this departure from usual Park Service design did not please everyone. Upon completion in the early 1950s the building drew some criticism for its modern design, most notably from Devereaux Butcher, Field Representative for the National Parks Association. In 1952 Butcher referred to "the supremely ugly museum at Georgia's Ocmulgee National Monument" in National Parks Magazine.¹⁰

Construction of the museum-administration building continued from 1938 until 1941 when money and material became scarce. In 1941 relief appropriations were terminated and work on the building halted. At this time the structure was only 65% complete but housed a pottery lab, Emergency Relief Administration and National Park Service offices, and a large quantity of archeological material. A library, auditorium, and additional office space was yet to be constructed.¹¹ Relief workers constructed a temporary roof on the building, stored artifacts in boxes, and began other work until construction on the museum could be resumed. During the war, however, the National Park Service did not receive any funds

for construction and Ocmulgee's new building remained incomplete. Temporary exhibits in a portion of the museum went largely unattended and the temporary roof leaked. Proponents of the museum project were justifiably disappointed and must have certainly looked forward to the end of the war and completion of the building.

In September 1945, World War II came to an end and the following January Interior Secretary Harold Ickes informed Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall that work at Ocmulgee National Monument would resume as soon as conditions permitted.¹² Appropriations were included in the 1947 federal budget but had to be removed because competition with private industry for building material was contradictory to Presidential policy. Secretary Ickes also "confidently promised" that appropriations for the museum - administration building would be given high priority in the 1948 budget but wisely did not promise approval.¹³ Ocmulgee supporters continued to struggle for financial aid to complete the museum. Monument administrators accepted bids for construction in 1948, but only one was received and it exceeded available funds. Superintendent Millard D. Guy, hopeful that the monument could finance some construction work, and perhaps eager to make a good impression in his new position as superintendent, regrettably had to reject the bid.¹⁴

On February 10, 1942, the Ocmulgee Auxiliary Corporation was established (for a period of 35 years) as Ocmulgee National Monument's cooperative association. The organization followed in the footsteps of the Indian Mounds Commission (1937) and was

organized "exclusively for scientific, literary, and educational purposes."¹⁵ (On May 11, 1977, the name was amended to read Ocmulgee National Monument Association). In November 1949, members of the Ocmulgee Auxiliary Corporation met in Macon with National Park Service officials from the Washington and Regional offices, including National Park Service Associate Director Arthur Demaray. Discussions centered around completion of the museum building and, if nothing else, seemed to promote public relations between the National Park Service and local supporters of the monument. The federal budget for 1950 contained appropriations for improvements and rehabilitation for critical needs within the National Park Service but museum construction at Ocmulgee was not included. Efforts by Congressman Vinson and Senators Walter George and Richard Russell, however, managed to obtain funding for completion of the museum under the title of "rehabilitation". Ocmulgee National Monument would receive \$135,000 for physical improvement of the museum-administration building. A contract for the long-awaited construction work was signed June 2, 1950, and in June 1951 work was completed. The total estimated cost of construction in 1939 was \$275,340; the final cost, however, is unknown since adequate records were not kept by New Deal relief workers.¹⁶ An unsigned report written shortly after the construction was completed, stated that \$350,000 was a "fairly accurate" estimate of construction cost.¹⁷

A dedication program for the completed museum and administration building was held November 2, 1951. It was sponsored by the Ocmulgee Auxiliary Corporation, with about \$4,000 contributed by local individuals and organizations. A group of

Creek Indians was invited to Macon for the festivities, but rain forced the cancellation of a parade and night time stick ball game. Formal ceremonies at the Macon Auditorium, including an exhibition stick ball game and Indian dancing, attracted approximately 6,000 people. Tours at the monument also attracted numerous visitors but the announcement of schedules and tours presented problems. According to Superintendent Guy, the announcements (made by a public address system in two exhibit rooms) were largely ignored. Visitors were also disappointed that they could not tour the monument at their own leisure.¹⁸

Since initial construction of the museum-administration building, numerous and consistent problems have plagued NPS administrators. As early as January 1951, the terrazzo terrace began to crack and separate. As a result, water seeped through cracks under the terrazzo and was forced out when the terrazzo expanded. Leaks in the flat asphalt roof were also a recurring problem throughout the following years. In 1966 efforts were made to give the Visitor Center a facelift. The building was repainted and repairs made on the terrazzo and roof. The rehabilitation, although an improvement, did not solve all of the Visitor Center's problems. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, measures were again taken to improve the Visitor Center and surrounding area.

In 1977 a portion of the terrace and roof was replaced but more extensive changes would soon follow. In 1979 the Visitor Center was partially closed in preparation for the addition of a solar energy system. The solar heating and cooling system was designed by Honeywell Corporation and constructed by the National Park Service

and the Department of Energy/NASA. It began operation in November 1979 as a pilot project to study the use of solar energy as an alternate source of power and to test the design of the system.

The 1980s saw sweeping changes take place at the monument. New roofing was installed at the Visitor Center in 1981 but the building, with its flat roof, continued to leak. A study was subsequently conducted by an architect of the National Park Service and his report recommended the use of a sealant, regular inspections, and further study.¹⁹ Late in 1985, additional roof improvements were attempted. A weather proofing material was to be applied to prevent water from seeping through cracks caused by expansion of the building. Heavy rains occurred during the process, however, and the Visitor Center incurred extensive water damage. At the time of this writing repair work was still in progress and the outcome remains to be seen.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Visitor Center transformation began in November 1981 when the building was completely closed for renovation. Audio-visual equipment was installed and old exhibits were replaced with new ones. Staff offices, formerly divided between the basement and first floor, were relocated downstairs. The renovation process also included the construction of a theater and library-conference room.

A contact station was set up outside the Center to provide visitor assistance while renovation work continued for sixteen months. The rededication of the museum and dedication of the solar energy system was held March 23, 1983 in conjunction with Macon's annual Cherry Blossom Festival. Representatives of the Creek Nation, Georgia Congressman J. Roy Rowland, National Park Service

officials, and local city and county government officials attended the ceremonies. Public reaction to the renovated museum has been extremely favorable. With proper maintenance, the Visitor Center should continue to serve as an important means of interpretation.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION: THE BEGINNING

Interpretive Concerns

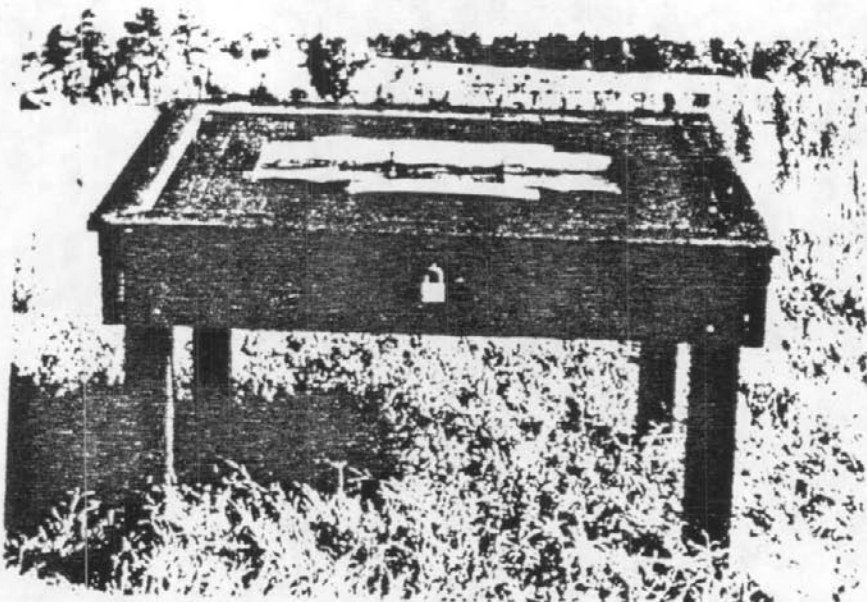
Prior to the construction of the Museum-Administration building, interpretation of Ocmulgee National Monument was the sole responsibility of tour guides. The National Park Service used relief workers as guides during the late 1930s and early 1940s but most had little experience in visitor contact and park interpretation. To provide instruction for the unoriented tour guides, Benjamin L. Bryan, National Park Service Junior Historical Technician, developed a manual which discussed proper personal appearance and conduct as well as the historical and archeological importance of the area. The 1940 manual contained information on the various archeological features, a list of often-asked questions, and a description of tour routes.¹

Bryan's guide manual gives insight into the initial visitor services program at Ocmulgee National Monument. During the week and on Saturdays, visitors stopped at a contact station at the monument's entrance and were met by two employees. One worker distributed (and later collected) visitor information cards while the other provided information and kept a record of the number of cars and people entering the monument. Visitors then proceeded to the museum parking area. Once a group was assembled, a guide would make contact and lead the assembly to the council chamber (earthlodge). The interpreter presented an introduction to the

