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Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park
Macon, Georgia



Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park
Historic Resource Study

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Division
Region 2: South Atlantic-Gulf

Ocmulgee Mounds

National Historical Park

Historic Resource Study

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Prepared by:
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Under the direction of
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About the cover: 1940s Oblique Aerial of Ocmulgee National Monument. (Source: OCMU Archives).

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Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park

Historic Resource Study

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic resource study as part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the historic structures and landscapes of the National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. Many individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this project. We would especially like to thank Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park former Superintendent Jim David, Lonnie J. Davis, Cultural Resources Specialist/Historian, and the park staff for their support to this work. We hope this study will be a useful tool for park management and for others interested in the history and significance of the historic resources at Ocmulgee Mounds.

Dan Scheidt

Former Chief, Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Division

Region 2: South Atlantic-Gulf

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Introduction

Project Overview

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) records the cultural history of Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park, a unit of the National Park Service located in central Georgia (Figure 1.1). Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park protects, honors, and interprets the archeological and historical features associated with human occupation of this site, which dates to 10,000 BCE. Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park not only contains American Indian built features but also includes Civil War and Works Progress Administration era historic resources (Figure 1.2).

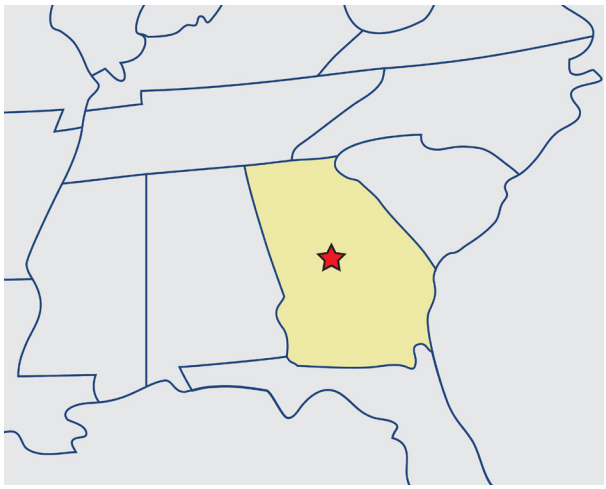


Figure 1.1. Location of Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park, Macon, Georgia. (Source: WLA Studio).

Scope and Purpose of the HRS

The HRS is the primary document used by the National Park Service (NPS) to identify and manage the historic resources within a park. It provides a historical overview of a park and identifies and evaluates a park's cultural resources within historic contexts. An HRS synthesizes all readily available cultural resource information from all disciplines in a narrative designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and interested public as a reference for the history of the region and historic resources within the park.[1]

1. National Park Service, Office of Policy, "NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline."



Figure 1.2. Aerial view of Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park. (Source: Ocmulgee National Park & Preserve Initiative).

The HRS provides informative material for additional nominations to the National Register of Historic Places. It also identifies needs for further research through special history studies, historic structure reports, archeological investigations, or other detailed studies.

Report Organization

The Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (OCMU) HRS is divided into seven chapters. This, the first chapter, conveys the purpose and goals of the report and provides an overview of the national historical park. The next four chapters address the specific historic contexts that relate to the park's existing cultural historic resources. These contexts include:

- American Indian Ethnic Heritage: Archeology and Architecture of the Ocmulgee Old Fields;
- Trade Routes and Transportation at the Ocmulgee Old Fields: Crossroads and Connections;
- The Dunlap Plantation and Civil War Military Activity in Macon, Georgia: The Battles at Dunlap's Farm;
- Social History and Architecture of the New Deal Program: The Ocmulgee Old Fields Project and Development of the Field of Archeology.

The next chapter is a resource inventory that provides a brief history, physical description, and significance and integrity evaluation information for the surviving historic cultural features.

This study closes with a final chapter, Management Recommendations, which identifies subjects for further research, physical resource protection, management, and interpretation, and protection of the park's museum and archival collections.

Finally, the report includes a bibliography.

Description of Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park

Congress authorized Ocmulgee National Monument (now Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park) on June 14, 1934, and a presidential proclamation established the park on December 23, 1936.

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park is an approximately 702-acre National Park unit located in the Ocmulgee River corridor in Middle Georgia. The current park configuration contains two separate land tracts, including the main park site and the adjacent Lamar site (Figure 1.3). The park is located west of downtown Macon, Georgia, and south of the former incorporated city of East Macon (now part of Macon). The national historical park is located on the bank of the Ocmulgee River, one of Georgia's fourteen river basins. OCMU is located on the Fall Line of the State of Georgia, which separates the Piedmont Region of the state from the Coastal Plain Region. Emery Highway (US 23/80) runs through the northeast corner of the park, and Interstate 16 traverses through the western edge of the park parallel to the Ocmulgee River. Portions of the southern boundary of the main park unit are formed by Walnut Creek, which is a tributary of the Ocmulgee River. Norfolk Southern Railroad (formerly Central of Georgia) bisects the main park unit. The Lamar site is located two miles south of the main park site.

The park originally included 678 acres, but its acreage was increased in 1941 and 1991. The park currently encompasses 702 acres on two separate units. On March 12, 2019, President Donald Trump signed legislation to expand Ocmulgee National Monument to 2,800 acres within the Ocmulgee Old Fields Traditional Cultural Property and change the name of the park to Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park. Since the NPS had not acquired these properties during course of this HRS project, this expansion area was not included in this HRS. The proposed boundary expansion area includes all of the land between the main park and Lamar Unit (Figure 1.4). Negotiations for purchase and donation of this land is currently underway by the National Park Service and partners.

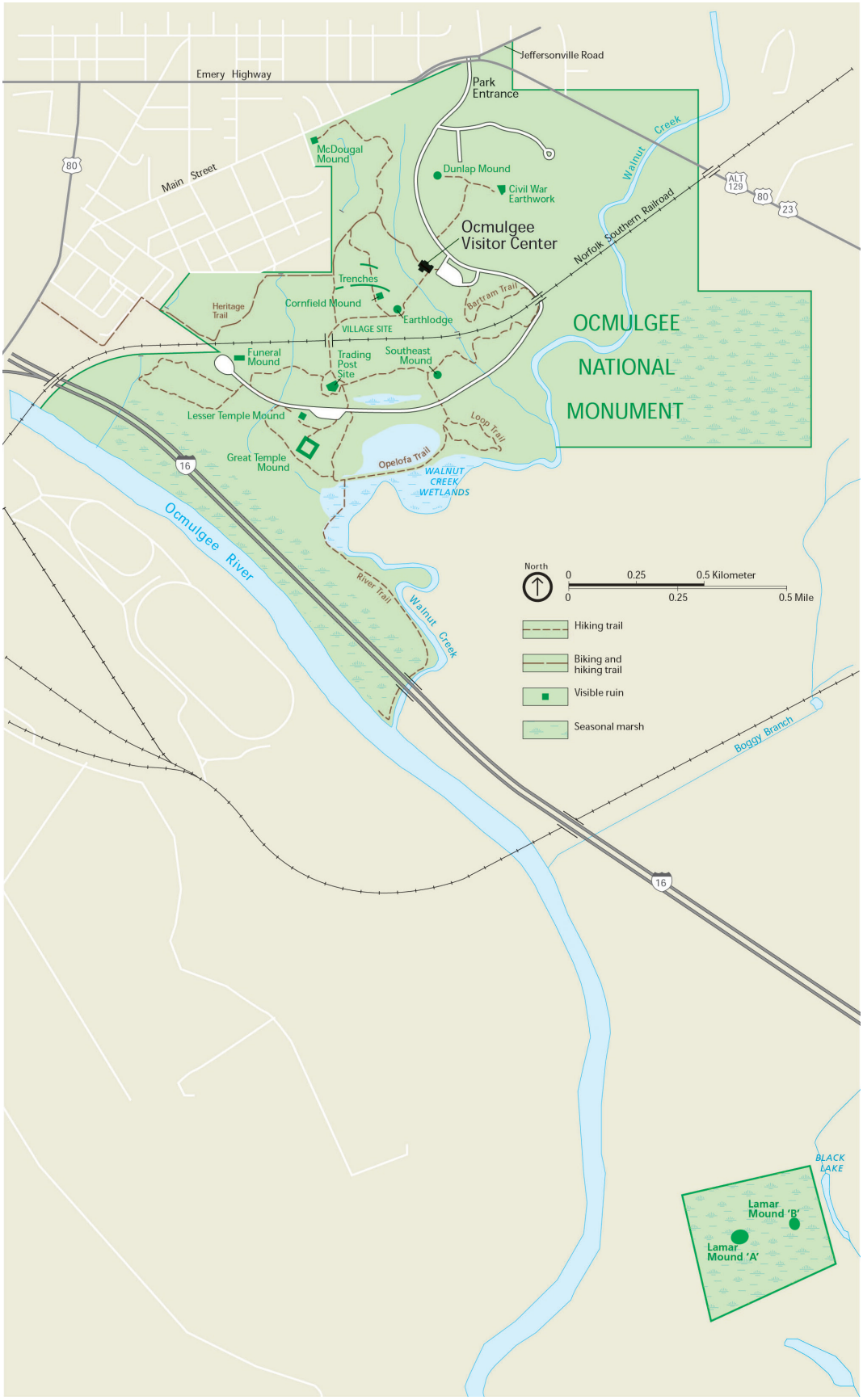


Figure 1.3. Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park, 2019. (Source: Adapted from National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center).

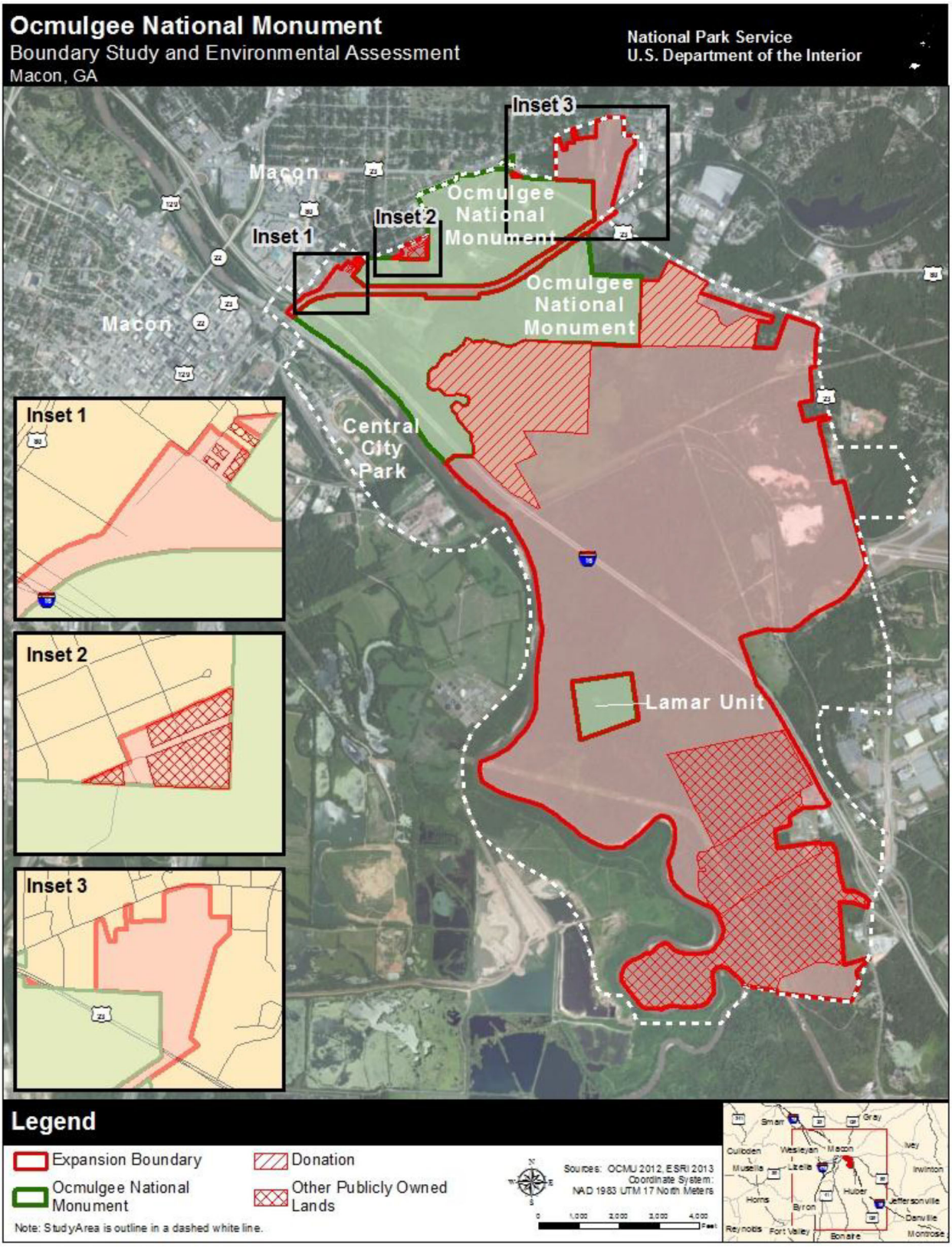


Figure 1.4. Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park Boundary Expansion Area. (Source: National Park Service, "Old Fields Boundary Study and Environmental Assessment," January 2014).

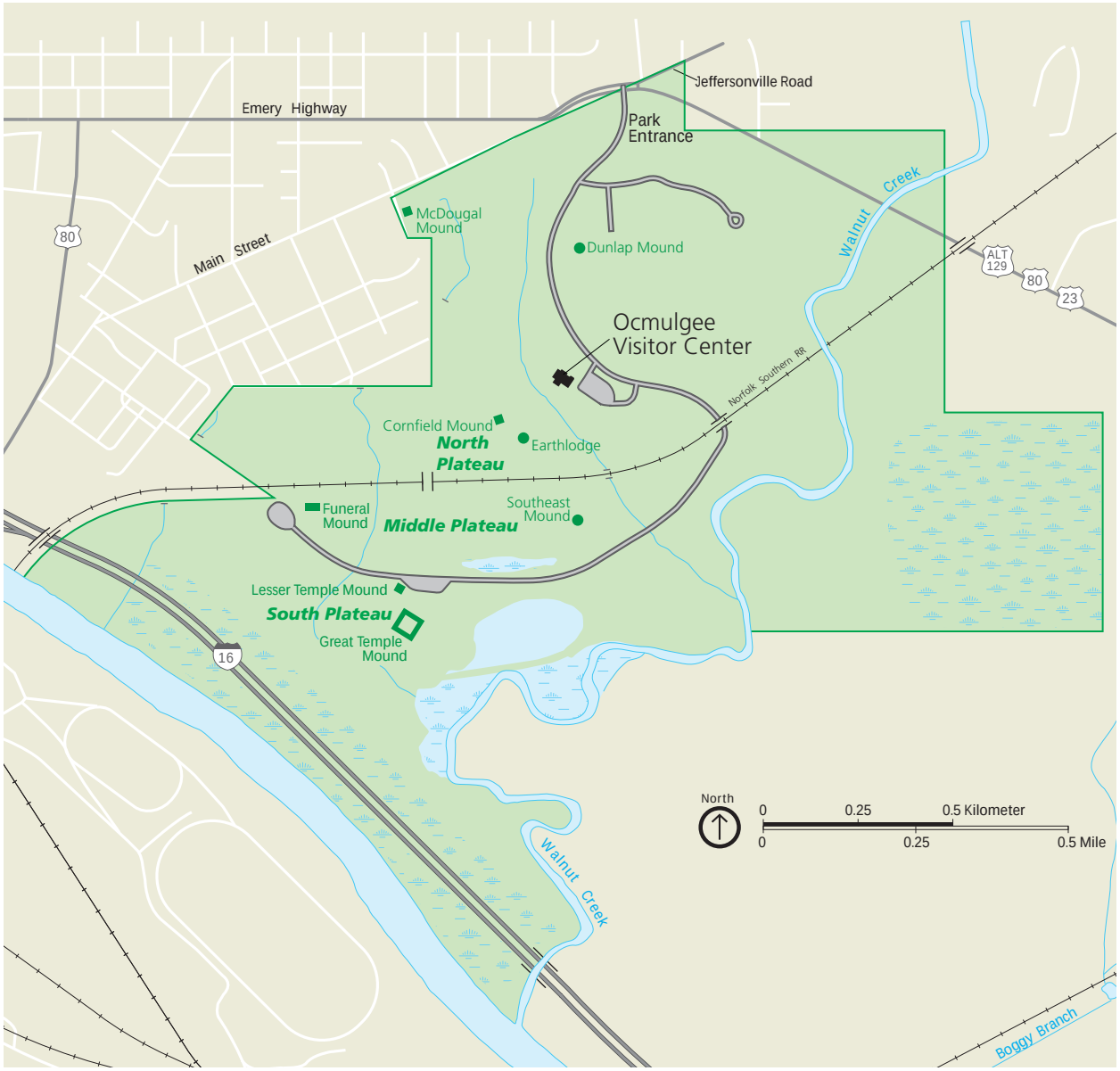


Figure 1.5. Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park showing mound locations and the North, Middle, and South portions of the Macon Plateau. (Source: Adapted from National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center Map).

The national historical park is significant for its collection of earthen mounds and archeological sites associated with the Mississippian period American Indians who lived along the Ocmulgee River; these sites are scattered within the park boundary. The American Indian sites located here are the primary visitor destination of the national historical park. These precontact period archeological sites are of national significance for their association with the development of Mississippian cultures and the settling of the Fall Line in Georgia. The precontact sites were the subject of early archeological investigations led by Arthur Randolph Kelly, who was significant for his contribution to the development of archeology as a scientific discipline in the United States. The Macon Plateau site includes unique architectural mounds, village sites, storage pits, and trenches (Figure 1.5). These sites have revealed important information concerning a variety of Mississippian culture topics, including settlement patterns, agricultural strategies and techniques, travel routes, cultural and religious belief systems, social organization, cultural landscape patterns, trade and economy, and migration. They also retain potential to shed further light on these historical developments. The Macon Plateau continues to serve as a sacred site for these thirteen tribes:

- Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas
- Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town
- Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
- Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians
- United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians
- Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
- Kialegee Tribal Town
- Muscogee (Creek) Nation
- Thlopthlocco Tribal Town
- Poarch Creek Indians
- Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida
- Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
- Seminole Nation of Florida

An English-Muscogee (Creek) trading post and a portion of the Lower Creek Trading Path both existed within the park boundary. In the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, Muscogee (Creek) peoples intent on establishing trade with the white settlers moved from the Chattahoochee watershed and Florida panhandle to resettle Macon Plateau. The area that constitutes the park later became part of a plantation across the river from the town of Macon, established in 1823. Most of the physical and economic expansion associated with the growth of Macon occurred outside the park boundary, but the activities had significant impact on national historical park lands. Railroads constructed in 1843 and 1873 bisected the Macon Plateau and destroyed portions of two of the mounds.

During the Civil War, General George Stoneman used the Dunlap House as a headquarters, and land around Walnut Creek was the site of two battles for control of Macon. Enslaved individuals constructed earthworks south of the Dunlap House for use in defense of the city from Federal invasion.

In the 1930s, local interest in the Macon Plateau site spurred the creation of the national monument. New Deal programs provided the dollars and workforce for the construction of visitor amenities at the site, as well as the largest archeological excavation in the eastern United States. Construction projects at the site included a reconstruction of an earth lodge discovered during archeological investigations, visitor amenities such as bridges and trails, a CCC camp, and a museum and visitor center. The Visitor Center is an exceptional example of Art Moderne style architecture. It is also associated with the New Deal and that program's role in American social history. The archeologists at Ocmulgee began to accumulate a large collection of artifacts from throughout the Southeast, and these were housed in the Visitor Center basement starting in May 1940; the building was completed in 1951. The collections and archeological work at the park led to the eventual creation of the National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC).

Establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument

A 1936 presidential proclamation by Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the purchase of 678 acres of land and established Ocmulgee National Monument. The Macon Plateau, which lies inside the national historical park boundary, has likely been the site of human habitation for over 12,000 years. Also included in the national historical park boundary is the separate Lamar site. The park's original enabling legislation authorized its establishment in order to preserve "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 . . . said area shall be set aside as a national monument, by proclamation of the President, and shall be known as the 'Ocmulgee National Monument.'"[2]

The national historical park is within the boundary of the larger Ocmulgee Old Fields Traditional Cultural Property, designated in 1997. According to the Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, traditional cultural properties "are sites that have pronounced historic value to a specific racial, ethnic, or cultural group and that continue to play a vital role in contemporary cultural life."[3] Further, a traditional cultural property "derives its primary significance not from its physical, structural or archaeological features but rather from its direct and continuing associations with important historic cultural beliefs, customs, or practices of a living community."[4]

Historic Context and Themes

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park is important within global, national, regional, local, and systemwide contexts. According to the park's Foundation Document Overview, Ocmulgee National Monument "preserves evidence of one of the longest periods of human habitation at any one site in the national park system."[5] This document outlines Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park's areas of significance:

- **American Indian Ethnic Heritage: Archeology and Architecture of the Ocmulgee Old Fields.** This first historic context considers human settlement and occupation of the Ocmulgee region and the archeology that reveals the material culture associated with human habitation for more than 12,000 years at the site. Evidence of human occupation includes both built works and artifacts. Practically every major cultural and historical development in the Eastern United States is uniquely represented in Macon Plateau archeology. According to the national historical site's Foundation Document Overview, "Ocmulgee's ethnologic evolution serves as a time capsule of native occupation as well as Georgia history."[6] The period of time covered by this context is 10,000 BCE – 1540 CE.
- **Trade Routes and Transportation at the Ocmulgee Old Fields: Crossroads and Connections.** The second historic context considers the impact of trade and transportation at the site. Precontact trade routes converged at this location near the Fall Line. The context explores European-contact era accounts of the Macon Plateau and provides an overview of trade practices between American Indians and the British with the establishment of the Colonial Trading Post. This context addresses European-American settlement and occupation of the Macon area, and the agricultural and other practices that supported life in the area between contact and the Civil War. The chapter details the development of railroad lines and interstate routes in the area and the impact to the archeological resources of the Macon Plateau. The time period for this context is 1000 CE – the mid-1960s.

2. Carl Vinson, An Act to Authorize the Establishment of the Ocmulgee National Monument in Bibb County, Georgia.
3. Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, "Historic Resources - Traditional Cultural Properties."
4. Ibid.
5. National Park Service, "Foundation Document Overview: Ocmulgee National Monument," 2.
6. National Park Service, "Foundation Document Overview: Ocmulgee National Monument,"3.

- **The Dunlap Plantation and Civil War Military Activity in Macon, Georgia: The Battles at Dunlap's Farm.** The third historic context considers the effect of the Civil War on local lifeways, particularly Stoneman's Raid and Kilpatrick's Feint. These battles impacted local residents, the Confederate and Union armies, enslaved persons who occupied the property, and the Dunlap family, who owned the property in the mid-nineteenth century. The time period for this context is 1823 – 1864.
- **Social History and Architecture of the New Deal Program: The Ocmulgee Old Fields Project and Development of the Field of Archeology.** The fourth historic context focuses on the impact of the Works Progress Administration and its projects on the park, its infrastructure, and archeology at the site. The site is the first designated traditional cultural property east of the Mississippi River, and it has provided archeologists with opportunities to develop and apply new investigative techniques. The time period for this context is 1933 – 1951.

Historic Resources Associated with the Contexts

A List of Classified Structures (LCS) for Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park has identified most known historic structures within the park. The National Park Service has published several historic documents on OCMU, including an Administrative History in 1989, a Cultural Landscape Report in 2007, and Historic Structure Reports for several buildings at the site. In addition, the NPS produced a National Register nomination in 1976, which has been updated twice. These documents are accessible through the NPS's Interior Region Two Office, the National Register of Historic Places, and Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park.

A large part of this HRS synthesizes both NPS documentation and other identified sources. The HRS will complement future planning and management of the park by providing additional baseline historical research and interpretation of the park's cultural resources. Through historic contexts, this HRS provides an updated evaluation of previously identified structures while identifying and evaluating the existing historic features previously unidentified and/or unevaluated. Evaluation of these structures follows the National Register of Historic Places Criteria and Criteria Considerations (*National Register Bulletin #15*).

Historic Context One: American Indian Ethnic Heritage: Archeology and Architecture of the Ocmulgee Old Fields

- Cornfield Mound (Mound D)
- Dunlap Mound
- Earth Lodge
- Funeral Mound (Mound C)
- Great Temple Mound (Mound A)
- Lamar Mound A
- Lamar Mound B (Small Spiral Mound)
- Lesser Temple Mound (Mound B)
- McDougal Mound
- Mound X
- Palisade Trenches
- Prehistoric Trenches
- Southeast Mound (Mound E)

Historic Context Two: Trade Routes and Transportation at the Ocmulgee Old Fields: Crossroads and Connections

- British Colonial Trading Post
- Lower Creek Trading Path/Federal Road
- Ferry Sites at Ocmulgee
- Central of Georgia Railroad Resources (right-of-way through park, not included in park boundary)
- I-16 (right-of-way through park, not included in park boundary)

Historic Context Three: The Dunlap Plantation and Civil War Military Activity in Macon, Georgia: The Battles at Dunlap's Farm

- Dunlap House
- Dunlap's Hill Civil War Fortifications

Historic Context Four: Social History and Architecture of the New Deal Program: The Ocmulgee Old Fields Project and Development of the Field of Archeology

- Earth Lodge
- Flagstaff
- Historic Cultural Landscape
    - CCC Camp
    - CCC Plantings
    - Views and Vistas
    - Circulation Features
    - Lamar Levee
- Pump House
- Visitor Center

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American Indian Ethnic Heritage: Archeology and Architecture of the Ocmulgee Old Fields

Introduction

The history of the Macon Plateau archeological site (9BI1) reflects that of the precontact Eastern United States (Figure 2.1). Practically every major cultural and historical development in the Eastern United States is represented in Macon Plateau archeology – from the migratory big game hunters who camped there circa 10,000 BCE, to the disparate bands who gathered at the Fall Line every winter over the next 8,000 years; from the Woodland tradition of the first millennium that integrated regional populations and that takes its name from the nearby Swift Creek site, to the agricultural and political revolution that motivated American Indian communities to construct an enormous mound-and-plaza complex at Ocmulgee circa 1000 CE; and, finally, from the dissolution of American Indian polities during the late precontact period, to the fateful encounter between American Indians and Spanish conquistadors that marked the beginning of the historic period. This chapter prefaces its review of current archeological, anthropological, and historical perspectives on these developments with insights from the Muscogee (Creek) Nation whose ancestors were among those that settled the Macon Plateau in antiquity.

"We're Still Here": The Muscogee (Creek) Nation's Relationship to Ocmulgee in the Twenty-First Century

Ancient practices evidenced in the archeology and landscape of the Macon Plateau continue among modern-day American Indians, particularly the Muscogee (Creek) Nation who claim Ocmulgee as an ancestral ground. It is also ancestral to the Seminole Nation, the tribe that coalesced when Muscogee (Creek) peoples from central Georgia settled northern Florida in the early-eighteenth century.[7] This document seeks to affirm these connections between past and present by incorporating portions of Muscogee (Creek) and Seminole oral traditions in addition to the words of their youth and elders as recorded during interviews conducted in Muskogee, Oklahoma by the National Park Service (NPS). The latter are reviewed here and quoted at intervals throughout the remainder of the chapter.

The late Phillip Deere, a Muscogee (Creek) medicine man of the Wind Clan, New Yaka Ground, became a spiritual leader, oral historian, and storyteller in the latter half of the twentieth century. In the early 1970s, he delivered a speech on the importance of remembering traditional values, Muscogee (Creek) prophecies, and humankind's responsibility to nature. As a prelude, he recited a version of the tribal creation and migration story. He described the origins of the Muscogee (Creek) people, their clans, their subsequent migration to what is now the Eastern United States, the sacred source of their medicine, and the formation of the earliest Muscogee (Creek) towns. It is identical in several respects to the account that Chegellie, eighteenth century Lower Town headman, delivered in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735.[8] The following is transcribed from archival footage available on the Muscogee (Creek) Nation website:

7. Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 244-26.
8. George E. Lankford, ed. *Native American Legends: Southeastern Legends: Tales from the Natchez, Caddo, Biloxi, Chickasaw, and Other Nations* (Little Rock, Arkansas: August House, 1987), 112-115.



Figure 2.1. Macon Plateau site plan with reconstructed topographic contours. (Source: Hally and Williams, "Macon Plateau Site Community Pattern," Figure 8.1).

At one time somewheres in the West the Earth opened its mouth. Three groups of people came out of this Earth and went west. When they went further west, they lived in the Land of Fog. . . The sun was never seen . . . nor did they see one another when speaking to each other because of the thickness of the fog. . . . One day, the wind came and blew the fog away and the first animal that was seen by my people, they became that clan. The first animal that was seen was the bear, so that group became the Bear Clan, which has a lot to do with tradition, ceremonies, . . . the ceremonial grounds, and all these clans down to this day. . . . The Bear Clan was originated there, and many others – birds, deers, and all kinds of animal clans were originated there. Since the wind came and blew the fog away, the Wind Clan had a position in the tribe.

In this land, everything was filthy. Everything was dirty. Nothing was clean. The only clean thing that eyes could see was the sun coming up from the east. So my people decided to go see where the sun was coming from, because it was so bright and that was the only cleanest thing that could be seen. So they travelled east and they went as far as to . . . a red, thick, slimy river that they could not cross. So they followed the river to another river that joined

this river. In between the two rivers, there was a mountain that thundered all the time and red smoke came from the top of this mountain. They stood there at this mountain and saw a post . . . that shook all the time. By the directions of the elders, they picked out a motherless child and slammed it against this pole, and the pole stopped. Then they gained the knowledge of herbs. Four herbs was introduced to my tribe: one known as the red willow root; the other, snakeroot; and the other spicewood; also the small leaf tobacco was given to them at the foot of this mountain. Here they began to possess the herbs for healing and for many other things. Here they were given the first fire, which was given to them by the Creator.

Then they went east again. They took the pole with them and the pole gave them directions which way to travel. There is no telling how many years – maybe hundreds of years – they travelled, camping at certain areas and following the directions of this pole. Many customs and traditions that we have today were picked up on this journey. While travelling east, whichever way the pole fell, that's the directions they took. They travelled all the way to the East Coast. Every morning, it was a custom by my people that they get up before the sun came up because they were going to see the sun. Going to the mountains, they stood on top of the mountain and in an ancient language they cried out, [Where is the sun?] That group of people became the Kasista people, and we identify these people today. Their descendants live around the vicinity of Ocmulgee, some 300 or 400 or maybe more of the first people's descendants still live with us now. The second group of people known as the Coweta people, they are still identified, some living around the Muscogee area, some around the Eufaula area. The third group of people in which the history says that they were Chickasaws. Chickasaw is another tribe, but they had some affiliation with the Kasista people in ancient times. These three groups of people, they are still here today. Their descendants are still with us today.[9]

During the NPS's recent interviews with members and representatives of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, many of the interviewees used same words, images and ideas that Deere used in his speech, particularly those emphasizing the importance of place and ancestral connections. Towns and clans recorded in the early historic period and detailed in more recent Muscogee (Creek) oral histories remain fundamental to tribal identities.[10] When asked to introduce themselves, each of the six interviewees included their tribal town, clan affiliation, or both. "We're recognized by what our tribal towns are. That's our identity. That's our heritage," said Emman Spain (Seminole Nation, Lawihali Tribal Town, Alligator Clan) who currently serves as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Coordinator for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Melissa Harjo (Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Coushatta Number Two Tribal Town, Bird Clan) recalled childhood conversations with her grandmother who stressed, "[You] need to know your clan." Gano Perez (Muscogee (Creek) Nation, New Tulsa Tribal Ground, Tiger Clan) related both his and his mother's affiliations.

Asked about modern tribal traditions with roots in Ocmulgee, interviewees referred most often to the Green Corn Ceremony. Other ritually important plants were also mentioned. Raelynn Butler (Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Peach Ground Tribal Town, Raccoon Clan) described her ceremonial ground's ash mound, which, in the 180 years since the Indian Removal Act, has grown to 6 feet tall. It is a monument to her ground's historical and ceremonial continuity.

The Muscogee (Creek) people feel an intimate connection to the Macon Plateau. Every person interviewed referred to Ocmulgee as a place of origin, though they did so in different terms. Mr. Perez provided the literal translation of "Ocmulgee" – "boiling springs" – and related the site to "the birthplace of where life

9. Mvskoke Media Presents Mvskoke Vision, "Phillip Deere Archival Footage," Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 2016, accessed March 28, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ROSIkvYiWjY.
10. Joshua Aaron Piker, *Okfuskee : A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA. : Harvard University Press, 2004), https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/11522071, 3.

is. Water springing life unto the earth." Perez suggested the Muscogee word "Omulgee," that is, Ocmulgee without the "c" or "k," means "all of them" or "all of the tribal towns together." Ms. Butler called Ocmulgee "our homelands," and "the place where our people came and sat down after our migration from the west." "The fire may not be there," said Ms. Harjo, "but we are still the people that came from there." Interviewees were unanimous in proclaiming, "We're still here." Four of the six interviewees uttered these exact words.

The Macon Plateau and The Middle Ocmulgee River Valley in Archeological Perspective (10,000 BCE – 1540 CE)

Wow, I knew we'd been here for a long time, but I didn't really get it, didn't really study this 'cause they don't teach you that in high school. They don't really expose any of that, the detailed archeological information in high school. So I would say anthropology just kind of opened the doorway where I could peek in and start getting more interested in digging deeper within all the academics and even within my own people.

Gano Perez, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, New Tulsa Tribal Ground, Tiger Clan

Introduction

The remainder of this chapter is a point-by-point review of contemporary archeological understanding of the Macon Plateau and sites within the park boundaries. It is organized chronologically according to stages of cultural development that archeologists use to describe long-term change in the Eastern United States: Paleoindian (10,000 – 8000 BCE), Archaic (8000 – 1000 BCE), Woodland (1000 BCE – 1000 CE), and Mississippian (1000 CE – 1540 CE). The dates assigned to these stages are not only arbitrary but also contentious, though in recent decades chronology building in the Southeast has basically become a matter of refinement.[11] Though each archeological period encapsulates broad similarities in technology, economy, society, politics, and other cultural features, they also imply a cultural homogeneity that is at odds with the plurality and diversity of Southeastern American Indian societies.[12] Lastly, these stages did not begin and end everywhere simultaneously; rather, changes in one society were contingent on changes in others. For example, the Mississippian period initiated earlier in the flood plain of the Mississippi River than it did in Georgia. As this chapter aims to make clear, these points are critical to placing the Macon Plateau in its proper context.

Nomadic Hunter-Gatherers of the Paleoindian and Archaic Periods (10,000-1000 BCE)

That site is so old, they say it was built by The Ancients.

Odette Freeman, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Coweta Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

Although the Macon Plateau site is best known for its Mississippian mounds, the Earth Lodge, and residential areas, the site features evidence of the earliest occupants of the Eastern Woodlands, the Paleoindians and Archaic period peoples. Depression-era excavations west of the Earth Lodge discovered ample evidence of their activities in the form of "several thousand worked flints."[13] Tools recovered included specialized scrapers, knives, and notably the first recognized Paleoindian spear point in the eastern United States (Figure 2.2).[14] These objects and the debris associated with their manufacture were

11. Jon L. Gibson, "Ceramics," in *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, ed. Jay K. Johnson, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 18-35.
12. Timothy R. Pauketat, *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions* (New York, New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 81.
13. Arthur R. Kelly, "The Macon Earthlodge," Accession Number 129 (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeastern Archeological Center, 1938), 2-3.
14. David G. Anderson, Jerald Ledbetter, Lisa O'Steen, Daniel T. Elliott, Dennis Blanton, Glen T. Hanson, and Frankie Snow, "Paleoindian and Early Archaic in the Lower Southeast: A View from Georgia," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986*, ed. David J. Halley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 55-70.

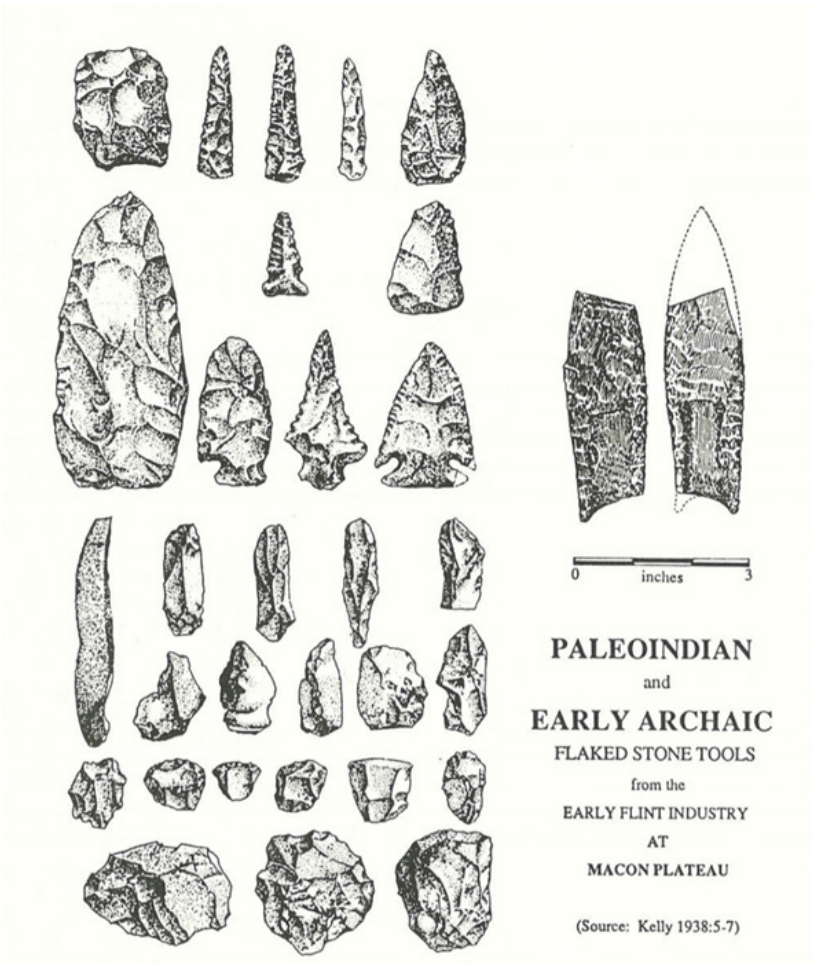


Figure 2.2. Paleoindian and Early Archaic stone tools recovered during Depression-era excavations on the Macon Plateau. (Source: Kelly, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia," Figure 3.5. Reproduced in Anderson et al. 1994:56).

found across a wide area of the site, suggesting a series of discrete flintknapping areas. The sheer quantity and dispersal pattern of early precontact artifacts at the Macon Plateau suggests that ancient people returned to the site time and again over thousands of years.

Whether due to regional differences in subsistence economies, population densities, or preservation factors, high concentrations of Paleoindian artifacts are much rarer in the lower Southeast than most other places, prompting some archeologists to interpret them as "staging areas from which the settlement of the larger region proceeded."[15] For this reason, Paleoindians in the East are often discussed as First Americans and colonizers, making the possibility of an extensive, early flint industry at the Macon Plateau all the more significant. However, because the Works Progress Administration (WPA) archeological data have never been fully analyzed or described, that earliest occupation of the Macon Plateau is "shrouded in a mystery of the archeological community's own making."[16] Therefore, one must look to other sites for a comprehensive perspective on Paleoindians in Georgia.

Archeologists have characterized Paleoindians as living in small, highly mobile social units with an economic focus on hunting and collecting wild foods. Elsewhere on the continent, particularly in the American West, Paleoindians followed mastodons, bison, and other now-extinct megafauna. In the East,

15. David G. Anderson, "The Paleoindian Colonization of Eastern North America: A View from the Southeastern United States," in *Early Paleoindian Economies of Eastern North America*, ed. Barry Isaac and Kenneth Tankersley, *Journal of Economic Anthropology*, Supplement 5 (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1990), 171.
16. Anderson, Ledbetter, O'Steen, Elliot, Blanton, Hanson, Snow, "Paleoindian and Early Archaic in the Lower Southeast: A View from Georgia," 57.

they relied on a greater diversity of game including not just megafauna but also caribou, deer, and smaller animals in addition to a wide range of edible plants.[17] The demands of this diversified diet ensured that Paleoindian occupation was widespread throughout many topographic settings, but especially levees, terraces, uplands, and upland edges, environments where an array of food resources could be accessed. An "ecotone" formed where the Ocmulgee River crossed the Fall Line, creating a region where flora and fauna from two regions, the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain, intermingled, resulting in a rich ecological environment for the Paleoindians.

The abundance and variety of resources available at the Fall Line and indeed throughout much of Georgia attracted people from throughout the region. Stone artifacts are by far the most valuable source of data when researching the Paleoindians' social world, because they are relatively abundant and have the advantage of being almost indestructible.[18] Raw materials used to make hafted spear points and other stone tools include cherts from over 185 miles away.[19] The fact that these are distributed within rather than across river valleys is interpreted as meaning most group activities occurred within individual drainages. With the exception of the Macon Plateau and other central, resource-rich locales where people might have aggregated for seasonal or annual events, individual groups appear to have kept to themselves. Lithic assemblages recovered and analyzed to date imply that they crafted and maintained tools for personal use, rather than for exchange with others. Nevertheless, there is no geographic boundary beyond which frequencies of exotic cherts at Paleoindian sites dramatically decrease, suggesting that groups moved across the landscape without fear of social conflict.[20]

Paleoindians thrived in Georgia. By the beginning of the Archaic period approximately 8,000 years ago, the population had grown to fill the landscape. Because Paleoindian and Early Archaic artifacts are mixed across contexts, it is impossible to assign the vast majority of flakes and other non-diagnostic artifacts to one period or the other. [21] Any discussion of what might have happened there during the Archaic period must be based in large part on contemporary sites in the general area.

Climate change compelled cultural shift during the Paleoindian-Archaic transition. Whereas Paleoindian lifeways represented an adaptation to late glacial and early Holocene environments that were colder and wetter than present-day conditions, Archaic people were coping with the onset of the so-called Holocene Climatic Optimum (or Holocene), which witnessed the continent-wide mass extinction of many species, including megafauna.[22] Forests adapted as the climate warmed and dried. In the Southeast, pine and scrub hardwoods came to dominate the uplands while cypress swamps spread across the lowlands.[23] Each region offered an array of resources of which Early Archaic hunter-gatherers readily took advantage from the

17. Kandace Hollenbach, "Modeling Resource Procurement of Southeastern Hunter-Gatherers: A View from Northwest Alabama" (Paper Presented at the Sixty-Second Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Columbia, South Carolina, 2005); Kenneth E. Sassaman, "Native American Prehistory of the Middle Savannah River Valley: A Synthesis of Archaeological Investigations on the Savannah River Site, Aiken and Barnwell Counties, South Carolina," Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 1 (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1990); Renee Walker, *Subsistence Strategies of Dust Cave: Changes from the Late Paleoindian Through Middle Archaic Occupations* (Moundville, Alabama: Office of Archaeological Services, 2000); Stephen B. Carmody, "From Foraging to Food Production on the Southern Cumberland Plateau of Alabama and Tennessee" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2014).
18. John C. Whittaker, *Flintknapping: Making and Understanding Stone Tools* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
19. Kenneth E. Sassaman, Glen T. Hanson, and Tommy Charles, "Raw Material Procurement and Reduction in Hunter-Gatherer Range in the Savannah River Valley," *Southeastern Archaeology* no. 7 (1988): 79–94.
20. Sassaman, Hanson, and Charles, "Raw Material Procurement and Reduction."
21. Anderson, Ledbetter, O'Steen, Elliot, Blanton, Hanson, Snow, "Paleoindian and Early Archaic in the Lower Southeast: A View from Georgia," 56.
22. David G. Anderson and Glen T. Hanson, "Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeastern United States: A Case Study from the Savannah River Valley," *American Antiquity* 53, no. 2 (1988): 262–86; Joseph R. Caldwell, "Survey and Excavations in the Allatoona Reservoir, Northern Georgia," Manuscript No. 151, (Athens: University of Georgia, 1957).
23. Hazel R. Delcourt and Paul A. Delcourt, "Quaternary Palynology and Vegetational History of the Southeastern United States," in *Pollen Records of Late Quaternary North American Sediments*, ed. Vaughn M. Bryant and Richard G. Holloway, (Dallas, Texas: The American Association of Stratigraphic Palynologists Foundation, 1985), 1-37.

Macon Plateau and other Fall Line basecamps where disparate groups converged every fall.[24] During the rest of the year, they migrated back and forth between the Piedmont and Coastal Plain within territories focused on major river valleys, not altogether dissimilar to that of their Paleoindian forebears.

The Macon Plateau's Middle Archaic (6000-3500 BCE) occupation centered on the North Plateau. One early study of the site's archeological components suggested that the bulk of Middle Archaic deposits are "deeply buried under a heavy blanket of silt."[25] It is probable that the several millennia comprising the Middle Archaic was a time of dramatic cultural change in Eastern North America.[26] Local cultures were growing in both scale and complexity, resulting in territorialization between groups living in large numbers and close proximity to one another.[27] Signs of increasing territorialization include reliance on locally available stone sources rather than materials obtained through long-distance trade, a trend towards regional stylistic diversity in toolkit form and composition, more frequent episodes of interpersonal violence and competition, and incipient monumentalism in the form of enormous shell and earthen mounds.[28]

Most likely, these trends continued into the Late Archaic period. The only archeological evidence of Late Archaic activity in the Macon area were low quantities of fiber-tempered Stallings Island pottery. The quantity of this pottery is so low and largely unanalyzed that little detail can currently be provided about what Late Archaic people were doing in the Macon area. [29] To address that question, it is once again necessary to look at similar sites.

Fortunately, known Late Archaic sites are much more numerous than those of earlier time periods, a fact almost certainly due to the development of larger, more densely occupied, and better-preserved residential sites.[30] In the middle Savannah River Valley east of the Macon Plateau and in the central Piedmont to the north, Late Archaic groups formed large riverside settlements in spring and summer to reap the anadromous fish harvest as fish migrated from the sea upriver to spawn. In late summer near the end of the growing season, base camps emptied, and settlements shifted to temporary staging areas at the mouths of tributary streams. From there, groups dispersed into small, upland camps for the fall and winter.

24. Albert C. Goodyear, "A Review and Synthesis of Early Archaic Research in South Carolina." (Paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Columbia, South Carolina); Albert C. Goodyear, J. L. Mitchie, and T. Charles, "The Earliest South Carolinians," in *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, ed. Albert C. Goodyear and Glen T. Hanson, (Columbia: Institute of Archaeology Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1989), 44; Anderson and Hanson, "Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeastern United States: A Case Study from the Savannah River Valley."
25. Charles H. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia,* Archeological Research Series 3 (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1956), 8.
26. David G. Anderson, "Climate and Culture Change in Precontact and Early Historic Eastern North America," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, no. 29 (2001): 143–86.
27. Anderson, "Climate and Culture Change In Precontact and Early Historic Eastern North America," 158; David G. Anderson and Kenneth E. Sassaman, *Recent Developments in Southeastern Archaeology: From Colonization to Complexity* (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archeology, 2012); Tristram R. Kidder and Kenneth E. Sassaman, "The View from the Southeast," in *Archaic Societies: Diversity and Complexity across the Midcontinent*, ed. Thomas E. Emerson, Dale L. McElrath, and Andrew C. Fortier (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 667.
28. Daniel S. Amick and Phillip J. Carr, "Changing Strategies of Lithic Technological Organization," in *Archaeology of the Mid-Holocene Southeast*, ed. Kenneth E. Sassaman and David G. Anderson (Pensacola: University of Florida, 1996), 44; John A. Walthall, *Precontact Indians of the Southeast: Archaeology of Alabama and the Middle South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 58; Anderson and Sassaman, *Recent Developments in Southeastern Archaeology*; Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline D. Kneberg. "The Archaic Culture in the Middle South," *American Antiquity*, no. 25 (1959): 161–83; Michael Russo, "Southeastern Archaic Mounds," in *Archaeology of the Mid-Holocene Southeast*, ed. Kenneth E. Sassaman and David G. Anderson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 259–87; Kenneth E. Sassaman, "The Archaic Southeast," in *North American Archaeology*, ed. Timothy R. Pauketat and D. DiPaolo Loren (Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 88; Benjamin M. Shields, "An Analysis of the Archaic Human Burials at the Mulberry Creek (1Ct27) Shell Mound, Colbert County, Alabama" (Master's thesis, University of Alabama, 2003).
29. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument*, 9.
30. William F Stanyard, *Archaic Period Archaeology of North Georgia,* Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report No. 38 (Athens,: University of Georgia, 2003), 58.

Crowded Fall Line settlements were contexts for culture change and innovation where groups intersected. Social alliances and exchange relationships developed between territorial groups. Whereas archeologists once argued that the diversity noted among Archaic assemblages was due to differences in local environmental adaptations, they now agree that historical processes linked to variable environmental conditions gave rise to a contested social landscape and laid the groundwork for ethnogenesis.[31] It was at this time that hunter-gatherer bands and macrobands began to identify themselves in relation to one another. At Stallings Island, one of the most thoroughly investigated Late Archaic sites in Georgia, inhabitants used carved and engraved bone pins to express their inter- and intragroup affiliations. Archeologists have identified similar pins across the Southeast and Midwest. Their variety has been treated as a proxy for social diversity and their distribution as a proxy for social networks.[32]

Stallings Island has also yielded some of the earliest ceramics in the Western Hemisphere and they, too, have been treated as a measure of Late Archaic cultural diversity.[33] Ceramics were a major technological advance in cooking efficiency and long-term storage. Because many Late Archaic peoples relied on carved soapstone and sandstone containers not just for cooking but also as components in exchange and alliance networks, the invention and subsequent diffusion of pottery undermined long-standing political economic relationships throughout Georgia and the larger Southeast.[34] Unlike stone cookware that could not be produced without access to specific raw materials, clays suitable for pottery have a much wider distribution.[35] Beginning in the Late Archaic, ceramic cookware became common throughout Georgia.

Landscape management practices began to implicate domesticated plants for the first time: sunflower (*Helianthus annuus var. macrocarpus*), pepo gourd/squash (*Cucurbita pepo, spp. ovifera*), sumpweed (*Iva annua var. macrocarpa*), and goosefoot (*Chenopodium berlandieri*).[36] Late Archaic shamanism may have served as a vehicle for the inter-group transmission of horticultural knowledge. Residues scraped from Late Archaic smoking tubes, artifacts central to shamanic practice, have indicated that tobacco was an

31. Joseph R. Caldwell, *Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States*, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 88 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1958); Tristram R. Kidder, "Transforming Hunter-Gatherer History at Poverty Point," in *Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology as Historical Process*, ed. Kenneth E Sassaman and Donald H. Holly (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 95-119; Asa R. Randall and Kenneth E Sassaman, "(E)Mergent Complexities During the Archaic Period on Northwest Florida," in *Ancient Complexities: New Perspectives in Precolumbian North America*, ed. Susan Alt (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010), 8-31; Kenneth E Sassaman, *People of the Shoals: Stallings Culture of the Savannah River Valley* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006); Kenneth E. Sassaman, *The Eastern Archaic, Historicized* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2010); Zachary I. Gilmore, *Gathering at Silver Glen: Community and History in Late Archaic Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016).
32. Sassaman, *The Eastern Archaic, Historicized*, 129; Richard W. Jefferies, "Late Middle Archaic Exchange and Interaction in the North American Midcontinent," in *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 71-73; Ripley P. Bullen and H.B. Green, "Stratigraphic Testing at Stalling's Island, Georgia," *Florida Anthropologist*, no. 23 (1970): 8–28; William H. Claflin, "The Stalling's Island Mound, Columbia County, Georgia," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 19, no. 1 (1931); Donald Crusoe and Chester B. DePratter, "A New Look at the Georgia Coastal Shellmound Archaic," *Florida Anthropologist* 29, no. 1 (1976): 1–23; Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Taxonomic Position of Stalling's Island, Georgia," *American Antiquity* no. 7 (1942): 223–31; Jefferies, "Late Middle Archaic Exchange and Interaction in the North American Midcontinent," 71–73.
33. Matthew C. Sanger, "Coils, Slabs, and Molds: Examining Community Affiliation between Late Archaic Shell Ring Communities Using Radiographic Imagery of Pottery," *Southeastern Archaeology* 36, no. 2 (2017): 95–109.
34. Kenneth E. Sassaman, *Early Pottery in the Southeast: Tradition and Innovation in Cooking Technology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).
35. Joseph M. Herbert and Theresa E. McReynolds, "Woodland Pottery Sourcing in the Carolina Sandhills" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008).
36. Bruce D. Smith and Richard A. Yarnell, "Initial Formation of an Indigenous Crop Complex in Eastern North America at 3800 B.P.," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 11, no. 16 (2009): 6561–66.

early domesticate, prompting researchers to wonder if cultivating plants for food or for ritual came first.[37] Elsewhere in the Americas, archeologists have assembled evidence to suggest that tobacco cultivation and use was the basis for the cultivation of other plants, including subsistence crops.[38]

Settling In: Life in Central Georgia and Beyond during the Woodland Period (1000 BCE – CE 950)

We saw everything that's given to us as from God to help us live. Even the medicines. Help us take care of ourselves, and help us exist here and live in Mother Nature.

Emman Spain, Seminole Nation, Liwahali Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

I've always read that wherever there's mounds, there's the maypops. They were a source of food.

Odette Freeman, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Coweta Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

Early Woodland peoples were practically unchanged from their Late Archaic ancestors. Food storage and preparation technologies that emerged during the Late Archaic continued into the Woodland period, though subsistence practices remained grounded in hunting, gathering, and fishing. Gathering places like Ocmulgee and the nearby Swift Creek site increased in importance as native cultigens (cultivated plants) assumed a more conspicuous role in subsistence practices. Other trends that have their origins in the Archaic period, including monumentalism, sociopolitical complexity, and long-distance interaction, carried over and were further elaborated in the Woodland period. Ceramics, an innovation of the Late Archaic, diversified into local types, reflecting continued ethnogenesis.

The iconic Early Woodland ceramic vessel was a sand- or grit-tempered conoidal-shaped jar. In the first part of the subperiod, people formed these jars within baskets or fabrics leaving characteristic impressions on their exterior surfaces. Later, potters began check-stamping their vessels with carved wooden paddles. Potters gradually replaced stone vessel forms with ceramic versions that diversified into new forms over time, including small tetrapodal bowls. This diversification of vessel forms has been interpreted as a response to ever-evolving subsistence practices.[39] Bense characterizes Early Woodland societies as being composed of related families linked to specific territories. People lived in one or two seasonal or permanent base camps while small task groups established temporary camps in the hinterlands of these bases during forays to obtain subsistence or other resources.[40]

By 100 BCE, a stable climate in combination with a predictable subsistence base and well-refined strategies for long-term storage had prompted a trend towards sedentism throughout the Eastern Woodlands. People settled into small villages – structured clusters of circular, single-set post buildings at the boundaries of alluvial plains and at the confluences of major rivers. Small gardens assumed a larger role in subsistence practices. Primary cultigens include goosefoot, sumpweed, and sunflower, among others. Archeologists have recently found evidence to dispute early and influential reports of small quantities of maize (*Zea mays*) in archeological contexts dating to this time.[41]

As people across eastern North American adopted new subsistence practices and cooking technologies, communities separated by great distances came to share ideas and religious prerogatives. "Blessing-seekers,

37. Stephen Carmody, Jera R. Davis, Surendar Tadi, Joshua S. Sharp, Ryan K. Hunt, Jon Russ, "Evidence of tobacco from a Late Archaic smoking tube recovered from the Flint River site in southeastern North America," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 21 (2018): 904-910; Joseph C. Winter, "North American indigenous *Nicotiana* use and tobacco shamanism," in *Tobacco Use by Native North Americans: Sacred Smoke and Silent Killer*, ed. Joseph C. Winter, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 59-80.
38. Winter, "North American indigenous *Nicotiana* use and tobacco shamanism."
39. D. E. Croes, R. A. Hawkins, and B. L. Isaac (editors) *Long-term Subsistence Changes in Prehistoric North America* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1992).
40. Judith A. Bense, *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: Paleoindian to World War I* (San Diego, California: Academic Press, 1994), 130.
41. Mary L. Simon, "Reevaluating the Evidence for Middle Woodland Maize from the Holding Site," *American Antiquity* 82, no. 1 (2017): 140–50.

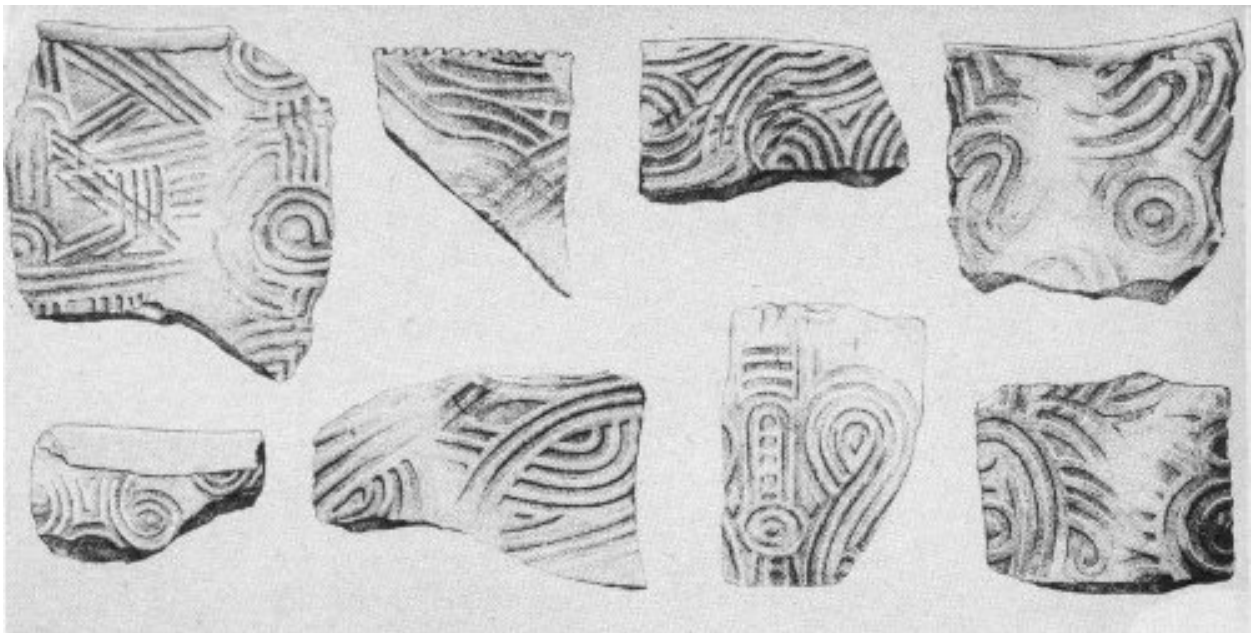


Figure 2.3. Examples of Swift Creek Complicated Stamped ceramics from Ocmulgee. (Source: Pope, "Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia").

traders, and intrepid voyagers" pilgrimaged across the Southeast and indeed across the continent in search of exotic raw materials: mica, chlorite schist, steatite, Knox flint, greenstone, quartz, marine shell, ceramics, and copper.[42] People crafted these materials into "a limited range of material symbols that concretized key concepts and that were broadly understood."[43] Archeologists call this religious movement "Hopewell" after the type site in Ohio. Ohio Hopewell artifacts have been recovered from sites all over the eastern United States, especially along supposed trade routes to coastal and mountainous areas. In Georgia and contiguous areas, Ohio Hopewell dovetailed with another interaction sphere known as Swift Creek after the eponymous mound site (9BI3) six miles south of the Macon Plateau.

The classic Swift Creek diagnostic artifact is the complicated stamped pot. In south-central Georgia and northern Florida, check- and simple-stamped designs gave way to symbolically charged, complicated-stamped varieties by 1 CE (Figure 2.3).[44] Stamp-carvers appear to have valued individual expression above all else, resulting in hundreds of unique designs.[45] The religious concepts communicated in Swift Creek designs then transmitted to interior populations via reciprocal exchange networks along which stamped vessels and/or carved paddles traveled.[46]

42. Mark Seeman, "Twenty-first Century Hopewell," in *Encountering Hopewell in the Twenty-first Century, Ohio and Beyond, Volume 2,* ed. Brian G. Redmond, Bret J. Ruby, and Jarrod Burks, (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2020), 313-342; Warren E DeBoer, "Little Bighorn on the Scioto: The Rocky Mountain Connection to Ohio Hopewell," *American Antiquity* no. 69 (2004): 85-107; Kevin C. Nolan, Mark Hill, Mark Seeman, Eric C. Olson, Emily Butcher, Sneha Chavali, and Nora Hillard, "Scale and Community in Hopewell Networks (SCHoN) Summary of Preliminary Results," in *Encountering Hopewell in the Twenty-first Century, Ohio and Beyond, Volume 2,* ed. Brian G. Redmond, Bret J. Ruby, and Jarrod Burks (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2020), 148-175.
43. Seeman, "Twenty-first Century Hopewell," 331.
44. David W. Chase, "Swift Creek: Lineage and Diffusion," in *A World Engraved: Archaeology of the Swift Creek Culture*, ed. Mark Williams and Daniel Elliott (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 48-60; Christopher T. Espenshade, "Woodland Period Archaeology of Northern Georgia: Update 2008" (Stone Mountain, Georgia: New South Associates, Inc., 2008), 131; Neill J. Wallis, *The Swift Creek Gift: Vessel Exchange on the Atlantic Coast* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011); J. Mark Williams and Daniel T. Elliott, "Swift Creek Research: History and Observations," in *A World Engraved: Archaeology of the Swift Creek Culture*, ed. J. Mark Williams and Daniel T. Elliott (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 1–11.
45. Karen Y. Smith and Vernon James Knight, "Swift Creek Paddle Designs and the Imperative to Be Unique," *Southeastern Archaeology* no. 36 (2016): 122-130; Frankie Snow, *An Archaeological Survey of the Ocmulgee Big Bend Region*, Occasional Papers from South Georgia 3 (Douglas, Georgia: Waycross Junior College, 1977).
46. Wallis, *The Swift Creek Gift.*

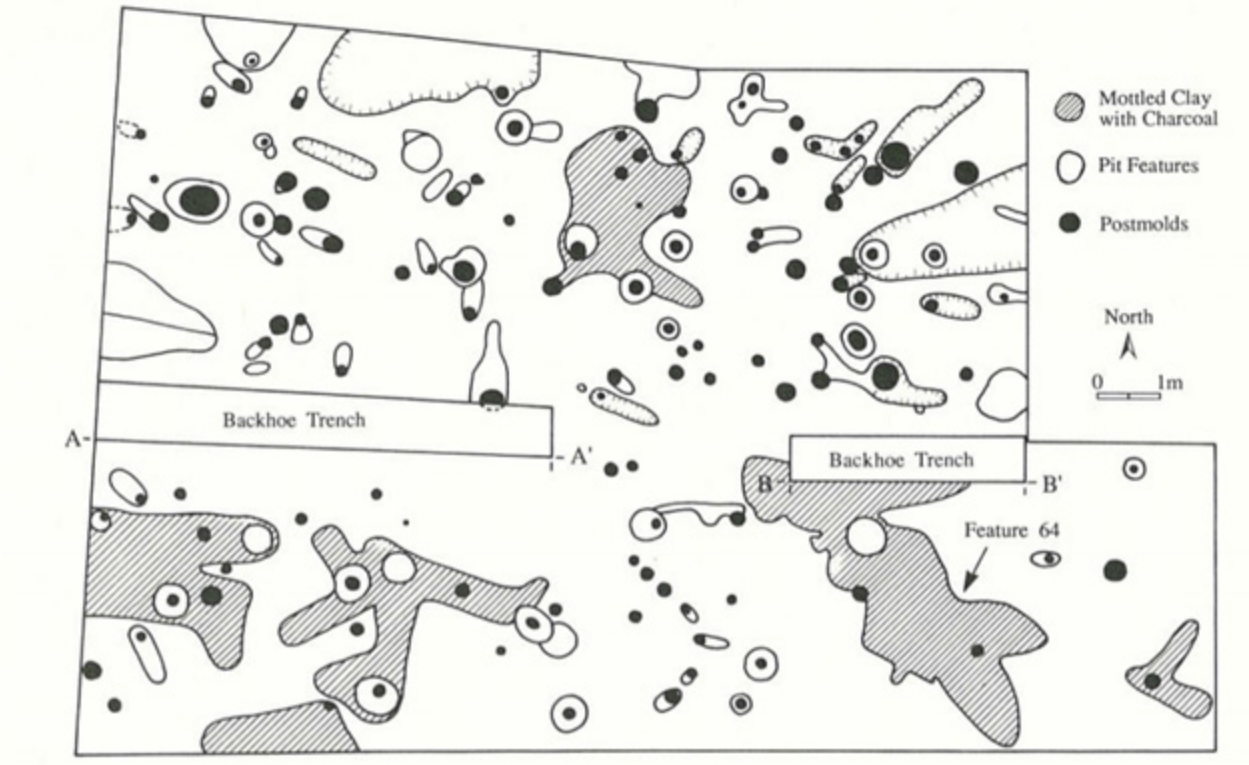


Figure 2.4. Features and postholes on Floor 1 of Mound A, Cold Springs Site. Similar features were recorded at various levels within Swift Creek's Mound A. (Source: Jefferies, "The Swift Creek Site and Woodland Platform Mounds in the Southeastern United States").

Swift Creek sites are abundant in the Ocmulgee River Valley, particularly at the Fall Line and approximately twenty-five miles upriver in Monroe County. In these areas, sites are situated almost exclusively on upland ridges and hilltops overlooking tributary streams.[47] The Macon Plateau has a Swift Creek component. Complicated-stamped pottery has been recovered from the Southern Plateau and from the stratified village deposits on the Northern Plateau. It was also incorporated into the Funeral Mound (Mound C), an Early Mississippian construction, though this may be the result of mound fill being borrowed from parts of the site where Woodland peoples had once dwelled.[48]

Depression-era excavations at the Swift Creek site revealed much about Woodland period mound ceremonialism.[49] Though an initial survey of the site identified numerous mounds, later more intensive excavations revealed that all but the Great Temple Mound (Mound A) were eroded natural landforms. The Great Temple Mound was well preserved. An accretional mound, it may not have begun as a planned construction but as a series of refuse heaps that eventually reached monumental proportions. These were eventually capped with a layer of basket-loaded sand, atop which inhabitants piled yet more refuse. This sequence of events repeated again and again until the mound reached 10 feet in height and nearly 200 feet in diameter. Dozens of posts were planted in each successive surface, which have thus far defied explanation. Similar features at the contemporary Kolomoki site in southwest Georgia have been interpreted as temporary scaffolds constructed for mortuary rituals (Figure 2.4).[50] Some large postholes

47. Charlotte A. Smith and Karen G. Wood, *Intensive Cultural Resources Survey of Oglethorpe Power Corporation's Proposed Combustion Turbine Facility Preferred Alternative MA-1, Monroe County, Georgia, Volume 1* (Southeastern Archeological Services, 1989).
48. Daniel P. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2012), 180; W. Dean Wood and William R. Bowen, *Woodland Period Archaeology in Northern Georgia* (University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology Series, Report No. 33), 38.
49. Richard W. Jefferies, "The Swift Creek Site and Woodland Platform Mounds in the Southeastern United States," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1983-1986*, ed. David J. Halley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 71-83; Arthur R. Kelly, "A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia," Anthropological Papers, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1938).
50. Thomas J. Pluckhahn, *Kolomoki: Settlement, Ceremony, and Status in the Deep South, A.D. 350 to 750* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 60.

feature "slide trenches" used for erecting particularly massive posts. Woodland platform mounds like the Great Temple Mound at the Swift Creek site were integrative facilities serving communal needs. Whereas Mississippians often shielded mound-top activities with screens or buildings, Woodland peoples used mounds as stages for rituals conducted in plain sight of people gathered in plazas below.[51]

Archeologists generally agree that people constructed mounds like the one excavated at the Swift Creek site over the course of successive, short occupations. Seventeen such sites have been identified across central Georgia and South Carolina. Interestingly, they appear to have been located with respect to one another, arrayed more or less equidistant across the landscape presumably to serve the socio-religious needs of dispersed hunter-gatherer-horticulturalists.[52] These were not habitation sites; rather, they were "shrines," and the exotic artifacts recovered from them are critical to understanding how Woodland peoples shifted from constricted, localized settlements during the Early Woodland subphase to the interregional, interaction networks of the Middle Woodland.

Pan-regional networks were formed in the Late Woodland period (500-900 CE) as raiding and warfare became preferred over trade and ritual as a means of achieving social and political goals.[53] Small triangular points recovered from Late Woodland sites indicate that the bow-and-arrow had come into use. The bow-and-arrow's introduction from the Subarctic region into what is now the continental United States ignited an arms race that, combined with the beginning of the agricultural revolution, is partly responsible for the breakdown of relatively friendly relations that had persisted across much of the Eastern Woodlands since the turn of the millennium.[54] This shift is represented in the iconography as well, which transitioned from its traditional emphasis on hunting to success in warfare and the sacred and hereditary basis for leadership.[55]

While Middle Woodland communities tended to cluster along tributaries, their descendants in the Late Woodland period established solitary settlements adjacent to major rivers.[56] As other parts of the Southeast descended into constant war, Swift Creek peoples lived in relative peace. They continued using the *atlatl* or "spear thrower" until 600-750 CE when they at last adopted the bow-and-arrow.[57] Fortified settlements did not appear in Georgia until about 900 CE. By then, South Appalachian communities were making Mississippian-style pots, an indication that individuals and groups were open to new ideas and subsistence practices.

The Swift Creek interaction sphere continued into the Late Woodland period but no longer involved pots stamped with elaborate representational art; stamping continued, but the earlier preoccupation with individuality gave way to a limited range of rectilinear designs.[58] Archeologists interpret the trend toward stylistic and ceremonial austerity as evidence that communities in Georgia were becoming more insular. Ashley and colleagues identified intimate connections between south-central Georgia and the Atlantic Coast.[59] They used neutron activation analysis to determine where ceramics associated with each area

51. Suzanne K. Fish and Richard W. Jefferies, "The Site Plan at Cold Springs, 9GE10," *Early Georgia* 11, no. 1–2 (1983): 61–73.
52. Mark Williams and Jennifer Freer Harris, "Shrines of the Precontact South: Patterning in Middle Woodland Mound Distribution," in *A World Engraved: Archaeology of the Swift Creek Culture*, ed. Mark Williams and Daniel T. Elliot (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 36-47.
53. David Anderson, "Swift Creek in a Regional Perspective," in *A World Engraved: Archaeology of the Swift Creek Culture*, ed. Mark Williams and Daniel T. Elliott (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 296-297.
54. John H. Blitz, "The Adoption of the Bow in Precontact North America," *North American Archaeologist* 9, no. 2 (1988): 123–45; John H. Blitz and Erik S. Porth, "Social Complexity and the Bow in the Eastern Woodlands," *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews* 22, no. 3 (May 2013): 89–95.
55. Anderson, "Swift Creek in a Regional Perspective," 296-297.
56. Julie G. Markin, "The Changing Social Landscape of the Late Woodland to Mississippian Transition in North Georgia," in *Archaeological Perspectives on the Southern Appalachians: A Multiscalar Approach*, ed. Ramie A. Gougeon and Maureen Meyers (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015), 1-31.
57. Bense, *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States*, 163; John S. Whatley, "An Overview of Georgia Projectile Points and Selected Cutting Tools," *Early Georgia* 30, no. 1 (2002): 64.
58. Kelly, "A Preliminary Report on Archeological Explorations at Macon, Ga."
59. Keith Ashley, Neill J. Wallis, and Michael D. Glascock, "Forager Interactions on the Edge of the Early Mississippian World: Neutron Activation Analysis of Ocmulgee and St. Johns Pottery," *American Antiquity* 80, no. 2 (2015): 290–311.

where actually made. They found that, in some cases, potters from the interior made pots on the coast and coastal potters made pots in the interior. Cross-culturally, potters were almost always women, so Ashley et al. interpreted their data as evidence of wife exchange between the two areas.[60]

Cultural manifestations of the Late Woodland period in the Ocmulgee basin are associated with the persistence of Ocmulgee cord-marked ceramics that emerged in the Middle Woodland period.[61] In the immediate vicinity of the Macon Plateau, people settled at previously unoccupied upland locations.[62] They either stamped their pots with paddles wrapped in untwisted cords or with paddles into which fine geometric patterns had been carved. Though these communities occupied the same general area, their ceramics do not co-occur in archeological contexts. The only place where they are found side-by-side is the Macon Plateau, "a crucible where new forms of cultural practice and material expression catalyzed with local populations into a unique, Early Mississippian manifestation."[63]

Emergent/Early Mississippian (900 -1200 CE)

My belief is that all these Mound sites were connected at one time. And with the decline of the Mound period, I think it's where a lot of our tribal towns come from.

David Proctor, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Aktayatcalgi Clan

Archaeologists understand the Mississippian emergence of 750-1050 CE as a pristine cultural development, that is, not a reaction to or offshoot from more complex societies elsewhere in the New World (Figure 2.5).[64] In contrast to other parts of the world, the archeological contexts of this development are well preserved in the face of modern land development, making the southeastern United States one of the best places in the world to investigate the origins of agriculture, sedentism, and institutional religion. In this context, "Mississippianized" farmers and their ideas both clashed and intermingled with traditional hunter-gatherer-horticulturalists. Among those affected, an ethic of human equality that had been maintained for tens of thousands of years began eroding, and certain individuals were assigned higher status than others by virtue of ancestry. In what is now Georgia, this culminated in a hierarchically-ranked farming society whose seat was the Macon Plateau in the Ocmulgee River Valley, among other places.

To understand the Mississippian phenomenon, one must first understand its genesis at Cahokia, "North America's First City," circa 800 CE (Figure 2.6). As David Anderson wrote, "The history of Mississippians is the history of Cahokia writ large."[65] Cahokia emerged near the confluence of the Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi Rivers, a region known as the American Bottom. Around 800 CE a multicultural community of hunter-gatherers converged on the American Bottom, began farming, and built planned settlements. They built their homes around small courtyards, and these "courtyard groups" around central plazas. At one end of these plazas, they would often situate a single larger building, the domicile of an influential family and/or a structure built to accommodate specialized ritual activities.[66] After about 250 years, they condensed into

60. Ibid.
61. Karl T. Steinen, *Woodland Period Archaeology of the Georgia Coastal Plain*, Georgia Archaeological Research Design Paper, No. 12 (Athens: University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report No. 12, 1995), 14.
62. Jennifer Birch, Jacob Lulewicz, and Abigail Rowe, "A Comparative Analysis of the Late Woodland-Early Mississippian Settlement Landscape in Northern Georgia," *Southeastern Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2016): 115-133.
63. Birch, Lulewicz, and Rowe, "A Comparative Analysis of the Late Woodland-Early Mississippian Settlement Landscape in Northern Georgia," 128**.**
64. Morton Herbert Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology* (New York, New York: Random House, 1967).
65. David Anderson, "The Role of Cahokia in the Evolution of Southeastern Mississippian Society," in *Cahokia: Domination and Ideology in the Mississippian World*, ed. Timothy R. Pauketat and Thomas E. Emerson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 248-268.
66. John E. Kelly, "The Impact of Maize on the Development of Nucleated Settlements: An American Bottom Example," in *Late Prehistoric Agriculture: Observations from the* Midwest, ed. William I. Woods (*Studies in Illinois Archaeology* 8, Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, Springfield, Illinois, 1992), 167-197; John E. Kelly, "Conclusions," in *The Range Site 4: George Reeves and Lindeman Phase Occupations*, ed. John E. Kelly, Steven Ozuk, and Joyce A. Williams (Urbana-Champaign: Transportation Archaeological Research Program, University of Illinois, 2007), 491-494.

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Figure 2.5. Boundaries of and important sites within the Mississippian Southeast. (Source: Sally A. Kitt Chappell *Cahokia: Mirror of the Cosmos*).

single community and built the largest Pre-Columbian settlement north of the Valley of Mexico.[67] Now known as Cahokia, it included more than 100 earthen mounds, with much human effort centered on one enormous monument, now referred to as Monk's Mound.

Archeologists understand the founding of Cahokia as an all-encompassing cultural revolution that benefitted some at the expense of others. Mounds, plazas, and public buildings oriented to celestial phenomena represented the cosmos and the human landscape coming into alignment. Mound-top shrines juxtaposed the bones of prominent ancestors with idols to First Man and First Woman, solidifying the

67. Susan Alt, "The Power of Diversity: The Roles of Migration and Hybridity in Culture Change," in *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No. 33, ed. Brian Butler and Paul Welch (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2006), 289-308; Rinita Dalan, William I. Woods, John A. Koepke, George R. Holley, and Harold W. Watters, *Envisioning Cahokia: A Landscape Perspective* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2003); Emerson, Thomas E. and Timothy R. Pauketat, "Embodying Power and Resistance at Cahokia," in *The Dynamics of Power*, ed. Maria O'Donovan, Occasional Papers 30 (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 2002), 105-125; John Kelly, "The Pulcher Tradition and the Ritualization of Cahokia: A Perspective from Cahokia's Southern Neighbor," *Southeastern Archaeology* 21 (2002): 136–48; Timothy R. Pauketat, *Ancient Cahokia and the Mississippians* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Dean J. Saitta, "Agency, Class, and Archaeological Interpretation," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 13 (2004): 201–27; Sissel Schroeder, "Power and Place: Agency, Ecology, and History in the American Bottom, Illinois," *Antiquity* 78 (2004): 812–827.



Figure 2.6. Artists' rendition of Cahokia at its height, "A Setting for Mythic Rituals, Majestic Mounds, and Four Plazas Mark the Cardinal Directions, A Reflection of the Cosmos in the Heart of the Midwestern prairie." (Source: Sally A. Kitt Chappell, *Cahokia: Mirror of the Cosmos*).



Figure 2.7. A Braden-style Flint Clay Pipe Depicting a Chunky Player. (Source: New South Associates).

connection between Cahokia's leaders and a mythic past. One presumed "chief" was buried alongside seven "retainers." Officiants included a full set of gear for the *chunkey* or *chunky* game: polished stone discoidals called "chunkey stones," copper-covered wooden poles, and dozens of arrows tipped with Cahokia-notched points. Braden-style statues and engraved shell gorgets depict similarly equipped supernaturals engaged in sport (Figure 2.7). In stark contrast to the impoverished burials around him, the central figure was placed atop a blanket of nearly 20,000 marine shell disc beads arranged in the shape of a raptor in profile.[68] The conical deposit is known as Mound 72, which has since become "the single most widely cited find in support of the presence of social hierarchies in the Mississippian period."[69] Brown's (2006) compelling counter-interpretation has gained traction in recent decades. He claims that the "the layout of burials and piles of artifacts belong to a dramatic performance…of a specific myth with heavy allegorical implications."[70] From his perspective, the dead embodied particular

68. James A. Brown, "Where's the Power in Moundbuilding?: An Eastern Woodlands Perspective," in *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*, Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper No. 33 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2006), Figure 10.2.
69. Brown, "Where's the Power in Moundbuilding?," 205.
70. Brown, "Where's the Power in Moundbuilding?," 210.

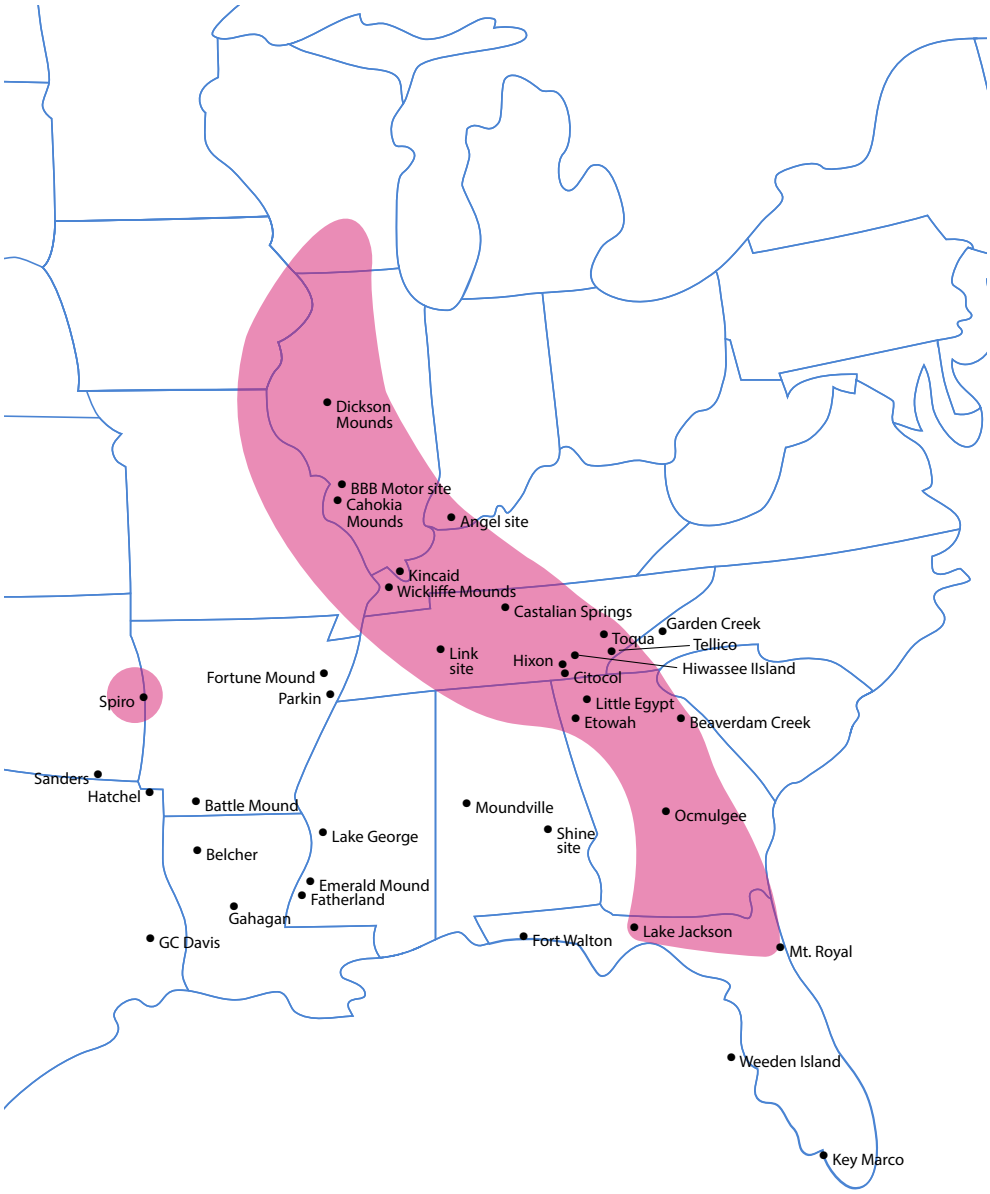


Figure 2.8. The Braden Artistic Style Corridor (denoted in red with key sites marked). (Source: adapted from Reilly, Garber, and Lankford, "Introduction").

heroes or deities, carefully arranged to tell a story. Power resided in the people who bankrolled the ritual. This is the sort of public theater that attracted people from near and far.[71] Indeed, of everyone ever buried at Cahokia, one-third were from somewhere else.[72]

Ritual paraphernalia and an accompanying religion were among Cahokia's primary exports. Cahokian art includes imagery of otherworldly beings like those instilled beneath Mound 72 – divine powers in human form, heroes in cosmic combat against the forces of death, and composite "monsters" – leaving archeologists to interpret that contemporary artists were religious practitioners in possession of guarded knowledge. Early Cahokian art conformed to rigid stylistic canons that scholars have termed the "Braden art style." The existence of a style implies that practicing artisans interacted with one another and were familiar with each other's work. Despite Braden's secure association with Cahokia, very few Braden style objects have been recovered there. Instead, they are most abundant outside of the American Bottom at sites

71. Julie Zimmerman Holt, "Rethinking the Ramey State: Was Cahokia the Center of a Theater State?," *American Antiquity* 74, no. 2 (2009): 231–54.
72. P. A. Slater, K. M. Hedman, and Thomas E. Emerson, "Immigrants at the Mississippian Polity of Cahokia: Strontium Isotope Evidence for Population Movement," *Journal of Archaeological Science,* no. 44 (2014): 117–27.