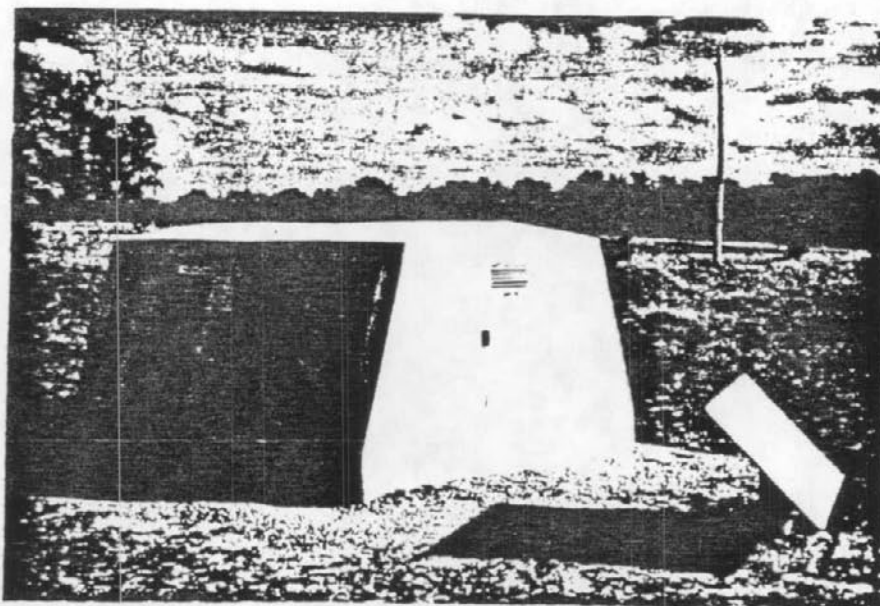
chamber and the group then entered the structure to view the original and reconstructed features. The council chamber trip was followed by a visit to Mound "D" and prehistoric trenches where visitors were given an option of riding or walking to features located across the railroad. Visitors who chose to walk continued to the trading post site and associated burials, then proceeded to Mound "A" and Mound "C". If desired, a trip to the temporary museum followed. Visitors who chose to ride were led through the museum, then returned to their cars where they drove around to view the same exhibits as the group on foot.

Times of heavy visitor use, such as Sundays and holidays, necessitated the implementation of slightly different presentation methods. On these days guides were stationed at each feature in the monument to provide interpretive services for visitors. The Emergency Relief and Civilian Conservation Corps guides, forced by economic woes of the Great Depression to earn money through New Deal relief programs, were genuinely interested in the Ocmulgee project and took great pride in their role and accomplishments at the monument.²

During March 1948, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen and Region Archeologist J.C. Harrington decided it would be beneficial to replace the "drab and uninspired" names of archeological features (such as Mound "A" and Swift Creek) with "descriptive and interesting names."³ The two regional officials visited Ocmulgee and suggested to Archeologist Charles Fairbanks that he submit ideas for new names. Fairbanks later submitted his ideas to Harrington for review. Superintendent Guy, once he learned that



Wayside exhibit located on Great Temple Mound, 1940.



Burial shelter, Middle Plateau (Trading Post Site).

Harrington was seeking suggestions, proceeded to submit his own ideas. The ideas were received by Harrington who reviewed them and submitted a list, with his own ideas included, to the Region Director on May 27, 1948 (Appendix F). The names ultimately decided upon, however, differed from those recommended.

The Carousel Begins

The 1940s at Ocmulgee National Monument contrasted sharply with the preceding decade. The activity and excitement of excavations and development slowly gave way to inactivity and frustrations for monument administrators. Decreased funding during World War II, besides preventing additional physical development, forced reductions in staff. Law enforcement became a concern as vandals continually tampered with the temporary burial shelters and items were stolen.

Dr. Arthur R. Kelly, once troubled with the supervision of numerous employees, became Custodian (Superintendent) of Ocmulgee on October 3, 1944, and was faced with the unenviable task of administering a National Monument without adequate personnel. The new superintendent, aware of the monument's lack of personnel and money, had little choice but to allow further deterioration of the premises. The following years would demonstrate that some people felt, despite the circumstances, that Dr. Kelly was not doing enough in his administration of Ocmulgee National Monument.

An audit of Ocmulgee covering the period from February to December, 1946, revealed money charged to wrong accounts, payrolls charged incorrectly, purchases incorrectly coded, and purchase orders completed after supplies were received.⁴ This may have been

the product of inexperienced clerks but Dr. Kelly, as Superintendent, was held responsible. National Park Service Regional Director Thomas Allen venomously attacked Kelly's "unprofessionalism" and recommended his removal to the Acting Director of the National Park Service.⁴ Less than a year later Kelly decided to resign. On June 13, 1947, Newton B. Drury, National Park Service Director, responded to a letter from Kelly and agreed with the anthropologist's decision to return to the teaching profession.⁶ Director Drury, aware of the contributions made by Kelly to Ocmulgee, offered use of his name as a reference in Kelly's negotiations with the University of Georgia. Eleven days later Dr. Kelly officially submitted his resignation, effective September 1, 1947.

Millard D. Guy assumed the position of superintendent at Ocmulgee National Monument on October 28, 1947. The new superintendent was under a great deal of pressure to improve the degenerating conditions at the monument. Soon after his arrival efforts were made to straighten the records and filing system. Maintenance work was also increased. In 1948 permanent burial shelters were constructed on the Macon Plateau (in the vicinity of the trading post site). In May 1952 extensive renovation of the Dunlap House was begun.

The Dunlap House was built about 1856 as a plantation cottage and was occupied by Union troops during General Stoneman's attack on Macon, July 30, 1864. The house served as a residence during the ensuing years, and in the late 1930s was altered to serve as an office for Park Service staff and the Emergency Relief Administration. The offices were moved to the administration

building in 1940 and the house was converted to a superintendent's residence. Remodeling in 1952 and 1953 included new tile on the floors, porch construction, and exterior paint.

Another positive improvement was made around 1953 when archeologist Gus Pope Jr. cut down trees growing on Mound "A". The mound remained covered with stumps but at least some progress had occurred. Additional changes were made in 1954 when the 120 foot long "protective" shelter over Mound "C" was removed. The mound's profile had deteriorated greatly, and long established plans for its preservation had not been implemented. A year later Ocmulgee's staff archeologist suggested that the Indian burial shelters also be removed and the skeletons reburied. The archeologist complained about the "obese white lumps" which caused visitors to "squat, squint, and barely make out the moth eaten, mangy disarray of yellowish bones."⁷

The early 1950s also marked a time when monument administrators attempted to form a closer bond with the local community. Public ceremonies were held in 1951 to dedicate the museum-administration building and in September 1952 a two day Indian festival was held. The festival consisted of a parade from downtown Macon to Ocmulgee National Monument, Indian craft demonstrations, a stick ball game between Creeks and Cherokees, and an orchestra concert. Fifty Creek Indians from Oklahoma participated in various events, and Bibb County public schools cancelled classes on Friday for the occasion. The festival attracted large crowds and was considered a success, although three stick ball players were sent to a local hospital with lacerations

and abrasions.

In July 1955, Louis R. Caywood became Superintendent of Ocmulgee National Monument. In 1956 two publications were released, both written by NPS employees at the monument. Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia, the monument's official handbook, was written by Gus Pope Jr. and was reprinted in 1961. Archeology of the Funeral Mound, written by archeologist Charles Fairbanks, was also published. It remains a classical work concerning excavations at Ocmulgee.

During the latter part of the 1950s, plans were announced for a interstate highway (Interstate 16) to be constructed through Macon enroute to Savannah. The proposed route placed the interstate through a portion of Ocmulgee National Monument between Mound "A" and the Ocmulgee River. Much local public support was generated due to speculation that an interstate would attract more tourists (customers) to the city of Macon. Residents were also hopeful that the interstate would require the construction of a bridge at Second Street. Some individuals, such as General Harris and Cecil Coke, felt that the interstate would spoil archeological sites and present an eyesore to visitors at the monument. They were joined by very few people with similar opinions. The sentiments of Harris and Coke also lacked support because plans were still in the initial stages and even the National Park Service did not voice its objections.

The interstate issue did not create much controversy during the late 1950s. Superintendent Caywood informed the Southeast Region of the proposed interstate route on November 15, 1957. The Superintendent's main concern was that the highway would ruin the

historic setting for visitors.⁸ Regional Director Elbert Cox agreed that there was not much hope of preventing the interstate from crossing monument grounds unless there was actual damage to archeological remains. The route might destroy the historic setting Cox acknowledged, " but with the proximity of the railroad, related highways, and other modern structures, it is a little hard to become exercised about one more intrusion in the picture."¹⁰ Little more was said on the subject until the 1960's. In January 1961, as plans for the interstate system progressed, Superintendent Caywood departed Ocmulgee. Albert Dillahunty became superintendent later the same month and shortly afterwards engaged in a bitter fight against the proposed route of Interstate 16.

CHAPTER V

INTERSTATES, INDIANS, AND IMPROVEMENTS

The Turbulent 60s

Superintendent Albert Dillahunty was stationed at Ocmulgee National Monument for six eventful years. The Superintendent was determined to improve the physical aspects of the monument to which previous administrators had devoted little time. The "bulldozer days" of Superintendent Dillahunty included the destruction of brick kilns formerly associated with Anderson brickyard, the removal of the railroad roundhouse foundation, and the reconstitution of the Civil War earthworks. Other areas of the monument were also cleared and mowing operations became a major job of park staff. The greatest concern, however, was the proposed route of I-16.

The local situation concerning Interstate 16 seemed bleak in 1961. Mayor Wilson and most Macon civic and business leaders favored the I-16 route through the monument. Their views were supported by Congressman Carl Vinson, instrumental in establishing Ocmulgee National Monument a quarter of a century earlier.