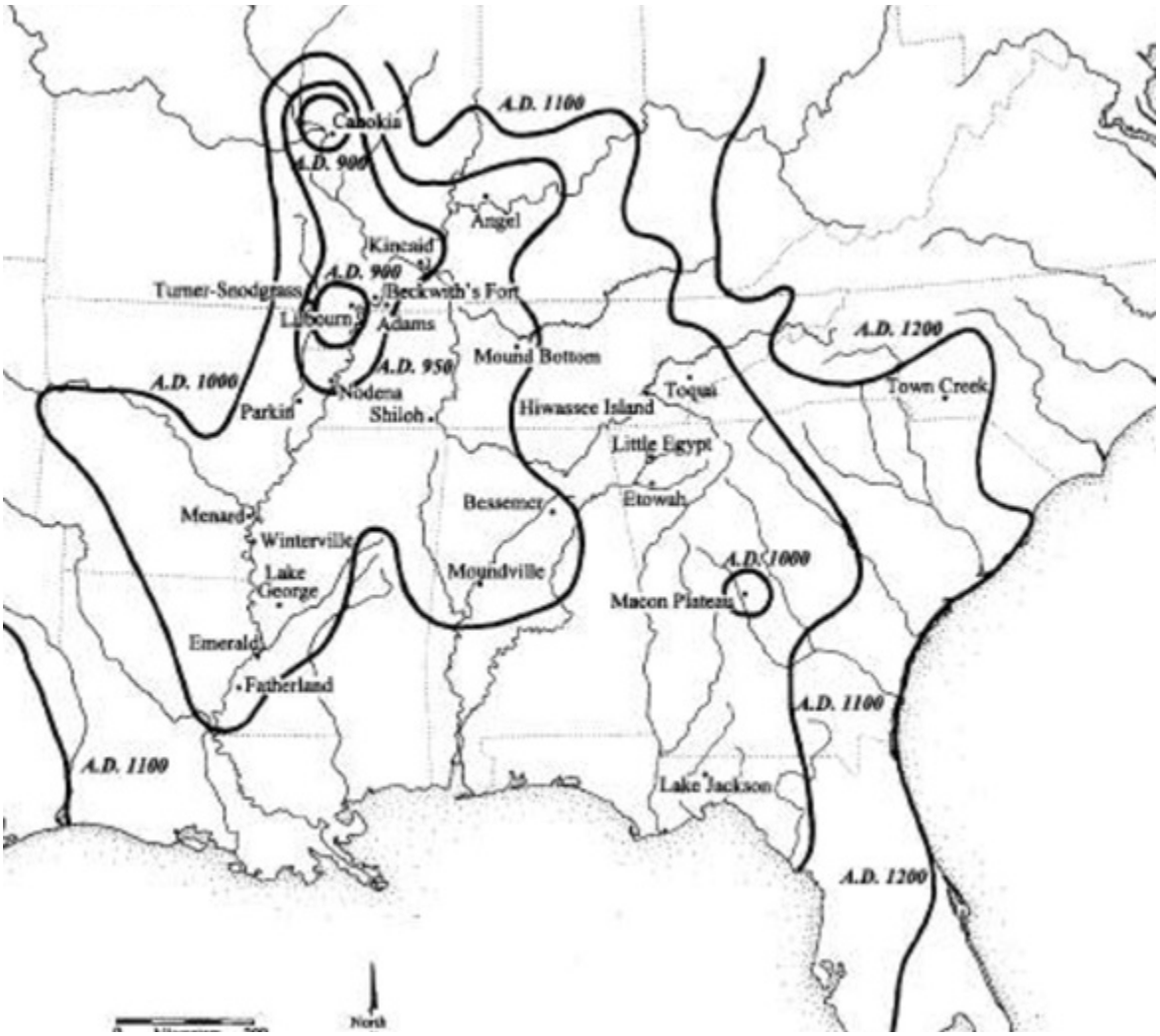


Figure 2.9. Time-transgressive spread of Mississippian culture across the American Midwest and Southeast. (Source: Anderson, "Examining Chiefdoms in the Southeast: An Application of Multiscalar Analysis," Figure 15.5).

within the so-called "Braden Corridor," a strip of geography encompassing southern Wisconsin, Illinois, western Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and northern Florida (Figure 2.8).[73] In the hands of so-called missionaries, Braden-style objects advertised the mythic power that underwrote the new Cahokian order.

Though widely distributed and critical to current understanding of the ideological dimensions of Mississippian culture, art objects are infrequently recovered from Mississippian sites. For this reason, archeologists have most often tracked the spread of Mississippian culture by a suite of more common and easily recognizable archeological features: intensive maize agriculture, community plans composed of variably arranged mounds and plazas, shell-tempered pottery, and wall-trench house construction. Though many of these originated in other parts of the eastern United States, they were combined at Cahokia into a novel package that radiated out into other areas of the ancient Southeast. These signatures exhibit a time-transgressive and directional geographic spread from the American Bottom region, mostly to the South and Southeast (Figure 2.9).[74]

73. F. Kent Reilly, James F. Garber, and George E. Lankford, "Introduction," in *Visualizing the Sacred: Cosmic Visions, Regionalism, and the Art of the Mississippian World*, ed. George E. Lankford, F. Kent Reilly, and James F. Garber (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), xi-xvii.
74. David Anderson, "Examining Chiefdoms in the Southeast: An Application of Multiscalar Analysis," in *Great Towns and Regional Polities in the Precontact American Southwest and Southeast*, ed. Jill Neitzel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 215-241.

The adoption of these traits by populations across the Southeast is what is referred to as Mississippianization. In the last decade, more and more archeologists have acknowledged the role that direct movement of Mississippian people and ideas played in the process, while also recognizing that what it meant to be "Mississippian" varied from place to place. Whereas archeological narratives once revolved around universal explanations for culture change (e.g., population growth, climate change), they now constitute event-driven narratives concerned with the mixing of people, practices, histories, and identities.[75] In the context of this new approach, Cahokia's meteoric rise and its far-reaching impacts is being given greater historical significance.[76] Holland-Lulewicz and colleagues' recently proposed "institutional approach" provides a framework for archeologists to demarcate complex societies like Cahokia into its constituent parts, highlighting the lines along which they may fracture and diffuse into other areas.[77] An institutional approach has the potential to hone our understanding of the role that traders, proselytizers, diplomats, social houses, and ritual sodalities might have played in the proliferation of Mississippian norms, as well as how these groups were variably received by Late Woodland-style hunter-gatherer-horticulturalists outside of proposed Mississippian heartlands.

Whereas archeologists once imagined a precontact Southeast composed of similar but relatively insulated populations, they now describe a syncretic, evangelical religion emanating from the American Bottom. No single society adopted a complete set of Cahokian ideals, some rejected them outright, but where they were incorporated into existing customs, they manifested in iconography, temple architecture, mortuary ceremonialism, and earthen monumentalism.[78] Distinctive, Cahokian-made, ritual objects were distributed widely, reflecting Cahokia's attempts to missionize populations near and far (Figure 2.10). These objects, which Pauketat likens to "calling cards," include Ramey Incised pots, Cahokia-notched arrow points, long-nosed-god-maskettes, flint-clay statuary, and Mill Creek chert hoes.[79] The ideologies and practices they represent were a vehicle for the agricultural revolution, rendered palatable to hunter-gatherers by retaining core aspects of traditional pan-American Indian beliefs. Inspired by Helms's comparative ethnography on the ideological dimensions of geographic distance, Pauketat and others question whether Cahokia's religious elite sought to integrate the broader continent into the monumental cosmological plan built at Cahokia itself, claiming that "in order to establish their city as a cosmic center, [they] needed to probe the outer limits of the cosmos."[80]

75. Pauketat, *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*.
76. John H. Blitz, "New Perspectives in Mississippian Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no.1 (2010): 1-39; Gregory D. Wilson, ed., *Mississippian Beginnings* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017).
77. Jacob Holland-Lulewicz, Megan Anne Conger, Jennifer Birch, Stephen A. Kowalewski, and Travis W. Jones, "An Institutional Approach for Archaeology," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology,* no. 58 (2020): 101-163.
78. Thomas E. Emerson, *Cahokia and the Archaeology of Power* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997); Vernon James Knight, "The Institutional Organization of Mississippian Religion," *American Antiquity* 51, no. 4 (1986): 675–87; George E. Lankford, F. Kent Reilly, and James F. Garber, eds., *Visualizing the Sacred: Cosmic Visions, Regionalism, and the Art of the Mississippian World*, The Linda Schele Series in Maya and Pre-Columbian Studies (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Susan Alt, "Identities, Tradition, and Diversity in Cahokia's Uplands," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (2002): 217–35; Brown, "Where's the Power in Moundbuilding?"; Timothy R. Pauketat, *The Ascent of Chiefs: Cahokia and Mississippian Politics in Native North America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); John E. Kelly, James A. Brown, J.M. Hanlin, L.S. Kelly, Laura Kozuch, K. Parker, and J. Van Nest, "Mound 34: The Context for the Early Evidence of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex at Cahokia," in *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Context*, ed. Adam King, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 57-87.
79. Pauketat, Ancient Cahokia and the Mississippians, 120.
80. Mary Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); Mary Helms, "Political Lords and Political Ideology in Southeastern Chiefdoms: Comments and Observation," in *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, ed. A.W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat, vol. 3, 186-194 (Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 1992); Pauketat, Timothy R., Robert F. Boszhardt, and Danielle M. Benden, "Trempealeau Entanglements: An Ancient Colony's Causes and Effects," *American Antiquity* 80, no. 2 (2015): 284.

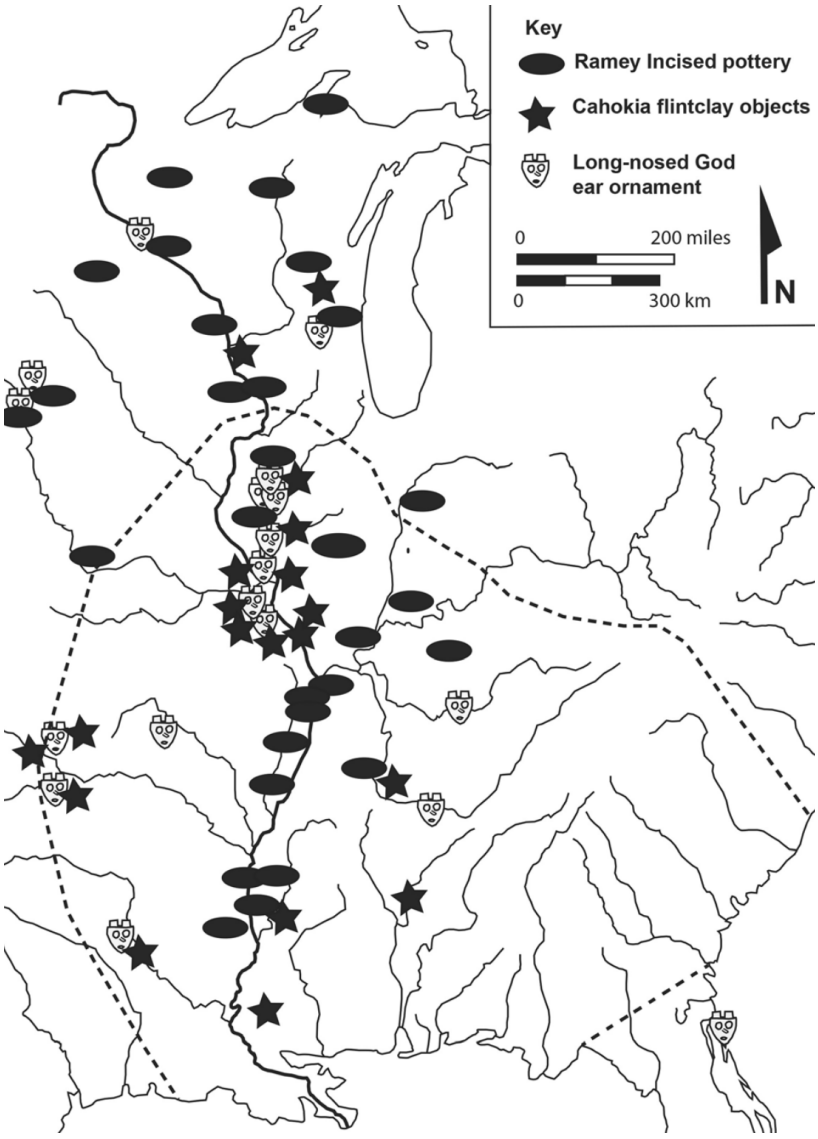


Figure 2.10. Distribution of possible Cahokia-derived artifacts. (Source: Ashley and Thunen, "St. Johns River Fisher-Hunter-Gatherers: Florida's Connection to Cahokia," Figure 2).

Ocmulgee's Origins

We know that history tells us that Ocmulgee is special because it's the place where our people first came and sit down after our migration from the west. And that area, the whole Ocmulgee River and the settlements all along there, are very important to the history of our tribe as people, going on to the history of Creek people, Seminole people, but also the history of Georgia and the history of the United States. I think that our relation is that is our homelands, and those are our people that were buried there.

Raelynn Butler, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Peach Ground Tribal Town, Raccoon Clan

They might have had trade with the coast for things like Yaupon Holly or something that's used in the Black Drink…

Emman Spain, Seminole Nation, Liwahali Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

Ocmulgee is one of the largest and earliest Mississippian sites in the Deep South. The site exhibits eight mounds, the largest of which (the Great Temple Mound) stood over 50 feet high. These earthen monuments are distributed across nearly a square mile. Hundreds of people lived in the open ground

between them, participating in a new – agricultural – way of life. Recalibrated radiocarbon dates from the Cornfield Mound (Mound D), House A on the South Plateau, and the nearby Brown's Mount mound site demonstrate that its primary occupation occurred between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[81] New radiocarbon samples derived from new excavations would greatly improve our understanding of Ocmulgee's historical timeline and the significant cultural and archeological events that occurred there.

Ocmulgee is one such important place that has many of the important hallmarks discussed for Mississippian period societies, such as mound construction, maize agriculture, and changes in the manufacturing and function of ceramic vessels. Radiocarbon dates indicate that these practices occurred sometime between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, in line with expectations for this being a part of the greater Mississippian phenomenon.

Archeology at Ocmulgee has lagged significantly behind that which has been conducted at many other large Mississippian sites. The most recent major work, Hally's edited volume, *Ocmulgee Archaeology:1936-1986*, was published in 1994 and based primarily on data retrieved during the Great Depression.[82] Upon this book's publication, Southeastern archeologists were just beginning to accept that Early Mississippian developments across the Eastern United States were historically related.[83] Archeologists then understood what has come to be known as "Mississippianization" as a primarily local process describing *in situ* polity formation, the result of different populations responding to similar socio-environmental challenges.[84] Since then, strong evidence has demonstrated that the appearance of Mississippian mound centers and their broadly similar material signatures were linked to certain heartlands, principally the American Bottom.[85] Today, archeologists understand the various incarnations of Mississippian culture as products of intersecting local and nonlocal factors that cannot be neatly parsed.[86] For instance, the Moundville polity in west-central Alabama resulted from the commingling of indigenous Late Woodland-style hunter-gatherers who had occupied the region for centuries and Mississippian agriculturalists who migrated into the region around 1000 CE.[87] Similarly, the Aztalan site in south-central Wisconsin has its origins in an influx of Mississippianized foreigners – perhaps directly from Cahokia – who settled among indigenous Woodland peoples and generated a new way of life.[88]

Archeologists recognized Mississippian influences within Ocmulgee's material record over 60 years before migration-contact scenarios emerged as a favored explanation for the spread of Mississippian culture. They cited and continue to cite Bibb Plain ceramics, Ocmulgee's sand-, grit-, shell-, and/or dolomite-tempered pottery, as evidence of this pattern.[89] Archeologists recovered well over a million characteristically "drab" Bibb Plain sherds during the 1930s excavations.[90] Despite their unassuming appearance, Bibb Plain vessels represented a dramatic departure from the pottery that indigenous central Georgians had been making for hundreds of years. Traditional Woodland-style conical pots were devised to be placed directly in cooking fires. They were tall, featuring high shoulders and lacking handles. By contrast, potters designed Bibb Plain pots with handles, to be suspended above hot coals. The former allowed for the rapid boil of acorns and other meaty nuts, an essential part of the Woodland mast foodways, while the latter allowed for the

81. Birch et al., "A Comparative Analysis of the Late Woodland–Early Mississippian Settlement Landscape in Northern Georgia," 115–33, Table 1.
82. David J. Hally, *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).
83. Bruce Smith, ed., *The Mississippian Emergence* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).
84. Ibid.
85. Anderson, "Examining Chiefdoms in the Southeast."
86. John H. Blitz, "New Perspectives in Mississippian Archaeology," 13.
87. Ernest W. Seckinger and Ned J. Jenkins, "A Plural Society in Prehistoric Alabama," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 46, no. 1 (2000): 43–57.
88. T. Douglas Price, James H. Burton, and James B. Stoltman, "Place of Origin of Prehistoric Inhabitants of Aztalan, Jefferson Co., Wisconsin," *American Antiquity* 72, no. 3 (2007): 524–38; Thomas J. Zych, "The Construction of a Mound and a New Community: An Analysis of the Ceramic and Feature Assemblages from the Northeast Mound at the Aztalan Site," (Milwaukee: Master of Science, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2013).
89. Mark Williams, "The Origins of the Macon Plateau Site," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 130-137.
90. Charles H. Fairbanks, "Creek and Pre-Creek," in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 285-300.

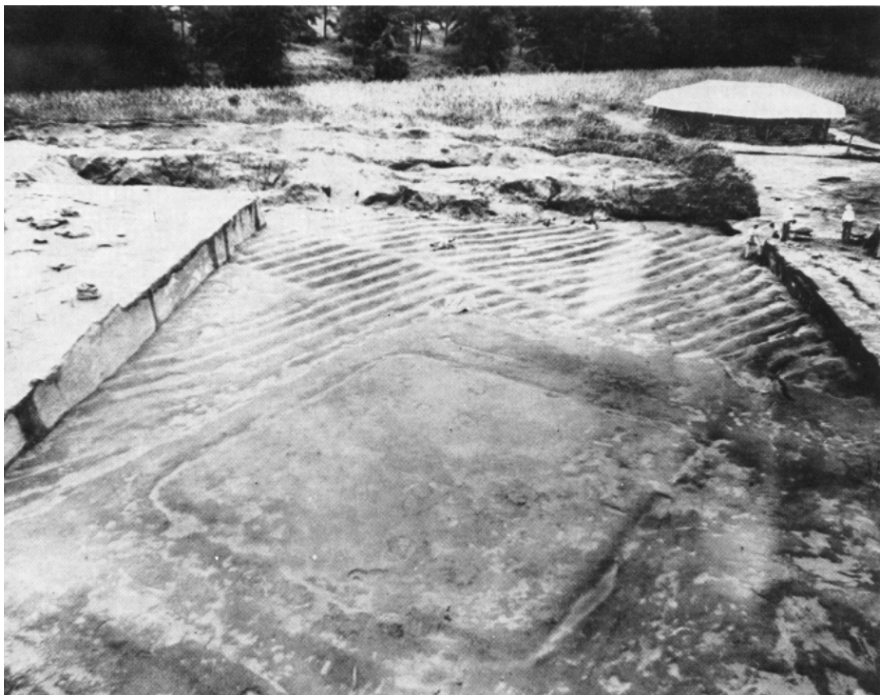


Figure 2.11. Excavated fields showing ridge and furrow patterns at Ocmulgee in 1938. (Source: OCMU Archives).

boiling of hominy, a dish of slow-simmered maize kernels.[91] Archeologically speaking, Bibb Plain ceramics appeared in central Georgia coincident with the Mississippian occupation at Ocmulgee. Archeologists cite close similarities between Bibb Plain ceramics and ceramics from eastern Tennessee's Norris Basin as evidence that "Mississippians had arrived [at the Macon Plateau] via a southeastern migration through west and middle Tennessee."[92] The new ceramic vessels were almost entirely confined to Ocmulgee and nearby sites in or adjacent to the river floodplain. This is unusual in the Mississippian world where large mound sites typically exerted influence over expansive territories.

A distinctive form of maize agriculture accompanied Bibb Plain cooking pots. In apparent contrast to pre-Columbian agronomic practices throughout most of eastern Northern America, the Early Mississippian people of Ocmulgee planted in ridged fields (Figure 2.11).[93] Planters created ridged fields first by clearing and burning and then by mounding the organically-rich, ashy soil into series of long, narrow beds. Furrows between beds retained water, permitting agriculture outside of the floodplain.[94] The only other places where archeologists have identified tenth and eleventh century ridged fields are southern Wisconsin, southern Michigan, and the American Bottom (Figure 2.12).

A Settlement Timeline for Ocmulgee

The most recent published syntheses of the Macon Plateau's Mississippian period were written when archeologists had a rather different perspective on the precontact Southeast. Ocmulgee archeology has since benefitted from more nuanced artifact typologies as well as advances in archeogeophysics. The narrative presented in the following pages combines old data and new. In the former category are data recovered during the federally funded 1930s and 1940s excavations. In the latter are a new ceramic

91. Rachel V. Briggs, "The Civil Cooking Pot: Hominy and the Mississippian Standard Jar in the Black Warrior Valley, Alabama," *American Antiquity* 81, no. 2 (2016): 316–32.
92. Gerald F. Schroedl, "A Comparison of the Origins of Macon Plateau and Hiwassee Island Cultures," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 139.
93. John J. Riley, "Ocmulgee and the Question of Mississippian Agronomic Practices," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 96-104.
94. William E. Whittaker, Lynn M. Alex, and Mary C. De La Garza, *The Archaeological Guide to Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), 39.

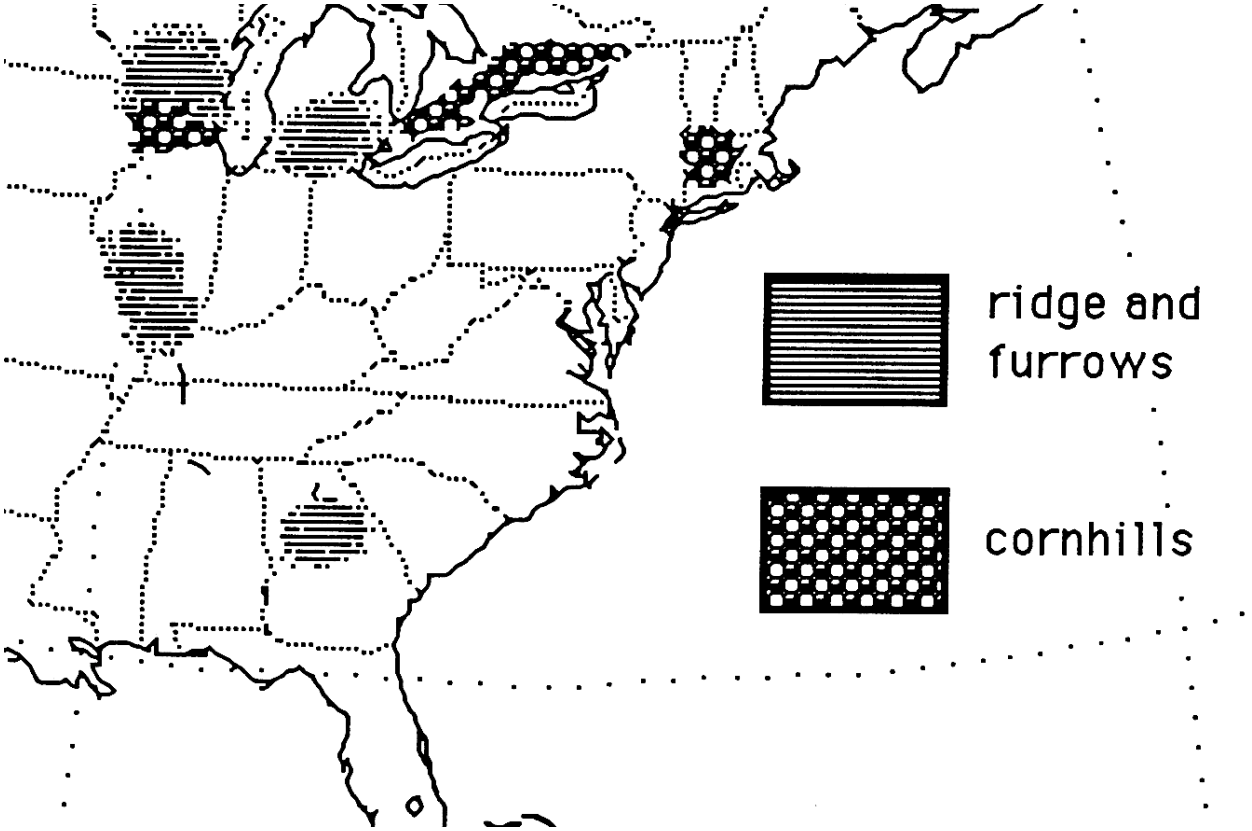


Figure 2.12. Distribution of reported ridge and furrow agricultural fields in eastern North America. (Source: Riley, "Ocmulgee and the Question of Mississippian Agronomic Practices," Figure 9.4).

chronology and a set of remote-sensed data collected for Daniel Bigman's dissertation, published in 2012.[95] It adheres to Bigman's five developmental stages for the site. They lack chronological precision but provide a general impression of how settlement shifted over Ocmulgee's three century occupation.

Stage 1

> *To us, our burials are sacred, and a funerary mound is sacred, so these objects should be sacred too. That's just the way we see it.*
>
> Emman Spain, Seminole Nation, Liwahali Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

> *Those are our people that were buried there. We considered them to be our ancestors and our elders.*
>
> Raelynn Butler, Raccoon Clan, Peach Ground tribal town

Fairbanks asserted that "there is no evidence of the development of any traits in the Macon Plateau focus out of earlier patterns in central Georgia" and that there "is a sharp break in the cultural sequence," however recent reconsiderations of the same WPA datasets draw on an updated ceramic chronology to demonstrate more continuity in local potteries than previously realized.[96] Local wares included sand- and/or grit-tempered jar forms with brown or black paste. Potters continued to employ traditional decorative techniques including check-stamping, simple-stamping, and cord-marking. On the other hand, potters almost never embellished shell-tempered pots.

The early settlers established themselves on the South Plateau, Middle Plateau, and Funeral Mound (Mound C) Bluff. On the South and Middle Plateau, they built circular houses measuring between

95. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee."
96. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia*, 42; Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee."



Figure 2.13. A highly polished long-stemmed spud recovered from beneath the Funeral Mound (Mound C) at Ocmulgee. (Source: New South Associates).

14.75 and 32 feet in diameter, but they had apparently yet to decide how these were to be arrayed on the landscape. Some stood in isolation from other structures, while builders arranged others in clusters around small common areas and/or amidst other buildings of unknown function. It is notable that people constructed all of these buildings by setting each wall post into an individually dug hole, a time-honored method with roots extending deep into the Woodland Period.[97]

Steep topography and a stream separated early residential areas from the Funeral Mound (Mound C) bluff where people had been coming for millennia. Excavation trenches west of the Funeral Mound (Mound C) encountered a clay platform that Fairbanks interpreted as a house floor despite lacking postholes and a central hearth.[98] The same trenches exposed a series of shallow pits containing fragments of shell-tempered pots and saltpans. One pit yielded a one-and-one-half-foot-long, highly polished, long-stemmed spud that had been made out of "an extremely soft green slate that seems too fragile for any utilitarian purpose" (Figure 2.13).[99] At other Mississippian sites, archeologists have interpreted objects such as these as having had a "sociotechnic function similar to copper axes, monolithic axes, chert 'swords,' and maces, all representing elaborations of the war club."[100] Sixteen other pits contained human remains. Though most dated to the late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century Muscogee (Creek) occupation, at least one is associated with the Early Mississippian residents. A profusion of contemporary artifacts accompanied it, including a shell gorget, a ground stone adze, five lanceolate mussel shell objects of unknown function, a large ceramic smoking pipe, and sub-globular cooking pot.

According to Charles Fairbanks, the archeologist who relied on original records to reconstruct Kelly's findings at the Funeral Mound (Mound C) and the cemetery beneath it inaugurated the new village. Eighty-eight percent of the pottery sherds recovered from within and beneath the mound are grit-, shell-, or grit-and-shell-tempered Bibb Plain, the local type associated with maize-based dishes. Builders constructed the Funeral Mound in seven stages during the early days of the site's Mississippian occupation, and it incorporates 98 human burials, many richly accoutered. Fairbanks understood the burials as chiefs and their retainers, and further hypothesized that people added new layers and new graves to the mound on a calendrical basis and in connection with chiefly succession. An alternate interpretation is that people arranged the array of Early Mississippian graves within and beneath the Funeral Mound as a mortuary tableau comparable to the cosmological layout uncovered beneath Cahokia's Mound 72.

The sub-mound cemetery is the earliest of several contained within the mound (Figure 2.14).[101] WPA archeologists recorded six grave pits containing a total of at least seventeen individuals and thousands of artifacts beneath the Funeral Mound. Three pits were log-lined tombs, and bark planks covered two others. Metcalf's recent reanalysis of available remains identified no females, only males, probable males,

97. Benjamin A. Steere, *The Archaeology of Houses and Households in the Native Southeast* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2017).
98. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound,* 34.
99. Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Stabilization of the Funeral Mound", Accession Number 624, Southeastern Archeological Center (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1954).
100. Timothy R. Pauketat, "A Long-Stemmed Spud from the American Bottom," *MidContinental Journal of Archaeology* 8, no. 1 (1983): 1.
101. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound,* 21–24.

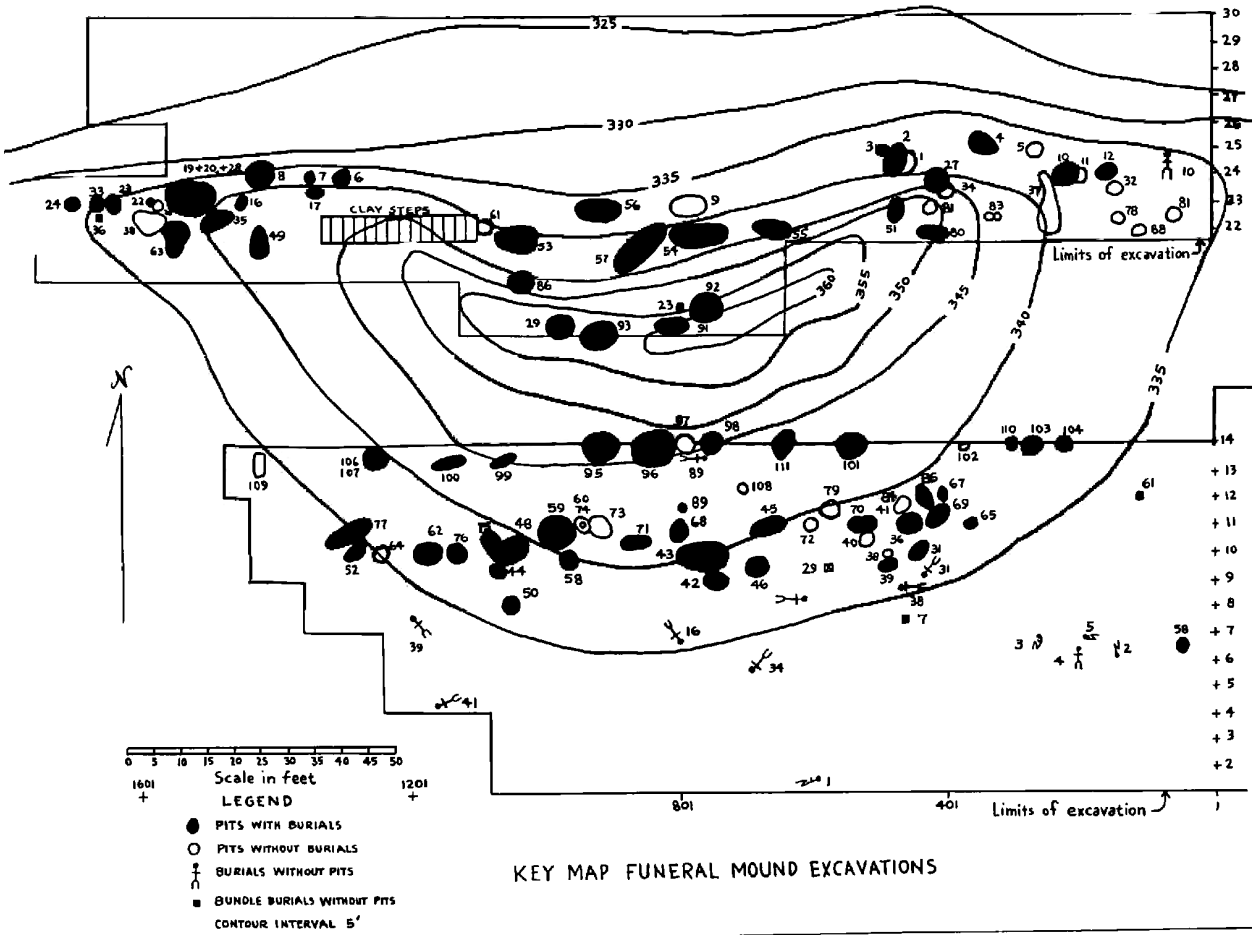


Figure 2.14. Plan View Map of Pits and Burials in the Funeral Mound (Mound C). (Source: Fairbanks, Archaeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia, Figure 4).

and indeterminates.[102] Sub-adults dominated the burial population. The decedents were either defleshed and bundled, in an advanced state of decay when buried, or buried soon after death, and some had been assembled from disarticulated remains. Many were pigmented with red ocher or hematite. All but two out of the seventeen buried beneath the mound shared their grave pit with others, and every one of them was buried with their head pointed west.

Two grave pits stand out for their complexity and lavishness. Pit 53 was a log tomb containing two individuals, one loosely bundled and the other supine and extended. The bones were slightly charred (not cremated) from a small fire that had been ignited in the pit. Archeologists dispute the sex of the extended individual, with Fairbanks concluding "female" and Metcalf concluding "male."[103] She or he was buried with a tremendous amount of marine shell beads, 17,582 disc and 387 tubular, which were placed as if woven into a netlike shroud. These beads were likely made elsewhere, as excavations at the Macon Plateau have not encountered evidence of a local shell bead industry.

Pit 54 includes seven individuals - three adults, one child, and the rest of indeterminate age.[104] The adults were buried tightly together, supine and extended, as a triple burial wrapped in the same bundle. Twenty-six thousand olivella beads were sewn into their shroud. The remains of the other four individuals were

102. Metcalf, Rachel, "An Analysis of Early Mississippian Burials from Mound C at Ocmulgee, Georgia" (Honors thesis, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2017).
103. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound,* 21–24; Metcalf, "An Analysis of Early Mississippian Burials from Mound C at Ocmulgee, Georgia."
104. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound,* 21–24.

scattered over and around the "triplets," creating a veritable pile of bones that was then coated with red ochre and topped with a large Busycon conch shell cup. As in Pit 53, the remains were slightly charred. Within the pile, archeologists discovered two biconcave chunky stones carved of a light-colored claystone, a greenstone adze, a marine shell disc gorget, and three well-made bone pins. Bark planks covered the deposit.

A rectangular platform mound standing 13 feet high and approximately 130 feet long capped these deposits. Builders placed the first basket loads atop Pits 56 and 57. As the mound builders progressed outwards, the loads became more laminar and alternated between light and dark fill, creating a striking profile. Primary mounds featuring alternating fills are known from Cahokia, as well. The act of layering them in this manner constituted a symbolically charged event.[105] A clay-stepped ramp on the west flank provided access to the summit. At the top of the steps, one would have immediately encountered a wooden post that pierced all underlying fill layers and into the undisturbed ground adjacent to Pit 53. Fairbanks believed that this post predated the mound and that it remained in place during mound construction. A profile photo featured in his *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound* appears to show this post intact.

The cemetery and overlying mound were likely created in a single ritual event, a religious charter accompanying the initial Mississippian settlement of the site. Believing the Pit 53 burials to be a male and female, Fairbanks suggested that they represent First Man and First Woman, the mythic ancestors of people who settled the site, and the adjacent post does suggest that they were central to the intended message. The seven individuals arranged nearby in Pit 54 and accompanied by biconcave chunky stones likewise call to mind the group of seven placed with chunky equipment alongside the Beaded Burial. In effect, the interment beneath Ocmulgee's Funeral Mound (Mound C) validated the founding lineage with reference to a mythic past. The overlying mound was a visual reminder of what had transpired.

Stage 2

> *Ocmulgee and Moundville are kind of different, you know? One, you feel more of a sense of welcome, I guess. And then the other, it's like, 'Do I enter or do I not?' You kind of hesitate.*
>
> Melissa Harjo, Muscogee (Creek), Coushatta Number Two Tribal Town, Bird Clan

Stage 2 witnessed several significant cultural developments: slightly increased population, expanded residential area, the construction of new mounds, the beginnings of a formal site layout, and multiple indications of growing sociopolitical distance between community members.[106] The site margins expanded to include the Southeast Plateau. As with the Funeral Mound (Mound C), this portion of the site apparently hosted nondomestic activities including a workshop where fabric-impressed saltpans were manufactured. Meanwhile, in the South and Middle Plateaus, formerly unoccupied spaces filled up with new single-set post structures. These were more intimate household groups with enclosed private courtyards on two or three sides.

Also, at this time the circular house form began falling out of fashion, as rectangular buildings became the norm. In one instance, a circular house was torn down and replaced with a rectangular one, a rare example of indisputable *in situ* culture change. Elsewhere in the Mississippian world, building again and again in the same place has been interpreted as households staking claims to specific locations on the landscape, establishing "family estates" that persisted for centuries. Bigman suggests that changes in domestic architecture occurred over a single generation.[107]

105. Pauketat, *The Ascent of Chiefs.*
106. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 252.
107. A. Wayne Prokopetz, "An Analysis of Post Houses: Site 9-Bi-4, Macon, Georgia" (Master's thesis, Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1974), 63; Edmond Boudreaux, *The Archaeology of Town Creek* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Jera R. Davis, "On Common Ground: Social Memory and the Plaza at Early Moundville" (Ph.D. diss., Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama, 2014); Gregory D. Wilson, *The Archaeology of Everyday Life at Early Moundville* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2008); Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 254.

Construction of the Great Temple and Lesser Temple Mounds (Mounds A and B) commenced during Stage 2. Incredibly, the South Plateau itself was extended westward as a foundation for the Great Temple Mound, a substantial effort that would have no visible impact on the town plan aside from permitting a slightly different placement for the mound.[108] Costly decisions such as these speak clearly of the Mississippians' intentions: the Macon Plateau and its contemporaries were meticulously planned settlements. There is nothing haphazard about the placement of mounds and plazas within them.[109] Additionally, builders constructed the Great Temple and Lesser Temple Mounds as platform mounds, raised foundations for monumental timber-frame structures.