The administrative personnel of the monument and the National Park Service were definitely opposed to the planned interstate route although their stand attracted few supporters. The position of the Park Service drew much criticism from many local citizens who favored the interstate route. Other groups were angry at the

Service for not voicing objections sooner. The Bibb Company let it be known that the interstate would cross land that had been acquired from them by the Park Service and had been declared "indispensable."¹ Even members of the Ocmulgee Auxiliary Corporation were divided in their opinions. A called meeting of the Board of Directors was held June 12, 1961, and after a two hour discussion of the proposed interstate route a decision of "No Action" was reached.²

In July the interstate debate heated and tempers boiled. A meeting of city leaders was held July 13 at which Ellsworth Hall Jr., representing the Chamber of Commerce and others, stated that "if a choice had to be made between the highway and some esthetic damage to the monument, the choice was for the highway."³ The meeting enforced feelings of opposition toward Park Service policy. Superintendent Dillahunt continued to oppose the highway plans but had to allow the battle to be fought on a national level.

In mid-July the National Park Service proposed an alternate route, transferring the proposed route from the monument's southern sector to a location between the Visitor Center and Emery Highway. The new proposal would protect undisturbed ground along the river for future archeological work and preserve the bottom land area from further encroachments by man. The Park Service had earlier rejected a land swap proposal and city leaders, eager for a bridge at Second Street, rejected the new Park Service proposal.

In August the Park Service submitted another plan which was also rejected. On September 8, 1961, a final decision was reached in a meeting between Congressman Vinson, George Williams (Assistant Commissioner for Engineering, Bureau of Public Roads),

and NFS Director Conrad Wirth. Interstate 16 would pass through Ocmulgee National Monument between the route originally proposed and the Ocmulgee River. The new highway would effectively separate the bulk of monument land from the river which had been essential to Native American habitation of the site.

An agreement between the National Park Service and the State Highway Department provided for archeological exploration of the interstate route through Ocmulgee National Monument. An advisory committee was established and project personnel arrived at Ocmulgee in late 1961. Wilfred D. Logan was named Director of the National Park Service sponsored project but (due to illness) John W. Griffin, Carroll Burroughs, and John M. Corbett served as Acting Chiefs. Other members of the Archeological Research Unit (ARU) included archeologists Jackson W. Moore, Jr., John E. Ingmanson, John W. Walker, Charles F. Bohannon, Charles B. Voll, and administrative assistant Donald Sarver. The Research Unit shared space in the Visitor Center with the monument's Park Service staff.

The archeological work, sometimes referred to as "Big Dig II", began in December 1961 and reached full scale during January 1962. The project, hampered by rain and flood waters, continued until its labor force was terminated in June 1962. The ARU and Ocmulgee staff coexisted and shared expenses throughout the archeological project. At the conclusion of the project an attempt was made to continue the research unit with Ocmulgee National Monument as a home base. These plans culminated during the mid 1960s with a research unit known as the Southeast Archeological Center.

The Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) was established at

Ocmulgee National Monument in October of 1966 and was responsible for the supervision of archeological research within the Southeastern Region of the National Park Service. John Walker, John Griffin, and Richard Faust each headed the center. The professional staff consisted of Lee Hanson, David Hannah, and Donald Crusoe. The Center occupied several offices, a library room, map and archives room, and small lab in the Visitor Center basement. The National Park Service staff assigned to Ocmulgee National Monument occupied rooms on the main floor. The cramped quarters were the major problem faced by the dual NPS units and in 1972 SEAC moved to Tallahassee, Florida.

The year 1966 also marked the end of "Mission 66", a ten year program designed to bring units of the National Park Service System up to standards necessary for their enjoyment by the public. The program's effect on Ocmulgee National Monument was summed up by Superintendent Dillahunt in March when he reflected that "Ocmulgee did not fare as well under Mission 66 as most other National Parks. In fact, construction of one employee residence is 66's only development here. This, compared to accomplishments in other parks is so insignificant, we (Monument staff) sometimes think of the program as 'Missing 66'."4

Superintendent Dillahunt transferred to Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area in December, 1966. Ocmulgee National Monument received a new superintendent, Charles F. Bohannon, on January 15, 1967. The intense land clearing efforts of the former superintendent were obscured as the new superintendent allowed renewed growth to provide Ocmulgee with a "natural look". A reduction in staff size also occurred and the monument began closing

on Mondays and Tuesdays. The changes contributed to reduced visitation, with the total number of visitors plummeting from 72,580 in 1967 to 39,641 in 1969.

An investigation of Mound "A", supervised by John Walker, was also conducted during 1967. The examination revealed that the plateau on which it stands had been purposely leveled and shaped. The archeology team also determined that the clay cap of the mound was almost impervious to rain damage and would require little restoration.⁵

In 1968 Region officials were concerned with administrative policies at Ocmulgee National Monument. In October the administration of the monument was combined with that of the Southeast Archeological Center, which was under the general supervision of Dr. Ernest Allen Connally, Chief of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, located in Washington D.C. The move was supposedly designed to "put more emphasis on archeological research" and provide "a reduction in administrative work".⁶

Eleven months later Superintendent Bohannon left the monument and National Park Service officials implemented plans to create the position of Management Assistant. The reorganization also placed Ocmulgee under the general supervision of Superintendent Vincent Ellis at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. Regional Director J. Leonard Volz stated that "interpretive personnel at the monument... should report administratively to the Management Assistant [while] the format, content, and quality of the interpretive program should be under the professional direction of

the professional personnel at the Archeological Center."7 The aim of the National Park Service in proposing the new administration was to create "a total unit that demonstrates, at high standards, the Service's capabilities in research through interpretation."8

On December 28, 1969, W. Pingree Crawford assumed the newly created Management Assistant position at Ocmulgee National Monument. In March, 1971, Ocmulgee was removed from Kennesaw's jurisdiction and Crawford's title was changed to Superintendent.

Return of the Creeks

Early in 1972 efforts were begun by the Macon Chamber of Commerce, Ocmulgee National Monument Auxiliary Corporation, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and National Park Service to relocate a group of Creek Indians to Ocmulgee National Monument. A "living history" program was developed at the monument and a few Creek Indians from Oklahoma moved to Macon to conduct craft demonstrations for the public. Several Creeks were also hired to fill temporary interpretive and maintenance positions at the monument with the prospect of qualifying for permanent Park Service positions. The Macon Chamber of Commerce encouraged local businesses to provide jobs as an enticement for the Indians to relocate and Mercer University later offered ten full scholarships for them to stay. The Bureau of Indian Affairs contributed travel money for use on the trip to Macon and provided a grant for operation of an Indian Trading Post, or gift shop, at the monument.

The local fascination with Indians reached its peak in October 1972, with a week long celebration to commemorate the return of the Creeks to Macon. "Creek Week" began with a successful parade, but

the events that followed did not fare as well. A drama "Return of the Creeks" was performed with the use of several hundred Bibb County schoolchildren (and two Creeks) and received mixed reviews from the local newspaper. Other events proposed for the week included dancing, craft demonstrations, archery contests, and corn eating. Plans were changed, however, when four of seven events were cancelled the first day. The week ended as a disaster. Sponsors owed over \$2,000 for use of the coliseum while the total debt incurred from "Creek Week" was \$12,675.⁽⁹⁾ Charles H. Jones, president of both the Chamber of Commerce and Ocmulgee Auxiliary Corporation, insisted that the celebration would have been better had local leaders produced it instead of the Rogers Company, an out of town production company.¹⁰ This ex post facto statement could not change the dire financial situation and Creek Week promoters pleaded with County Commissioners for aid.

The effect of the Creek Week celebration was also detrimental to Ocmulgee National Monument. Although Monument administrators were not the prime organizers of the celebration, many people associated the events with the Monument and the National Park Service. Local visitation decreased, fewer people attended the living history programs, and the Creek Trading Post, never a bustling business, continued to struggle. The gift shop closed during the mid 1970s due to financial problems, the difficulty of obtaining genuine items, local competition, and personal problems of the operators.

The Creeks at Ocmulgee also encountered difficulties adjusting to Macon and Ocmulgee National Monument. Most had come to Macon as young adults, seeking jobs and new experiences. The availability

of jobs seemed like a promising opportunity and the first two summers were indeed positive. Many of the Creeks, however, soon became homesick and returned to their family and friends in Oklahoma. Those who stayed were confronted with the exiting of Charles Jones as Chamber of Commerce president. With him went the dreams of the Creek Indian relocation project. The initial fervor of local people over the project also faded, and the Creeks were no longer viewed as novelties in the community.¹¹

The Creeks who continued to work at the monument also encountered administrative changes. Archeologist Norman Ritchie left Ocmulgee for another unit of the National Park System, and in 1976 Walter T. Berrett replaced Crawford as superintendent. The new superintendent did not support the freedom given to the Creek interpreters as they related, in no uncertain terms, "their" story to visitors. The emphasis was placed on the historic rather than prehistoric period of Ocmulgee National Monument. The Creeks at Ocmulgee gradually found their Park Service positions unrenewed and other personnel hired to fill vacancies.¹² The position of the National Park Service and Ocmulgee's administrators drew intense criticism in 1980 from Charles Jones who claimed that "the National Park Service in general, is of the persuasion that they are operating a cemetery where Indians have been dead and buried for thousands of years."¹³

Conflict in the Community

The administration of Ocmulgee National Monument under Superintendent Berrett was marked by conflicts between the monument and local community. In 1977 John Holley, executive director of

the Macon-Bibb County Planning and Zoning Commission, launched an effort to have artifacts returned to Ocmulgee which were supposedly removed during the 1930s. The material Holley referred to had not actually been removed until 1972, when SEAC was transferred to the campus of Florida State University, but Maconites were uninformed in matters concerning Ocmulgee National Monument.

Holley's complaints led the Bibb County Commissioners to ask Senator Sam Nunn to investigate the matter. The Macon Telegraph also joined the attack on Ocmulgee and the National Park Service, encouraging local citizens to join a letter writing campaign to have the archeological material returned. The Telegraph attempted to establish the National Park Service as a villain and complained that "the white man was not content to take the Indian's land; he also took their simple treasures."¹⁴ Superintendent Berrett replied in an editorial that a misunderstanding existed and that, the material taken in 1972 to be studied at SEAC would be returned when analysis and study were complete.¹⁵ Linda Wilson, staff writer for the newspaper promptly reported on December 7, 1977, "Artifacts To Come Back".¹⁶ The bold heading was followed by the words "as soon as the 2.5 million objects are studied in Florida". Wilson and other local people were not aware that Ocmulgee National Monument could not properly display the numerous artifacts, or that much of the collection was small ceramic and lithic fragments unsuitable for display.

Superintendent Berrett also found it difficult to deal with city officials in Macon. The city government, like business leaders, had taken an active part in Ocmulgee during the early

1970s and had been instrumental in directing affairs related to the monument, such as the Indian relocation efforts. In 1978 a Mr. E. G. Sherrill met with the Macon Chamber of Commerce and the president of the Ocmulgee National Monument Association. Mr. Sherrill then submitted his recommendations to Mayor Buckner F. Melton in a report titled "Proposal for the Indian Mounds".¹⁷ Mayor Melton requested a study of the feasibility of the proposals he made by the Middle Georgia Area Planning and Development Commission. The Mayor then wrote the monument to inform the superintendent of his decision to have the proposals studied. The proposals were aimed at development of the monument for commercial benefits and included the following:

- 1) clearing trees between Great Temple Mound and I-16 to provide travelers a view of the mounds.
- 2) rebuilding temples atop the Greater and Lesser Temple Mounds.
- 3) erecting an Indian village adjacent to the Trading Post.
- 4) constructing picnic areas in the woods.
- 5) using Civil War battleground for interpretation of Battle of Dunlap hill.

Mayor Melton agreed that Sherrill's proposals appeared to have validity, and forwarded them to the National Park Service Regional Director. The Acting Director's reply, dated March 28, 1978, politely rejected the proposals. The historical and archeological value of Ocmulgee National Monument was once again preserved.¹⁸

Relations between the city and Ocmulgee National Monument remained poor and in 1978 the situation became worse. In June the State Department of Transportation authorized the city of Macon to

install a traffic signal at the intersection of Emery Highway and Jeffersonville Road. State Transportation officials later learned that a portion of the right-of-way belonged to Ocmulgee National Monument and proceeded to seek permission from Superintendent Berrett for installation of an overhead traffic sign. The superintendent agreed to approve the city's request only if a traffic signal was installed at the monument's entrance. The deadlock between the city and monument continued and neither party obtained their objective. The city of Macon and Ocmulgee National Monument continued to have an unsteady relationship.

A positive note found during the conflict of the late 1970s was the discovery of a Macon Plateau period site. The site was located during a survey conducted by Service archeologist John Walker in 1978. The 25 acre site extended south of the Visitor Center parking area. News of discovery, however, did not improve relations between monument and city and in 1979 a new superintendent entered the scene.

A New Decade: the 1980s

The new superintendent, Sibbald Smith, assumed duties at Ocmulgee National Monument on December 16, 1979. The local community was pleased to receive a new administrator at the monument but were cautious not to overreact to the change. The superintendent was unaware of past relations between the monument and city but soon realized that he would have to take the initiative and establish good public relations with the local community. This was done through the media and by personal contact and helped to lay a foundation for future cooperation between the

two bodies. Changes were also made at the monument itself.

Plans for renovation of the Visitor Center at Ocmulgee had been devised during the 1970s. Implementation of the plans, however, was carried out soon after Superintendent Smith arrived at Ocmulgee. The remodeled Visitor Center was designed so it could be operated by one ranger. This provided maximum effectiveness at minimum cost. "Cost effectiveness" became the goal and trademark of the new superintendent and was evident in all areas of the monument's administrative policy.

Both interpretation and maintenance became targets of the new philosophy at Ocmulgee. Mowing operations were sharply decreased, conserving money and manpower. This policy was conducted on a smaller scale by Superintendent Crawford a few years earlier, but was abandoned by the succeeding administration. Maintenance of archeological features has also been a high priority of the present administration. Employment of seasonals, volunteers, and Youth Conservation Corp workers aid in the upkeep of the features.

Volunteers in Parks have also begun to be used to a greater extent in visitor center operations. This allows rangers to devote time to other interpretive projects and improves the monument's interpretive program. The interpretive program also benefited from an administrative change that occurred during the early 1980s. The earthlodge was equipped with an audio system prior to Superintendent Smith's arrival but tours were conducted every half hour. This double interpretation was halted after Superintendent Smith and staff experimented with keeping the earthlodge open during park hours. The new administrative policy allowed group tours, but other visitors were given the chance to tour at their

own leisure. Visitors had asked for this opportunity in 1952 when the museum-administration building was dedicated (Chapter III).

Visitation at Ocmulgee National Monument increased sharply during the mid 1980s. This increase can be partially attributed to the emphasis which the National Park Service has placed on the smaller parks and monuments in recent years. Locally, Ocmulgee has received attention through good public relations and the distribution of brochures at welcome centers. A four-month calendar of events was devised to provide activities and learning experiences for the visiting public and was later expanded to eleven months. Craft demonstrations continued to be held at scheduled times (but not weekly) and more responsibility was given to the Ocmulgee National Monument Association.

Ocmulgee National Monument has been directly involved with several major projects during the 1980s. On November 12, 1983, a reunion of former Civilian Conservation Corps workers was held at the monument to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the CCC. The reunion was a success as speakers, pictures, memorabilia and conversations recalled the experiences of the CCC at Ocmulgee from 1937 to 1942.

In 1984 Keep America Beautiful Inc. and the Department of Interior agreed to launch a pilot project at the monument through the help of the Macon-Bibb County Beautification Clean Community Commission. The project was developed to provide local citizens with an opportunity to "contribute to cleaning and maintaining nearby federally-owned public lands..." in order to encourage public interest and awareness.¹⁹ The first Public Lands Day at

Ocmulgee was held September 8, 1984. The short notice given the monument prohibited the coordination of a major project but the local community was invited to have lunch on the grounds, followed by a brief ceremony marking the occasion. The project, designed to be an annual event, attracted over 2,000 people in 1985.

Another current project is the development of a Discovery Lab workshop for children. Teachers from the Bibb County School System, working for certification credits and as volunteers, contributed to its planning and development.