Moundbuilders constructed the Great Temple Mound in four stages, to a final height of 50 feet and basal area measuring 330 by 295 feet. Bigman and Lanzarone interpret the diminishing volume of successive mound stages as evidence that the power and influence of Ocmulgee's early leaders peaked early and subsided thereafter.[110] Despite the fact that modern plowing has destroyed much of the mound's summit, test excavations atop the Great Temple Mound penetrated a surficial clay cap and encountered hearths over six feet beneath the ground surface. A ground-penetrating radar survey of the summit revealed similar features – the remains of single and paired timber-frame structures, hearths, and clay caps – at intervals throughout the mound.[111] People did not build any structures atop the mound after the clay cap was added towards the end of Ocmulgee's Early Mississippian occupation.

Stage 3

> *So, he'd say 'I'm going to the big house.' And although there wasn't a big house, I knew that he was going there to meet with the other men. You know, 'cause that was a meeting place. And so we still have that, the fire still burns. They still practice the fasting, the Black Drink, all of that.*
>
> Melissa Harjo, Muscogee (Creek), Coushatta Number Two Tribal Town, Bird Clan

The Great and Lesser Temple Mounds and the Funeral Mound probably grew during Stage 3 as a result of periodic communal building projects. The Great Temple Mound reached its final height in this stage or the next. The Cornfield Mound and the Macon Plateau's famous Earth Lodge also have their origins in this stage of the site's development.[112] The Earth Lodge, the first identified as such in the southeastern United States, exhibits many of the same features that archeologists have since documented in other Southeastern examples, as well as some features that set it apart (Figure 2.15). Shared components include exterior earthen embankments, a wall-trenched entryway, four central support posts, a central hearth, single-set post walls with split or whole-cane lathing, slide-trenches for erecting large posts, wooden partitions, and a cribbed superstructure.[113] The semi-subterranean floor is not exclusive to this site, but it is somewhat rare among similar structures.[114] Its internal clay features deserve additional commentary for what they indicate about the interconnectedness of politics and religion/cosmology in Macon Plateau society.

The effigy raptorial bird platform is one of the most noteworthy architectural features among all documented precontact structures north of the Rio Grande.[115] Fairbanks describes it as follows:

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108. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 255.
109. Jera R. Davis, Chester P. Walker, and John H. Blitz, "Remote Sensing as Community Settlement Analysis at Moundville," *American Antiquity* 80, no. 1 (2015): 161–69; Kidder, Tristram R., "Plazas as Architecture: An Example from the Raffman Site, Northeast Louisiana," *American Antiquity* 69, no. 3 (2004): 514–32.
110. Daniel P. Bigman and Peter M. Lanzarone, "Investigating Construction History, Labour Investment, and Social Change at Ocmulgee National Monument's Mound A, Georgia, USA, Using Ground-Penetrating Radar," *Archaeological Prospection* 21 (2014): 213-224.
111. J. E. Ingmanson, "Archaeology of South Plateau," (Tallahassee, Florida: Manuscript on file, Southeastern Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1964); Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 256.
112. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 257.
113. Fairbanks, Archaeology of the Funeral Mound.
114. Daniel J. Crouch, "South Appalachian Earth Lodges" (Master's thesis, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina, 1974), 136.
115. Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Macon Earth Lodge," *American Antiquity* 12 (1946): 94–108; Kelly, "A Preliminary Report on Archeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia."

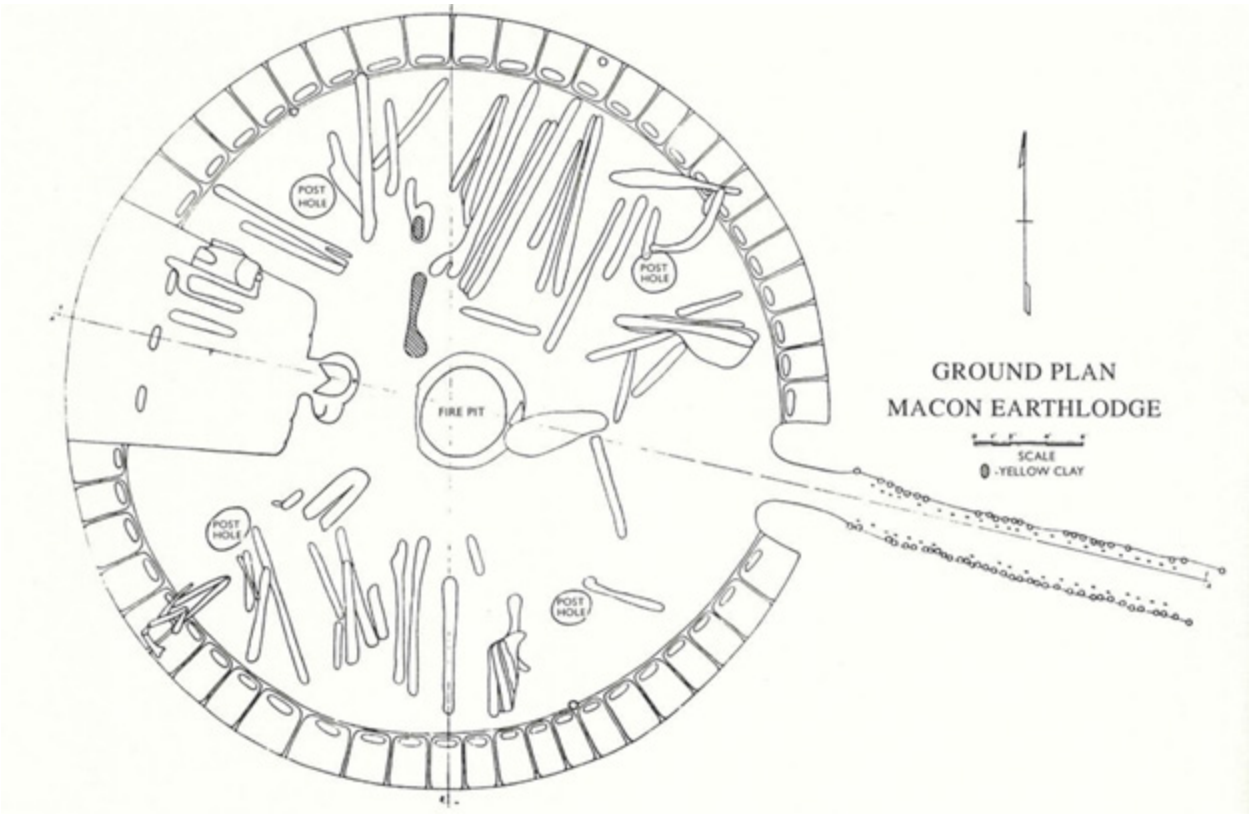


Figure 2.15. Plan view of the Earth Lodge (Mound D-1), Macon Plateau. (Source: Fairbanks, "The Macon Earth Lodge").

> Inside the structure, directly opposite the entrance, was a large, packed clay platform shaped to represent an eagle. It was 16 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 9-12 inches high. The head was towards the fire basin. The shoulders were slightly grooved as if to represent feathers, and the beak was shown by a shallow groove. The eye was a typical "forked eye" sunk 0.1 foot into the head. Just above the eye, a small hole 0.1 feet in diameter and 0.5 foot deep extended vertically into the head. A distance of 4.5 feet from the wall was a row of shallow rounded depressions 0.6 foot wide and 0.3 foot deep. The center one was 1.5 feet long, the other two were 1.3 feet long. [116]

Renewed interest in interpreting Mississippian iconography has yielded cutting-edge interpretations of representational art such as this.[117] Of direct relevance are insights into the variable forms of the "forked eye surround" motif. Current interpretations hold that the two-pronged surround that Fairbanks describes for the raptor platform at the Macon Plateau connects its bearer with the "Upper World," the parallel domain that in American Indian cosmology is associated with order, most flying animals, the sun, and the daytime sky.[118] Its prominence within the Macon Earth Lodge highlights the place of the Macon Plateau within the Braden Corridor.[119]

The Earth Lodge's floor slopes slightly upwards from east to west. A low, clay bench runs along the interior wall. It is divided into 50 seats – 23 to the north, 24 to the south half, and 3 more set apart from the rest directly across from the main entryway. These seats are all about the same size and each features a shallow, oval-shaped depression of unknown function, but their similar dimensions and features belie a critical difference. The subtle east-west slope is such that each position sits slightly higher than the last. The three highest seats are atop the effigy platform and directly across from the lodge's tunnel entrance. The

116. Fairbanks, "The Macon Earth Lodge," 103.
117. Lankford, Reilly, and Garber, *Visualizing the Sacred*.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.

arrangement's overall effect is of a ranked council presided over by three leading members whose authority derived from the supernatural.

Other contemporary features of the settlement hint at growing tensions. The spatial layouts of household groups became ever more formal, with different patterns emerging in different parts of the site. On the North Plateau south of Cornfield Mound (Mound D) and west of the Earth Lodge household groups completely enclosed their courtyards, shielding activities within from view. These arrangements contrast with groups on the Middle Plateau, where households featured more open layouts.[120] In other parts of the continent, enclosed courtyard groups have been interpreted as evidence of a populace socially isolating itself either as a form of resistance against intrusive authority figures and/or as a means of obscuring rituals, dances, and other corporate property.

Stage 4

The overall impression of the settlement plan during the penultimate stage of the Macon Plateau's Early Mississippian occupation is one of increasing disorder. Previously occupied portions of the site experienced a residential decline as outlying bluffs began to see settlement.[121] Builders constructed new mounds – Dunlap, McDougal, and the Fort Hawkins mounds –on the bluffs north of the site. These were separated by open ground, yet another departure from the continuous spread of habitation that characterized the site core only a generation or two prior. At the same time, household groups that once projected an air of exclusivity opened and integrated into an overall settlement plan that evokes a "neighborhood" feel. Whereas builders once arranged near-mound structures to restrict access to mounds in the site core, now they repositioned these structures in an apparent effort to situate mounds at the center of bounded neighborhoods.[122]

There are at least two ways to interpret this reorganization and expansion of habitation zones at the Macon Plateau. It may be that new arrivals were not permitted to settle within the site core where households had staked claims to specific spots on the landscape several generations before. In this case, newcomers established themselves atop the nearest bluffs on the margins of the Macon Plateau proper. From this perspective the construction of Dunlap, McDougal, and the Fort Hawkins mounds may represent an attempt by newcomers to join the local community. Fusions of nonlocal and local communities are well documented among American Indian peoples in the Late Mississippian and early Historic period, and it is the tendency of immigrant groups to assume a marginal status.[123] Alternately, the new mounds and their associated households may represent an outgrowth of factionalism that has its origins in the tensions described above. Mississippian societies were socio-politically fragile. In an environment where resources are abundant and population densities are relatively low, early complex societies that instituted rigid hierarchies were prone to dissolution.[124] Indeed, if not simply due to erosion, the absence of structures atop the Great Temple Mound signals the final decommissioning of the Ocmulgee's most prominent mound. People also buried the Earth Lodge at this time. Archeologists interpret such acts as termination ceremonies that often coincided with the decline or outright abandonment of other Mississippian settlements.[125]

120. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 257–58.
121. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 295.
122. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 262.
123. John H. Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fission-Fusion Process," *American Antiquity* 64, no. 4 (1999): 577–92.
124. David G. Anderson, *The Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Precontact Southeast* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994); Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fission-Fusion Process."
125. David G. Anderson, "Event and Structure: Culture Change and Continuity in the Ancient Southeast," in *The Archaeology of Events: Cultural Change and Continuity in the Pre-Columbian Southeast*, ed. Zachary I. Gilmore and Jason M. O'Donoughue (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015), 233; Cameron B. Wesson, "Mississippian Sacred Landscapes," in *Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar*, ed. R. Barry Lewis and Charles B. Stout (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 114.

Stage 5

By the end of the Early Mississippian period (1200 CE), the Macon Plateau was all but devoid of human activity. The South Plateau still had a residual population that lingered there until the site's total abandonment.[126] This is the period that constitutes Bigman's fifth and final stage.[127] After people left the Macon Plateau, they did not return until the Historic Creek period. The grounds may have become taboo.[128] Considering that occupation and reoccupation of mound sites across the Southeast was typical for Mississippian populations, this was an unusual turn of events, but it was not unique to the Macon Plateau. Moundville, too, experienced a similar fracturing, outmigration, and subsequent abandonment, as did the Asphalt Plant mound, a Moundville precursor.[129] In Late Mississippian times, a large portion of the Lower Ohio River Valley was abandoned, earning it the archeological epithet "The Vacant Quarter."[130] What makes the Macon Plateau different from Moundville and the Lower Ohio Valley is that its collapse did not occur of a disastrous climatic episode.

The Late Mississippian Peoples of the Lamar Site and Culture

The Lamar Mounds,. . .we believe that was Ichisi. It used to be a tribal town here in the Creek Nation.

Emman Spain, Seminole Nation, Liwahali Tribal Town, Alligator Clan

The Macon Plateau had already been abandoned for 100 years when people settled the Lamar site. The major occupation of the Lamar Site occurred during the Late Mississippian Period Cowarts Phase (1300-1600 CE) and is commonly called the "Classic" Lamar Complex in the Southeastern Piedmont. The trait list developed by Fairbanks to define the Lamar Complex is based on the finding of Lamar Bold Incised, Lamar Complicated Stamped, and Lamar Plain pottery, found at Late Mississippian, Protohistoric, and Early Historic Piedmont sites in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. In short, the archeological Lamar culture encompassed a tremendous geographic area.[131] These were Mississippian agriculturalists, not wholly dissimilar to their Early Mississippian counterparts at the Macon Plateau.

People chose the Lamar site for its defensive location. As recently as 1800, "the Ocmulgee River flowed around the site on both sides so that it was an island in the middle of the river." The remnant of this former course to the east of Lamar is today called Black Lake.[132] Not long after people settled there, they built a village and a pair of platform mounds, then enclosed the place in a protective ditch-and-palisade. The settlement grew until in the sixteenth century when it constituted the largest urban area in the Georgia Piedmont.

Archeologists are fairly certain that Hernando de Soto overnighted at Lamar during his mid-sixteenth-century trek across the Southeast.[133] At the time, it was a principal site, if not *the* principal site, of the Ichisi province mentioned in several of the De Soto expedition chronicles. Notably, it was also the first place that De Soto and his men report receiving a warm welcome, in stark contrast to the constant ambushes they had suffered during the previous months. Their descriptions of the settlement and its people are invaluable

126. Ben A. Nelson, A. Wayne Prokopetz, and David Swindell, III, "Analysis of Mound D and Macon Earthlodge (1Bi3) Materials at the Southeast Archeological Center," (Tallahassee: Southeastern Archeological Center, Florida State University, 1974), 39–41.
127. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 264–65.
128. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 264.
129. Vernon J. Knight, *Mound Excavations at Moundville* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Vincas P. Steponaitis, "Excavations at 1Tu50, An Early Mississippian Community Near Moundville," *Southeastern Archaeology* 11, no. 1 (1992): 1–13.
130. Charles R. Cobb and Brian Butler, "Late Mississippian Abandonment of the Lower Ohio River Valley," *American Antiquity* 67, no. 4 (2002): 625–41; David Pollack, *Caborn-Welborn: Constructing a New Society after the Angel Chiefdom Collapse* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004).
131. David M. Brewer and Susan Hammersten, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Lamar Mound Units of Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia," (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, 1990), 25.
132. Brewer and Hammerstein, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Lamar Mound Units," 7.
133. David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando de Soto, A Savage Quest in the Americas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 325–26; Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

for understanding political and social dynamics of Late Mississippian cultures, making the connection of Lamar to Ichisi a significant accomplishment indeed.

The Lamar Site continued to be occupied into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, called Ocmulgee Fields phase (1685 to 1715 CE) but in a diminished state. Fairbanks believed that the Ocmulgee Fields culture evolved out of the preceding Lamar complex and "that the people of the Lamar occupation were the direct ancestors of the Historic Creek Indians."[134] The next historic context explores this possibility further.

134. Charles H. Fairbanks, "Some Problems on the Origin of Creek Pottery," *Florida Anthropologist* 11, no. 2 (1958): 53–64.

Trade Routes and Transportation at the Ocmulgee Old Fields: Crossroads and Connections

The Middle Ocmulgee River Valley in the Early European-Contact Period

From 1539 to 1543, Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto and his men traveled an area that covered nearly 4,000 miles of territory, searching for gold and potential settlement sites. While other conquistadors also ventured into the what would become the southeastern United States, none penetrated as far into the interior as de Soto. Following his brutal *entrada*, few Europeans would enter the area that later became central Georgia until the English came seeking American Indian trading partners in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. While coastal populations were radically altered or outright destroyed by direct and sustained interaction with Europeans, interior populations adapted to the world market indirectly through trade goods.[135] They enslaved people and exchanged deerskins, glass beads, brass bells, iron knives, hatchets, and eventually guns, objects and practices that durably altered lifeways and customs across the Southeast. Beliefs regarding value influenced this early trade, initially driving high demand for Spanish brass and copper objects that might be fashioned into facsimiles of traditional valuables – disc gorgets, armbands, and tubular beads.[136] Soon such items were being made in Spanish workshops specifically for exchange with Southeastern American Indians. Not to be outcompeted by an age-old rival, the English maintained a steady flow of weapons and tools to indigenous contacts, encouraging dependency over the long term. Indeed, by the 1680s these goods had become integral to American Indian economies, social norms, and political life.

Meanwhile in the region that would become the states of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, disease epidemics, warfare, and enslavement decimated the Apalachee, Calusa, Guale, Timucua, Westo, Yamasee, and others. Survivors migrated great distances to coalesce with Muskogee- and Hitchiti-speaking peoples in the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Chattahoochee River valleys forming what came to be known as the "Creek Confederacy" (Figure 3.1). Membership ultimately totaled more than 20,000 people distributed across more than 50 towns and speaking six distinct languages: Muskogee, Hitchiti, Koasati, Yuchi, Natchez, and Shawnee.[137] Whereas many of their contemporaries had perished, the Muscogee (Creek) not only survived but thrived thanks to their policy of sheltering and integrating refugees. The process by which these peoples knit themselves into a single nation is referred to as Muscogee (Creek) ethnogenesis.[138]

135. Gregory A. Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House and Early European-Indian Contact in the Colonial Southeast," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 194.
136. Carol Irwin Mason, "Eighteenth Century Culture Change Among the Lower Creeks," *Florida Anthropologist* 16 (1963): 65–80; Marvin T. Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period*, Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History 6 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, The Florida State Museum, 1987).
137. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, vol. 73, Bureau of American Ethnography Bulletin 73 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1922).
138. Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996).

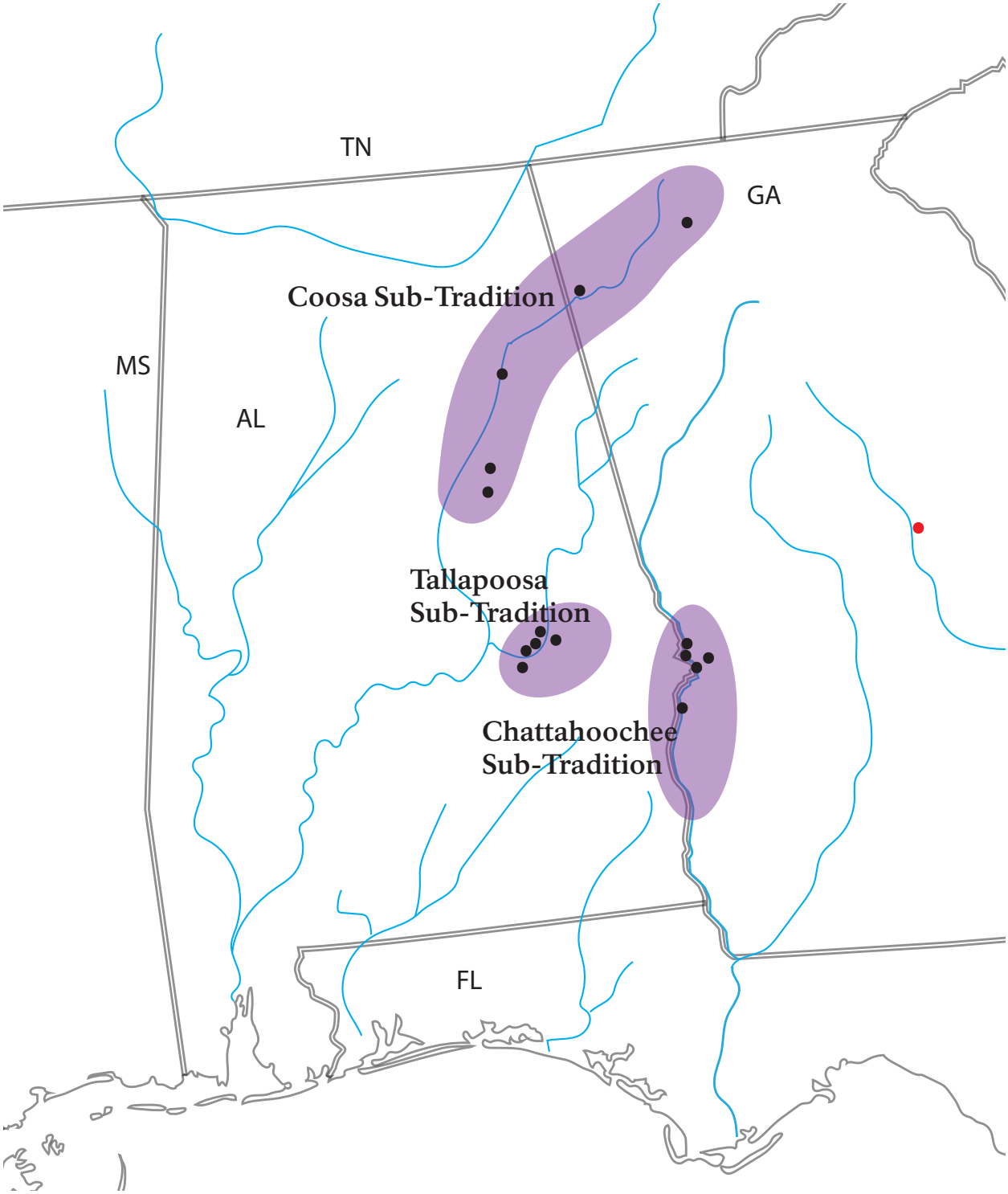


Figure 3.1. Member Communities of The Creek Confederacy in The Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Chattahoochee River Valleys with site locations shown (dots). Ocmulgee is the location indicated in red. (Source: Adapted from Vernon James Knight Jr., "Ocmulgee Fields Culture and the Historical Development of Creek Ceramics," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology*, ed. David J. Hally).

Only recently have scholars accepted that the middle Ocmulgee River Valley was also backdrop to Muscogee (Creek) ethnogenesis in the early contact period and, intriguingly, that it hosted a remnant population who had weathered the entradas, epidemics, wars, and contact with the world market in situ.[139] Ethnohistoric, cartographic, and archeological data have informed this conclusion. Continuities between contact period and late seventeenth-century place names are among the more illustrative lines of evidence of these populations.[140] Early British maps and other documents refer to the Ocmulgee River as "Ochese Creek" and the people living along it as simply "The Creek."[141] Scholars believe that "Ochese" is etymologically derived from Ichisi, the principle settlement of the Ichisi chiefdom on the middle Ocmulgee River where Muscogee (Creek) ancestors hosted De Soto and his army in 1540.[142] Archeologist Stephen Hammock rhetorically questions, "If the Ochese had been abandoned sometime after 1540 and before 1690, why [would] the name remain there without the presence of the people?" [143]

Archeological ceramics also demonstrate important continuities between local Late Mississippian and contact period occupations at the Ocmulgee Old Fields (Figure 3.2). Archeologist Charles Fairbanks summarized the evolution of decorative incising of pottery as follows:

> The rim area is incised with a band-like design in both cases, this feature being largely the connection between the two types… Lamar Bold Incised is a vigorous, bold, rhythmic incising, while Ocmulgee Fields Incised is a sloppy, careless, often smoothed-over incising... Thus we have a similar form with closely similar pattern or location of the decoration, suggesting that the relationship is closer than simply a derivation from a common ancestor… At the Lamar site there are a few vessels that represent a transitional phase between Lamar and Ocmulgee Fields in this respect. [144]

In recognition of this poorly understood "transitional phase" of archeological ceramics, Hammock proposes an "Ochese Phase" between Late Lamar (Cowarts Phase) and Ocmulgee Field Phase ceramics: 1600-1700 CE.[145] Considering the scarcity of documentary evidence, he acknowledges that the details of post-Mississippian life in the middle Ocmulgee River Valley will remain largely a mystery until archeologists are able to firmly identify diagnostic ceramic types.

Modern-day Muscogee (Creek),[146] their late eighteenth century ancestors,[147] and historians[148] alike consider the resettling of the middle Ocmulgee River Valley to be a pivotal event in Muscogee (Creek) history. It was there that they "became a new people living a new kind of world."[149] The first settlers were soon joined by refugees from other parts of the Southeast. The initial wave arrived from the lower Chattahoochee Valley in 1690.[150] Throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century, Muscogee (Creek) peoples living there had developed a close relationship with Spaniards who had established a substantial system of missions among Apalachee peoples in the Florida panhandle. Spain provided wares that had

139. Stephen Hammock, "Ochese's Legacy: Creek Life on the Ocmulgee River, 1680-1715," *Early Georgia*, 2018.
140. David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 41.
141. Ned Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks, 1050-1700 CE," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 236.
142. Vernon James Knight, Jr. "Ocmulgee Fields Culture and the Historical Development of Creek Ceramics" in *Ocmulgee Archaeology*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); John E. Worth, "The Lower Creeks: Origins and Early History," in *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), 283**;** Charles Hudson, "The Social Context of the Chiefdom of Ichisi," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 178.
143. Stephen Hammock, "Ochese's Legacy: Creek Life on the Ocmulgee River, 1680-1715," 23–24.
144. Charles Fairbanks, "Some Problems on the Origin of Creek Pottery," *Florida Anthropologist* 11, no. 2 (1958): 54.
145. Hammock, "Ochese's Legacy."
146. See Chapter 1 for modern Muscogee (Creek) perspectives on Ocmulgee.
147. J. Adair, *Adair's History of the American Indians*, ed. S.C. Williams (New York: Promontory Press, 1930).
148. Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 48–80.
149. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-176*3, 49.
150. Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 28.

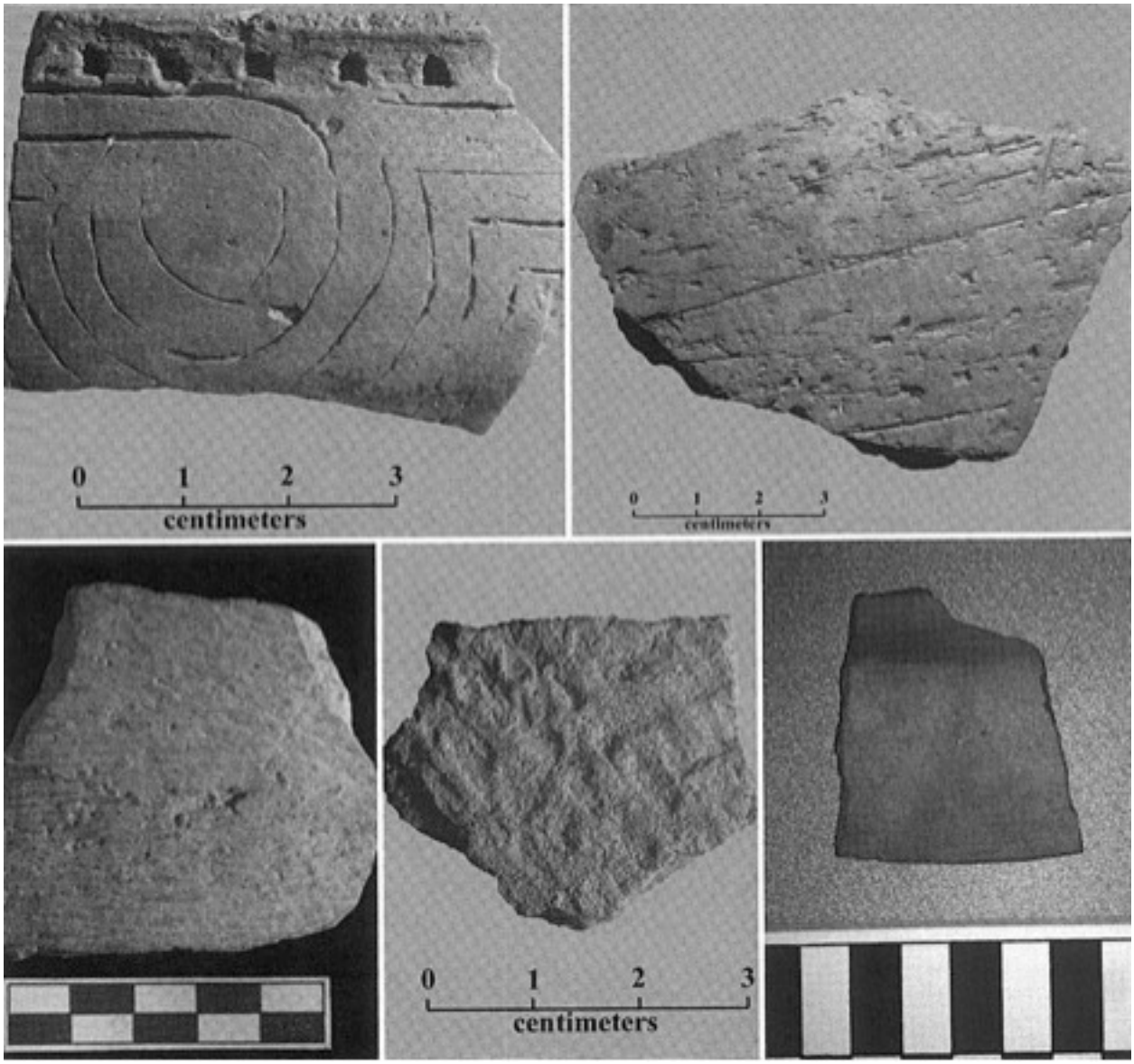


Figure 3.2. Ocmulgee Fields Ceramic Complex Sherds: Ocmulgee Fields Incised (Top Left); Walnut Roughened (Top Right); Chattahoochee Brushed (Bottom Left); Ocmulgee Check Stamped (Bottom Middle); Kasita Red Filmed (Bottom Right). (Source: Stephen Hammock, "Ochese's Legacy: Creek Life on the Ocmulgee River, 1680-1715," Early Georgia, 2018, Figure 6).

by then become necessities and planned to establish at least one small mission in the Chattahoochee watershed.[151] But tensions flared in the 1680s when English traders out of the newly established Carolina colony began courting the Muscogee (Creek), ignoring Spain's claim by right of discovery and right of settlement. When the Spanish failed to reestablish trade relations with four of the twelve lower Chattahoochee Valley towns (Coweta, Kasita, Taskigi, and Kolomi), they burned them to the ground. Homeless once again and at odds with their pro-Spanish Muscogee (Creek) counterparts, the displaced communities repositioned to the east astride major trading paths in the middle Ocmulgee and Oconee River valleys. Archeologically, this is represented by an influx of Chattahoochee-like ceramics (Stewart Phase Lamar and Abercrombie) into central Georgia.[152]

151. Carol I. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields, Macon, Georgia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 10.
152. Vernon James Knight, Jr. "Ocmulgee Fields Culture and the Historical Development of Creek Ceramics," in O*cmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986,* ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

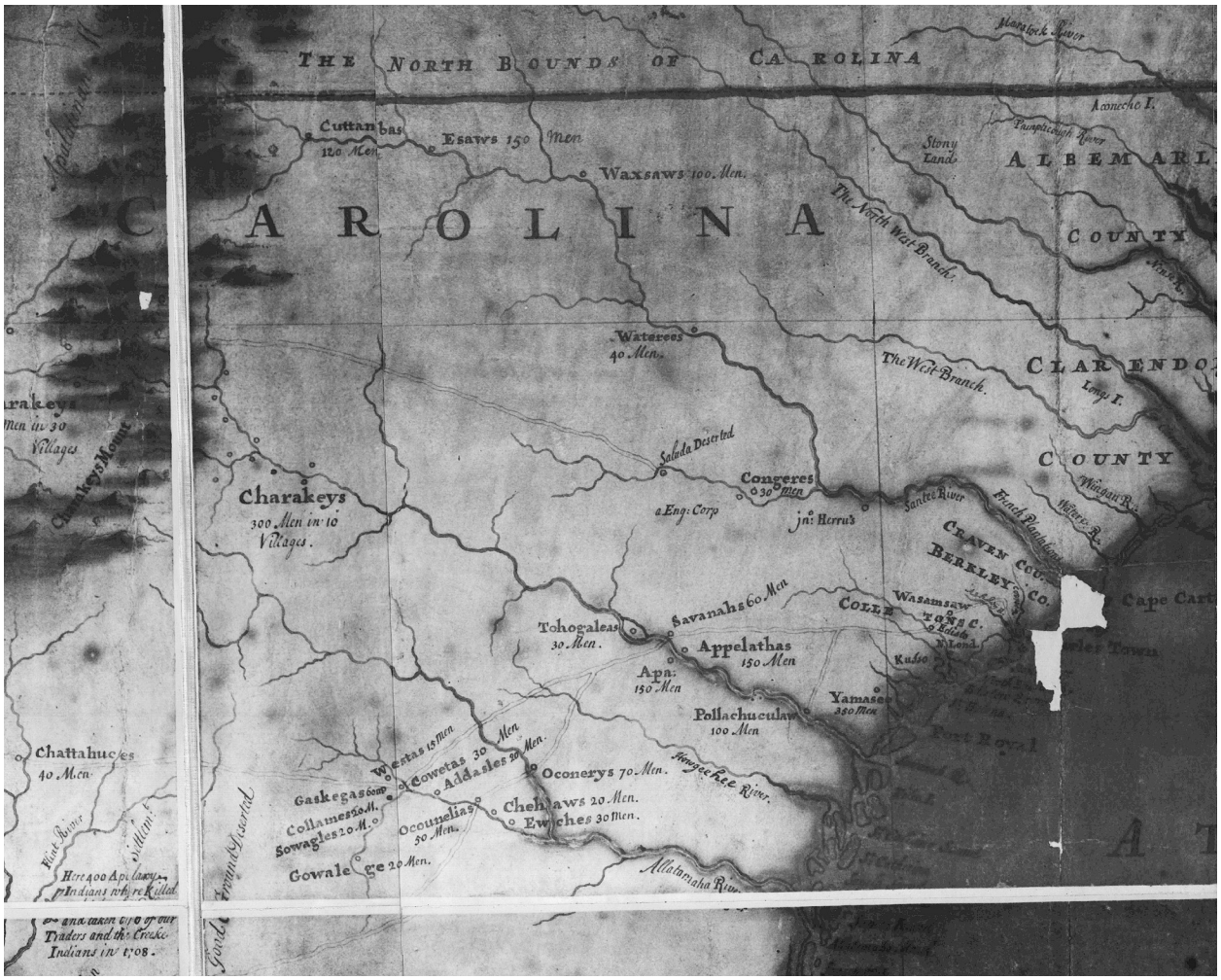


Figure 3.3. Detail of map attributed to Richard Beresford, showing settlements on Ochese Creek. These settlements appear on the bottom portion of the image. The creek feeds into the Altamaha River, then into the Atlantic Ocean, shown on the east side of the map. (Source: *Map of North and South Carolina and Florida*. Moore (1988:23) tentatively attributes this map to Richard Beresford, a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade in South Carolina. Available at http://rla.unc.edu/EMAS/PRO-CO700.html).

Several other groups arrived over the ensuing 25 years.[153] In 1706, a Yuchi contingent from Appalachia joined the Ochese. A second band of Yuchi arrived in 1713 following Cherokee attacks in North Georgia. A detachment of Chiaha from eastern Tennessee showed up in 1713, as well, after having first resided briefly with the Yamasee in South Carolina. By 1715, 10 to 12 Muscogee (Creek) settlements had been established up and down the valley, spread out along approximately 15 miles (Figure 3.3). Centralized power above the level of an individual settlement was practically unknown among the Muscogee (Creek) at this time, and this was true in Ochese country as well.[154] Thomas Nairne, a contemporary trader and first American Indian agent of the Province of Carolina, described each Ochese Creek town as a sort of "petty republic," with "all its Officers within it selfe [*sic*]." Narine and colleagues also took a census, placing the population in 1715 at 2,406 people, including 731 men, 837 women, 417 boys, and 421 girls.[155]

Soon after 1690 when English-allied Muscogee (Creek) settled alongside the Ochese Creek, English settlers from the Carolina colony constructed a European-style trading post at the Macon Plateau. Just as it had

153. Hammock, "Ochese's Legacy," 22–23.
154. Piker, *Okfuskee,* 1.
155. Alexander Moore, ed., *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 32; Robert Johnson, *An Exact Account of Ye Number & Strength of All the Indian Nations That Were Subject to the Government of South Carolina and Solely Traded with Them in Ye Beginning of Ye Year 1715 Taken out of Ye Journalls of Capt. Nairne, John Wright, Esq., Price Hughes, Esq., & Compared and Corrected by the Journalls & Observations Made by John Barnwell While He Was Employed by the Government Amongst Them*, vol. 7 (British Public Records Office: Records Pertaining to South Carolina, 1719), 238–39.



Figure 3.4. View of The Trading Post Excavations From The Southeast Corner Of The Unit Block, Facing North. A Remnant Of The Lower Creek Trading Path Is Exposed (Left And Foreground). (Source: Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House and Early European-Indian Contact in the Colonial Southeast," in Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986, ed. David J. Hally, Figure 17.3).

during the Early Mississippian period, the site became a hub of economic activity along a major inland route. The post served as a jumping off point for English campaigns against the Spanish and for expanding economic and political operations into French-claimed territories further west, but its primary function was as a trade station for Ochese Creek in the immediate area. Through English trading posts, Muscogee (Creek) peoples were increasingly drawn into the world of guns, warfare, and slavery. Within months of resettling the Old Fields, the Ochese Creek launched the first in a series of guerilla-style attacks on Spanish-allied Christian American Indians in northwestern Florida.[156] Whereas war captives may once have hoped to be fully integrated into Muscogee (Creek) society, they had become a valuable commodity by the end of the seventeenth century. The development of markets for enslaved persons accelerated the dissolution of American Indian communities across the southern United States.[157]

The trading post is not mentioned in any contemporary documents and would remain unknown had WPA archeologists not stumbled upon its ditch and palisade fortification while trenching across the site in the late 1930s. As such, "the Macon excavations provided one of the first examples of archaeology functioning as an independent window into the American historical past."[158] A. R. Kelly and colleagues excavated the entire post and much of the area surrounding it, discovering among other things a well-worn path arcing past the entryway and continuing southwest for at least a half mile (Figure 3.4).[159] This was a section of the

156. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation*, 53.
157. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, 2nd edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 31.
158. Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House," 190.
159. Kelly, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia."; "The Macon Trading Post, an Historical Foundling," *The Society for American Archaeology* 4, no. 4 (April 1939): 328–33.

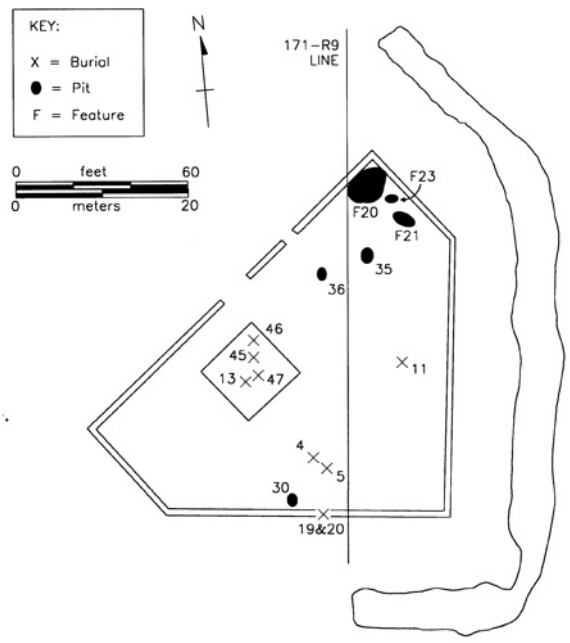


Figure 3.5. Plan View Of The English Trading Post at the Macon Plateau. (Source: Carol I. Mason, The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields, Macon, Georgia).

Lower Creek Trading Path which plotted a course along the fall line, crossing the Ogeechee, Oconee, and finally the Ocmulgee at the Macon Plateau.[160] English traders regularly used this rugged trail with American Indian guides, stocking storehouses among preferred clientele and avoiding ambushes by American Indians in the area.