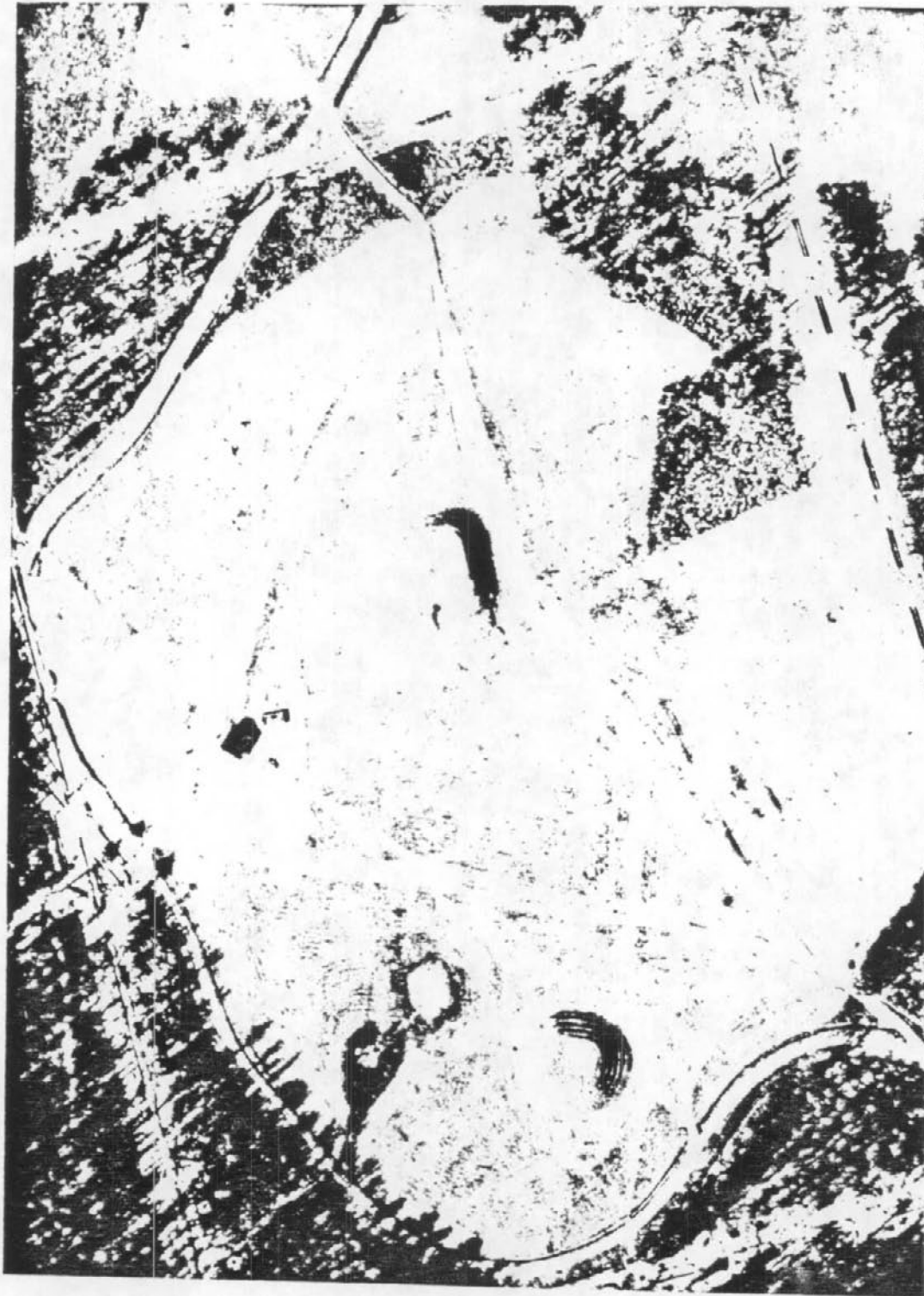
In other areas, plans to relocate the monument entrance have been renewed. Superintendent Smith, recognizing the need for a safer entrance, began working with local highway authorities to explore solutions. Plans were discussed for alteration of the existing entrance (larger holding lane, unobtrusive entrance sign) as well as construction of a new entrance from Main Street. These two possibilities took a back seat, however, when city and county highway officials began planning a connector from Eisenhower Parkway (US 80) to Emory Highway (US 80). The possibility now exists that a new road to the monument can be constructed from the connector. Administrators hope that the the connector will also be used to provide a road into the Lamar section of the monument.²⁰

Development of the Lamar unit of Ocmulgee National Monument has presented a challenge to monument administrators for years. During the 1930s the mounds stood majestically in an open field while New Deal employees conducted excavations nearby. In 1938 Charles Harrold recorded the anticipation and admiration which he and others felt regarding Lamar:

"Lamar of course is really going to be the most

beautiful thing in the entire monument when it is finally completed. From the very beginning the citizens of Macon have looked forward to its restoration as a place for pageants and even for the return visits of the remnants of the Creek Nation."²¹

Unfortunately, the Lamar site suffered during the ensuing years along with the rest of the monument. In 1948 it was considered a low priority until better roads and a completed levee could be constructed.²² Today the Lamar unit is surrounded by dense timber and is not easily accessible. The Youth Conservation Corps conducts clearing operations in the area but trees continue to cover the mounds themselves. Until the area is developed, the vegetation serves as a barrier against artifact collectors and other possible intruders. The desire of the present administration is to develop the Lamar unit as a primitive day use area.



Aerial view of the Lamar Mounds.

CHAPTER VI

COMPREHENSION, CONCERN, COOPERATION: THE KEYS TO SUCCESS

The administrative history of Ocmulgee National Monument is marked with both success and failure. This in turn has prevented the monument from maintaining a consistency which is vital for continued growth and success. The task of present and future managers is to establish and maintain Ocmulgee as an efficient, functional unit of the National Park Service System. A recent visitor to Ocmulgee aptly described the monument as "an unpolished gem, growing brighter every day." To ensure that this gem reaches its highest potential, monument administrators and the local community must realize that success depends on several key factors.

During past administrations, relations between Ocmulgee and the community have varied. Some superintendents have wanted nothing to do with the city and surrounding area, while others have gone overboard to please. Ocmulgee's success depends on a balanced, working relationship where compromise is standard policy. The Chamber of Commerce will naturally continue to view Ocmulgee as an attraction site which draws tourists, but this is just a fringe benefit provided to local businesses. The primary concern of the monument is to preserve, protect, and interpret the scientific and historical resources of the area.

Ocmulgee National Monument represents a past era, but it also

represents the past of each person living in Macon, Georgia.

Today, Macon serves as home for many people; for 10,000 years it was home to various Indian cultures. The arrival of Europeans established contact and the Indian's past and white man's past intertwined. At this point the story of the Indian takes on personal meaning, for to this day we are influenced by the result of the historic confrontation. Ocmulgee, Tobesofkee - the Indian influence, in names and products (corn, tobacco, etc.), is very evident today in Macon, Georgia. Comprehension by the local community of what Ocmulgee National Monument constitutes is a vital aspect of the monument's key to success.

Once the local population understands that the monument is more than just Indian mounds, consistent and successful administration is just around the corner. The superintendent and local community will be able to pursue common goals and together can make Ocmulgee National Monument efficient and functional.

Another aspect of cooperation (and a key to success) involves the Ocmulgee National Monument Association. The Association should play an important and active role in promoting the monument. The past couple of years have seen progress and growth in the organization, but its potential is far from being reached. The Association, as a self-supported body, should promote the monument as authorized in its bylaws.

The Ocmulgee National Monument Association and local community can have a great impact on affairs at the monument. They could work with monument administrators to promote and maintain the historical and archeological importance of the area. If the local population comprehends what Ocmulgee actually is, becomes concerned with

preserving it, and cooperates with monument administrators to ensure its protection and promotion, then growth and success will result.

Ocmulgee National Monument is administered by the National Park Service, but it belongs to the people of the United States. Input by citizens, and especially the local population, will enable Ocmulgee to reach its highest potential; the gem, once polished, will be permanently set for proper display.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

1An additional feature, a probable house mound, is located in the main section near the Cornfield Mound. This feature is not easily discernable and has been given the name Mound "X". See Archeology of the North Macon Plateau by J. Mark Williams and Joseph N. Henderson, 1974.

2The account by one of Oglethorpe's rangers is recorded in Travels in the American Colonies, edited by Newton Mereness. Adair, History of the American Indians; Bartram, Travels of William Bartram; and Jones, Antiquity of the Southern Indians, also mention the mounds.

3James Adair, History of the American Indians (Johnson City, Tenn.: Watuga Press, 1930), p. 39.

4The Cherokee fertilizer factory was located on the Middle Plateau near the 1870's railroad cut; Anderson brickyard - south of the Funeral Mound; clay mine - east of the Great Temple Mound; railroad roundhouse - southwest of the Funeral Mound. The McDougal Mound area was used as a dairy farm.

5"Country's most Perfect Mounds Found Near City," Macon Telegraph, November 17, 1933, Harrold Scrapbooks, original located at Washington Memorial Library, Macon. Motorcycle climbing also remembered by local residents.

6Hale Smith, Analysis of the Lamar Site (Tallahassee, Fla.: Florida State University, 1973), p. iii.

7Ibid.

8"Macon's Civic Spirit Wins," Macon Telegraph, June 7, 1945, Harrold Scrapbooks (article labeled June 7, 1933; Book 3).

9Letter, Cammerer to Vinson, January 6, 1934, National Park Service Central Classified files of Ocmulgee National Monument, located in the National Archives, Washington D.C. (hereinafter cited as CCF).

10Letter, Ickes to Chairman Rene' L. DeRouen, Committee on Public Lands, House of Representatives, April 16, 1934, NPS Office of Legislation, Washington D.C., Appendix A.

11"Indian Mound Plan Backed By Civic Bodies," Macon Telegraph, Macon, Georgia, April 13, 1934, Harrold Scrapbooks.

12"Hope Abandoned For Mound Aid," Macon Telegraph, April 20, 1934, Harrold Scrapbooks.

13"U.S. Park Service Wants Mounds Developed," Macon Telegraph, May 3, 1934, Harrold Scrapbooks.

14"CCC Interested in Mound Work," Macon Telegraph, May 26, 1934, Harrold Scrapbooks.

15Chatelain was Chief Historian; Winter, Assistant Historian; Kahler, Historical Section of NPS; Taylor, Chief Engineer of Eastern Division; Simmons, Landscape Architect.

16Letter, Demaray to Harrold, December 4, 1934, CCF-RG79,

Box 2302.

17Letter, Demaray to Vinson, January 28, 1935, CCF-RG79,

Box 2302.

18Letter, Harrold to Demaray, December 9, 1934, CCF-RG79,

Box 2302.

19Letter, Kahler to NFS Director, November 2, 1935, CCF-RG79, Box 2302.

20Memorandum, Margold to Interior Secretary, July 26, 1935, M.27994, CCF.

21Letter, Wright to Charles Akerman, December 27, 1935, CCF.

22Ibid.

23Letter, Harrold to Chatelain, April 23, 1935, CCF.

24Ibid.

25Letter, Chatelain to Harrold, April 25, 1935, CCF-RG79, Box 2302.

26"U.S. Park Assured For Bibb As Leaders Reach Top In Drive," Macon Telegraph, June 6, 1935, Harrold Scrapbook One, OCMU.

27Petition Number 555, United States vs. Three Parcels of Land, March 9, 1936, Federal Archives, Eastpoint, Georgia.

28Demurrer to Petition Number 555, May 30, 1936, Federal Archives, Eastpoint, Georgia.

29Final Judgement on Petition Number 555, July 25, 1936, Federal Archives, Eastpoint, Georgia.

30"Appraisal of Park Lands Accepted by Bibb Mills," Macon Telegraph, July 18, 1936, Harrold Scrapbook Two, OCMU.

31Letter, Olinus Smith to Oliver G. Taylor, October 14, 1936, CCF.

32Letter, W.E. Dunwoody to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 26, 1934, CCF-RG79, Box 2302.

33Proclamation by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Enabling Legislation No. 2212, Dec. 23, 1936, Stat. 1798.

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Letter, Kahler to NFS Director, August 27, 1936, CCF.

2Letter, Superintendent William Lockett to Coordinating Superintendent, Southeast National Monuments, June 13, 1940, CCF, Box 2307.

3Audit Report by Myers, March 30, 1938, CCF.

4Superintendent's Annual Report, 1939, located at the Southeast Archaeological Center (SEAC), Tallahassee, Florida.

5"Proposed Development of Major Archaeological Features," Master Plan for Ocmulgee National Monument, 1939, located at Ocmulgee National Monument (hereinafter referred to as OCMU), Plan file.

6Superintendent's Annual Report, 1942, OCMU.

7Letter, Superintendent Dillahunt to former Superintendent Lockett, March 3, 1966, OCMU, Reading file 7-1-65/6-30-66.

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James Swanson Jr., "Discovery, Excavation, and Restoration of a Prehistoric Indian Ceremonial Earthlodge," Unpublished manuscript, OCMU, pp. 14, 18.

2Ibid., p. 41.

3Memorandum, Response by Pope to Memorandum FO-54-53, September 30, 1953, OCMU, Earthlodge file.

4Memorandum, Superintendent Sibbald Smith to NPS Region One Director, January 16, 1981, "Threats to Cultural Resources," OCMU, H-42.

5Memorandum, Jennings to Region One Director, September 22, 1938, OCMU, 620-107.

6Memorandum, Smith to Gray, May 21, 1938, OCMU, 620-107.

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8Report titled "Earthlodge Study: Ocmulgee National Monument," 1974, OCMU, Earthlodge file.

9Letter, Russell to Harris, May 17, 1938, SEAC.

10Devereaux Butcher, "For a Return to Harmony in Park Architecture," National Parks Magazine, October-December, 1952, p. 150.

11Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1940, CCF, Box 2304, files 6 and 7.

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14Superintendent's Annual Report, November 1948, OCMU.

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18Superintendents Monthly Report, November 1951, OCMU.

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4Audit Report, February 23, 1946, through December 31, 1946, written February 24, 1947, CCF, Box 2304, files 6 and 7.

5Letter, Acting Director Tolson to Allen, August 19, 1946, CCF, Box 2, file 3, 1-1-37/12-31-37.

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7Memorandum, Staff Archaeologist, Ocmulgee, to Region Director, April 14, 1955, History Division Ocmulgee files, NPS, Washington D.C.

8Letter, Superintendent Caywood to Region Director, November 15, 1957, OCMU, Interstate 16 file.

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Ocmulgee National Monument; Macon, Georgia. National Park
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Interviews

Fingree Crawford, former Superintendent. Interviewed July 29, 1985.
Richard Faust, Chief of SEAC. Interviewed August, 1984.
George Fischer, Archeologist, SEAC. Interviewed August, 1984.
Jesse D. Jennings, former Superintendent. Interviewed August 1, 1985.
Frank E. Lester, former Acting Superintendent. Interviewed January 15, 1983.
Wilfred Logan, Denver Service Center. Interviewed July 29, 1985.
Jackson Moore, Archeologist, SEAC. Interviewed August, 1984.
Sibbald Smith, Superintendent. Interviewed September, 1985.
John W. Walker, Archeologist, SEAC. Interviewed August 1, 1985.

APPENDIX A

SUPERINTENDENTS OF OCMULGEE NATIONAL MONUMENT

James T. Swanson, Act'g. Supt.	12-23-36 to 2-16-38
Frank E. Lester, Act'g. Supt.	2-16-38 to 4-10-38
Jesse D. Jennings, Act'g. Supt.	4-10-38 to 5-15-39
Frank E. Lester, Act'g. Supt.	5-15-39 to 6-18-39
John C. Ewers, Act'g. Supt.	6-18-39 to 3-24-40
William W. Lockett, Supt.	3-24-40 to 3-03-43
William W. Lockett, Custodian	3-03-43 to 10-03-44
Arthur R. Kelly, Custodian	10-03-44 to 9-01-47
Millard D. Guy, Supt.	10-28-47 to 6-06-55
Louis R. Daywood, Supt.	7-25-55 to 1-07-61
Albert Dillahunty, Supt.	1-22-61 to 12-03-66
Charles F. Bohannon, Supt.	1-15-67 to 9-20-69
W. Fingree Crawford, Management Asst.	12-28-69 to 3-02-71
W. Fingree Crawford, Supt.	3-03-71 to 3-28-76
Walter T. Berrett, Supt.	3-28-76 to 12-15-79
Sibbald Smith, Supt.	12-16-79 to present

Note: Partial list of Superintendents acquired from National Park Service Officials, U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, March 1, 1972.

APPENDIX B

General Walter Alexander Harris, soldier, lawyer and author, was born in Macon, Georgia November 17, 1875, the son of Nathaniel Edwin (at one time Governor of Georgia) and Fannie (Burke) Harris. He graduated from the University of Georgia in 1895 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and received his LL.B. degree from Georgia the following year. His alma mater conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1928.

Admitted to the bar of the State of Georgia in 1896, General Harris served as a partner in a local law firm for many years. He also served as a member of the Bibb County Board of Education from 1905 to 1912.

General Harris retired as a Major General of the Georgia National Guard and was a member of the 3rd Georgia U.S. Volunteers for May 1, 1898, until April 22, 1899, during which time he rose to the rank of captain. He served in Cuba with the Army of Occupation, and continued his military career until January 21, 1919, when he was honorably discharged. He was the first commander of the Georgia Department of the American Legion in 1919.

General Harris was a member of the American and Georgia Bar Associations, the Macon Bar Association, president of the Macon Historical Society, member of the Executive Committee of the Society for Georgia Archaeology, a trustee emeritus of Wesleyan College, and a member of Chi Phi and Phi Beta Kappa fraternities, and the Kiwanis Club.

General Harris was also the author of "Emperor Brim" and Here the Creeks Sat Down.

APPENDIX C

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 16, 1934.

Hon. RENÉ L. DEROUEN,

Chairman Committee on Public Lands, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received your letter of February 8, enclosing copy of H. R. 7653, entitled "A bill to establish the Ocmulgee National Park in Bibb County, Ga.", and requesting a report thereon.

Due to the rapid development of the Nation, the remains of the prehistoric life are fast disappearing. In the interests of science and history it is of the utmost importance that some few typical areas be preserved for all time to come as places for the study of the early antecedents of human life on the North American Continent. The National Government through the passage of the act for the preservation of American antiquities, approved June 8, 1900 (34 Stat. 225), and that creating the Mesa Verde National Park, Colo., approved June 20, 1906 (34 Stat. 616), where some of the outstanding examples of Southwestern archeology are to be found, has demonstrated the importance of the preservation of such prehistoric remains.

In the case of the Indian mounds in the Ocmulgee field, it is the opinion of noted archeologists that this group comprises one of the most important centers of archeology east of the Appalachian Mountains. It should be added that several scientists of the Smithsonian Institution have recently studied this group of mounds and that Institution endorses the project for Federal preservation.

While I am in favor of preservation by the United States of the Ocmulgee area, it would seem that it is of distinct national-monument character, being similar to lands set apart in Western States for scientific purposes, and therefore should be established in that status rather than as a national park, as contemplated by this proposed legislation.

Section 1 of the bill provides for an authorization for the appropriation of Federal funds for the purchase of approximately 2,000 acres of land at a cost of not to exceed \$25 per acre. I am not in favor of authorizing the appropriation of Federal funds for the acquisition of lands as contemplated by this section and believe if the necessary area for the preservation of these prehistoric mounds is to be administered by the Federal Government that the lands should be secured by public or private donation. In view of the above it is recommended that the bill be amended as follows:

Change the title to: "A bill to authorize the establishment of the Ocmulgee National Monument in Bibb County, Georgia."

Eliminate all of section 1 and substitute the following:

"That when title to lands commonly known as the 'Old Ocmulgee Fields', upon which certain Indian mounds of great historical importance are located, comprising approximately two thousand acres, in and around the City of Macon, County of Bibb, State of Georgia, as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his judgment and discretion as necessary for national-monument purposes, shall have been vested in the United States; said area shall be set aside as a national monument, by proclamation of the President, and shall be known as the 'Ocmulgee National Monument': *Provided*, That the United States shall not purchase by appropriation of public moneys any lands within the aforesaid area, but such lands shall be secured by the United States only by public or private donation."

Page 2, line 8, change the word "Park" to "Monument".