The Macon Plateau trading post was established and primarily manned by the English, but American Indians provided the materials and labor. When European trade first reached a native town, the locals were expected to build the trading house, warehouses, and other auxiliary structures and to maintain them thereafter.[161] American Indian desire for European products was such that they rarely refused and, in fact, often promised to "prepare a Trading House" when requesting that Europeans establish posts among them.[162] On occasion American Indian laborers were compensated with "Rum out of the Cargo, for Payment."[163]

The post's dimensions and design correspond almost exactly to other English-made palisaded trading posts constructed during that era (Figure 3.5).[164] It was a complex composed of a pentagonal wall enclosing two log cabins, "the one [likely] for Skins and the other for Goods, as usual."[165]. The larger of the two cabins was unmistakably of American Indian design, its logs positioned upright rather than horizontally and interwoven with slender branches; field notes report that archeologists recovered decayed traces of these logs and branches from the structure's floor.[166] The smaller structure – a square hut with an attached lean-to – was built according to a standard design noted at contemporary warehouses elsewhere in the Southeast. Archeologists found that refuse pits clustered in the post's northern quadrant yielded two trade pipe stems that could be definitively linked to English trade.[167]

Whereas eighteenth-century trading posts sometimes accommodated traders' families and attendants within their walls, this was evidently not the case at the Macon Plateau—no obvious domestic structures stood within the stockade. Perhaps the European residents lived among the native community outside the stockade in loose household clusters. Buildings outside the stockade were constructed in a traditional "wattle-and-daub" manner. However, they were far larger, measuring between 25 and 45 feet on a side, and erected around ground-level floors rather than traditional semi-subterranean style.[168] Archeologist Gregory Waselkov credits these differences to the deerskin trade, since traditional homes were too small for stockpiling deerskins and too warm during the summer when village populations swelled with hunters home from long winter hunts.[169]

160. Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House."
161. Carol I Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields*, 32.
162. William L. McDowell, ed., *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 282
163. McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade*, 127.
164. Carol I. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields*, 36; Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House."
165. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields*, 36; Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House."; McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade*, 99.
166. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields*, 38.
167. Kelly, "The Macon Trading Post."
168. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields.*
169. Waselkov "The Macon Trading House," 195.

Some historians have questioned the extent to which the trading post was fortified, trying to resolve bastions out of the hundreds of postholes around its perimeter and thereby interpret the structure as a fort.[170] Though the construction lacked bastions, it was nonetheless an imposing structure. The stockade was a log wall set within a trench and measuring approximately 442 feet in length.[171] It had an accompanying ditch, which is a feature not mentioned elsewhere in connection with European-style trading houses in the Southeast. It surrounded the stockade on three sides, measuring 12 feet at its widest point and varying between 2 and 3 feet deep. In an age when similar features often reached at least 20 feet wide and 5 feet deep, these were modest dimensions.[172] For this reason, some historians doubt that it served a defensive purpose at all and propose that it was instead a borrow pit for dirt used to buttress the exterior stockade wall.[173]

There are perhaps better explanations for why the ditch did not completely surround the trading post. Some scholars relate the partial ditch and dismantled stockade to violent episodes around the turn of the eighteenth century. For instance, Waselkov claims that efforts to fortify the post began and ended within a brief span of time.[174] The movement of English-allied Muscogee (Creek) from the Lower Chattahoochee to the Middle Ocmulgee Valley did not, in fact, dissuade the Spanish from seeking to reestablish their trade monopoly. In 1695, they and their Apalachee allies attacked towns along Ochese Creek and bullied survivors into reinstituting limited trade relations until 1702 when English-led Muscogee (Creek) destroyed the Spanish mission at Santa Fé.[175] Later that year, the Spanish launched a retaliatory force that was intercepted and annihilated. An uneasy peace settled over central Georgia until the Spanish threat was neutralized in 1704 when Colonel James Moore's army set out from Ocmulgee post with the intent to destroy the Apalachee missions in north-central Florida. The success of this mission rendered defensive structures in English-allied American Indian towns unnecessary. Occupants then dismantled the wooden stockade.

Archeologist Carol I. Mason provides alternate explanations for the post's abandonment.[176] She places the dismantling of the stockade in 1715 at or just prior to the post's final abandonment at the outset of the Yamasee War. After the English defeated the Spanish in northern Florida, they turned their attentions westward towards the Lower Mississippi River Valley where another traditional rival, the French, had established a firm foothold in North America. Content with their situation in Georgia and Carolina, the English were blind to an American Indian insurgency brewing in their own backyard. After decades of tolerating English land encroachments, insurmountable debts, and, most of all, the constant cycle of slave raiding fueled by English guns, Muscogee (Creek) and Yamasee towns in interior Georgia and South Carolina revolted against traders in their midst, killing them and pillaging their warehouses in a coordinated effort on Good Friday, 1715. Contemporaries mourned, "we had had about a hundred traders among the Indians, whereof we apprehend they have murdered and destroyed about Ninety Men. . . ."[177] Traders among the Ochese Creek were the primary targets. None of them survived.[178]

Mason suggests several possibilities for who dismantled the stockade and the reason for its abandonment: either fleeing English traders did it to prevent rival traders or hostile Ochese Creek from claiming a defensive structure; or resident American Indians dismantled it for firewood and/or construction materials. She concedes that neither explanation is satisfying. Assuming that terrified Englishmen at the Macon Plateau had time to dismantle the stockade rather than burn it, it is unclear why they would bother to

170. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields,* 37.
171. Ibid.
172. John M. Goggin, "Fort Pupo: A Spanish Frontier Outpost," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (1951): 139–92.
173. Kelly, "The Macon Trading Post," 331.
174. Waselkov "The Macon Trading House," 193.
175. Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia (1680-1704)," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1925): 115–30.
176. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields,* 37.
177. Alan Gallay, ed., *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), https://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/9780803222007/indian-slavery-in-colonial-america; B.R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1836), 572.
178. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields,* 22.

backfill the trench. (This is evidenced in the archeological data.) In uncertain times, it might make sense that the American Indian population would maintain a stockade rather than dismantle it for firewood. A third possibility is that the post's apparent obliteration was a deliberate attempt to remove all visible traces of the English at the Macon Plateau and thereby re-sanctify the Old Fields. Possible indications of this include the several grave pits excavated across the stockade trench following deconstruction.[179] Using graves to assert an ancestral claim is a documented practice in the eastern United States and has been recorded in the homelands of people who joined the Ochese in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century.[180]

Whatever the reason for the abandonment of the trading post, the Middle Ocmulgee River Valley soon went silent. Fearing English reprisals, the Ochese left their settlements and retreated to the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. Others joined refugees from the Lower Chattahoochee and Oconee River valleys in settling abandoned native lands in northern Florida, and ultimately coalesced into the Seminole Nation.[181] Traders shifted their focus to the Chattahoochee Valley, pressing ever westward in search of new contacts and profits and consigning the Old Fields at the Macon Plateau to a camp site "on the way to a frontier that had forever moved beyond them."[182] The "discret preparative Stroak of Trade" that had begun in earnest there in 1690 set the stage for the following century of economic exploitation, acculturation, and, ultimately, the removal of the Southeastern American Indians.[183] While the Muscogee (Creek) and others had no choice but to adapt to the numerous challenges of the early contact period, they did not do so passively. Instead, they did so without sacrificing their traditions and identities. After nearly 350 years of change, the same ancestral town and clan affiliations recorded during early European encounters remain essential to Muscogee (Creek) identity in the twenty-first century.

Totaling around 8,000 in 1730, the Muscogee (Creek) population rose over the course of the 1700s. By the late eighteenth century, "73 towns, ranging in size from as few as 10 to 20 families to more than 200 families, comprised the Creek Confederacy—48 Upper Creek towns and 25 Lower Creek towns, in total about 15,000-20,000 people."[184] These towns spread across an expansive swath of territory, encompassing large parts of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.[185]

In July 1739, General James Oglethorpe embarked on a trip to the Muscogee (Creek) capital of Coweta to negotiate a treaty with the Muscogee (Creek) people. During this trip, Oglethorpe passed through the Ocmulgee Old Fields. Though no mention of American Indian inhabitation of the site was noted, one of Oglethorpe's rangers described the Ocmulgee Old Fields, "'we camped at Ocmulgas River where there are three Mounts raised by the Indians over three of their Great Kings who were killed in the Wars.'"[186]

Colonization and European Settlement

Bartram's Travels through Ocmulgee

Though it is not an identified cultural feature at the national historical park, the site has a documented association with the Uchee (or Yuchi) Trading Path, also known as the Lower Creek Trading Path (Figure 3.6). The route was important to both American Indians and European settlers alike. Historians note that

179. For a precontact example see John H. Blitz, "Mound X and Selective Forgetting at Early Moundville," in *Rethinking Moundville and Its Hinterland*, ed. Vincas P. Steponaitis and C. Margaret Scarry (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), 54–73.
180. Lynne P. Sullivan and Michaelyn S. Harle, "Mortuary Practices and Cultural Identity at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century in Eastern Tennessee," in *Mississippian Mortuary Practices: Beyond Hierarchy and the Representationist Perspective*, ed. Lynne P Sullivan and Robert C. Mainfort (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 234–49.
181. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, 244–46.
182. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields,* 22.
183. Alexander Samuel Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: C. Scribner's sons, 1911), 310.
184. Ethridge, *Creek Country,* 31.
185. Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999), 12.
186. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound,* 6.



Figure 3.6. Map showing British and French Settlements in North America. Map shows Lower Creek Trading Path crossing Ocmulgee River. Red dotted line depicts this path. The Ocmulgee River is located in the center of the image. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2003623385/).

the route was "led from Charleston overland by way of the Creek villages on the Oconee, the Ocmulgee, the Chattahoochee, and the forks of the Alabama, to the settlement of the Chickasaws."[187] Overland trails were important for maintaining social and spiritual bonds among the Muscogee (Creek), and they allowed people to travel to attend important events such as the annual Green Corn ceremony.[188] Later the Lower Creek Trading Path connected Fort Moore in present day Augusta to "Rock Landing" in the Oconee River, to present-day Macon at the Ocmulgee River, and west toward the Chattahoochee River and Alabama. Early explorers and settlers used the path to traverse an east-west corridor through Georgia and points west. Some of the first written descriptions of the mounds at Ocmulgee come from naturalist William Bartram, who followed the Lower Creek Trading Path on his journey.

William Bartram was a Philadelphia-born naturalist and explorer. In 1773, Bartram embarked on a expedition to explore and document the flora and fauna of the southern colonies, and he recorded his encounters with the natural world and American Indians in his book *Travels,* which was published in 1791. After exploring coastal Georgia and parts of Florida, Bartram set out to journey west through Georgia on horseback in 1775. Bartram first encountered the Ocmulgee mounds as he followed the Lower Creek Trading Path from present day Warren County, Georgia, heading west toward present day Columbus, Georgia. The group included around 20 men and 60 horses.[189]

187. Randle Bond Truett, *Trade and Travel around the Southern Appalachians before 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 17.
188. Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 12.
189. National Park Service, "The Bartram Trail: National Scenic/Historic Trail Study" (Washington D.C., February 1982), 45.

Bartram described the Ocmulgee Old Fields area,

> About seventy or eighty [54] miles above the confluence of the Oakmulge [Ocmulgee] and Ocone [Oconee], the trading path from Augusta to the Creek nation, crosses these fine rivers, which are there forty miles apart. On the east banks of the Oakmulge, this trading road runs nearly two miles through ancient Indian fields, which are called the Ockmulge fields : they are rich low lands of the river. On the heights of these low grounds are yet visible monuments, or traces, of an ancient town, such as artificial mounts or terraces, squares and banks, encircling considerable areas. Their old fields and planting land extend up and down the river, fifteen or twenty miles from this site.
>
> And, if we are to give credit to the account the Creeks give themselves, this place is remarkable for being the first town or settlement, when they sat down (as they term it) or established themselves, after their emigration from the west, beyond the [Mississippi], their original native country. On this long journey they suffered great and innumerable difficulties, encountering and vanquishing numerous and valiant tribes of Indians, who opposed and retarded their march. Having crossed the river, still pushing eastward, they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place, as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes.[190]

Later, Bartram writes of his approach to "Oakmulge", writing in July 1775, "on the East bank of the river lies the famous Oakmulge fields, where are yet conspicuous very wonderful remains of the power and grandeur of the ancients of this part of America, in the ruins of a capital town and settlement, as vast artificial hills, terraces, &c."[191] Few American Indians occupied the area in 1775, as many had moved west into the Chattahoochee Valley, "hoping that the wave of white settlers would abate before it reached them."[192]

Bartram's account includes his thoughts on the origin of the mounds and their builders, and he attempted to make a connection between these features and the American Indians he encountered in his travels. Ethnohistorian Kathryn H. Braund writes of Bartram, "[h]e came to believe that the 'modern' Indians he visited had first conquered and then 'appropriated' the works of now vanquished but evidently ancient peoples, who had left the Southeast littered with mounds and other relics. Thus while Bartram's ancients did not appear to have Old World origins, he could not definitively account for the origin of the modern Indians, even though he recognized cultural continuity in architectural features."[193]

Settlement and the Development of Early Roads

Colonization and European settlement of Georgia came through a series of treaties with the Muscogee (Creek) and Cherokee. In Georgia, the process of land seizure by European Americans from the American Indians took over 100 years. This process began in 1733 with the founding of the Georgia Colony in Savannah. Subsequent removal and treaties pushed the American Indians further westward as Europeans demanded access to more land to establish settlements, farms, and plantations. To justify the land grab, from the beginning of the colonial enterprise, European powers spoke of a policies for the "civilization" of

190. William Bartram, *Bartram's Living Legacy: The Travels and the Nature of the South*, ed. Dorinda Dallmeyer (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2010), 34–35.
191. Bartram, *Bartram's Living Legacy,* 240.
192. Dorinda Dallmeyer, "Shadow on the Rivers," in *Bartram's Living Legacy: The Travels and the Nature of the South* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2010), 371.
193. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Real Worlds of William Bartram's Travels," in *Bartram's Living Legacy: The Travels and the Nature of the South* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2010), 447.

American Indians rather than engaging them in outright conflict.[194] Early settlers sought to convert native peoples to Christianity, Western concepts of property ownership, and other non-indigenous modes of economic and social relations. "On the surface the original goal of the 'civilizing' policy seemed generous and philanthropic; beneath the surface, however, the policy represented a new attempt to wrest the Indians' land from them."[195] Civilization of American Indians included a plan to "transform the southern Indians from hunters to farmers" dominated the relationship between American Indian agents and the Muscogee (Creek).[196]

For Americans, establishing passable routes for travel was essential to safeguarding their country and its citizens.[197] Also, building roads also allowed for growth. Through a lengthy series of negotiations, the United States government began to secure the right to cross Muscogee (Creek) territory and procure additional land for expansion. The First Treaty of Washington in 1805 was the agreement whereby the Muscogee (Creek) ceded much of Middle Georgia. The Muscogee (Creek) were to retain the piece of land that contained the Ocmulgee Old Fields, an approximately 15-square-mile tract. Article Two of the treaty allowed the United States government to construct a "horse path" from the Ocmulgee River to the Mobile River, later known as the Federal Road. Besides expansion, one of the reasons for the treaty was the establishment of a postal route from Washington, D. C. to New Orleans, Louisiana (recently acquired by the federal government via the Louisiana Purchase). "Stating that the horse path was to be constructed at the discretion of the [United States] president, the agreement allowed for the laying of logs over creeks and provided for the peaceful passage of U. S. citizens as authorized by the federal government."[198] The treaty also included language allowing for a trading post, which was later established as Fort Hawkins. The treaty also stated that stands to service postal carriers and ferries crossing waterways would be operated by Muscogee (Creek) people.[199]

"The various paths that crisscrossed Creek country were not roads as we might picture them. By the eighteenth century, they were usually only wide enough for a single horse and rider, typically 18 – 24 inches in width, especially in close, hilly terrain."[200] Improvements would include better water crossings and a widening of the path. Road improvements in Georgia aimed to provide access and communication links between Atlantic ports and new settlements that were established in the western part of the state and into Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The United States government developed the Federal Road between Fort Hawkins, located on the Ocmulgee River, and Fort Stoddert, located near present-day Mobile.[201] Historic reports describe the road: "The Federal Road began on the Ocmulgee River at the western end of a ferry located down hill from Ocmulgee Old Fields Trading Post, later Fort Hawkins, now East Macon. The trace crossed Bibb County on a course much like that followed by today's U. S. 80."[202]

Regarding the Federal Road, a report to the Postmaster General estimated improvement costs would total $6,400. "The improvements were to consist of a survey, the removal of brush to a width of four feet, the

194. "Civilization" was the essence of federal Indian policy from the Washington through Jackson administrations. Though seemingly more benevolently intentioned than removal, it required the complete reorganization of American Indian society that historians have accurately characterized as cultural genocide. Jefferson explicitly described civilization's endgame as altering native land use, which involved exercising seasonal use rights and privileges over vast swaths of land so that the federal government could commoditize land into parcels of real property throughout the Southeast. Though it is about the Cherokee, see Sarah Hill, *Weaving New Worlds* (1997) and Michael Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal* (1982).
195. William L. Anderson, "Introduction," in *Cherokee Removal: Before and After*, ed. William L. Anderson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), viii.
196. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 34.
197. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 56.
198. "First Treaty of Washington (1805)," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 24, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3070.
199. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads,* 77. Despite the inclusion of this language in the treaty, Americans established and owned stands and along the Federal Road.
200. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 13.
201. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia, From Colonial Trails to Interstate Highways" (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Transportation, Office of Environmental Services, 2012), 7.
202. Louis DeVorsey, Jr., "Fort Hawkins Study, Fort Hawkins in History - A Review" (National Park Service, 1970), 24, Cabinet 4, Drawer 3, File 5b, OCMU Archives.

cutting away of fallen timber, causewaying more than seventeen miles, and bridging numerous streams by fallen trees, upon which the rider might cross with the mail on his back while swimming his horse."[203] Improvement of the path into a military road to accommodate wagons and troops began in July 1811 under the supervision of General Wade Hampton.[204]

Throughout the colonization process, relations between Europeans and the Muscogee (Creek) varied and evolved. In general, some Muscogee (Creek) groups aligned with the Europeans and adopted Western forms of political structure, marriage, and ownership, and economy, including chattel slavery.[205] Others sought to retain their traditional culture and homelands and rebelled against assimilation. Many of the Upper Creek chiefs opposed the 1805 Treaty of Washington and the Federal Road. By 1811, the divisiveness reached a breaking point. Severe drought decimated food crops, and "the utter collapse of corn supplies in 1811 thus signaled both a sharp decline of Creek self-sufficiency and the divisive reality of the burgeoning market economy."[206] As part of a continuum of hostilities since European invasion, the division resulted in the outbreak of civil war between two factions in 1813.[207] While the reasons for the conflict were numerous and complex, "in broad terms, the Creek Civil War was a clash between those building a capitalist nation-state and those fighting against it."[208] Soon, the United States, which the Muscogee (Creek) had generally supported during the American Revolution, became involved, waging war on the traditionalists and their black allies.[209] With the support of the United States military, the war ended with the defeat of the traditionalist faction at Horseshoe Bend.

Afterward, the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson forced both groups of Muscogee (Creek) peoples to cede an immense piece of land containing much of central and southern Alabama and Georgia to the United States, 23 million acres in total.[210] The Treaty of Washington "was the first official act by the United States government leading to subdivision and private ownership of the Creek lands around Macon. Creek lands between the Ocmulgee and Flint Rivers, including the area referred to as the Macon Reserve East, were ceded by the Creek in 1821."[211] As a result of these treaties and others signed in subsequent years, by 1827, the Muscogee (Creek) occupied only a fraction of their former territory—a small area straddling the Alabama-Georgia border. These treaties marked the end of the Muscogee (Creek) control of the region; a region occupied by American Indians for over 10,000 years.

In 1830, the United States government passed the Indian Removal Act. Though the federal government offered land and money to the Muscogee (Creek) and other American Indian groups in exchange for the land, it also maintained the right to forcibly remove any American Indian unwilling to leave the area. Many Muscogee (Creek) resisted through the 1830s, resulting in armed conflicts in southern Alabama and Georgia, but ultimately federal authorities forced those who remained to leave their homeland for reservations west of the Mississippi. The forced relocations of Muscogee (Creek), Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw resulted in thousands of deaths both during the migration and soon after arriving at the new settlements in the West.

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203. Julian P. Bretz, "Early Land Communication with the Lower Mississippi Valley," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (n.d.): 13.
204. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 86.
205. "Creeks in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed September 19, 2018, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1088.
206. Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 87.
207. Beth Wheeler Byrd, "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report" (National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 2013), 13.
208. Cameron Shriver, "Reflecting on Justice 200 Years after the Creek Civil War," *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*, accessed September 21, 2018, https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/september-2013-reflecting-justice-200-years-after-creek-civil-war.
209. Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 270.
210. Saunt, *A New Order of Things,* 272.
211. Bobby G. Southerlin, William R. Jordan, and Jeffrey W. Gardner, "Archaeological and Historical Delineation of Ocmulgee/Macon Plateau" (Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia Department of Transportation, Office of Environment/Location, 1995), 23, Report Number 7127, University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology.

Transportation and the Ocmulgee River

As white settlement continued in Georgia, Fall Line communities began to develop at the head of navigation on large rivers. It was to these communities that planters and farmers traveled to bring their harvests for shipment and where they procured supplies to bring back to their farms. These towns became distribution points of both raw materials and finished products. For farmers and plantation owners in the upland areas of Georgia, the transport of produce and cotton included transfer from road to water at the Fall Line settlements. Early market towns gained advantage at these transition points.[212] Fall Line settlements became "strategic points which had access to the sea, and [each] had each a productive tributary area: the growth of commercial towns there was inevitable. On the Atlantic slope the fall-line towns were Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Fayetteville, Columbia, Augusta, Milledgeville, and Macon."[213]

In 1822, the Georgia legislature established Bibb County, which was divided from lands previously in Houston, Monroe, Twiggs, and Jones counties (Figure 3.7). A legislative act later that year authorized commissioners to lay out the town of Macon on the Ocmulgee River, named in honor of Nathaniel Macon, a prominent political figure in the United States.[214] Macon was officially incorporated in 1823, and in 1825, leaders incorporated the settlement known as Newtown on the east bank of the Ocmulgee River into the city limits. According to a *History of Macon, Georgia*, "the final sale of lots in the city proper began on October 1, 1828 and continued throughout that month. This sale took in all those lots in and around Newtown on the east side of the river."[215] The land that would become Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park were part of this sale.[216]

One of the first duties of the fledgling municipal government of Macon was to oversee the construction of new roads into and out of the city. As early as the 1823, city commissioners discussed the "'appointment of commissioners to superintend the construction and working of the roads.'"[217] Into the 1830s, city leaders pushed for the improvement of roads and bridges to provide farmers and plantation owners a route for bringing produce and cotton to city warehouses, located along the river. These improved roads would also serve stage coaches traveling to points east and west of Macon.[218] In 1821, the State of Georgia House of Representatives presented several bills advocating for a public ferry across the Ocmulgee River in several locations including one near the Ocmulgee Old Fields and Fort Hawkins.[219] City leaders later advocated for a bridge across the Ocmulgee to replace a ferry at the crossing near the newly laid out town. Historians note that there were two ferries operated within the existing park boundary, though their exact location

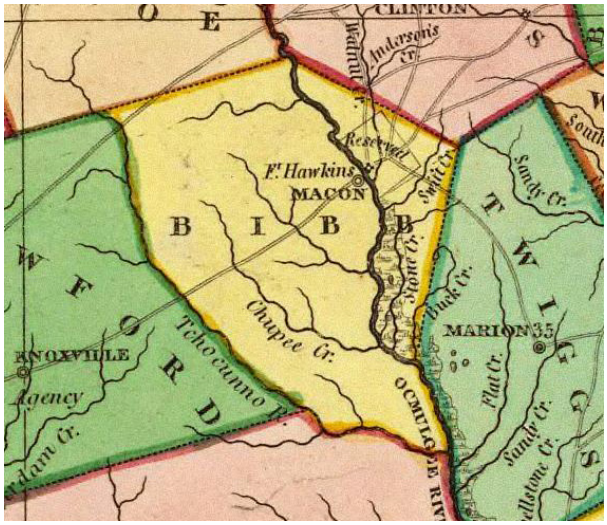


Figure 3.7. Detail of 1823 Map of Georgia showing Bibb County, and depicting the Reserve around Fort Hawkins on the West side of the Ocmulgee River. (Source: Georgia and Alabama By H.S. Tanner).

212. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 3.
213. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 6–7.
214. Ida Young, Julius Gholson, and Clara Nell Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia, 1823-1949* (Macon, GA: Lyon, Marshall & Brooks, 1950), 48.
215. Young, Gholson, and Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia,* 52.
216. Ibid.
217. Young, Gholson, and Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia,* 73.
218. Young, Gholson, and Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia,* 74.
219. *Journal of the House of Representatives of Georgia at an Annual Session of the General Assembly* (Milledgeville: Camak & Hines, 1821), 290.

has not been documented. One was considered "illegally operated" and shut down by city leaders, and the other operated until a bridged crossing was constructed across the Ocmulgee River.[220]

In 1823, a Grand Jury recommended building a bridge across the Ocmulgee at Macon, and the city petitioned the 1824 state Legislature to provide funds to build a "'toll bridge across the Okmulgee at Macon.'"[221] This state-funded bridge was constructed just north of the current national historical park boundary at the current alignment of US 80 over the river. Operators allowed cotton wagons toll free passage. The city purchased the bridge in 1829 and continued to operate it through the mid-nineteenth century.[222]

Historians note that prior to the advent of steam power navigation in Macon, traditional boat transport along flat bottom barges was the preferred means of transfer of goods. Manufacture of boats took place at the Ocmulgee Old Fields, where "before 1823 the McCall brothers had already established the city's first business venture, a boat-building works."[223] The McCalls produced three cotton barges that year, "receiving $368 for them."[224] The introduction of steamboats to river travel in Georgia provided means for more expedient travel and transport for the upward navigation along navigable rivers to the fall line."[225]

> In 1829, the arrival of the steamboat 'North Carolina' . . . was the first propelled by steam that navigated the waters of the Ocmulgee, and was hailed as a new era in the navigation of the river and the trade of Macon. There was at this time between thirty and forty flat bottom boats propelled with poles by muscular power, owned in Macon for the river trade. Freight from Savannah were three to four weeks on the pole boats to Macon, and the steamers made the trip in a somewhat shorter time.[226]

The improved speed of goods transport by the steamboats "contributed materially to the economic property of the navigable headwater towns" such as Macon.[227]

By 1835, there were eleven "principal passenger state routes in the state, in addition to numerous other wagon roads to move cotton, goods, and people from the smaller market towns to the larger communities."[228] Because travel by water was available in Macon, no turnpikes of regional importance developed near the city.

Railroad Construction at the Ocmulgee Old Fields

During the 1820s, settlement in Georgia began to extend beyond areas immediately adjacent to waterways. "With this expansion was born the need for better overland transportation."[229] Turnpikes began to be established along well-traveled routes between settlements, and "[i]n 1821, the Board of Public Works was commissioned, with the goal of designing a state transportation system, to consist of roads, canals, and the newly developed 'railways'."[230] Railroads appeared in Georgia in the 1830s as investments between banks

220. Deborah Andrews, Peter Collings, and Dayna Bowker Lee, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument" (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2014), 75, http://npshistory.com/publications/ocmu/eoa.pdf.
221. Young, Gholson, and Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia,* 74–75.
222. Young, Gholson, and Hargrove, *The History of Macon Georgia,* 75–76.
223. Middle Georgia Historical Society, *A Guide to Macon's Architectural and Historical Heritage* (Macon, GA: Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1972), 10.
224. Ibid.
225. Phillips, *A History of Transportation*, 11.
226. Mary Lane, "Macon: And Historical Retrospect," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (September 1921): 26–27.
227. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 10.
228. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 8.
229. Alexandra C. DeKok, "The Statewide Railroad Industry Context," (Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Section, 1991), 7, State of Georgia Historic Preservation Office, https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/ER_and_compliance/railroad%20context.pdf.
230. DeKok, "The Statewide Railroad Industry Context," 7.

and plantations to get cotton to markets more quickly and more efficiently.[231] In 1831, a group of investors held a railroad convention in Eatonton, Georgia. The group requested legislative action for railroad proposals including a line from Macon to Savannah and, importantly, generated citizen support for what would become the route, known as the Central Rail Road of Georgia (later Central of Georgia Railway and Norfolk Southern). [232]

In 1833, workers for the South Carolina Canal and Rail Road Company completed the first railroad in the Southeast.[233] Running 136 miles from Charleston to Hamburg, South Carolina, its construction initiated a series of other railroad projects as entrepreneurs, bankers, and industrialists invested in the creation of a railroad network throughout the South. In Georgia, engineer Alfred Cruger surveyed the route between Savannah and Macon in January 1834. He determined his route based on potential "commercial connections with the various rivers and because of its easy grade."[234]

The line eventually extended from Savannah to Macon, enabling the transport of cotton and other goods to both domestic and foreign markets. Even though the economic panic of 1837 slowed construction for a time, by the 1850s, railroads began to "cover much of the South," including substantial portions of Georgia.[235] The Macon & Western Railroad linked Macon with Atlanta and then extended further into the booming cotton regions around Americus, Cuthbert, and Albany (Figure 3.8). Operated by the state, the Western & Atlantic Railroad was the most important line because it was the only one that ran through the Appalachian Mountains to connect Chattanooga with Atlanta.[236] The Civil War interrupted this initial period of railroad development and resulted in the destruction of much of the railroad network in the South.[237] After the war, "investors began building new lines and acquiring existing railroads, consolidating them into larger systems."[238] Between 1865 and 1910, rail lines extended into every corner of Georgia, "part of a nationwide trend that brought the railroads to the forefront to the American economy."[239]

The Central of Georgia Railroad laid its first rails near Savannah in 1835 and completed its line to the west bank of the Ocmulgee in October 1843, making Macon a transportation hub for stage coach roads, steamship transfer, and rail transportation (Figure 3.8). Until the mid-nineteenth century enslaved workers completed many miles of the Georgia railroad system. Investors chose a route for the line, which ran through areas with large plantations. Railroad engineers then used enslaved labor for construction of the line during seasons when they could work away from their plantations.[240]

Initially the Central of Georgia Railroad terminated in a depot located on the east side of the Ocmulgee River in East Macon, but eventually, railroad authorities determined it would be advantageous to locate a depot for the line on the west side of the river.[241] The railroad company constructed a bridge across the Ocmulgee River in 1851. Construction for the railroad near the Ocmulgee Old Fields began in the fall of

231. "Macon and Western Railroad Company," *Central of Georgia: Railway Historical Society*, http://www.cofga.org/railway/history/macon-and-western-railroad-company.
232. Steve Storey, "Railroads," New Georgia Encyclopedia, accessed September 27, 2018, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/railroads.
233. William J. Cooper Jr., Thomas E. Terrill, and Christopher Childers, *The American South: A History*, Fifth Edition, vol. I (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 345.
234. Central of Georgia Railway Historical Society, "Central of Georgia: Railway's History Began December 20, 1833," n.d., http://www.cofga.org/railway/history/railways-history-began-december-20-1833/.
235. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:345.
236. Robert C. Black III., "The Railroads of Georgia in the Confederate War Effort," *Journal of Southern History* 13, no. 4 (November 1947): 513.
237. William J. Cooper Jr., Thomas E. Terrill, and Christopher Childers, *The American South: A History*, Fifth Edition, vol. II (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 455.
238. Steve Storey, "Railroads," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified June 8, 2017, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/railroads.
239. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Historic Context of the Interstate Highway System in Georgia" (Georgia Department of Transportation, March 2007), 13, http://www.dot.ga.gov/AboutGeorgia/CentennialHome/Documents/Historical%20Documents/HistoricalContextof%20GeorgiaInterstates.pdf.
240. Central of Georgia Railway Historical Society, "Railway's History."
241. Leigh Ann Godbee, "The Central Railroad Trough the Ocmulgee Fields," 1979, 6, Cabinet 4, Drawer 4, File 6, OCMU Archives.



Figure 3.8. Detail of a 1839 map showing various transportation routes into and out of Macon. The red line depicts rail lines. Other routes include stage coach roads and postal routes. The original legend is included for reference, though the red line was likely added to the railroad routes on the map after production. Dashed lines are noted as "sulkey," which was a term for carriages. The thicker black lines are waterways. (Source: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Map of Georgia & Alabama exhibiting the post offices, post roads, canals, rail roads & c.; by David H. Burr).



Figure 3.9. Undated photograph showing excavation of Mound A caused by grading associated with construction of the railroad. (Source: OCMU Archives).

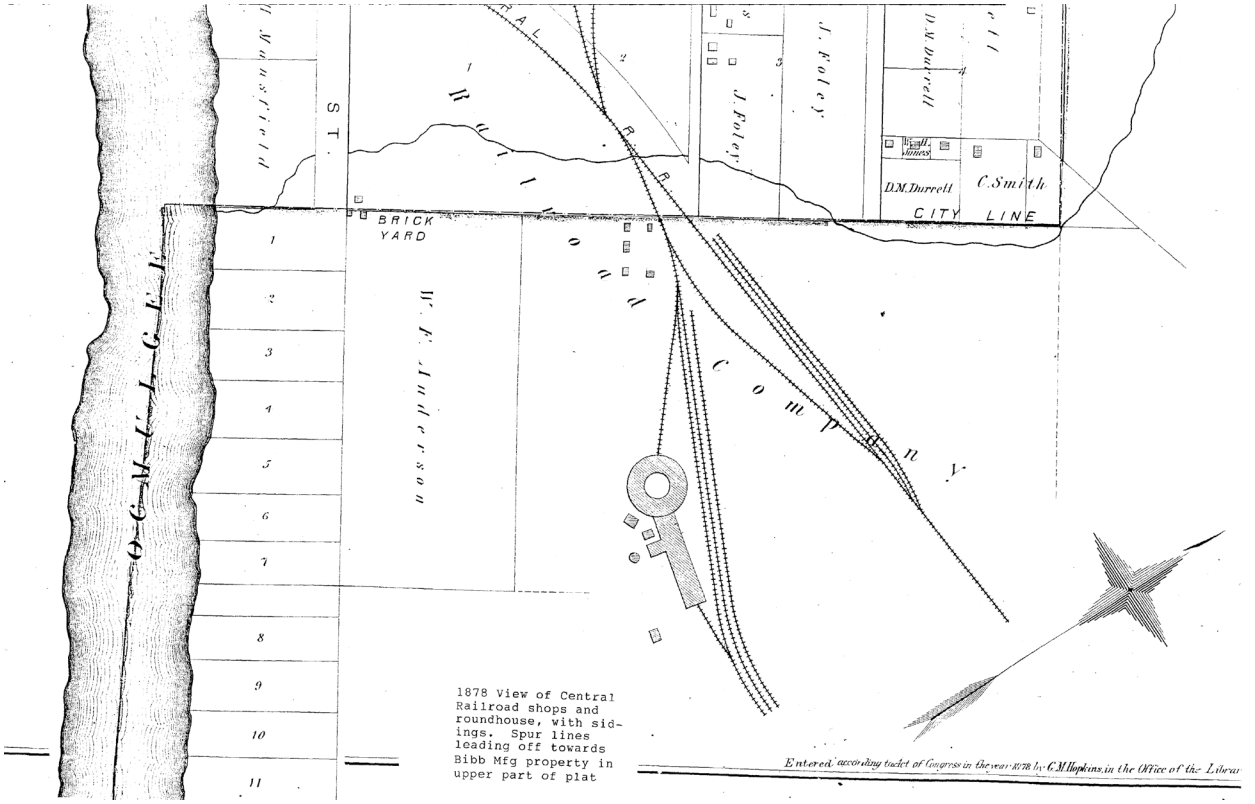


Figure 3.10. 1878 map showing the Central of Georgia Railroad shops and roundhouse on the east bank of the Ocmulgee River. (Source: Denver Service Center, ETIC OCMU_363_60903_[id81540]).

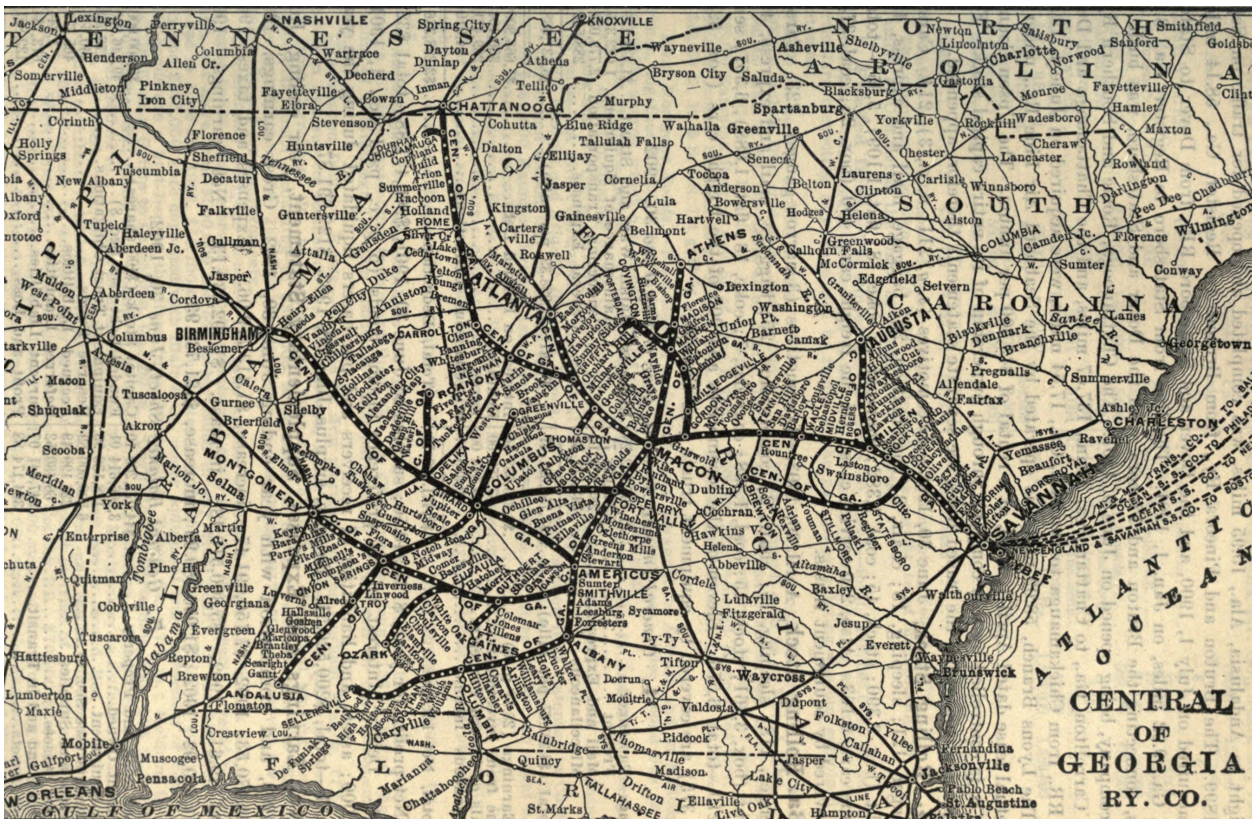


Figure 3.11. A portion of a 1903 map depicting the Central of Georgia Railway line route in Georgia. (Source: Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States).