This proposed legislation is identical with that covered by S. 2679, on which a separate report as above has been submitted, and I am advised by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget that if this proposed legislation is amended as indicated above the same will not be in conflict with the financial program of the President.

I recommend that H. R. 7653, if amended as indicated above, be given favorable consideration by the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior.

APPENDIX D
LEGISLATION

Establishment of monument authorized.....Act of June 14, 1934

AN ACT TO AUTHORISE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OCMULGEE
NATIONAL MONUMENT IN BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA, APPROVED
JUNE 14, 1934 (48 STAT. 958)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled,
That when title to lands commonly known as the "Old Ocmulgee Field," upon which certain Indian mounds of great historical importance are located, comprising approximately two thousand acres, in and around the city of Macon, County of Bibb, State of Georgia, as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his judgement and discretion as necessary for national-monument purposes, shall have been vested in the United States, said area shall be set aside as a national monument, by proclamation of the President, and shall be known as the "Ocmulgee National Monument": *Provided*, that the United States shall not purchase by appropriation of public moneys any lands within the aforesaid area, but such lands shall be secured by the United States only by public or private donation¹. (16 U.S.C. sec. 447a.)

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, structures, and other property within the boundaries of said national monument as determined and fixed hereunder and donations of funds for the purchase and or maintenance thereof, the title and evidence of title to lands acquired to be satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That he may acquire on behalf of the United States under any donated funds by purchase when purchasable at prices deemed by him reasonable, otherwise by condemnation under the provisions of the Act of August 1, 1888, such tracts of land within the said national monument as may be necessary for the completion thereof. (16 U.S.C. sec. 447b.)

Sec. 3. The administration, protection, and development of the Ocmulgee National Monument shall be under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916, as amended. (16 U.S.C. sec. 447c.)

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 2212—Dec. 23, 1936—50 Stat. 1798]

WHEREAS the act of Congress entitled "An Act To authorize the establishment of the Ocmulgee National Monument in Bibb County, Georgia", approved June 14, 1934 (48 Stat. 958), provides, in part:

"That when title to lands commonly known as the 'Old Ocmulgee Fields', upon which certain Indian mounds of great historical importance are located, comprising approximately two thousand acres, in and around the city of Macon, County of Bibb, State of Georgia, as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his judgment and discretion as necessary for national-monument purposes, shall have been vested in the United States, said area shall be set aside as a national monument, by proclamation of the President, and shall be known as the 'Ocmulgee National Monument':"

AND WHEREAS the Secretary of the Interior has designated an area comprising 678.48 acres of such land as necessary for national-monument purposes, title to which is vested in the United States:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the statutory provisions above set out, do proclaim that the aforesaid area as indicated on the diagram attached hereto and forming a part hereof is hereby set aside as a national monument to be known as the Ocmulgee National Monument.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act To establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535, U. S. C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof.

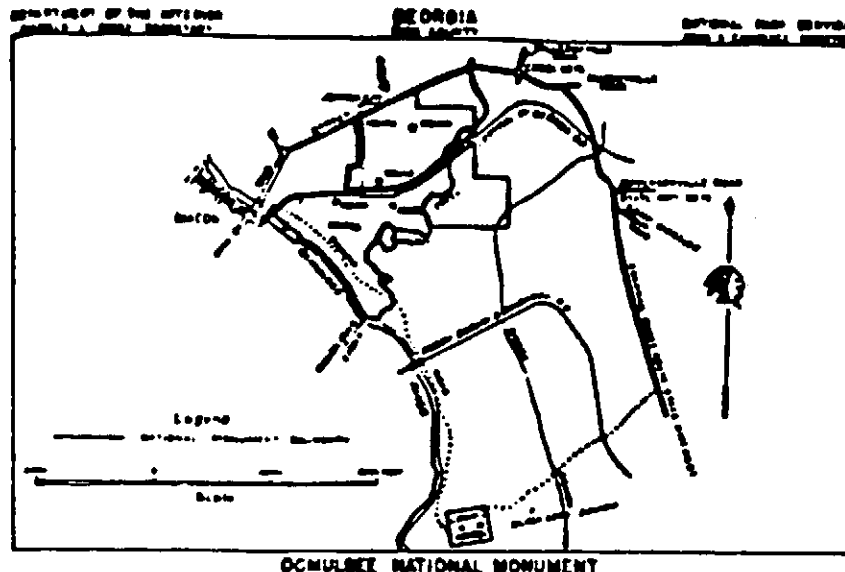
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 23d day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-six and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-first.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:

R. WALTON MOORE,
Acting Secretary of State.



BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

[No. 2493—June 11, 1941—55 Stat. 1634]

WHEREAS it appears that certain lands adjoining the Lamar Unit of the Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia, which have been donated to the United States, contain evidence of an old Indian stockade and other objects of historical interest; and

WHEREAS it appears that it would be in the public interest to set such lands aside for national monument purposes:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, ch. 3060, 34 Stat. 225 (U. S. C., title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that the following-described lands in Bibb County, Georgia, are hereby set aside for national monument purposes and shall be administered as a part of the Ocmulgee National Monument:

Beginning at a concrete monument marking the southeast corner of the Lamar Unit of the Ocmulgee National Monument from which the most easterly corner of Macon City Limits in the center of Ocmulgee River bears approximately North $31^{\circ}30'$ West 8560 feet, more or less; thence South $78^{\circ}30'$ West 1500.0 feet along the south boundary of the Lamar Unit to the southwest corner thereof; thence South $11^{\circ}30'$ East 290.4 feet; thence North $67^{\circ}32'$ East 1527.85 feet to the point of beginning, containing 5 acres, more or less.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any part or feature of this monument, and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

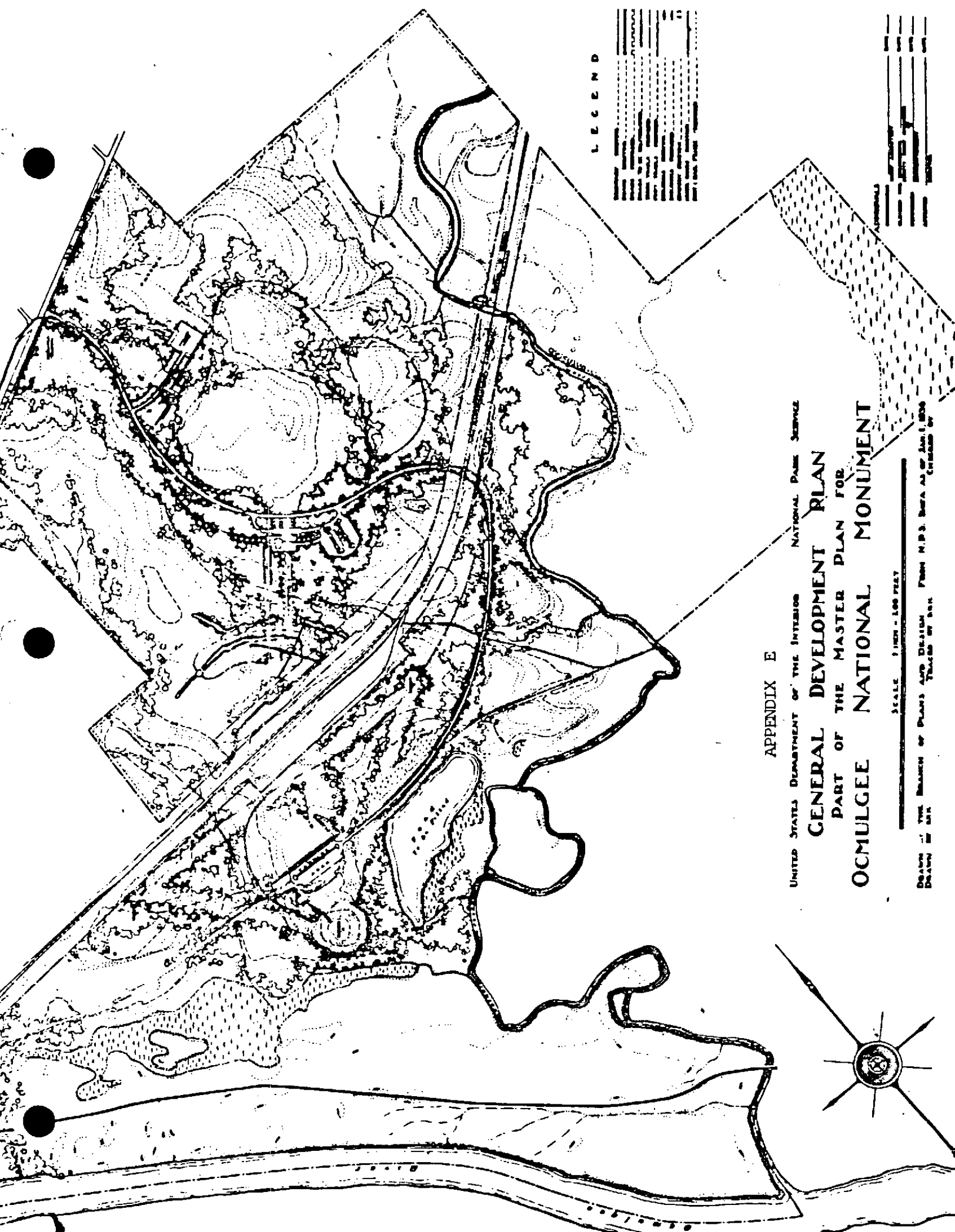
The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916, 39 Stat. 535 (U. S. C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 13th day of June in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-fifth.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:
CORDELL HULL,
Secretary of State.



LEGEND

Trail	Trail
Road	Road
Water	Water
...	...

APPENDIX E
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
GENERAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
PART OF THE MASTER PLAN FOR
OCMULGEE NATIONAL MONUMENT

SCALE 1 INCH = 100 FEET

Drawn at the Bureau of Plans and Design From N.P.S. Data as of Jan. 1, 1956
Drawn by M.H.

APPENDIX E

Proposals Submitted by Fairbanks:

- 1) Mossy Oak and Swift Creek - Early Hunters
- 2) Macon Plateau - Western Invaders
- 3) Lamar - Early Hitchite or Early Creek
- 4) Ocmulgee Fields - Old Ocmulgee Fields Town or Ocmulgee Old Town

Proposals Submitted by Guy:

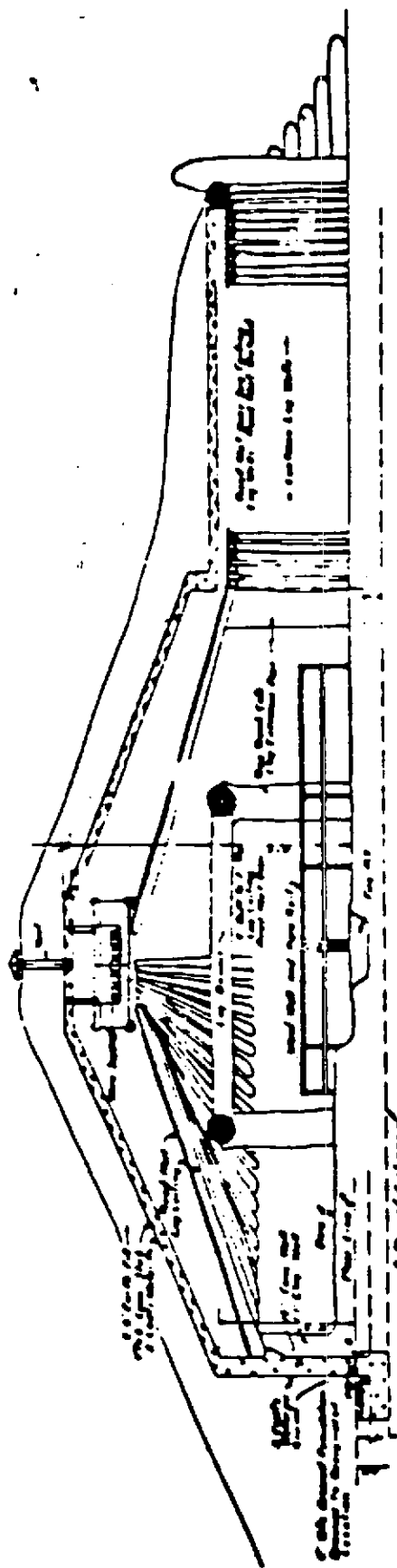
- 1) Mossy Oak and Swift Creek - Early Hunters
- 2) Macon Plateau - Primitive or First Farmers
- 3) Lamar - Swamp Dwellers
- 4) Ocmulgee Fields - Creek Traders
- 5) Mound "C" - Rainbow Mound
- 6) Mound "D" - Cornfield Mound
- 7) McDougal and Dunlap Mounds - (No Suggestions but should be changed)

Proposals Submitted by Harrington:

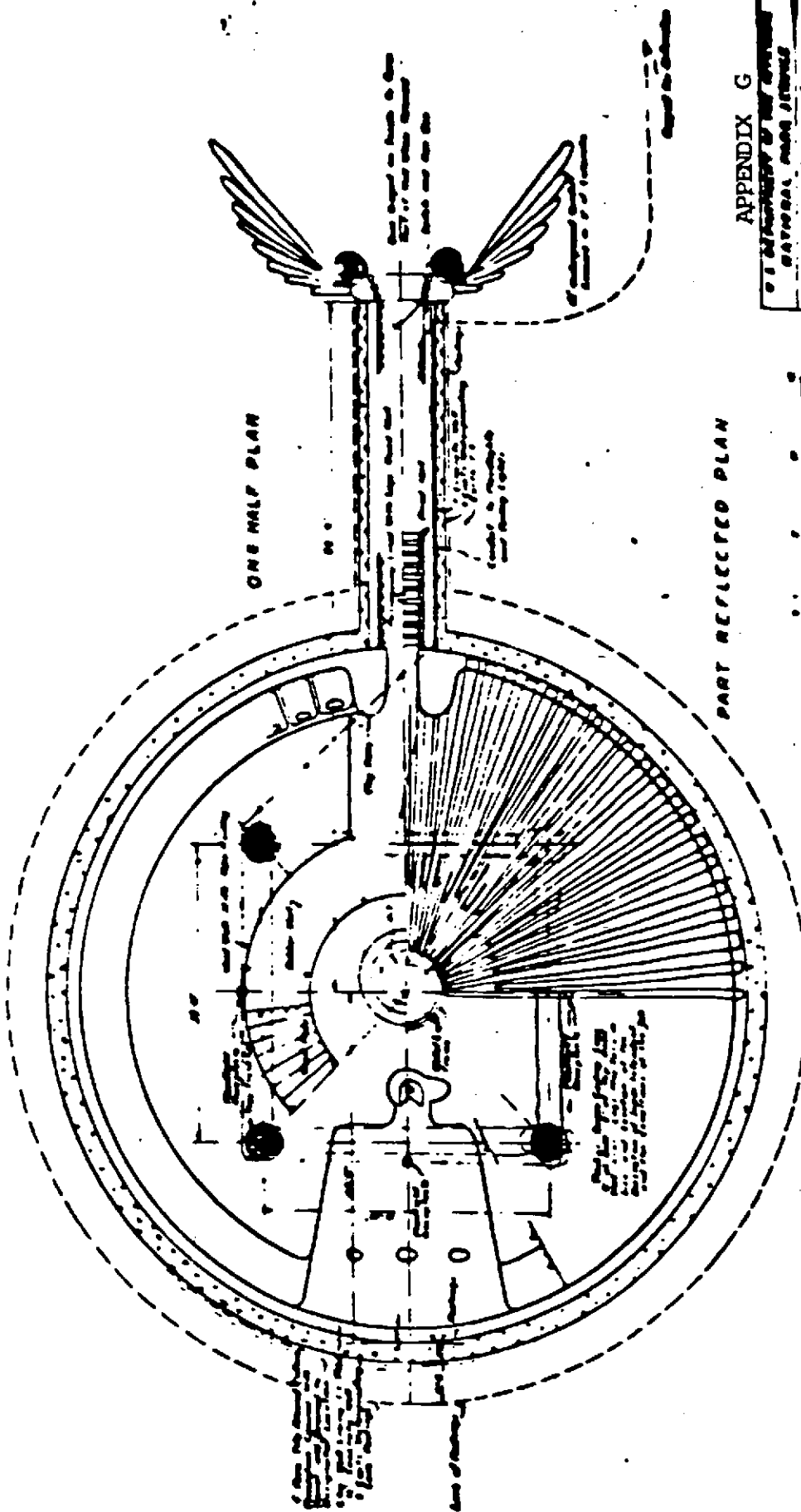
- 1) Swift Creek - Stamped Pottery Makers
- 2) Period when mounds built - Earthlodge People or Earthlodge Builders
- 3) Lamar - River Bottom People or River Bottom Dwellers
- 4) Ocmulgee Fields - Creeks of Old Ocmulgee Fields
- 5) Earthlodge - Eagle Earthlodge or Restored Earthlodge

Some Terms Used During the 1950's:

Wandering Hunters
Shellfish Eaters
Early Farmers
Master Farmers
Early Creeks



LONGITUDINAL SECTION



RESTORATION COUNCIL CHAMBER
MONUMENT

APPENDIX G

RESTORATION COUNCIL CHAMBER
MONUMENT
ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS
APPENDIX G

APPENDIX H

ANNUAL VISITATION

1985	198,596	1960	85,984
1984	148,769	1959	87,647
1983	111,014	1958	67,064
1982	80,904	1957	75,013
1981	76,001	1956	88,007
1980	88,929	1955	92,667
1979	81,572	1954	65,834
1978	76,555	1953	76,551
1977	86,364	1952	107,729
1976	128,414	1951	44,101
1975	115,341	1950	31,160
1974	104,439	1949	29,760
1973	116,260	1948	27,479
1972	96,347	1947	28,716
1971	51,637	1946	31,105
1970	59,810	1945	29,976
1969	39,641	1944	28,497
1968	48,210	1943	27,944
1967	72,580	1942	50,442
1966	85,412	1941	57,115
1965	85,976	1940	39,155
1964	86,729	1939	41,042
1963	71,845	1938	40,000
1962	69,442	1937	no record
1961	88,305	1936	no record

NOTES:

- 1) Figures for 1944-1946 from Master Plan of 1952.
- 2) 1952 marked year of first Indian festival.
- 3) 1972 marked beginning of Indian relocation effort.

Sources for figures include Annual Reports and other administrative documents.