1840. Research does not reveal the reason engineers chose an alignment that bisected one of the Ocmulgee mounds. The railway cut destroyed portions of Mound B, exposing burial sites that included human remains. Archeologists estimate that three quarters of the mound was removed in the rail line excavation (Figure 3.9).[242] Historian Butler notes that during construction,

> . . .a number of Indian relics were exhumed, consist[ing] of a large earthen pot, capable of holding eight gallons, in which was contained a considerable quantity of burnt corn which appeared to have been reduced to charcoal; also a number of skeletons and human bones; a variety of spoons; a single formed stone, translucent and resembling amber, and a stone axe; also five feet below the surface, a brass spoon in a bowl of Indian earthenware.[243]

Railroad development and improvements continued in the area. The Central Railroad and Banking Company of the State of Georgia "secured the right-of-way from Samuel S. Dunlap on January 20, 1870, for a 'change of location' that would include a strip of land 200 feet wide 'commencing at Walnut Creek and extending to the western boundary of said Dunlap's land'."[244] (See Context 3 for more information on Samuel Dunlap.) Again, surveyors located the line so that it intersected with a mound site, this time destroying the northern half of Mound C. The railroad company offered more deference to the existing white property owner and provided Dunlap with a crossing, which was "tunnel-like, horseshoe-shaped, arched passageway through the center of the structure. Flanking retaining walls sweep downward and outward in broad curves from this central section."[245]

Prior to 1878, builders constructed a railroad roundhouse on the east bank of the river. The structure was located between Mound B and Mound C (Figure 3.10). Superintendent reports from the 1960s note that workers removed its foundation along with brick kilns associated with a brick yard located within the existing park boundary.[246]

Road and Interstate Development in the Twentieth Century

After 1910, most railroad expansion had ended in Georgia, and many independent lines were consolidated into larger conglomerates (Figure 3.11). In the 1880s, Americans began to improve roads to connect outlying areas with railroads, but these routes eventually became the primary means of transportation for people and of goods. "After World War I, the expansion of the federal and state highway systems provided intercity trucks and an increasingly effective means to complete with and eventually surpass trains as carriers of all but bulk goods."[247]

Inspired by the Good Roads Movement, which improved roads in mostly northeastern cities, in 1891, Georgia lawmakers passed a law that authorized counties to levy a special road tax to fund labor and equipment for road and bridge improvements.[248] Bibb County used these funds to finance the use of forced convict labor for road construction, an early example of the convict lease system in Georgia.[249] Regarding the convict lease system, after the Civil War, Georgians struggled to find workers for jobs involving hard labor. County leaders saw the prisoners housed at the state penitentiary in Milledgeville as an inexpensive solution to this labor shortage. Governor Thomas Ruger awarded the first convict lease for construction of

242. Beth J. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report* (National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, 2007), 9.
243. John C. Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia* (Macon: Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1969), 160.
244. Richard Cloues and Kenneth H. Thomas, "Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee, National Register Nomination," December 18, 1979.
245. Cloues and Thomas, "Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee, National Register Nomination."
246. Alan Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument: An Administrative History* (National Park Service, 1986), 46.
247. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 17.
248. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 21.
249. Ibid.

railroads in 1868.[250] Later counties used convict labor for "the clearing, grubbing, grading, and draining of roads and the construction of stone, gravel, and sand-clay road surfaces."[251] The state benefited financially from the lease of these prisoners who were mostly African American and sometimes died from harsh treatment during the labor campaigns. Roadside crews became known as "chain gangs," a practice that continued until the mid-twentieth century in Georgia, when the state legislature enacted prison reforms.[252]

In 1914, the Automobile Club of Savannah, Georgia established the Dixie Overland Highway as an auto route connecting San Diego, California, and Savannah, Georgia. In 1926, the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO) adopted the US numbered route plan. The Dixie Overland route ran through Macon and became designated as US 80 at that time.[253] AASHO described the route through Georgia, "Beginning at Savannah via Swainsboro, Dublin, Jeffersonville, Macon, Knoxville, Talbottom, to the Georgia-Alabama State line at Columbus."[254] The construction of this route bisected the northeastern corner of the site, in essence removing a portion of the acreage of the park from public access. Park superintendents later remarked that this created "an administrative headache" for park management.[255]

Planning and Construction of Interstate 16

In the 1940s, as part of the war effort, Congress passed the Defense Highway Act, which provided $150 million for the construction of defense-related roads. The Macon area included two critical military establishments: Robins Air Service Command and Camp Wheeler. Later, legislators passed the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act (Public Law 84-627), signed into law by President Dwight Eisenhower. The bill authorized $25 billion for a 41,000-mile "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways."[256] New interstate highways would be controlled-access roads with no at-grade crossings, which would be designed for high-speed travel. According to a national historic context document, "[p]rior to 1944, federal funds were largely prohibited from use in municipality with populations greater than 2,500, and absent federal aid, there simply wasn't the means for most urban centers, like Atlanta or Macon, to keep pace with the demand for adequate highway planning and construction."[257]

Planning efforts for interstate routes had begun prior to the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act. A 1944 map of a national interstate system in Georgia depicts two interstates in Macon. One connects Macon to Atlanta and Valdosta, and the other connects Macon to Savannah. These routes became part an approved 1947 plan and later part of the national interstate highway system.[258] A variety of factors including the economy and war delayed plans for the national system until the 1956 Act. "After years of congressional squabbling and public insistence on the need for building a better national highway system, the federal legislation establishing the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways finally passed in 1956."[259]

In order to locate and design the highway system, the Georgia Department of Transportation used photogrammetry, "an aerial mapping technique that relied upon two cameras in an airplane to produce images that, when viewed together, created stereo images that could be turned into accurate plans and

250. William A. Todd, "Convict Lease System," New Georgia Encyclopedia, accessed March 2, 2020, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/convict-lease-system.
251. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers and TranSystems, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 21.
252. Todd," Convict Lease System."
253. Florida Department of Transportation, "U.S. Route 80 The Dixie Overland Highway - General Highway History - Highway History - Federal Highway Administration," accessed March 19, 2020, https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/us80.cfm.
254. Ibid.
255. Louis R. Caywood, "Proposed Interstate Highway Project," November 15, 1957, 2, OCMU AFC 8D1 Folder 38, OCMU Archives.
256. Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 § 84 U. S. C. 627 (1956).
257. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Historic Context of the Interstate Highway System," 1–2.
258. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 3–4.
259. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 9.

drawings."[260] In laying out the interstate system, Georgia became one of the first states in the United States to use computer technology for grading and bridge design.[261]

During the mid-1950s, engineers began to evaluate plans to construct Interstate 16 from Macon to Savannah. Initial plans showed a route that bisected the national monument. OCMU records reveal that the park superintendent was considering impact of the highway on the national monument as early as 1957. Superintendent Louis R. Caywood wrote in September 1957,

> For some months there has been considerable activity in Macon connected with the location of the proposed Interstate Highway system which will pass through this city. Local groups do not agree entirely on many of the details of the proposed interstate route, but all apparently agree that it should run along the east side of the Ocmulgee River and pass through the monument.[262]

In considering the effect of the route on the national monument, Caywood continued,

> The strongest objection to the route from our standpoint is that it would certainly spoil the historic setting for the visitor. A six-lane highway with 400 feet of right of way would alter the setting and increase the noise for those visiting the area of the large mounds. From the top of the Great Temple Mound, a visitor would be standing in a position from which he would look almost straight down upon the road.[263]

Though local advocates, including some who were initial advocates of park establishment, touted the benefits of the highway location through the national monument, Caywood argued against the road, noting environmental, economic, and geographic faults with the route.[264] In response, Region One Director Elbert Cox expressed some concern about the highway location in regard to "actual disturbance of archeological remains," but he noted a lack of funds to conduct archeological work at the park.[265] He notes, "I am doubtful that we would be able to sustain an objection to the proposed highway location on the grounds that it would constitute an intrusion in a historical setting. That point can be argued, of course, but, with the proximity of the railroad, related highways and other structures, it is a little hard to become exercised about one more intrusion in the picture."[266]

Initially, the park declined to make public comment in opposition to the plans.[267] Eventually, "Department of the Interior and National Park Service officials were receiving letters opposed to the proposed routing of the Interstate through the Park. These letters . . .were influential in getting the Service to take a stand against the route."[268] Local citizen support for a route bisecting the monument did not help reinforce the view of Park Superintendent Albert Dillahunty that the road should be located elsewhere. In a July 1961 meeting of city leaders, the Chamber of Commerce stated that "'if a choice had to be made between the highway and some esthetic [*sic*] damage to the monument, the choice was for the highway'."[269]

Despite efforts to push the route out of the park boundary entirely, congressional leaders, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the National Park Service agreed that the new interstate would run through the park,

260. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Transportation Contexts for Georgia," 13.
261. Ibid.
262. Caywood, "Proposed Interstate Highway Project," 1.
263. Caywood, "Proposed Interstate Highway Project," 2.
264. Ibid.
265. Elbert Cox, "Proposed Interstate Highway through Ocmulgee," November 29, 1957, 1, OCMU AFC 8D1 Folder 38, OCMU Archives.
266. Cox, 1–2.
267. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 44–46.
268. David J. Hally, *Ocmulgee Archeology*, 32.
269. Quoted in Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 47.

but it would be constructed closer to the Ocmulgee River than originally planned.[270] "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."[271] It was agreed that archeology would be conducted in the area prior to construction in an attempt to salvage artifacts and data. The NPS "would be provided with up to $600,000 of federal highway funds for data recovery."[272] These projects commenced at the end of 1961 and became known as the "Big Dig II." This continued research and investigatory work at the national monument resulted in the establishment of the Southeast Archaeological Center (SEAC) in 1966.

If the planning for this interstate construction would have been delayed, Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act would have applied to the project. This would have required the Department of Transportation to consider the effects of the project on the historic property through which it traveled.[273] Road construction through the park began in 1966 and Contractors completed the portion in Macon in 1968 (Figure 3.12). Archeologists later noted that "a number of sites located outside the Monument property were disturbed or destroyed by the highway construction," and that "there is strong evidence for both direct and indirect impact of I-16 construction on known and potential archaeological sites."[274]

270. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 47–48.
271. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 48.
272. Hally, *Ocmulgee Archeology,* 32.
273. Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers, "Historic Context of the Interstate Highway System," 21.
274. Jeffrey W. Gardner and Christopher T. Espenshade, "Archaeological Resources Survey and Evaluation of the Proposed Eisenhower Parkway Extension, Bibb County, Georgia" (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Transportation, Office of Environment/Location, 1992), 23, Report Number 1024, University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology.

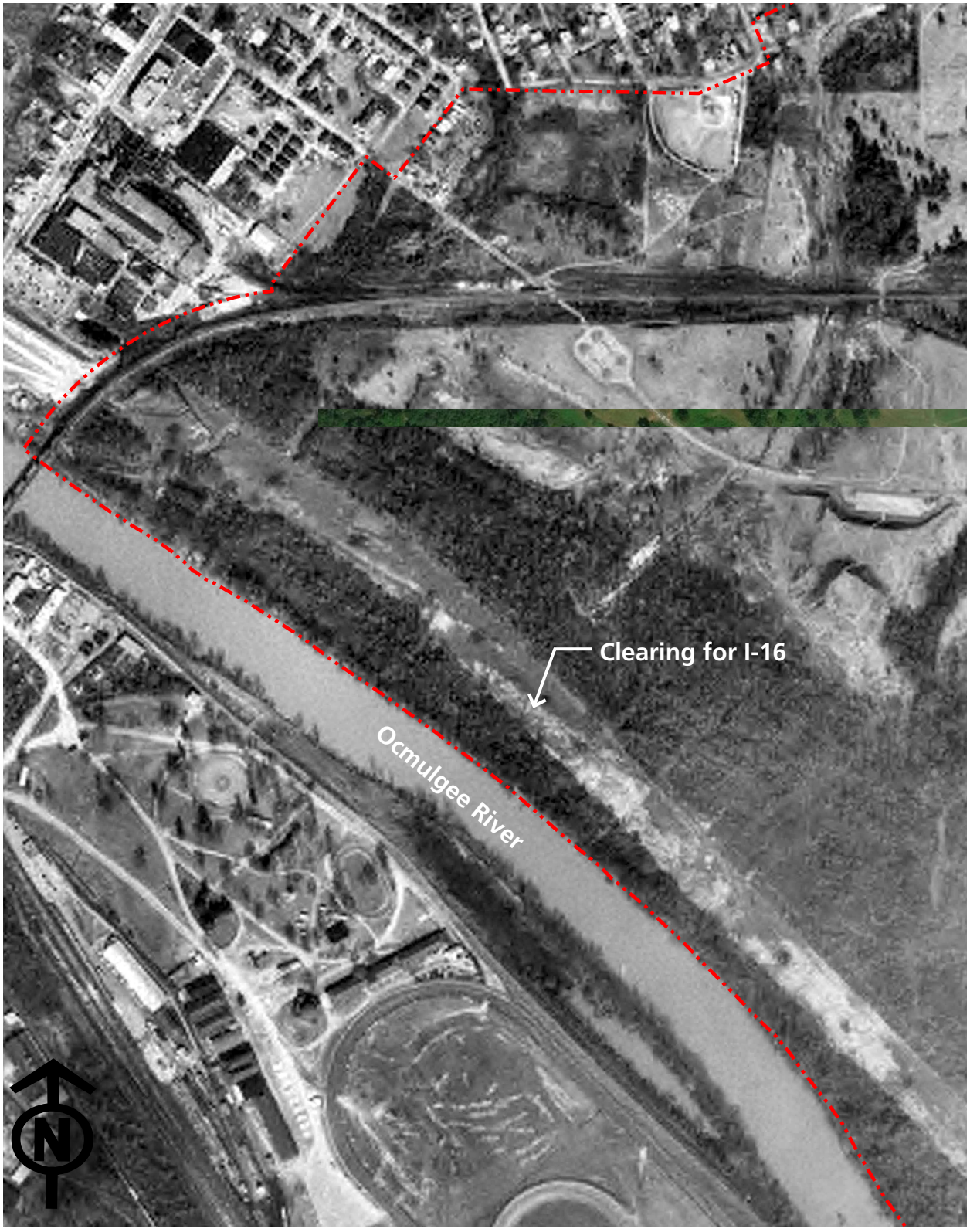


Figure 3.12. 1966 aerial image of the park area near the river with grading and clearing completed for Interstate 16. Park boundary (red line) added for context. (Source: Adapted from ACSC Aerial Photographs, Digital Library of Georgia).

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The Dunlap Plantation and Civil War Military Activity in Macon, Georgia: The Battles at Dunlap's Farm

Agricultural Development at the Macon Plateau

The Dunlap Property Prior to the Civil War

The site where the Dunlap House was built had long been inhabited by American Indians, including the Lamar culture that had built immense funeral mounds during the late Mississippian period and then the Creeks who had built a large trading center to conduct commerce with the British.[275] The frontier tensions that arose between Europeans and American Indians after the Yamassee War and the aggressive push for the immediate removal of American Indians further diminished the Creek Nation's hold over their lands near the Ocmulgee River.[276] The Creeks, under the leadership of Opothleyahola, signed the 1826 Treaty of Washington, which ceded a large portion of their land in Georgia to the United States government. By 1827, most Creeks from Georgia had been forcibly relocated to "Indian Territory" in what is modern Oklahoma.[277]

The Dunlap Family

Prior to the complete removal of the American Indians from central Georgia, Georgia Governor Troup surveyors chart the remaining Muscogee (Creek) lands east of the Chattahoochee, including the reservation around the Ocmulgee Old Fields. Some of this land was sold by lottery, whereas other parts were auctioned off.[278] The land that would become Dunlap's Farm was sold at auction in 1828.[279] Mr. John Bruge gifted a section of that land to his daughter Mary and her new husband, Samuel Scott Dunlap, as a wedding gift.[280] The couple wed on May 15, 1855 and moved into the house around 1856.[281] According to family tradition, Mary's mother Emily Branham sold a house in Eatonton to finance the construction of the newlyweds' first home.[282] In the Antebellum South, most building projects utilized slave labor, and the Dunlap House would have probably been constructed by enslaved carpenters.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Samuel S. Dunlap was considered a "planter" who owned 400 acres valued at $16,000 and 19 enslaved people, 10 of whom were children.[283] The names of the enslaved are not recorded, and these individuals are not discussed in any accounts of the Battle at Dunlap's Hill. While they were the source of Dunlap's wealth, these people do not appear in any history of the property. The enslaved people who lived and worked on Samuel Dunlap's plantation are only represented as lines and numbers in the 1860 slave census; however, they seem to have established families of their own. Along with all the other items listed in the census, there was note about three slave cabins on the property. The

275. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7- 9.
276. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties, A History of Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 149.
277. Prucha, *American Indian Treaties*, 150.
278. Lonnie Davis, *Ocmulgee: History of the Macon Plateau*, Ocmulgee National Monument (OMCU Archives), 85.
279. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 5-6.
280. Tommy Jones, "Historic Structure Report: The Dunlap House, Ocmulgee National Monument," LCS#005090 (Atlanta, Georgia: Southeast Region National Park Service, 2011), 3.
281. *Memoirs of Georgia,* vol. 1 (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1895), 331.
282. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 3.
283. 1860 Federal Census, East Macon, Bibb, Georgia, Roll M653-111 (Family History Library, Film 803111).

location of these cabins remains unknown, but the fact that there were three individual dwelling places, an even number of concurrently-aged males and females, and a large number of children suggests that the enslaved people who lived at Dunlap's plantation attempted to maintain familial connections.

Unlike his wife Mary, whose father was a wealthy planter, Samuel Scott Dunlap did not come from a plantation-owning family.[284] He was born in Jasper County, Georgia on either July 26 or July 31, 1830 to David and Heddy Wingate Dunlap.[285] His parents were both from Maryland and most likely migrated southward in search of the good farm land that was accessible following the removal of the Creek people.[286] Opportunities to establish commercial trading networks were available in places like North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, so those locales became popular destinations for immigrants from the northern United Kingdom who wanted to enter into both the plantation complex and overseas shipping businesses. By 1850, Samuel was listed as "Scott Dunlap" on the census and was living in Newton County.[287]

Samuel Scott Dunlap was by all accounts a good businessman. He started his career in 1849 as retail clerk at a grocery in Macon, earning $98 a year plus his board.[288] He worked in the same position for three years before he saved enough to invest in his own small business. That business afforded him enough cash to purchase a cotton plantation. Like most of the surrounding plantations in Georgia, the Dunlap plantation produced cotton for the ever-expanding Northern and European textile markets. The property would soon become the site of two attacks on the city of Macon, located across the Ocmulgee River from the farm.

The American Civil War - A Brief History

The American Civil War was a response to long-simmering political and economic tensions among the culturally-diverse regions of the United States. As Manifest Destiny and westward expansion enabled the American government to gain more land, the question of whether slavery would be allowed to expand into future states became one of the central political issues in the first half of the 1800s. Sectional discord accelerated between 1800 and 1860 as the North continued to urbanize and industrialize while the economy in the South remained predominantly reliant upon plantation agriculture. Debates between slave- and free-state concerns increased in Congress, with polarized interests largely falling along political lines.

Following the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in November 1860, political leaders in the South feared the new administration would support calls from Northern politicians for the abolition of slavery. On December 20, 1860, a "Convention of the People of South Carolina" voted unanimously to adopt an ordinance "To Dissolve The Union Between the State of South Carolina And Other States United With Her Under The Compact Entitled 'The Constitution Of The United States of America.'" Four days later, on December 24, the convention adopted a "Declaration Of The Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify The Secession of South Carolina From The Federal Union." In this document, the convention outlines perceived "encroachments" on the state's sovereignty. With the installment of a Republican administration, according to the document, "The guaranties of the Constitution will no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy." As a result, "the Union…is dissolved."[289] South Carolina was soon followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, who passed their own ordinances of secession.

284. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 331.
285. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 331; Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 3.
286. U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900, T623): 0033, 12.
287. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 3.
288. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 332.
289. Confederate States of America, "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," *The Avalon Project*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_scarsec .asp.

On January 19, 1861, delegates to the Georgia Secession Convention passed an "Official Ordinance of Secession," which declared the "union . . . dissolved" and claimed "full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."[290] By June of 1861, eleven Southern states had seceded from the Union, created the Confederate States of America, and prepared to take up arms.

The Civil War officially began on April 12, 1861, when Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard bombarded Fort Sumter as the Union Army attempted to resupply soldiers stationed there.[291] That battle kicked off a divisive and bloody war that claimed over 620,000 lives.[292]

After the initial engagement of both forces at Bull Run/ Manassas in July 1861, conflict spread across the region, extending from Mississippi to Virginia. The war evolved into three theaters—the Eastern Theater, the Western Theater, and the Trans-Mississippi Theater. A succession of Union generals faced Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in the northern theater. In the southern theater, Union forces occupied strategic points along the seaboard; then the Union Army moved across the South, beginning in the western portion of the region and slashing towards the southeast, effectively splitting the Deep South in half.[293]

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862 with an effective date of January 1, 1863.[294] Lincoln had pointed out in his first presidential debate with Stephen Douglas in 1858 that "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists."[295] However, those feelings changed as the war continued. While the Emancipation Proclamation did not free any enslaved people in the North or in the border states loyal to the Union, it did declare "all persons held as slave within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."[296]

During the first two years of the Civil War, freed black soldiers formed regiments in Kansas and Louisiana, but recruitment into the Union Army was slow because, prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, these soldiers "were not guaranteed freedom for military service."[297]

The President included a line in the Emancipation Proclamation stating the "military and navy authority, thereof, will recognize and maintain freedom" of enslaved individuals.[298] In allowing the army to enforce the edict, the North encouraged enslaved workers to flee for Union lines.

At the end of May in 1863, the United States War Department announced General Order Number 143, which created the Bureau of Colored Troops (Figure 4.1).[299] Through the order, the Union hoped to recruit men of color – including Pacific Islanders, people of Asian descent, and American Indians – into the United States Colored Troops (USCT).[300] These regiments were recruited from all states, including those in the

290. Georgia Secession Convention, "Georgia Declaration of Causes of Secession," *The Avalon Project*, http://avalon. law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_geosec.asp.
291. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 273.
292. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), xi.
293. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 344-50.
294. Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 116-20.
295. Abraham Lincoln, "First Lincoln-Douglas Debate, August 21, 1858," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War: Selected Writings and Speeches*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (New York: Bedford/St. Martin, 2011), 40.
296. Abraham Lincoln, "The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863," in *The Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History with Documents*, 70.
297. Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Communication, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Lantham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2003), 116.
298. Lincoln, "The Emancipation Proclamation," 71.
299. Lonnie J. Davis, *Georgia's African Brigade: Slave to Soldier* (National Parks Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, 2018), 6-7.
300. Davis, *Georgia's African Brigade*, 6.



Figure 4.1. Photograph shows an unidentified African American soldier, full-length portrait, wearing uniform, standing in front of studio backdrop. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2002719394/).

Confederacy, and consisted of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers.[301] The use of black soldiers was a logical next step in developing a fresh enlistment pool for the depleted Union Army. Eventually, 186,000 black soldiers fought for the Union Army during the Civil War, and 19,000 served in the Union Navy.

USCT regiments were often among the first to enter the destroyed cities of the South, including Richmond in Virginia and Macon in Georgia.[302] In June of 1865, the 138th Infantry Regiment of Macon was the last Civil War regiment mustered into the USCT.[303] This regiment was made up of men who had just delivered themselves from bondage, and they had marched 80 miles north to Atlanta by July.

The reaction of legislators in the South to the Emancipation Proclamation, on the other hand, was slow moving and quite varied. The Congress of the Confederate States of America initially showed a united front, reaffirming their commitment to a government that they considered to be "based on the proper relations of labor and capital" in their *Address to the People of the Confederate States* during January 1864.[304] By the end of that year, however, Virginia needed more soldiers to keep fighting, so officials considered emancipating enslaved people on the condition that they would enlist in the military. Like Lincoln creating a new source of soldiers through emancipation, Virginia was prepared to offer enslaved men freedom in order to fill their military ranks. The *Charleston Mercury* responded forcefully to thoughts of legislative emancipation in a January 13, 1865 article, "Lunacy."[305] For the editors of the *Mercury*, the South had seceded "on the account of the encroachments upon the institution of *slavery*," and the Confederacy had not lost "thirty thousand of her best and bravest men in battle" for slavery to be "bartered away."[306]

After three years of battles with no clear victor, the North had begun to get war-weary. Lincoln needed a victory to show that he was a worthy leader, but there had not been a decisive Union victory for months.[307] With Confederate General Jubal Early menacing Washington, D.C. and the Shenandoah Valley, General Lee's elusive army evading capture in Virginia, and the failure of the Red River Campaign in Louisiana, Lincoln was in danger of losing the 1864 election to the peace platform espoused by Union General George B. McClellan.[308]

301. Davis, *Georgia's African Brigade*, 7.
302. Ibid.
303. Ibid.
304. Congress of the Confederate States of America, "Address to the People of the Confederate States, January 22, 1864" in *Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History,* 97.
305. "Lunacy," *Charleston Mercury*, January 13, 1865, in *The Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History*, 101.
306. "Lunacy," 101.
307. Albert Castel, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign off 1864* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992), 24.
308. Gary Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died: The Battle of Atlanta* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), 220-24.

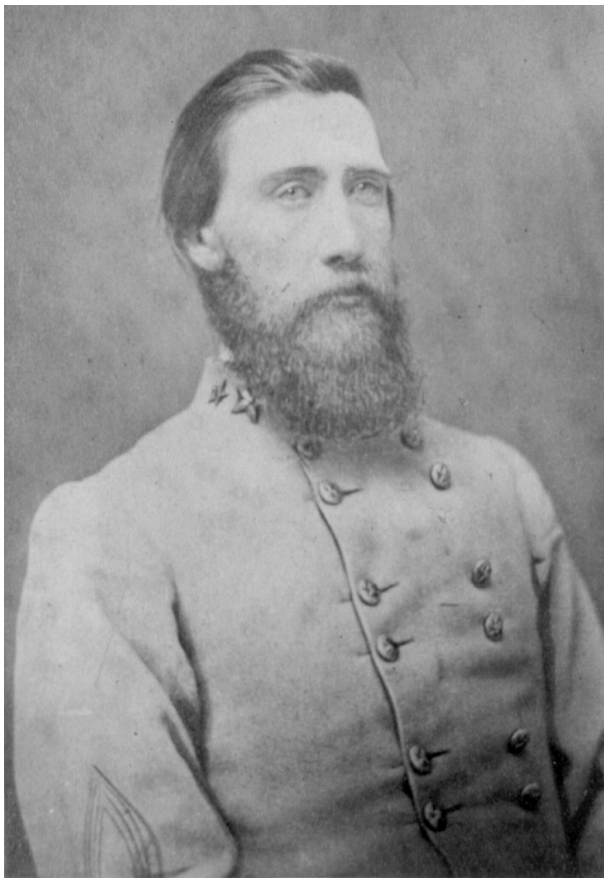


Figure 4.2. General J. B. Hood. (Source: *Library of Congress,* https://www.loc.gov/item/2002722867/).

Public attention focused on a lesser known General, William Tecumseh Sherman, and the Army of the Tennessee that was moving toward Atlanta, Georgia.[309] By 1864, Atlanta had become a major commercial hub in the Deep South. The population had doubled during the course of the war; it was now home to "foundries, factories, munitions plants, and supply depots."[310] The South invested a great deal of effort in defending Atlanta, and it soon became a "symbol of resistance and nationality."[311]

During a series of sharp battles covering approximately eighty miles between Chattanooga and Atlanta, Sherman successfully outmaneuvered his Confederate adversaries, initially General Joseph E. Johnston and later General John Bell Hood. By the second week of June 1864, after the main of Sherman's army crossed the Chattahoochee River, General Hood had fallen back into Atlanta to begin preparations against an expected siege (Figure 4.2).[312] Although the city did not capitulate until September 2, the Union victory at the Battle of Atlanta on July 22 gave Lincoln and the rest of the Union a much-needed morale boost. The Northern press provided Lincoln with positive coverage, suggesting that the war would soon be over due to the fall of Atlanta. The Northern public agreed and elected Lincoln a second Presidential term in November of 1864.[313]

The Battle of Atlanta was indeed one of the final stands of the Confederacy. After Lincoln's second inaugural address in March of 1865, the war would only last a month longer. The Battle of Appomattox Court House would end with General Lee signing the terms of surrender on April 9, 1865.[314] With slavery theoretically ended, the Southern landscape and economy in ruins, and over 620,000 people killed, the first modern and industrialized war fought on American soil had come to a bitter end.

The Atlanta Campaign

From May 1 to September 8, 1864, the battles that would take place from the northwest Georgia Mountains into Atlanta are collectively known as the "Atlanta Campaign."[315] The stakes for the Atlanta Campaign were extremely high, and both sides knew that the result in the fight for Atlanta could determine the final course of the war. Confederate President Jefferson Davis commented that the fall of Atlanta would, "open the way for the Federal Army to the Gulf on the one hand, and to Charleston on the other, and close up those rich

309. Abraham Lincoln, "Memorandum Concerning Probable Failure of Re-election, August 23, 1864" in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery and the Civil War: Selected Writings and Speeches*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (New York: Bedford/St. Martin, 2011), 184-85.
310. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 751.
311. Ibid.
312. Ecelbarger, T*he Day Dixie Died,* 218-20.
313. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 858.
314. Ibid.
315. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 743-50; Castel, *Decision in the West*, 117-20.

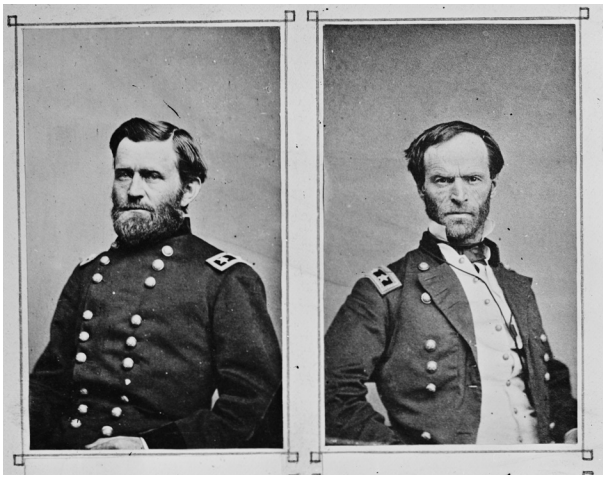


Figure 4.3. Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/cwp2003003495/PP/).

granaries from which Lee's armies are supplied. It would give them control of our network of railways and thus paralyze our efforts."[316]

Leading an army that numbered over 100,000 soldiers, Sherman intended to press the fight against the Confederate army, while also destroying bridges and rail lines, which would disrupt the Confederate supply lines. Grant instructed Sherman to "get into the country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources."[317] Generals Grant and Sherman had begun to institute "Total War" on the South (Figure 4.3).[318] The point of total war for General Sherman was to "defeat the South physiologically as well as militarily" by destroying all industry, including any private property that supported the Confederate Army.[319] The destruction of the railway systems in Georgia was the key to disrupting supply lines to other theaters of the war. Sherman wrote to General-in-Chief of the Union Army, Henry Halleck, that "we are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people, and we must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war, as well as the organized armies."[320] As the war dragged on, both Grant and Sherman became more convinced that brutal tactics were necessary to win the war.[321]

In May of 1864, the Army of the Tennessee marched westward from Chattanooga, Tennessee toward Atlanta. By July 17, Major General James Birdseye McPherson's army had crossed the Chattahoochee River on a bridge constructed specifically for the Union army's crossing by the XVI Corps a few days earlier as all other bridges had been destroyed. The Army of the Tennessee were in Decatur by July 19, and they were about 6 miles from Atlanta on July 20.

The Battle of Atlanta

The battle to capture Bald Hill, the highest ground between Decatur and Atlanta, began on the morning of July 21, 1864. This event would eventually be known as The Battle of Atlanta. Union Army plans called for the cavalry to raid the town of Decatur and for the infantry to charge the hill, which lay to the southeast of Atlanta. General McPherson did not attack the ill-equipped and outnumbered Confederates at Bald Hill the night before because he chose to regroup and conduct reconnaissance.[322] According to certain scholars, that decision allowed the Confederates to prepare for the assault, resulting in higher Union casualties than if McPherson had immediately attacked their position.[323] After the Confederates were eventually driven from Bald Hill by General Blair's XVII Corps, Confederate Major General Patrick Cleburne worried that McPherson would march straight into Atlanta that day and requested backup from General Hood, who conceded to "create a 10,000 man defense to assure that Atlanta was safe from the eastern threat."[324]

316. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 751.
317. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 9.
318. Lance Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: The American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," *The Journal of Military History* 59, no. 1 (January 1995): 8.
319. Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy," 15.
320. William T. Sherman to Henry Halleck, 24 December 1864, in William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York: Library of America, 1990), 705.
321. Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy," 12-14.
322. Russel S. Bonds, *War like the Thunderbolt: The Battle and Burning of Atlanta* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2009), 117-18.
323. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 45.
324. Ibid.



Figure 4.4. General Joseph Wheeler. (Source: Library of Congress, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cwpb.05987).

Hood abandoned his defensive position to attack McPherson's left flank. One of the main factors in General Hood's decision was that McPherson's army was only 8 miles south of the Macon & Western Railroad, which made it particularly vulnerable to attack.[325] The destruction of that line would jeopardize the Atlanta & West Point Railroad, a vital supply route into Atlanta. If General Sherman gained control of the East Point Depot, which was "merely 7 miles from the Union left flank," they could secure the railroad and control Confederate supply lines.[326] Despite Hood's efforts, the Union army pushed Confederate forces back into the woods with massive casualties and a major loss of morale.[327] In later correspondence, General Cleburne would claim that the fight for Bald Hill was the "bitterest fight" of his life.[328]

Hood then attempted to use General Joseph Wheeler's cavalry to save the railroad lines and to disrupt Sherman's supply lines in Decatur (Figure 4.4).[329] Wheeler reached the outskirts of town and picked up nearly 100 prisoners, but he could not gain control of the town center. Wheeler took possession of "the hospital stores, tons of equipment, and scores of Union prisoners, but only six wagons."[330] However, Wheeler's cavalry was needed to reinforce General Hardee's forces along the front. On Friday, July 22, they abandoned Decatur, which the Union was able to recapture later that night.[331]

The Army of the Tennessee endured brutal assaults by General Cheatham on their right flank and by General Hardee on their left. General John A. "Black Jack" Logan had succeeded William Tecumseh Sherman in command of the XV Corps in 1863; and after the death of General McPherson, he assumed command of the Army of the Tennessee. Logan brought with him additional reinforcements.[332] Logan successfully held the lines together on Bald Hill during the full day and night counter-assault by the Confederates. General Sherman, however, relieved Logan of his command and put in place Oliver Otis Howard.[333]

While the Union soldiers held their position on Bald Hill, the loss of life on both sides was great. On July 22 alone, over 3,299 Union and 3,800 Confederate troops were killed.[334] The total loss for General Hood

325. Bonds, *War like the Thunderbolt*, 121.
326. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 49.
327. Earl J. Hess, *Civil War Infantry Tactics: Training, Combat, and Small-Unit Effectiveness* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 101.
328. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 47.
329. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 99; David Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 94.
330. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 101.
331. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 102-10; Bonds, *War like the Thunder Bolt*, 161.
332. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 186.
333. Castel, *Decision in the West*, 418-19.
334. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 212-13.

defending Atlanta was between 5,700-6,300 men, which represented nearly 20 percent of his forces. This unprecedented loss of life also included a significant number of Confederate officers, including generals, colonels, and other regimental officers. General Hood made one last attempt to regain control of Atlanta with the Battle of Ezra Church on July 28th, but Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee could not dislodge Logan's XV Corps from their position. The Confederacy lost 3,000 men compared to the Union's 632. Hood had lost three major battles in nine days.

Atlanta officially fell on September 2, 1864.[335] The Northern press used the victories of the Atlanta Campaign to bolster Lincoln's reputation as a strong commander-in-chief and made the end of the war seem imminent. With the fall of Atlanta to Union forces, the Confederate supply trains were successfully disrupted. As a result, according to common sentiment in the North, it would only be a matter of time before the Confederacy fell. With the defeat of Atlanta, in the words of a newspaper reporter, "all Georgia [was] open to him—and Macon, Columbus, and Augusta can be seized whenever Sherman should advance."[336]

Railroads

Both the Union and Confederate armies understood that Southern railroads would be an important strategic target (Figure 4.5). On April 12, 1862, only a year into the war, twelve Union spies stole a locomotive, *The General*, and attempted to drive it to Chattanooga, burning bridges and cutting telegraph lines as they went.[337] If it were not for the dogged pursuit of the locomotive by the conductor, William Fuller, the plan might have been a success.[338] When the train literally ran out of steam, the twelve men escaped on foot. Six were caught in the woods and executed as traitors. The other six were able to make it back to Union lines and received the newly created Medal of Honor.[339] This incident led Georgia's Governor, Joseph E. Brown, to create two new militias whose sole purpose was to guard the train lines.[340]

As the Union army pressed deeper into Georgia, they burned bridges and tore up railroad tracks. General McPherson missed a major opportunity to permanently disrupt supply lines on the Western & Atlantic in Resaca on May 9, 1864. McPherson led the Tennessee corps of about 25,000 men, which could have charged the town that was protected by about 4,000 of General Johnston's Confederate troops. McPherson gave in to caution and was roundly criticized by General Sherman, who stated "you have missed the opportunity of a lifetime."[341] McPherson was stung by the rebuke by his commanding officer and attempted to make amends by destroying miles of Georgia Railroad track between Stone Mountain and Decatur.[342] During the summer of 1864, McPherson and the Army of the Tennessee followed the spine of the Georgia Railroad towards Atlanta. By July 22, the Union had razed several sections of the northern portion of the Georgia Railroad, severely disrupting Confederate communication and supply links.

During the Atlanta Campaign, General Sherman pulled his cavalry together in coordinated attacks to successfully raid several railroads. On July 17, the 8th Indiana regiment, headed by General Rousseau, had rendered useless the Montgomery & West Point Railroad from Loachapoka to Opelika in Alabama.[343] Not only did the Confederacy lose an entire warehouse of stores, but Rousseau's men were able to disrupt the supply lines from Montgomery to Atlanta a few days prior to the major battle.

335. Davis, *Civil War Atlanta*, 75.
336. In Richard W. Iobst, *Civil War Macon* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1999), 330.
337. Davis, *Civil War Atlanta*, 47.
338. Ibid.
339. Russell S. Bonds, *Stealing the General: The Great Locomotive Chase and the First Medal of Honor* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2007), 94-5.
340. William R. Scaife and William Harris Bragg, *Joe Brown's Pets: The Georgia Militia, 1861-1865* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2004), 22.
341. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, xxxii.
342. Ecelbarger, *The Day Dixie Died*, 19.
343. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 134-38.



Figure 4.5. 1861 Map rail lines in Georgia. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gvhs01.vhs00031/).



Figure 4.6. Confederate defenses around Atlanta, showing the Macon and Western Railroad. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gvhs01.vhs00311/).

Federal troops also targeted the 102 miles of Macon & Western Railroad tracks (Figure 4.6). Originally chartered as the Monroe Railroad & Banking Company in December of 1833, the Macon & Western supplied Atlanta with the most important cash crop in the South, cotton. Completed in 1846, this new railroad connected Forsyth County with the commercial hub of Atlanta. It was the third railroad to have access to the city. Although it was not as strategically important as the Western & Atlantic that traveled north to Tennessee, the Macon & Western offered a roundabout way from Atlanta to Augusta and the Atlantic Seaboard. Sherman wanted to cut that line in order to place Atlanta under a full siege.



Figure 4.7. Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick. (Source: National Archives Catalog, Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860 - 1985, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/528309).

On July 28th, General McCook's cavalry division succeeded in cutting the telegraph lines and destroying the depot at Lovejoy's Station. In the process, they also destroyed the water tank, the woodshed, and an estimated $400,000 worth of cotton and tobacco.[344] McCook then turned his attention to tearing up the lines, but the "track being better than what is usually found in the Confederacy, it was harder to destroy."[345] With Joe Wheeler's army approaching, McCook could not complete the mission and had to retreat. On August 20th, Brigadier General Kilpatrick also attempted to destroy the Macon & Western Railroad at Lovejoy's Station but was repelled by Confederate infantry under Cleburne (Figure 4.7). While several of these raids demolished certain sections of the Macon & Western and the Central Georgia, other sections were repaired within two days.

After the war, the nation increasingly began to mechanize production and establish more efficient transportation routes. Machinery, in both Southern cotton fields and in Northern factories, increased production; and railroad lines extended across the country, connecting diverse commercial regions.[346] Due to the destruction of many railways in the South, investors, eager to capitalize on the railroad business, began to build new lines and to consolidate them into larger systems that would reach even more distant locales. By 1929, the Georgia Central Railroad had over 2,000 miles of track that reached into Alabama and Tennessee.[347] The post-war railroad boom allowed Georgia to rebuild its tracks and its economy.

344. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 230-32.
345. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 232.
346. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1989), 460-69.
347. Storey, "Railroads."

Stoneman's Raid and Kilpatrick's Feint

Stoneman's Attack on Macon: Battle of Dunlap Hill (Dunlap's Farm)

General George Stoneman was the most experienced of Sherman's cavalry generals, and he led a daring raid deep in Confederate territory during the Atlanta Campaign (Figure 4.8). The first objective was to destroy the railroad at Lovejoy's Station and the second was to attempt a rescue of the prisoners of war being held in Macon and Andersonville. Stoneman did not succeed in either goal (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.8. Major General George Stoneman. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2012647114/).

Born in Busti, New York in 1822, Stoneman joined the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1842, where he shared a room with Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson.[348] Stoneman was a successful student and graduated thirty-third in his West Point class in 1846.[349] He served in the War with Mexico as Acting Assistant Quartermaster of the Mormon Battalion. In 1854, he was promoted to 1st Lieutenant of the 1st Dragoons and engaged in several skirmishes with American Indians.[350] By March 1855, he became Captain of the 2nd Cavalry, and by the start of the Civil War, he was promoted to Major of the 1st Cavalry.[351] By the time of the Atlanta Campaign, he had worked his way up to Lieutenant Colonel of the 3rd Cavalry.[352] In April 1864, Stoneman left Virginia with the Department of Ohio Cavalry to help Sherman with his plan to undermine civilian support of Confederate forces by destroying "sawmills, factories, and large grist mills" in Georgia.[353]

By early July, Stoneman's cavalry troops were posted on the right flank of McPherson's Army of the Tennessee in the outskirts of Atlanta. Sherman was "very anxious" that Stoneman attack "the railroad below Atlanta" as soon as possible to disrupt the supply lines in preparation for the upcoming battle for Atlanta.[354] They had already successfully set fire to the Sweetwater Cotton Factory, Ferguson's gristmill, and another large gristmill in Powder Springs.[355] Stoneman was to continue south and cut the Atlanta & West Point route by July 15. However, he became overly cautious and wrote to Sherman that he was "very anxious to strike the railroad, from personal as well as other considerations," but he became convinced that "the risk of capture or dispersion . . . was almost certain."[356] Even though Stoneman failed to attack the West Point line, Sherman was pleased that the cavalry presence had drawn the Confederate cavalry away from McPherson's Army of the Tennessee.

348. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 27.
349. George W. Cullum, "George Stoneman," in *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., from its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890 with the Early History of the United States Military Academy*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891**)**, 280-82.
350. Cullum, "George Stoneman," 280-82.
351. Ibid.
352. Ibid.
353. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 51.
354. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 50.
355. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 52.
356. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 62.

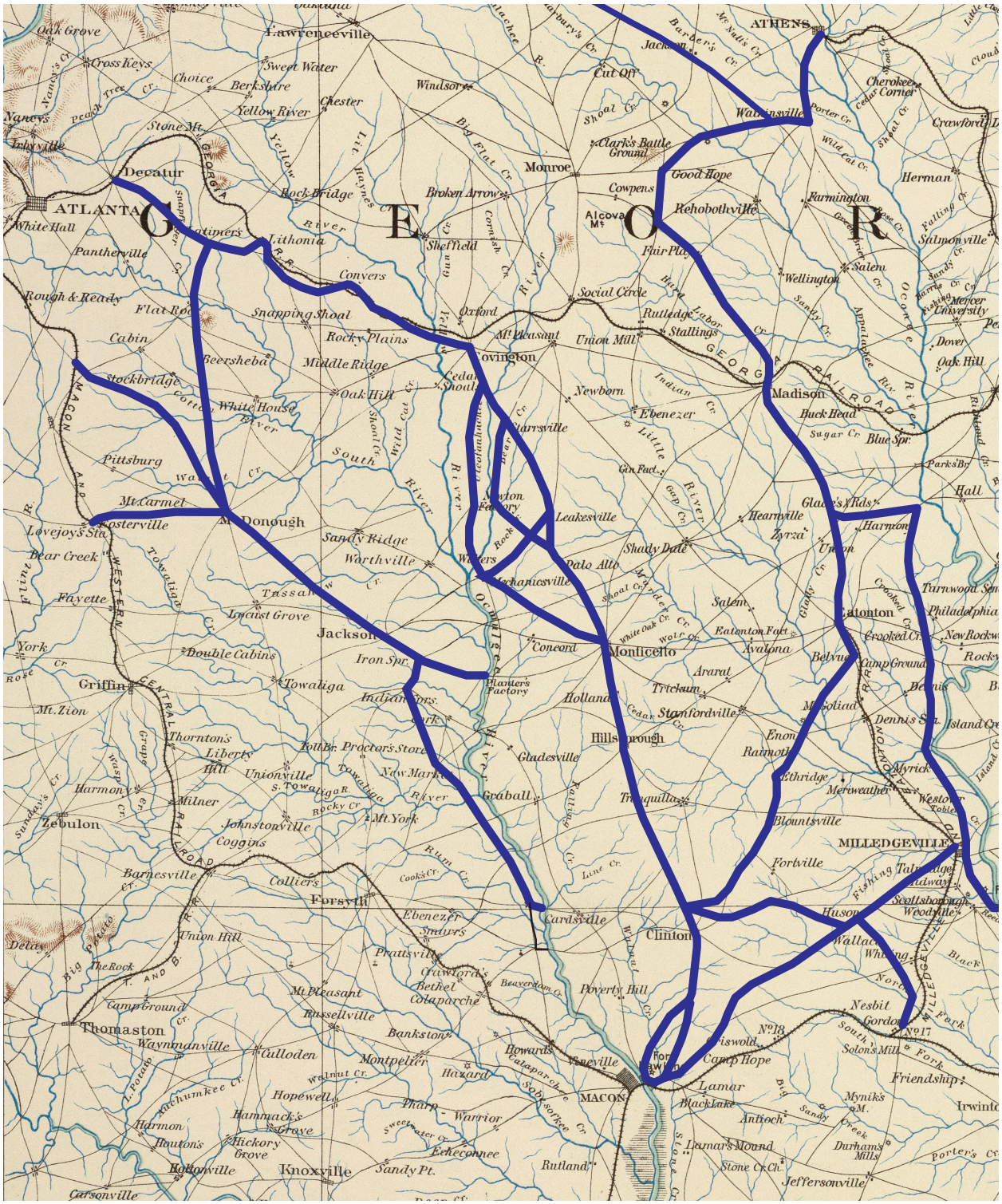


Figure 4.9. Approximate route of Union troops during Stoneman's Raid. (Sources: Library of Congress Civil War maps (2nd ed.), 99; Civil War maps in the National Archives, 8; Phillips, 1353; LeGear. Atlases of the United States, 266, Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, and Library of Congress Complete map of the march of the 1st Brigade, 1st Cavalry Divn., Dept. of Cumberland on the Stoneman expedition through Tenn., Va., N.C., S.C., Geo., & Ala., March to June 1865).



Figure 4.10. General Howell Cobb. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2006687471/).

After the series of successful battles leading to the edge of Atlanta, the Union Army prepared for a siege. Sherman planned for the cavalry to continue disrupting the Confederate supply and communication lines into and out of Atlanta. At this point, Stoneman was determined to destroy the Atlanta & West Point Railroad. After being given his orders, he suggested to Sherman that he be allowed to resume south after cutting the railroad lines to free the approximately 30,000 Union soldiers being held prisoner in Macon and Andersonville. Stoneman stated that he was "willing to run any risks" and that if "we accomplish the desired object it will compensate for the loss as prisoners of us all, and I would feel compensated for almost any sacrifice."[357] Stoneman's plan was to move in conjunction with General Gerrard, then meet McCook at Lovejoy's Station on the Macon & Western Railroad to cut the supply lines and force General Hood out of the trenches in Atlanta.[358] After the destruction of the railroad lines, he would proceed south to free the 1,500 Union officers and 30,000 regular troops imprisoned at both Macon and Andersonville. He would then head for the Union garrison in Pensacola.[359]

On July 27, Generals Gerrard and McCook moved their columns south of Atlanta to destroy enemy supply lines.[360] McCook returned two days later after successfully cutting the lines at Lovejoy's Station. Garrard returned the day afterward with his men having cut the Georgia Railroad near both Stone Mountain and Covington. Neither Gerrard nor McCook had rendezvoused with Stoneman's cavalry.

Garrard and Stoneman had parted ways at Latimer's Crossroads, south of Decatur. While Garrard had orders to engage Joe Johnston's army at Flat Shoals, Stoneman turned his division east and headed toward Covington.[361] Garrard's troopers had previously visited the hamlet on July 22nd, burning railroad and wagon bridges across the Yellow River. Stoneman led his men down the Monticello Road, crossing over both the Yellow and Alcovy Rivers and using the Ocmulgee River to shield his right flank as he headed south. Stoneman believed that three bridges over the Ocmulgee River were still operable, but Confederate forces had destroyed them.[362] Stoneman could not find a suitable crossing for his men in order to rejoin McCook at Lovejoy's Station. With no way to cross the river, Stoneman realized that he would have to either turn back or continue to the second part of his mission. Stoneman's division continued practically unopposed down the Monticello Road, and rumors of Stoneman's approach soon reached Macon.[363]

Major General Howell Cobb commanded the Georgia Reserve Corps, who were stationed at Andersonville at the time, and he was the officer in charge of defending the area against the new threat posed by Stoneman (Figure 4.10). While Hood had initially called the Georgia Reserves, a corps made up of teenage boys and older men, to the front, the unsettling news of a cavalry raid convinced him to keep the reserves at Andersonville. Howell Cobb, born in Athens, Georgia in 1815, had been a "former Speaker of the House

357. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 205.
358. Castel, *Decision in the West*, 436-39.
359. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 205.
360. Castel, *Decision in the West*, 442.
361. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 291.
362. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 294.
363. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 306.

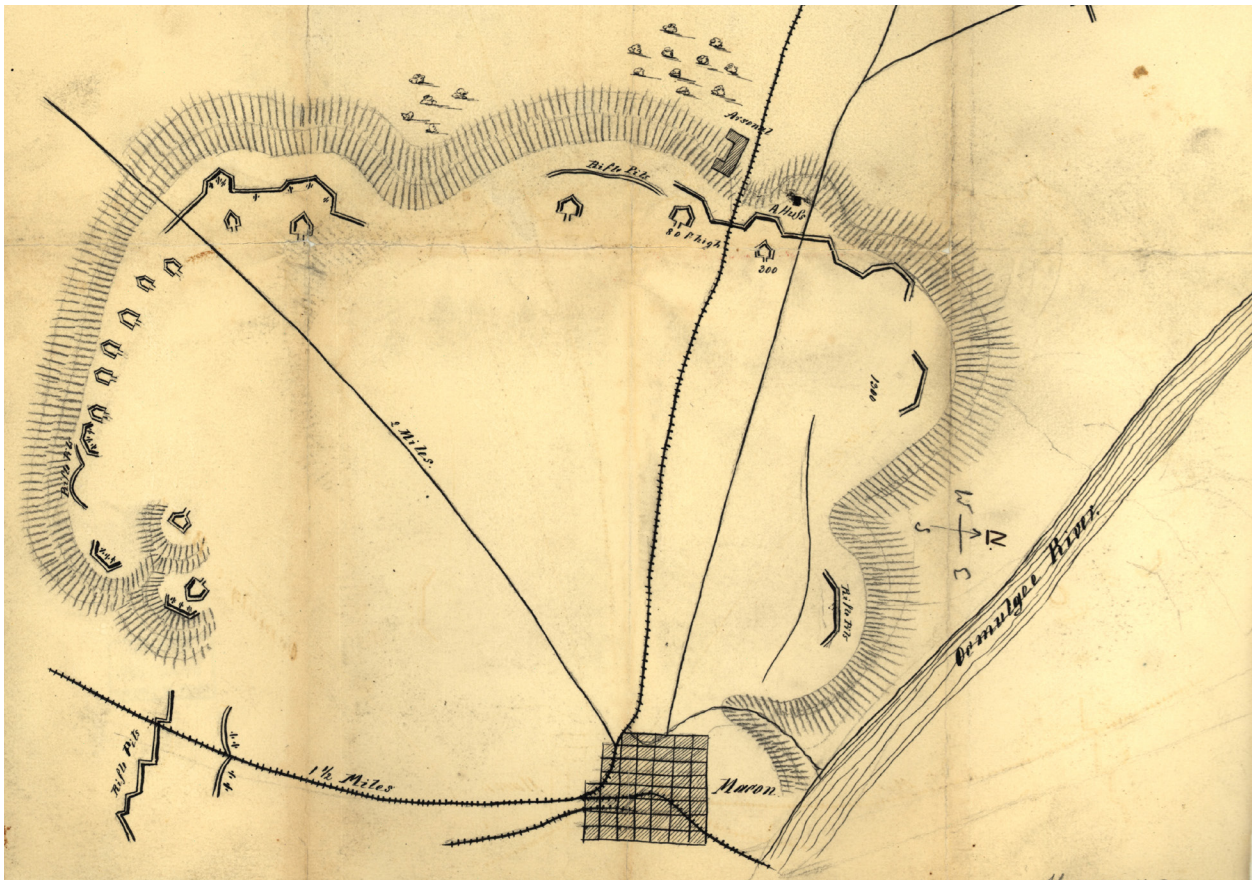


Figure 4.11. 1864 map showing fortifications on the west side of the Ocmulgee River and Macon. Constructed earthwork fortifications protected the town's north and west sides, while the Ocmulgee River provided protection for the east side of the city.(Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2006635265/).

of Representatives, Governor of Georgia, and Secretary of the Treasury."[364] He was also a major political leader and vocal proponent of the Southern secessionist movement.

Although Cobb expressed skepticism that any Union force would venture that far south, Cobb prepared for an attack. He mustered the state militia at Camp Rescue in Macon and posted additional pickets outside of the city to "be prepared for anything."[365] Cobb was also guarding approximately 1,500 Union prisoners awaiting relocation to Charleston, South Carolina. Cobb did not want the information about the prisoners' transfer to become known to the Union army. He coordinated with Confederate officials to immediately remove the prisoners from Macon; by July 28, nearly 1,000 prisoners had been loaded on trains and sent to Charleston. Almost 500 men remained in Camp Oglethorpe when Stoneman's cavalry made their appearance at the outskirts of Macon on July 29.

Camp Oglethorpe was located on the west bank of the Ocmulgee River, covering approximately 12 acres. It was the site of an old fairground. An 1872 map of Macon shows that the camp was located just south of Macon with the city commons lying to the southwest of the camp.[366] A 16-foot-high stockade surrounded Camp Oglethorpe, behind which Confederate forces detained Union military officers during 1864.[367] The town's defenses included constructed earthworks to the north and west and the Ocmulgee River on the east (Figure 4.11).

364. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 297.
365. L. J. Gartrell to Howell Cobb, July 29, 1864, Howell Cobb Family Papers, MS 1376 (Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries); Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen,* 297.
366. *Map of the City of Macon*, 1872, photocopy located in OCMU Archives, Dunlap House (Civil war Battery) Folder, Series III/Folder 1 of 6.
367. National Park Service, "Civil War Series: The Prison Camp at Andersonville," *History E-Library*, n.d., https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/civil_war_series/5/sec7.htm#1.

Cobb notified his superiors of the situation at Macon, but he also informed the Governor of Georgia, Joe Brown. Cobb and Brown developed a plan of defense against the advancing Union cavalry.[368] Brown directed 1,000 men from Camp Rescue near Macon to immediately defend Milledgeville. Stoneman had already ordered Major Francis Davidson and five companies of the 14th Illinois to destroy the Central Railroad at its "junction with the Milledgeville and Eatonton brand at Gordon," and they were engaged in this task.[369] Davidson's troops arrived at Gordon's train depot as Confederate militia was loading onto trains. Davidson's troops hid themselves and waited. After the train carrying the militia left for Milledgeville, the Union troops ambushed the depot, cut the telegraph wires, and burned down several railroad buildings. They also methodically destroyed train cars belonging to the Western & Atlantic, ruined several hundred yards of Macon & Western track, smashed the controls of all parked locomotives, and burned the turntable.[370]

Davidson's troops continued eastward on their destructive mission, burning everything in their path, including railroad trestles, the Toomsboro Depot, a gristmill, and a sawmill. They then burned three sections of the Macon & Western track between mileposts 152 and 153. Davidson sent Lieutenant Lewis W. Boren with Companies G and A to burn down the railroad bridge that crossed over the Oconee River.[371]

While Davidson was destroying sections of the Macon & Western Railroad, Stoneman was also sending other brigades out to wreck the Central Railroad. Horace Capon's brigade rode down the Griswoldville Road, attacking the railroad every few miles east of Macon. One detachment captured a train loaded with quartermaster and commissary supplies. They uncoupled those cars, set them on fire, and then sent the engulfed cars bellowing down the grade back to Griswoldville.[372] Lieutenant Capron then stoked the engine and sent it unmanned toward Macon, where it crashed at 50 miles an hour into the back of a passenger train that was only three miles east of Macon.[373]

John C. Butler's account written in 1879 stated,

> On the 29th of July, Captain Dunlap, commanding a party of scouts reported a large body of federal cavalry on the Clinton road, who were rapidly approaching Macon. All of the militia at this place were immediately ordered under arms. Governor Brown, being in the city, issued a proclamation, calling upon every man, citizen or refugee, who had a gun of any kind, or could get one, to report at the court house, with the least possible delay, to be formed into companies to aid in the defense of the city. The citizens responded promptly, and by seven o'clock, on the morning of the 30th, two thousand men were posted in a line of battle between East Macon and Walnut Creek. On the evening of the 29th, a battalion of six hundred Tennesseans, under command of Major John W. Nisbet, had arrived from Andersonville, on their way to Atlanta, also about one thousand of State militia, who were detained to the same place. These bodies of troops were detained at Macon several days for its defense . . . The Confederates, together with a battery of three pieces under Captain Pescke, were placed under command of Colonel J. B. Cumming, who formed them, on the 29th on the Clinton road, and they became the left line.[374]

368. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 299.
369. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 296.
370. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 301.
371. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 302.
372. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 306.
373. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 308.
374. John C. Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia, Containing Many Interesting and Valuable Reminiscences Connected with the Whole State, Including Numerous Incidents and Facts Never Before Published and of Great Historic Value*, (Macon, Georgia: J. W. Burke and Co., 1879), 263-264.

As Stoneman's Division approached Macon, pressure mounted on Cobb to bolster defenses around the city. In order to hastily construct defensive earthworks around the city, leaders decided to use enslaved labor. According to an account of the preparations, "A *Daily Telegraph* reporter announced an advertisement by the Sheriff of Bibb County for one-fifth of the able bodied slaves in the county to work on fortifications around Macon."[375]

On July 30, Stoneman was ready for his attack on Macon. He had Captain Biddle's skirmishers advance forward a few miles south of the Garrison Road at Captain Samuel L. Dunlap's farm.[376] Captain Hardy's teams pushed limbers and caissons up Dunlap's Hill near the main house, and the men began to use outbuildings to create a breastwork. Stoneman's officers agreed that the hill offered an advantageous position for firing their cannons into the city of Macon. Captain Samuel Dunlap had been involved in the skirmishes south of Clinton and had been the one to sound the alarm in Macon of the threat of Union troops.[377] Captain Dunlap was not at home when Stoneman arrived on his doorstep, but his wife Mary and their children were present. After hearing one of the Union officers boasting about freeing the prisoners in Macon, Mrs. Dunlap told Stoneman that the prisoners had been removed, even though hundreds remained.[378]

Howell Cobb mustered the militia and made a daring move of putting them east of the Ocmulgee River. Cobb reasoned this would make them better fighters, because, with the river to their rear, when the Union forces attacked there was nowhere for the inexperienced militia to retreat. The Home Guards had taken up residence in Fort Hawkins. The walls of the fort were falling apart, but some of the towers were still usable. They could see the Union artillery mounted on Dunlap's Hill. Stoneman's troops could not get their battery in the proper position to fire on Fort Hawkins, so they began shelling the city of Macon.[379] There were about fifteen shells fired into the city in total, with their intended targets being an old magazine and the hospital.

Stoneman pulled his forces back after only eight hours of bombarding the city. While he did not reach the west side of the river, he did succeed in burning a bridge over both Walnut Creek and the Oconee River.[380] He fully intended on pressing on to Andersonville, but a scout reported that a Confederate cavalry of about 1,500 were on their way to Macon.[381] With his route south blocked, Stoneman searched for a route back to Atlanta. As Stoneman's cavalry turned north towards Clinton, General Wheeler's brigade was closing in.

Several Confederate brigades blocked Stoneman's intended route north on Hillsboro Road. Several of his officers later claimed that he was fixated on punching through the blockade, but Stoneman did not have enough manpower. The Battle of Sunshine Church was swift and fierce. Stoneman's forces were engaged on their north while another Confederate corps arrived, attacking his position from the south. He was enveloped by Confederate troops and his soldiers were running out of ammunition. Against some of his officer's wishes, Stoneman decided to surrender rather than see his troops slaughtered. A few of the cavalrymen escaped, including Colonel Silas Adam's Kentucky brigade, eventually returning to Sherman's lines outside of Atlanta.[382]

General Stoneman was a prisoner until September 25, 1864. In a letter to Major General Jones in Charleston, Major and Assistant Agent of Exchange J. E. Austin wrote that "General Hood desires that General Stoneman be sent for exchange immediately," and he was soon on his way back to the Union

375. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 307.
376. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 311.
377. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 299.
378. Evans, *Sherman's Horseman*, 310.
379. Castel, *Decision in the West*, 439.
380. Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia*, 264.
381. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 318.
382. Castel, *Decision in the West*, 440.

Army.[383] After his capture and release, Grant was reluctant to let Stoneman command a company again, but he agreed to let him lead another railroad raid after some prompting from others. During the final months of the war, Stoneman raided throughout North Carolina and into Virginia, covering over 600 miles.

Kilpatrick's Feint and the Second Battle of Dunlap Farm (Battle of Walnut Creek)

The impressment of enslaved laborers to construct fortifications became common in Georgia during 1864, as the Confederate army continued to conscript white laborers for combat. "At various times thousands of [enslaved persons] were engaged in clearing trees and brush from hills in front of defense lines, or moving tons or earth for trenches and redoubts."[384] The Confederate army also used enslaved labor in hospitals, as cooks for troops, and to serve as drivers. Over the duration of the Civil War, at least 10,000 enslaved persons and freedpeople of color likely labored in the creation of Georgia's military defenses.[385]

To further protect Macon from another Union attack, General Cobb announced a special order to expedite the construction of fortifications surrounding the town. He "issued Special Orders No. 98 ordering the immediate impressment of five hundred additional slaves for a period of thirty days to complete Macon's fortifications."[386] The number of enslaved laborers was not adequate, according to General Hood. "Hood informed Governor Brown on 7 August that he needed 2,000 Blacks," but he was unsure how to expedite these enslaved laborers to Macon. Governor Brown gave Hood permission to "impress them from their owners."[387] Cobb wrote, "The importance of the immediate completion of these works should silence any complaints that might other[wise] be made."[388]

By this time, Sherman tasked Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick and his 3rd Calvary Division with destroying the railroad trestle that spanned the Ocmulgee River and connected Macon with Atlanta. Sherman ordered Kilpatrick to make a diversionary movement to draw Confederate troops away from the bridge and to concentrate around Macon. Kilpatrick ordered Major Lewis Bowlus of the 9th Ohio to attack and burn down the bridge, but he was repelled by Confederate artillery on November 20, 1864.

A Union cavalryman explained,

> The regiment was not engaged again until the arrival of the command at Macon on the 20th day of November, when, during the progress of the demonstration made by General Kilpatrick upon that place, the regiment was ordered to make a saber charge along the Clinton and Macon road, from which the enemy were firing. The distance to reach the guns was something over half a mile along a road through deep woods which concealed the enemy's guns and their works. The regiment . . . in pursuance of orders charged along the road, reached the enemy's guns, which were in a redoubt, completely blocking the road. . . In rear of and also extending from both flanks of the redoubt were long lines of breast-works and rifle pits filled with infantry . . . the regiment charged the redoubt and for a moment had complete possession of it . . . As the head of the column entered the redoubt the first line of the enemy's infantry (apparently militia) seemed to be stampeded and panic-stricken and were rapidly falling back. The second line, however, were seen advancing to gain a position behind the works abandoned by the militia. An infantry line was also seen advancing from the woods

383. U.S. War Department, Department of the Army, Department of the Interior, and Navy Department War Office, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), 879.
384. Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 126.
385. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom*, 128.
386. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 330.
387. Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 329.
388. In Iobst, *Civil War Macon*, 330.



Figure 4.12. Approximate locations of Confederate defensive works in East Macon and the Battle of Dunlap Hill. (Sources: National Park Service; Richard Iobst, *Civil War Macon*; Map by Ric Thompson; Fortifications plotted by Gen. A.H. Colquitt and Mark Baxter, 1998-1999).

> on the left of the road, and seeing that the guns could not be removed, and that there was barely time to withdraw the regiment before the rebel infantry would be upon us, I ordered the column to retire.[389]

Although Kilpatrick's troops did not succeed in burning down the bridge, he did destroy the Georgia Central tracks a few miles before the bridge.[390] This skirmish was the last official action of the war in the vicinity of Macon (Figure 4.12). On April 20, 1865, Major General Cobb surrendered to Major General Harrison Wilson, officially ending the Civil War in the Macon area.[391]

The Dunlap Property During and after the Civil War

When war began in 1861, Samuel Scott Dunlap joined the Confederate army.[392] Georgia Governor Joseph Brown had clashed with Confederate President Jefferson Davis over who had authority over the Georgia Brigades. Brown had chosen his friend, General William Phillips, to organize the volunteers but Brown eventually had to relinquish control of the brigades to Davis.[393] In May of 1862, Dunlap was mustered into Philips Legion as a 1st Lieutenant of the Cavalry. He participated in the Second Battle of Manassas/ Bull Run, Harpers Ferry, Sharpsburg, and Gettysburg.[394] After several months in a Richmond hospital recovering from wounds, he resigned his position and returned home to Georgia. During Stoneman's

389. Thomas W. Sanderson, Tenth Ohio Cavalry, "Report, December 22, 1864," in United States Congress, *The Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives for the Second Session of the Fifty-Third Congress*, 1893-1894, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office (1895), 403-404.
390. "The Dunlap Trail," *Ocmulgee National Monument*, https://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/upload /SB24-Dunlap-Trail.doc.
391. Ibid.
392. *Georgia Confederate Soldiers: 1861-1865, Unit Roster*, ed. Janet B. Hewett, vol. 4 (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1997), 852.
393. Scaife, *Joe Brown's Pets*, 194-96.
394. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 332; Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 4.

Raid, Dunlap was part of the Georgia Home Guard as Captain of the Bibb County N/E Cavalry in Phillips Legion of the Georgia Volunteers. Dunlap purportedly outfitted his cavalry unit with uniforms and equipment by selling a large quantity of cotton.[395]

Dunlap had been called away to defend Macon against the Union cavalry advance only a day or two before Stoneman arrived and occupied his home. On July 29th, Dunlap's troops skirmished with Union cavalry south of Clinton, and he was reportedly seen by future Georgia Senator, Mrs. Rebecca Felton, at noon that day coming into Macon to raise the alarm of Stoneman's Raid.[396] Despite being the location of the Battle of Dunlap's Hill, the house did not experience much damage during the fighting. A shell did fall through the roof of the house, but it caused little damage.[397] The Union army only occupied the house for a few days, withdrawing after their unsuccessful artillery attack.

After the war ended, Samuel Dunlap moved away from the agricultural business and shifted into sales. In 1867, he opened his own hardware store, the Dunlap Hardware Company. Located at 436 3rd Street in Macon, the Dunlap Hardware Company was a staple of the downtown business community for over 60 years.[398] The 1895 Southern Historical Association's *Memoirs of Georgia* noted his various achievements as the "president and a leading stockholder in the Macon Agricultural works, president of the Macon Fire Insurance company, a director in each of the three leading financial institutions of Macon, the Exchange Union Savings and Central Bank, and a large stockholder in the Southwestern Railroad."[399] Mr. Dunlap's plantation was still in operation, but by the start of the new century, he had begun to invest more into his hardware business. Mr. Dunlap died at his home in Macon on March 8, 1902. The family continued to rent out their property on Dunlap's Hill for 30 more years. Eventually, the property was deeded to Macon Historical Society and became a contributing resource of the Ocmulgee National Monument.

The first major alteration to the interior of the Dunlap House most likely occurred in the post-Civil War period. The addition of an indoor kitchen is evident by a break in the siding on the northeast wall.[400] That area of the house would have originally been used as a bedroom. By the early 1930s, the room had been transformed into a small kitchen.[401] After the Dunlap family moved to Macon sometime in the 1870s, they leased their house on the hill, which eventually fell into disrepair.[402]

The Dunlap House was originally built as a comfortable family home for Samuel and Mary Dunlap. Unlike the larger, more elaborate Greek-Revival plantation houses, the Dunlap House has a simpler vernacular design. The single-story, five-room central-hall floor plan, hipped roof, and full front porch are consistent with traditional mid-nineteenth century building styles in the South. There were two rooms off to the left of the main hallway and three rooms off to the right. There were no kitchen or bathrooms located inside the house; these elements would have been located in outbuildings at the back of the property.[403] Prior to the invention of gas stoves, wood-burning ovens had a reputation for catching fire, so it was common to separate kitchens from the main residence.[404]

395. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 332.
396. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 299.
397. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 314.
398. *U.S City Directories, 1822-1995* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. 2011).
399. *Memoirs of Georgia*, 332.
400. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 12.
401. Ibid.
402. Stephanie Lincecum, "Captain Samuel Scott Dunlap & the Dunlap Mausoleum," *Rose Hill Cemetery; Macon, Georgia*, last modified January 7, 2012, http://rosehillcemeterymacongeorgia.blogspot.com/2012/01/captain-samuel-scott-dunlap-dunlap.html.
403. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 11.
404. John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 43.

Social History and Architecture of the New Deal Program: The Ocmulgee Old Fields Project and Development of the Field of Archeology

Roosevelt's Economic Relief Programs

After a period of economic growth following World War I, on October 24, 1929, the United States stock market crashed. Over the next week, the value of shares fell precipitously, sending the American economy into a tailspin. Quickly, millions of American workers lost their jobs. In 1929, there were approximately one and a half million unemployed workers in the United States (Figure 5.1). By 1932, this figure had grown to over ten million.[405] The following year, the unemployment rate stood at over 25 percent.[406]



Figure 5.1. "A hitchhiking family waiting along the highway in Macon, Georgia." (Source: Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017770393/).

The crash and subsequent recession began during the presidency of Herbert C. Hoover, who had taken office in March of 1929. Hoover, a staunch believer in *laissez-faire* economic policy, did little to interject federal governmental assistance into the market. Instead, Hoover worked with private industry and state governments to stimulate the economy and create jobs. As a result, various states established relief programs such as hiring unemployed men to perform conservation and reforestation work.[407] In spite of these programs, as the market was not stabilizing on its own, the administration "responded to the worsening economic crisis by providing additional appropriations for the construction of roads and trails in national parks and monuments and other public works. . . ."[408] However, by 1932, the Hoover administration's mostly hands-off policies had an inadequate effect on the

405. Ren Davis and Helen Davis, *Our Mark on This Land: A Guide to the Legacy of the Civilian Conservation Corps in America's Parks* (Granville, Ohio: The McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, 2011), 5.
406. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (National Park Service, 1985), www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ccc/.
407. Ibid.
408. Ibid.

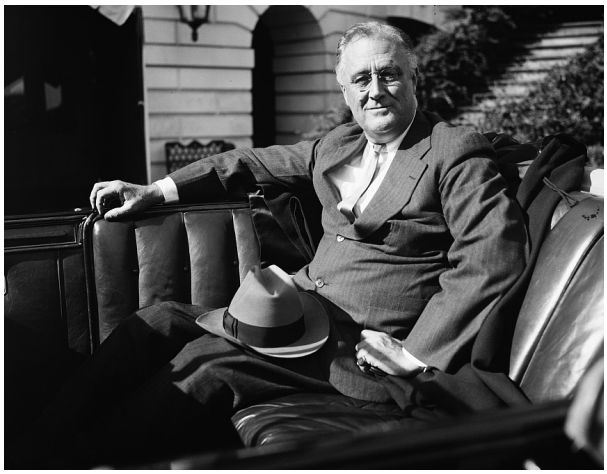


Figure 5.2. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016883668/).

economy, and public sentiment turned against the president.[409] The presidential election of 1932 resulted in Hoover's defeat, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt took his place (Figure 5.2).

The Roosevelt administration held the idea that the federal government should play a leading role in rejuvenating American economy and society. In March 1933, Roosevelt announced a "New Deal" economic policy, which proposed the establishment of multiple programs designed to alleviate the debilitating economic depression, strengthen the economy, and prevent future market crashes. The New Deal included both top-down and bottom-up economic policies.[410] Top-down policies focused on items such as tariffs and taxes, while bottom-up programs focused on creating employment through federal work projects. With the backing of the democratically-controlled congress, over the course of the spring and summer of 1933, Roosevelt signed several bills into law that established economic relief programs.

Immediately prior to ascending to the presidency, Roosevelt served as governor of New York. During his tenure, New York was one of the states that established a relief program focused on the reforestation of old farmsteads. Now as president, Roosevelt possessed "a desire to conserve both the natural and human resources of the nation" and to create jobs in the process.[411] Roosevelt alluded to the creation of a national program to provide these services in his inaugural address, stating,

> Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously . . . It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.[412]

One of the first programs created by Roosevelt was the Emergency Conservation Work program (ECW), which was popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).[413] The ECW program was designed to

> . . . provide for employing citizens of the United States who are unemployed in the construction, maintenance, and carrying out of works of a public nature in the connection with forestation of lands belonging to the United States . . . the construction, maintenance, or repair of paths, trails, and fire-lanes in the national parks and national forests; and such work on the public domain, national and state government reservations incidental to or necessary in connection with any projects.[414]

409. Hoover Presidential Library, "The Great Depression," accessed April 25, 2018. https://hoover.archives.gov/exhibits/great-depression.
410. Kyle Wilkison, "The Great Depression and New Deal, 1929-1940s," http://faculty.collin.edu/kwilkison/Resources%20for%20Students/DepressionNewDeal.html.
411. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service.*
412. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Inaugural Address" (1933).
413. While the official name of the program remained ECW until 1937, the press referred to the program as the CCC from its inception.
414. "Emergency Conservation Work Act" (1933).

Roosevelt envisioned that the program would provide employment for 250,000 people.



Figure 5.3. A group portrait of African American workers employed by the WPA at an unidentified camp. (Source: https://newsela.com/read/primary-source-new-deal-ccc/id/24886/).

Roosevelt appointed Robert Fechner as the Executive Director of the ECW. Fechner assembled an Advisory Council and set out to coordinate the multiple agencies charged with responsibilities related to the ECW. Managing the program were: the Department of Labor, tasked with the selection and enrollment of men; the War Department, which was in charge of enrolling, feeding, housing, conditioning, and transferring the men to their camps; and the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture, which were to select and oversee work projects and administer the work camps.[415] Fechner, the Advisory Council, and Roosevelt decided that enrollees would be unemployed, unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 25 mostly recruited from large urban areas. The wages would be 30 dollars per month, with the enrollees committed to sending 25 dollars back to their families at home. To help oversee the men, the Department of the Interior was "allowed to hire a limited number of skilled local workers known as locally employed men (LEM). For these men the marriage and age stipulations would be waived."[416] By May of 1933, the Department of the Interior "was prepared for 12,600 men to be employed within national parks and monuments in 63 approved camps."[417] The first Park Service CCC camps opened on May 11, 1933 in Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and near Yorktown, Virginia (near what is now Colonial National Historical Park). By the end of May, there were 63 CCC camps in various national parks and monuments (Figure 5.3).[418]

Congress passed several other acts specifically aimed at reemployment at this time. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) established the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which enacted "industry-wide codes to place limits on the number of hours to be worked per day and set standards for minimum wages. The NIRA also guaranteed many workers the right to collective bargaining and forbade child labor."[419] NIRA created the Public Works Administration (PWA), which aimed to stimulate the construction industry, and the Civil Works Administration (CWA) to provide jobs for the unemployed.

The CWA "took half its workers from relief rolls; the other half were people who needed jobs, but who did not have to demonstrate their poverty by submitting to a 'means' test."[420] As opposed to the conservation-focus of the CCC program, the CWA "tailor[ed] jobs to fit the skills of workers."[421] By January 1934, the CWA employed over four million people performing diverse tasks ranging from construction to teaching. Most of the projects submitted to the CWA were from states or local governments. The CWA paid workers an average of 15 dollars per week for construction jobs such as repairing schools, building roads, and installing utilities.

Roosevelt, alarmed by the costs of the CWA, ended the program in 1934.[422] In its place, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which was established the previous year, became the point

415. John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), 2.
416. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service.*
417. Ibid.
418. Davis and Davis, *Our Mark on This Land, 20.*
419. Richard M. Mizelle, "Black Levee Camp Workers, The NAACP, and The Mississippi Flood Control Project, 1927–1933," The Journal of African American History, Vol. 98, No. 4, Book Forum: "Reflections on the Legacy of Malcolm X" (Fall 2013): 525.
420. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (Harper & Row, 1963), 121.
421. Edwin A. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 27-28.
422. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 122.

agency for relief distribution in the United States. However, workers were not as well paid as those under CWA. Furthermore, jobs were scarcer and many were construction-oriented. "While the worker under CWA had averaged $15.04 a week, he received only $6.50 a week under FERA; moreover, he could get on FERA rolls only if he had first identified himself as a reliefer and submitted to the humiliation of a 'means' test."[423]



Figure 5.4. WPA artists Helen Forbes and Dorothy Puccinelli Painting the murals at the Mothers Building. (Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library via https://livingnewdeal.org/tag/wpa-women-artists).

In January 1935, Roosevelt proposed a new program for emergency public employment for millions of American workers still without employment. This effort became known as the Works Progress Administration ("WPA"—later renamed Works Projects Administration), led by Harry Hopkins.[424] The WPA funded not only public building projects but also theater, writing, and arts projects. Through the WPA, various other programs were initiated, including the National Youth Administration (NYA). "At first the NYA was primarily a relief agency for young people who were not adequately covered under the adult-oriented programs" of the CCC or CWA.[425] The NYA is notable for its openness in enrolling African Americans and women and for the local-focus of its work projects.

World War II interrupted Roosevelt's New Deal programs, and due to their brevity, their overall effectiveness is difficult to gauge. "By predepression standards, [the WPA] marked a bold departure. . . yet it never came close to meeting Roosevelt's goal of giving jobs to all who could work."[426] Furthermore, African Americans, especially African American women, were systematically denied many of the benefits of the programs.[427] However, New Deal relief programs offered much needed—if temporary—employment for millions of Americans, providing money to families who had no other source of income. Furthermore, the programs provided training to unskilled workers that would translate into gainful employment after the war. Lastly, the projects undertaken by the WPA, CCC, and other work crews produced numerous state and national parks, essential infrastructure improvements, the construction of numerous buildings, the recordation of historic landscapes and buildings, and many artistic works (Figure 5.4). These projects had significant impacts at the state and local level, including throughout the state of Georgia.

Georgia and the New Deal

Prior to the market crash in 1929, the cotton boll weevil had severely impacted the Georgia economy. In the three years between 1919 and 1922, cotton production dropped 98 percent.[428] The fallout from the agricultural crisis resulted in a mass migration of Georgians, primarily African Africans, out of the state during the 1920s. Many others left their farms, seeking work in the state's industrializing cities. By 1930, agricultural work represented less than half of the state's total labor force.[429] The crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression caused sustained hardship for many communities. Roosevelt himself knew

423. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 123.
424. The WPA was created as part of the Emergency Relief Appropriate Act of 1935, thus WPA workers are sometimes referred to as ERA workers.
425. Florence Fleming Corley, "The National Youth Administration in Georgia: A New Deal for Young Blacks and Women," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (Winter 1993), 729.
426. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 129–30.
427. Alan Marsh, "Swift Creek Site Excavations: The Works Progress Administration and Black Labor," in *A World Engraved: Archaeology of the Swift Creek Culture*, Mark Williams and Daniel T. Elliot editors, (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2008), 12.
428. James C. Cobb, *Georgia Odyssey: A Short History of The State, Second Edition*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 62.
429. James C. Cobb, *Georgia Odyssey,* 62.



Figure 5.5. "Cotton sharecropper family. Macon County, Georgia." (Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017770440/).



Figure 5.6. Eugene Talmadge. (Source: http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/eugene-talmadge-1884-1946).

first-hand of the plight of rural Georgians, as he owned land in Warm Springs, Georgia. His experience witnessing the struggle of the poor influenced his policy decisions as president (Figure 5.5).[430]

At the state level of government, these conditions resulted in the rise of Roosevelt's political antithesis, Eugene Talmadge, who won the race for Georgia governor in 1932. Talmadge, "expounded on the values of fundamentalist religion, defended white supremacy, and projected an image of himself as a spectacular person."[431] Such stances won him the favor of Georgia poor whites. He also received support from conservative business interests for his dismissive views on the "welfare state" and his stance against organized labor. His platform was based on continued white supremacy and an opposition to government spending and economic regulation. These ideas culminated in Talmadge being "vehemently opposed" to New Deal programs, and he drummed up disapproval by stoking fears about African Americans earning more than whites, communism's influence, and federal control of state government.[432] As he played to both the business community and rural whites, Talmadge won reelection in 1934 (Figure 5.6).

At first, Talmadge's inflammatory rhetoric on the New Deal appeared to work. However, "[i]n light of Georgia's limited financial resources and Governor Talmadge's programs, the state government did little to help the thousands of people whom the Depression left unemployed and impoverished."[433] Therefore, federal programs were required to alleviate the suffering of Georgians, which Talmadge reluctantly allowed to begin in a limited extent. This did not stop him from speaking out against the program, and in 1935 Talmadge "went on a national speaking tour, in which he warned of 'communist' tendencies in the New Deal."[434] But even in its limited capacity, the effectiveness of the New Deal to improve the lives of Georgians became more widespread and obvious. Talmadge's popularity diminished. In 1936, Talmadge, now running for senate, was defeated by a pro-Roosevelt incumbent, Walter George. The Georgia legislature, under the governorship of Eurith Rivers then welcomed federal relief programs into the state. He introduced a rural electrification program, established soil and conservation districts, and created county welfare offices. One of the most significant reforms under the Rivers administration was a massive increase in spending on education. Though "Rivers's reforms did not eliminate racial disparities," his education initiative "benefited black schools as well as white."[435]

430. Lucy Ann Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: An Approach to The Management of The Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia," (MLA Thesis: University of Georgia, 1992), 17.
431. Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 311.
432. Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, 312.
433. Ibid.
434. Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, 314.
435. Randall L. Patton, "E.D. Rivers (1895-1967)," New Georgia Encyclopedia. Last modified January 29, 2016. https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/e-d-rivers-1895-1967.

The limited assistance to African Americans was in keeping with how Southern, pro-New Deal politicians dealt with the issue of race when introducing relief programs at the local level.[436] On the one hand, the relief programs helped poor whites who in turn helped to elect pro-New Deal politicians. On the other hand, white supremacy dominated everything from politics to daily social interactions and was a unifying factor between rich and poor whites. Roosevelt however had little patience with Democrats who did not back the full extent of New Deal programs, including equal assistance to African Americans. This issue came to a head during the Georgia senate campaign, when during a stump speech Roosevelt called out senator Walter F. George, with George sitting behind the president, for wavering in his support. George responded by "appealing to states' rights and white supremacy. He warned that the president had intervened in the affairs of a sovereign state and that some of his programs might encourage social equality between blacks and whites."[437] The tactic won George his senate seat. Across the south, blacks were kept out of supervisory positions and white politicians sought to limit the amount of money they could earn. Despite these challenges, New Deal programs such as the NYA, CCC, and WPA provided employment to thousands of African Americans in Georgia during the Great Depression.

In the end, the New Deal was a successful endeavor for Georgia, but not as effective as it could have been. Talmadge's initial resistance coupled with Rivers' inability to raise enough revenue to fund his initiatives limited the New Deal's benefits. Many Georgians continued to struggle during the years of the Great Depression, especially African Americans. While the New Deal "did make some inroads for blacks, [it was] within the framework of existing white guidelines."[438] Still, as historian Kenneth Coleman summarizes, the extent of relief efforts provided by the federal government was broad:

> Between 1933 and 1940 the Roosevelt administration created a series of agencies that pumped millions of dollars into Georgia for a broad range of public works programs including malaria control, rural sanitation, hot lunches for school children, nursing services, art projects, and historical research. It also directed the construction of libraries, roads, schools, parks, hospitals, airports, and public housing projects. By the early 1940s the federal government had spent a total of slightly over a quarter of a billion dollars in Georgia. Its programs gave relief to many people and supplied the state with much-needed roads, buildings, and services. In addition, the relief programs brought many people into direct contact with the federal government for the first time, thereby reducing their dependence upon local leaders for direction and charity.[439]

In terms of the New Deal's conservation legacy in Georgia, because legislation prevented work-relief programs from competing with private sector businesses, public lands at both the federal and state levels received the attention of CWA, CCC, FERA, and WPA workforces. These programs, despite the initial state-level obstruction, made a lasting impression in Georgia, with the CCC proving to be especially impactful.

In Georgia, the legacy of the CCC is well-established. In the span of nine years, "more than 78,000 men were employed in 127 camps (approximately 30-35 camps operated at a time) across the state."[440] These work crews help to create "3 national forests, 3 national monuments, a national battlefield, 12 state parks, and 4 military installations. They planted trees, cleared roads and trails, and built dams, bridges, fire towers, and park facilities while learning a variety of marketable skills."[441] CCC crews, along with other relief program workers, also worked at various archeological sites throughout the southeast, including at Ocmulgee National Monument in Macon, Georgia.

436. Alan Marsh, "Swift Creek Site Excavations,"13.
437. Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, 317.
438. Alan Marsh, "Swift Creek Site Excavations," 13.
439. Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, 312.
440. Ren Davis, "Civilian Conservation Corps," New Georgia Encyclopedia. Last updated May 16, 2016. https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/civilian-conservation-corps.
441. Connie M. Huddleston, *Images of America: Georgia's Civilian Conservation Corps*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 8.

The New Deal and Ocmulgee Archeology

The New Deal and Southeastern Archeology



Figure 5.7. 1JE1(B) Fains Island Site 1JE1, Jefferson County, Tennessee crew. (Source: McClung Museum of Natural History and Culture WPA/TVA Archive).

The Ocmulgee project was just one of several New Deal-funded archeology projects in the Southeast. Collectively, these projects significantly advanced the burgeoning field of Southeastern archeology, defining "the direction of archeological research in the region for decades to come."[442] While New Deal archeological projects occurred throughout the country, these excavations marked a shift in focus from the prehistoric cultures of the Southwest to those of the Southeast. Because the Southeast region lacked harsh winter conditions, the region became a center for year-round archeology projects with various federal agencies involved in excavations located in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee (Figure 5.7).[443]

The first New Deal-funded archeology project in the Southeast was in Marksville, Louisiana, the site of American Indian mounds, which were excavated under the supervision of the Smithsonian Institute.[444] Marksville was also one of the first large scale archeological operations in the United States. "Archaeology under the auspices of FERA at Marksville showed skeptical archaeologists that large-scale archaeology using acceptable scientific methods would be possible with federal support."[445] Other early archeological projects were funded through the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which employed CWA workers to conduct salvage archeology at the location of proposed dams. The projects that occurred throughout the Southeast in the early 1930s focused primarily on prehistoric contexts, though some archaeologists "worked with historical material," such as at Ocmulgee.[446] These initial projects "provided the foundation for the next stage in the development of federal archaeology, the WPA archaeological program," which ran until 1942.[447]

The Ocmulgee project is representative of the full extent of New Deal-era archeology, as it utilized the labor of people enrolled in several different federal programs over a nine-year span (1933-1942). At Ocmulgee, these workers, and the programs they were enrolled in, along with a consortium of local boosters and NPS officials, helped to transform one of the most significant archeological sites in the Southeast into a national monument.

Pre-New Deal Archeology Efforts at Ocmulgee

By the 1920s, concurrent with a growing attention paid to Southeastern archeology, local interest in the mounds at Ocmulgee increased. Along with Dr. Charles C. Harrold, Macon attorney and retired general, Walter Harris was one of the early proponents of acquisition and preservation of the Ocmulgee mounds site.[448] In 1922, Harrold suggested organizing a Macon historical society, "but despite plans of the Smithsonian to work in the area, little was accomplished."[449] The same year, Harris petitioned the

442. John W. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," in Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986 edited by David J. Hally, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 17.
443. "History of SEAC Conference," n.d., http://www.nps.gov/ history/seac/seposter.htm.
444. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology*, 1-2.
445. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology,* 28.
446. Edwin A. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast: WPA, TVA, NPS, 1934-1942," (PhD thesis, Louisiana State University, 1982), 266, https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/3728.
447. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 59.
448. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 16.
449. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology*, 30.

Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology to evaluate the mounds (Figure 5.8).[450] "Much of Southeastern archaeology of the 1920s was supported by non-Southeastern institutions such as the Smithsonian Institution, Peabody Museum, Phillips Academy, The American Museum of Natural History, and the Heye Foundation."[451] Harris' first attempt at gaining interest in the American Indian mounds of the Ocmulgee Fields was fruitless, but a follow up letter in 1929 suggesting the city of Macon provide funds for a Smithsonian-led excavation piqued the interest of the Institution.[452] Local leaders including Harris and retired businessman Linton M. Soloman campaigned the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce to fund the purchase and restoration of the mounds.[453] Local requests prompted Matthew Stirling, the Smithsonian Institute's Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to visit the site in 1929.[454]



Figure 5.8. Gen. Walter Harris. (Source: http://www.lovettartillery.com/US_BG_Walter_Harris_.htm).

In November 1933, local efforts resulted in the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce teaming with the newly-established Society for Georgia Archaeology and the Macon Historical Society to begin the process of purchasing the mound site in anticipation of a large New Deal-funded project.[455] These grassroots efforts paid off, and in December 1933, "Dr. Harrold was notified by Matthew Stirling that Ocmulgee was one of 11 archaeological projects approved for Civil Works Administration funding."[456]

New Deal Archeology at Ocmulgee

The Smithsonian Institution agreed to oversee the Ocmulgee project, which was one of several projects the institution managed.[457] The group charged Arthur R. Kelley, an anthropologist from Harvard University to direct the excavations with the assistance of James A. Ford, a young but experienced archeologist (Figure 5.9).[458] Dr. Kelly himself had recently graduated from Harvard University with a doctorate in 1929 and was experienced with field surveying. In a 1973 interview, Kelly stated, "I went to Macon for the Smithsonian as director of that field expedition and, in fact, in charge of all the work that they were going to do subsequently in Georgia, including work on the Coast."[459] He continues, "There had never been any [archeological] activity at those mounds. There had never been an excavation."[460]

450. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 16.
451. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 12.
452. Cameron Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig": A History of the Southeast Archeological Center and the Development of Cultural Resources Management in the Southeast* (Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2007), 7.
453. Binkley, 7; Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology*, 30.
454. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archeology*, 30.
455. Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig"*, 7.
456. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 17.
457. Arthur R. Kelly, "In His Own Words: An Interview with Dr. Arthur Kelly (1900-1979)," interview by Marilyn Pennington, LAMAR Institute, 1973, http://www.thelamarinstitute.org/images/PDFs/publication_44.pdf.
458. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7.
459. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 6.
460. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 7.

Kelly divided the work at Ocmulgee into distinct projects, each with their own temporary funding. The first phase of work began in December 1933 and continued through the winter of 1934.[461] Projects undertaken at this time included excavations of Mounds A, C, and D, as well as the construction of a roadway leading to the site. In early 1934, work began on the Earth Lodge, a well-preserved ceremonial council house, Mound B, and the associated village site. Excavations of the detached Lamar Site began at this time. By the summer of 1934 work begun on the trading post site and Mound E. Work at the Ocmulgee site progressed over the next several years, with the Dunlap and McDougal Mounds being excavated in 1936. By this point, the Ocmulgee project had grown into the largest archeological excavation of the era. Archeological investigations continued at the sites in vary degrees of intensity until 1942.



Figure 5.9. Left to Right: Hugh Hanna (foreman), Linton M. Solomon, Arthur R. Kelly, Charles C, Harrold, Walter A. Harris, and James T. Swanson. (Source: OCMU Archives).



Figure 5.10. Kelly (at right) teaching night school class to trainees. (Source: SEAC Archives).

The first phase of archeological excavations at the site employed 150 unskilled workers, 50 skilled workers, and five supervisors.[462] This number grew to 274 by mid-January.[463] The crew members were from varied backgrounds, with Dr. Kelly describing some as stockbrokers, engineers, doctors, and ministers. It is likely the majority of workers lived close to the project site. All the workers were white. The supervision of nearly 300 workers entailed "unorthodox steps" in scheduling and training.[464] Kelly and Ford selected 45 higher-skilled workers to take part in a "three-month archaeological night school designed to train them for positions as trowel men, engineering assistants, laboratory technicians, and excavation foremen"[465] (Figure 5.10). As archeologist Edwin A. Lyon explains, Kelly divided the workers into several descriptive categories: "burial men," "trowel-men," "profile-trimmers," and "shovel-men" (Figure 5.11). The work was organized into two shifts per day, with a six-day work week.

Over the course of the next few years, New Deal Funding waxed and waned, leading to mass-firing and re-hiring of workers.[466] Some projects were funded by the CWA or WPA, others by FERA. At the end of March 1934, CWA funding ran out, but FERA funding was quickly secured to continue with the overall project. By July 1935 "approximately 700 laborers working in shifts were employed in the excavations being conducted in the Macon area."[467] The following month saw the WPA allocating even more funding and labor for the project, pushing the number of workers to 800. When the NPS took over the site in 1936, they continued to rely on relief roll workers to perform archeological tasks as well as develop the new park. "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)."[468]

461. Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 14–15.
462. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7–8.
463. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 18.
464. Ibid.
465. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 18.
466. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 19.
467. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 20.
468. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 20.



Figure 5.11. Reconstruction of mound at Ocmulgee. (Source: OCMU Archives).

The need for continuity of the work force did not align with federal relief programs, which operated on limited, temporary funding based on distinct projects. This "meant that experienced workers were lost to the projects and new workers had to be trained in the exacting tasks of excavation and laboratory work."[469] However, at least in terms of FERA projects, "Gay Shepperson, Georgia state FERA director, bent the rules to get Kelly 100 laborers and 30 trained supervisors from [Kelly's] old work force" when CWA funding expired.[470] While the tasks related to excavation and lab work were exacting, the manual labor of the archeology work was demanding. Though the work was hard, it appears to have been preferred to one of the other local WPA projects called the "malarial drainage project," which had a local reputation as a kind of WPA Siberia."[471]

Given the project's location in the Southeast, the work crews were racially segregated. As Alan Marsh notes, all the archeological laborers at Ocmulgee "were white and most were male."[472] This is largely the result of the fears white project managers had about a large crew of black men working at the site, pointing to the "potential danger" of black crews being paid more than whites, the local Jim Crow laws, and concerns that "colored boys would run riot in town."[473] By the end of 1935 however, it appears that there was a willingness to locate an African American work camp at the project site, but this never occurred. Instead, an all-white CCC crew was stationed at Ocmulgee in 1937. While an all-black archeology camp was never established at Ocmulgee, local project administrators saw opportunity for African American workers elsewhere.

Concurrent with the excavations at Ocmulgee, a WPA-funded project was initiated at the Swift Creek mound and village site (9Bi3), located on the east side of the Ocmulgee River, south of the park boundary. Kelly oversaw a team of excavators at the site during a dig conducted between March 1936 and the winter of 1937. The dig was in addition to his primary contract with the Smithsonian, which was the excavation at what he termed the "main Macon group" of mounds at Ocmulgee. According to Kelly, "Swift

469. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 68.
470. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 169.
471. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 173.
472. Marsh, "Swift Creek Site Excavations," 14.
473. Marsh, "Swift Creek Site Excavations," 15.



Figure 5.12. African American female work crew at Swift Creek Site, c. 1936. (Source: Originally published in A. Kelly and B. Smith, "The Swift Creek Site, 9 Bi 3, Macon, Georgia," 1975, Plate 1, 138).

Creek was really an afterthought. It was just something I did in addition to my regular contract with the Smithsonian."[474]

The project employed "30-40 black women as an archaeological field crew working under men trained by Kelly and Ford"[475] (Figure 5.12). John West was the unit supervisor, and Joseph Tamplin was the engineer in charge of profile recordation.[476] Kelly notes in interviews that he had a surplus of labor provided to him by the WPA, including this group of African American women (Figure 5.13). Due to Jim Crow laws and southern racial attitudes, he did not place these women at the main site. Instead, he used them in this detached capacity. He states, "I had all these laborers and I had to do something with them, and I couldn't use them all up at Lamar or Macon Plateau. I had all the Negro women for example. . .had to do something about them. Here I am living in an old southern situation, what am I gonna do?"[477] He continues,

> The trenches [at the Swift Creek Site] were ten feet wide, and, oh, as deep as the mound. Some of them had to be offset like that to keep the sides...to stop slumping. And it was beautifully done. These Negro women were just good housekeepers, and they were sturdy, and they could push wheelbarrows and move dirt as well as men could. But in addition, they were very neat and very orderly, and we were in no hurry. It was a beautiful dig . . . I had some very good supervisors, and I had a very large complement of these. . .I don't remember how many of them there were. There must have been 60 or 70 of them, the Negro women on that one dig.[478]

474. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 13.
475. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 21.
476. A. R. Kelly and Betty Smith, "The Swift Creek Site, 9 Bi 3, Bibb County, Georgia" (National Park Service, Southeast Region, 1975), iii.
477. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 14.
478. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 11-12.



Figure 5.13. "Female Excavators at Lamar Site [sic. Swift Creek Site?]," circa 1937. (Source: OCMU Archives).

"Kelly was apparently so impressed with the Swift Creek excavation that he approached other WPA personnel with similar proposal."[479] On the Georgia coast, the Irene Mound excavation is perhaps the best-known dig carried out by African American women during the New Deal era. Though receiving some level of attention from Alan Marsh and a few others, the full story of these workers is currently unknown. However, the story of the Swift Creek site workers is entwined with the impressive legacy of the Ocmulgee project.

Ocmulgee's Impact in American Archeology

There has never been a greater revolution in American archaeology than that engendered by the New Deal period. – William G. Haag [480]

The Ocmulgee project was the largest of the New Deal archeology projects. Between December 1933 and March 1941, the project involved a dozen distinct sites and the employment of thousands of workers who hauled dirt, dug trenches, and excavated artifacts among other tasks.[481] It took a massive amount of coordination, politicking, and hard work to accomplish. As David J. Hally writes,

> Federal relief programs at Ocmulgee were conducted under difficult conditions: The work force generally numbered in the hundreds; there was a minimum of trained supervisory personnel; funding came from a variety of governmental programs and seems to have fluctuated widely in availability over time; funding for nonwage expenses was minimal; and little provision was made for analysis of recovered material or for report writing. [482]

479. Cheryl Claassen, "Black and White Women at Irene Mound," *Southeastern Archaeology*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter 1993), 139.
480. William G. Haag, "Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942," *American Antiquity* 50 (1985): 278.
481. Hally, "Introduction," 1.
482. Ibid.

Still, despite the difficulties, these projects contributed to the advancement of scientific archeology in America. The Ocmulgee digs were a seminal moment in the evolution of archeological methodology and thought. Archeology of the early 1900s was unrecognizable compared to the discipline that ultimately emerged. At that time, ethnologists dominated American anthropology, and few had any use for archeologists, who were appropriately regarded as antiquarians.

Other distinguished contemporaries interested in American Indian history conveyed their sense of frustration with the fact that archeology had hardly begun to live up to its potential. Kroeber lamented that inferences based on ethnographic data alone, while inexact, were broader and more reliable than those grounded in archeological data.[483] Part of the problem was that prehistorians had labored for decades under the misbelief that American Indians had arrived in eastern North America not long before European colonizers. In their short chronology, culture change was rapid, the result of population movements or the spread of cultural traits by diffusion.[484] Without a grasp on the time depth of American Indian cultures, scholars focused instead on differences across space, sorting people into "culture areas" as one might classify populations of plants and animals.[485]

Even in this, Southeastern scholarship lagged behind the accomplishments being made in other parts of the country. In the Southwest, archeologists were paying more attention to the arrangement of artifacts in relationship to one another. Their concern with stratigraphy, in particular, began to yield insights into sequences of events in the past. One such archeologist was Gordon Willey, who would bring his appreciation for the importance of stratigraphy in archeological explanation to Ocmulgee. Meanwhile in the Southeast, the typical archeological approach dismissed stratigraphy, as seen in the Bureau of American Ethnology's 1928 report of mound investigations for Colbert County, Alabama:

> The numerous worked objects scattered throughout that portion of the mound which was excavated, and presumably in all other parts of it as well, being merely derelicts, so to speak, not distinctive in material, form, or in any other respect, cast no light upon the identity of the tribe who may have made them or the time at which the users made have left them here. Consequently no necessity exists for entering into particulars regarding the depth or the part of the mound where they were discovered. Only unusual features will be herein recorded; burials, of course, will be somewhat fully described.[486]

The state of affairs in the Southeast was little improved by the beginning of the 1930s. Various Smithsonian Institution personnel who had encouraged archeological investigations in the South during over the course of the two previous decades described a field dominated by amateurs and undeserving of respect. "Witness the number of ancient sites mutilated each year by those not trained carefully to observe or to interpret their observations," said the Smithsonian's Neil Judd in his essay on the state of American archeology.[487] "Witness the prevailing custom of designating as an 'archaeologist' any collector of curios, every dabbler in prehistory." Judd added that the situation would not improve until the United States Government began taking seriously what he imagined as its responsibility to tell the continent's story. [488] With the stock market crash of 1929, the situation worsened as economic hardships caused many out-of-work farmers and town laborers to become commercial artifact dealers. Sports groups, automobile touring clubs, chambers of commerce, women's and men's clubs, historical societies, nature groups, and the Boy Scouts also began

483. Alfred E. Kroeber, "The History and Present Orientation of Cultural Anthropology," in *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 151.
484. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 5.
485. Kroeber, "The History and Present Orientation of Cultural Anthropology."
486. Gerard Fowke, *Archaeological Investigations II: Explorations in the Red River Valley in Louisiana*, Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1928), 440.
487. Neil M. Judd, "The Present Status of Archaeology in the United States," *American Anthropologist* 31 (1929): 403.
488. Judd, "The Present Status of Archaeology in the United States," 404.



Figure 5.14. Funeral Mound at Ocmulgee during excavations. Note excavated layers in profile. (Source: OCMU Archives).

sponsoring amateur excavations across the United States.[489] This prompted Frank Setzler to declare that "a race between the scientist and the curio seeker is on."[490] He and his colleagues at the Smithsonian Institution called for a program of national conservation to combat the destruction of archeological resources.

The 1930s ushered in some much-needed change. In the words of Moreau Maxwell, "The 1930s saw the virtual beginning of systematic North American archaeology. . . .By the thirties, there was a clear need for innovation in methods of collecting and synthesizing data. Suddenly North American archeology became exciting as increasing information and a unique group of savants capable of organizing it coalesced." [491] As previously mentioned, the economic conditions of the 1930s compelled federal and state agencies to leverage archeology as a means of putting thousands of people back to work. With such large numbers of untrained people heading into the field, standardized procedures were an organizational imperative. Every effort began being made to guide workers unfamiliar with archeology into recording appropriate information and to make sure that data was collected consistently.[492] In this historical context, professional archeologists entered the South in large numbers for the first time. As the largest and most intensive of the New Deal archeological projects, their excavations at Ocmulgee and in the surrounding area "had impacts, both economic and scientific, that cannot be overestimated."[493] Specifically, they are responsible in large

489. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*.
490. Frank M. Setzler, "Setzler to Kelly, January 27, 1934," 1934, Southeast Archaeological Center Records, Tallahassee, Florida.
491. Moreau S. Maxwell, "Forward," in *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, ed. Charles E. Cleland, Anthropological Papers 61 (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1977), ix.
492. Bernard K. Means, "Introduction: 'Alphabet Soup' and American Archaeology," in *Shovel Ready: Archaeology and Roosevelt's New Deal for America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 1–18.
493. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 17.

part for introducing a number of transformative concepts and methodologies from outside the Southeast including the stratigraphic method and the Midwestern Taxonomic Method.[494]

At the heart of the stratigraphic method is the idea that the oldest level of a site is on the bottom while the youngest is at the top (Figure 5.14). This concept, now taken for granted, was once revolutionary. Though archeologists in the American Southwest and Europe had been paying careful attention to the stratigraphy of sites since the early 1920s, concern with stratigraphy would not become a central focus of Southeastern archeology until the latter part of the 1930s. With respect to the method's spread into the Southeast, most credit goes to the University of Chicago field schools, which "gave many Southeastern archaeologists their 'formal' training before they went into the field under the sponsorship of the various works programs."[495] The methods espoused in these field schools came to be known as the "Chicago Method," and it entailed quite a bit more than stratigraphic excavation (though that was arguably chief among its contributions to the field at the time). Specifically, it consisted of multiple techniques including vertical slicing, horizontal stripping, and area excavations separated by balks.[496] In any given field situation, several but not necessarily all of these might be applied. Its implementation at Ocmulgee is certain, both in the descriptions of mound stratigraphy and in the use of broad horizontal excavations to expose ancient agricultural fields.

The Chicago Method at Ocmulgee is evident not only in the methods employed but also in the various connections between site archeologists and the University of Chicago. Before he arrived in Macon, A.R. Kelly, for example, had previously worked in Illinois as the direction of the Illinois Archaeological Survey, and had for four years served as an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Illinois. Perhaps most significantly, while serving in those positions he published an article with Fay-Cooper Cole, a major advocate behind the Chicago Method. [497] Jesse Jennings and Charles Fairbanks, both of whom worked under Kelly at Ocmulgee and who went on to illustrious archeological careers of their own, were Chicago field school alumni.[498]

The stratigraphic method and, more broadly, the Chicago Method paved the way for the development of broad classificatory schemes for the description and chronological sorting of artifacts, represented best in the Midwestern Taxonomic Method – brainchild of the University of California's William McKern. By grouping together artifacts with similar traits and combining this information with the stratigraphic context of artifacts, the Midwestern Taxonomic Method was a system with which the chronological sequence of cultural activity in an area could be reconstructed. It represented an attempt by archeologists to liberate themselves from ethnologists whose methods McKern described as inadequate for the purposes of classifying cultures in time and space.[499]

These innovations merged to form a "coherent, widely-shared methodology [capable of producing] comparable products that could be integrated with one another, not only over time and space, but conceptually."[500] In 1941, as a direct consequence of the methods employed by New Deal archeologists at Ocmulgee, James Ford and Gordon Willey coauthored and published the first synthetic interpretation of the prehistory of the eastern United States.[501] The article, originally titled "A Key to the Prehistory of the Eastern United States," declared as its main objective to arrange cultures in spatial and chronological order to show the direction and diffusion of select cultural "features". It accomplished this, in part, by including illustrated chronological profiles – "analogous to geological profiles" – of major river courses in

494. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 62.
495. David L. DeJarnette and Christopher S. Peebles, "The Development of Alabama Archaeology: The Snow's Bend Site," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* XVI, no. 2 (1970): 80.
496. Jessica R. Howe, "The Chicago Method of Excavation at Kincaid" (Master's thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 2011).
497. Arthur R. Kelly and Fay Cooper Cole, "Rediscovering Illinois," in *Blue Book of the State of Illinois, 1931-1932* (Springfield, Illinois, 1931), 328–33.
498. Howe, "The Chicago Method of Excavation at Kincaid," 70–71.
499. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 60.
500. Robert C Dunnell, "Five Decades of American Archaeology," in *American Archaeology: Past and Future*, ed. David J. Meltzer, Don D. Fowler, and Jeremy A. Sabloff (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1986), 30.
501. Ford and Willey, "An Interpretation of the Prehistory of the Eastern United States."

the southeastern United States.[502] The results allowed for "visions and bold conceptions" that would have been unthinkable only ten years prior. [503] The following is a case in point:

> The accumulated data on eastern archaeology is beginning to yield to synthesis and to outline a story of the distribution of cultures over a large part of [the country]. . . . [A]fter a few more years . . . it should be possible to narrate in detail how primitive agriculturalists built a complex and thriving culture in the Eastern United States.[504]

Ford and Willey's work would go on to serve as a foundation of the culture-history theoretical approach, which to this day is viewed as an indispensable and fundamental part of archeological practice among North American archeologists.

New Deal era investigations in the Macon area were formative for American archeology for reasons that go well beyond methodological and culture-historical innovations; they also stimulated scholarly interest in a number of topics relevant at the local and regional level including the existence and significance of platform mounds during the Woodland Period, the role of migration and displacement in the spread of Mississippian culture, earth lodges in the Southeast, and the identification of prehistoric antecedents to historic American Indian tribes. It is paradoxical, then, that the substantial progress achieved in our understanding of these issues had not involved WPA collections until recently. Put another way, the impact of those collections and the methods involved in their retrieval has been significant, but largely indirect.

Partial credit for Macon Plateau's decades of archeological obscurity belongs to Kelly who never provided a full account of the work done there. Indeed, if not for the persistence of Georgia archeologists in the years since, even Kelly's partial draft report of investigations might never have come to light. In a similar manner, National Park Service archeologists published descriptions of the excavations, archeological features, and artifacts in the 1970s, but lacked the funding needed to develop more detailed reports of the sort that modern archeologists find useful.[505] Those same scholars described the lamentable condition of documentary materials curated at the Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, Florida. Given these inadequacies, it is a wonder that the WPA investigations near Macon impacted American archeological research foci at all, much less to the profound extent that they have. It is a testament to the ingenuity and insights of Kelly, Willey, Fairbanks, Griffin, and others that their early musings on migration and displacement in the spread of Mississippian culture, Southeastern earth lodges, Creek tribal origins, and other topics wield dramatic influence on the nature and conduct of Southeastern archeology almost 100 years later.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the role of migration and displacement in the spread of Mississippian culture has been and remains one of the principle foci, if not *the* principle focus, of archeological research on Mississippian societies. Archeologists have debated the social mechanisms by which other populations were "Mississippianized." Smith couched the theoretical divide among Mississippian archaeologists as the "homology/analogy dilemma." [506] On the homology side, Mississippian societies are described as historically related, having spread from a heartland to settle prime real estate river valleys, assimilating groups with whom they came into contact. Variation is explained as the result of "[social] reproductive isolation, assimilation, and divergent evolution in transit, in response to differing local cultural and environmental landscapes."[507] These typically see Mississippianization involving not merely colonists, but the spread of a new cultural complex composed of things and ideas. The analogy position is diametrically

502. Ford and Willey, "An Interpretation of the Prehistory of the Eastern United States," 327.
503. Gordon R. Willey, "James Alfred Ford, 1911-1968," *American Antiquity* 34, no. 1 (1969): 67.
504. Ford and Willey, "An Interpretation of the Prehistory of the Eastern United States," 143.
505. Hally, *Ocmulgee Archaeology.*
506. Smith, ed., *The Mississippian Emergence*.
507. Bruce D. Smith, "Mississippian Expansion: Tracing the Historical Development of an Explanatory Model," *Southeastern Archaeology* 3 (1984): 2.

opposed to the homology position. This sees the rapid Mississippianization as the result of different groups adapting in isolation to similar challenges: e.g., "landscape partitioning and density dependent population-resource imbalance."[508] In other words, the parallels between Mississippian groups and the pattern of their emergence are understood as the result of similar Late Woodland societies adapting to similar socio-environmental challenges. These two viewpoints occupy poles of a wide theoretical middle ground.

As the earliest major Mississippian center in the lower South, Macon Plateau looms large on both sides of this debate. Early on, James B. Griffin commented on the similarities between eastern Tennessee and central Georgia ceramics. He relayed his impressions to A. R. Kelly who, after some consideration, offered one of the earliest summations of what would ultimately become the analogy-homology divide: "Whether or not the mound-building activities [at Macon] represent a natural cultural evolution as a continuous process or whether we have to do with an influx of new ideas coming from the Mississippi without marked cultural changes otherwise remains an unresolved problem."[509] Willey, Fairbanks, and others, meanwhile, expressed no such doubts about the origins of the site. [510] To varying degrees, they each declared that the Macon Plateau site as well as all other Mississippian sites in central Georgia represented intrusive Mississippian influence, if not an outright site unit migration. Fairbanks stated his case most emphatically, stating: "I am assuming there is little argument that Middle Mississippi came into central Georgia from the west as it certainly did not develop out of Swift Creek. . . .[T]he whole appearance of the period suggests that it is the remains of a migrant people just arrived in Georgia."[511]

In the spate of research articles and edited volumes that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, Southeastern archeologists rejected "the site unit intrusion as a primary general mechanism of Mississippian expansion," but reaffirmed the importance of migration in the origins of Macon Plateau specifically.[512] This strikes the present-day Mississippian archeologist as somewhat incredible, given that by that time arguments on the homology side of the debate had fallen out of vogue, replaced by a discipline-wide concern with *in situ* cultural developments. At present, the pendulum has swung back in the other direction; while Southeastern archeologists acknowledge the role of local cultures in enabling Mississippianization, local peoples now take a backseat to explanations that highlight agency in the context of nonlocal cultural emulation, cultural pluralism, material exchanges, population movements, and shared ideologies.[513] Though no influence is totally isolable, new syntheses describe how sweeping regional developments engaged with local traditions in historically, culturally, and environmentally particularistic alchemies to produce myriad local "Mississippian" variants. To put it succinctly, the earliest interpretations of Macon Plateau have survived the intervening decades of academic fashion and scientific scrutiny almost completely unscathed, and this must be one of the greatest endorsements of the revolutionary methods and perspectives brought to the Southeast during the Great Depression.

In addition to Mississippian culture at large, Kelly's 1938 report on the Earth Lodge ushered the Southeast into the larger and ongoing anthropological debate surrounding the formal, spatial, temporal, and symbolic dimensions of earth lodges on the continent. Additionally, the excavations at Macon Plateau and at the Lamar site also stimulated interest in Creek tribal origins, which by the 1930s had already been a focus of a fair amount of ethnological research.[514] A.R. Kelly continued that line of thought in an early series of articles that demonstrated his awareness of a possible connection between Creek migration myths and Mississippian peoples in general. Archeological data, however, had not yet been considered. In the

508. Ibid.
509. Kelly, "A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia," 62.
510. Gordon R. Willey, "Ceramic Stratigraphy in a Georgia Village Site," *American Antiquity* 5 (1939): 140–47; Fairbanks, "Creek and Pre-Creek."
511. Fairbanks, "Creek and Pre-Creek," 294.
512. Smith, "Mississippian Expansion," 30; Williams, "The Origins of the Macon Plateau Site."
513. Blitz, "New Perspectives in Mississippian Archaeology," 13.
514. John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnography Bulletin 43 (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1911); John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 73 (1922); John R Swanton, *The Identification of Aboriginal Mounds by Means of Creek Customs. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1927* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 1928).

excavations at the Trading Post, established early on as historic Creek, many saw an opportunity to trace Creek culture into prehistory and thereby draw a direct link between the historic tribe and the large mound sites documented throughout Georgia.[515] Kelly was chief among them, drawing connections between Trading Post and Lamar ceramics in his first published summary of the Macon investigations. [516] Fairbanks further developed Kelly's argument by highlighting continuities in ceramic vessel shapes, design layouts, motifs, and appendages.[517] By then, other archeologists had offered divergent opinions, such that the issue rested unresolved for over three decades. [518] Research on the topic stagnated for three decades until archeological surveys in Alabama and Georgia identified new sites, bringing new data to bear, resolving the issue by overwhelming academic consensus. Lamar, thus, joined a very small group of extant sites used by Southeastern archeologists to develop a chronological linkage between prehistoric and historic American Indian cultures in the Southeast. Other Southeastern sites used to develop such linkage include Emerald Mound (Mississippi) and Chucalissa (Tennessee) – both designated National Historic Landmarks – though Lamar evidenced a much longer time depth of occupation than these sites.

The importance of the Ocmulgee project was not lost on the archeologists who worked at the site. Here, the field of Southeastern Archeology was being born, training a new wave of archeologists in the process. Ocmulgee's significance transcended its role in advancing the field of archeology however, and concurrent with the archeological project, proposals for the creation of a national park to encompass the mound sites along the Ocmulgee River were issued. It did not take long for the federal government to also recognize the significance of the site and declare it a national monument.

The Development of Ocmulgee National Monument

Establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument

Calls for the protection of the mounds at Ocmulgee increased during the 1920s. By this time, the mounds had sustained repeated impacts from agriculture, the Civil War, railroad development, and recreational activities, including motorcycle racing on the mounds.[519] Those who called on the Smithsonian Institution to conduct archeological investigations of the mounds also desired the establishment of a national park that would protect the mounds from further destruction. Additionally, locals saw the creation of a park as an economic development tool to mitigate the severe effects of the Great Depression in the region.

In February 1934, Georgia Congressman Carl Vinson proposed a bill "seeking appropriation of $50,000 to acquire 2,000 acres near Macon for development of a national park known as Old Ocmulgee Fields."[520] Though a corresponding map showing the specific properties comprising the 2,000 acres has not yet been located (if one ever existed), it is likely the acreage was meant to encompass an area stretching north-south along the Ocmulgee River from the Ocmulgee mounds to the Swift Creek Site to the south. When introduced to the House Committee on Public Lands, Secretary of the Interior Harold 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."[521] The bill, with Ickes' revision, passed in both the state and federal legislatures. This initial authorization allowed the NPS to become involved with planning for a future park at Ocmulgee.

515. A. R. Kelly, "The Macon Trading Post, an Historical Foundling," *The Society for American Archaeology* 4, no. 4 (April 1939): 328–33; Vernon James Knight Jr., "Ocmulgee Fields Culture and the Historical Development of Creek Ceramics," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 181.
516. "The Macon Trading Post, an Historical Foundling."
517. "Creek and Pre-Creek"; "The Abercrombie Mound, Russell County, Alabama," *Early Georgia* 2, no. 1 (1955): 13–19; "Some Problems on the Origin of Creek Pottery," *Florida Anthropologist* 11, no. 2 (1958): 53–64.
518. William H. Sears, "Creek and Cherokee Culture in the 18th Century," *American Antiquity* 21 (1955): 143–49; William H. Sears, "Review of 'The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.,'" *American Antiquity* 34 (1969): 187–90; Gordon R. Willey and William H. Sears, "The Kasita Site," *Southern Indian Studies* 4 (1952): 2–18.
519. Beth J. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, (National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, 2007), 11.
520. Walker, "A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology," 19.
521. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 9.

As archeological work progressed, so did the process of acquiring the properties for the creation of the park, with the Macon Historical Society "primarily responsible for land acquisition."[522] The group was effective, and by May 1935, "the society held ownership to nearly 500 acres."[523] These initial purchases used all the available funding, forcing park boosters to solicit funding from locals through an advertised pledge drive. The citizens of Macon met the challenge, and by June, they pledged the funds needed for the acquisition of the Ocmulgee Mounds and the Lamar site. The process of acquiring deeds for the collection of properties took many arduous months, but on December 23, 1936, President Roosevelt established Ocmulgee National Monument by executive order. "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."[524] Still, the national monument had been created and was now under the control of the National Park Service.

NPS architect, James T. Swanson, was appointed as acting superintendent. Swanson was a graduate of Rice Institute and had served on other NPS projects. While park records do not reveal why Swanson was chosen for the position at Ocmulgee, he became a major figure in the development of the park as the architect overseeing the design of not only the Earth Lodge reconstruction but also the Ocmulgee Museum and Administration Building.[525] Little is known of Swanson's NPS service prior to his work at Ocmulgee beyond the fact that he played a "minor role in the Skyline Drive project."[526] His titles with the NPS included assistant architect, assistant landscape architect, and architect. He went on to become Assisting Architect for the NPS, to serve in the Second World War, and later to found his own architecture firm.[527] Kelly remained at the national monument in his role as lead archeologist.

Pre-WWII Park Planning and Development

During the park planning process prior to the official establishment of the monument, "[NPS] 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."[528] A key part of the initial planning process concerned the preservation and interpretation of the Earth Lodge (Figure 5.15 - Figure 5.17).

The Earth Lodge at Ocmulgee was the first of its kind identified and explicitly labeled as such in the Southeast.[529] Found beneath a small mound near Mound D, Kelly described it as a "circular chamber 42 feet in diameter, covered by an earth shell."[530] Earth lodges are a class of permanent, timber-frame, earth-covered structures typical of many American Indian agricultural societies; almost all of them functioned as dwellings, particularly on the Great Plains where they were common during historic times. Great Plains archeologists describe the architectural form as circular with an entryway extending from one part of an otherwise continuous wall, topped by a sod- or earth-covered conical roof featuring a smoke hole at its apex.[531] With this description in mind, it is easy to see why many archeologists endorse Kelly's identification of an earth lodge at the Macon Plateau site, though there is some debate over whether or not its roof was covered with soil.[532] Moreover, its distinctive internal features, most notably its enormous

522. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7.
523. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7.
524. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 7.
525. The museum-administration building is what is now referred to as the Visitor Center.
526. Joseph K. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument, Visitor Center Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, Georgia: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, 2008), I.A.8.
527. *Rice Architecture Alumnus Critic Program*, 1962, 7.
528. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 18.
529. Lewis H. Larson, "The Case for Earth Lodges in the Southeast," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 105.
530. Kelly, "The Macon Earthlodge," 1938, Accession Number 129, Southeastern Archeological Center, 11.
531. Donna C. Roper and Elizabeth P. Pauls, "What, Where, and When Is an Earthlodge?," in *Plains Earthlodges: Ethnographic and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Donna C. Roper and Elizabeth P. Pauls (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 7.
532. Kelly, "The Macon Earthlodge"; Larson, "The Case for Earth Lodges in the Southeast."

raptor-shaped "altar" and its raised clay benches, make it clear that this was no ordinary building. Rather, Macon Plateau's Earth Lodge certainly functioned as a civic-ceremonial structure.

Knowing that the Earth Lodge would be a highlight of the park's interpretive program, Swanson drafted a preliminary plan for reconstruction of the Earth Lodge in December 1935. According to the *Historic Structure Report for the Earth Lodge*, a "great deal of effort went into interpretation of the burned remains of the roof and how the roof should be reconstructed, a task that was hampered because of the original height of the encircling wall was not known."[533] Kelly and Swanson worked diligently to decipher the height of the walls and the configuration of a smoke hole in the roof from the archeological evidence. They used models to try and determine a method for reconstructing the interior of the building including the entry and passageway and a simulated smoke hole in the roof of the building.



Figure 5.15. Earth Lodge during excavation. (Source: OCMU Archives).



Figure 5.16. Interior of Earth Lodge after reconstruction. Note original floor, firepit, and effigy. (Source: OCMU Archives).

Once they decided on the best method, on December 21, 1936, work began on the reconstruction, WPA Project #5449. Although it was not part of the original plan, workers tore down the temporary structure that surrounded the ceremonial space and constructed a concrete wall in its place. Roof construction "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."[534] Swanson summarized the quality of the concrete work despite many of the workers' lack of construction experience,

> Considering the great quantity of steel in the roof, which rendered rodding and tamping rather difficult for even experienced concrete workers, 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. There was certainly no evidence of structural weakness in the completed monolithic roof or in any other portion of the structure.[535]

Over the course of 1937, workers concentrated their efforts on completing the Earth Lodge. Concrete work for the outer shell of the building including the entry passageway was completed by March 1937. Workers began to backfill and grade around the exterior of the building. Swanson's plans included

533. Tommy Jones, *Earth Lodge Historic Structures Report* (Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service: Historic Architecture, Cultural Resources Division, 2005), 26.
534. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 27.
535. James T. Swanson, Jr., "A Report Including Discovery, Excavation, Restoration of A Prehistoric Indian Ceremonial Earth Lodge, Ocmulgee National Monument, Bibb County, Georgia," 1937, Accession Number 129, Southeastern Archeological Center, 41-42.

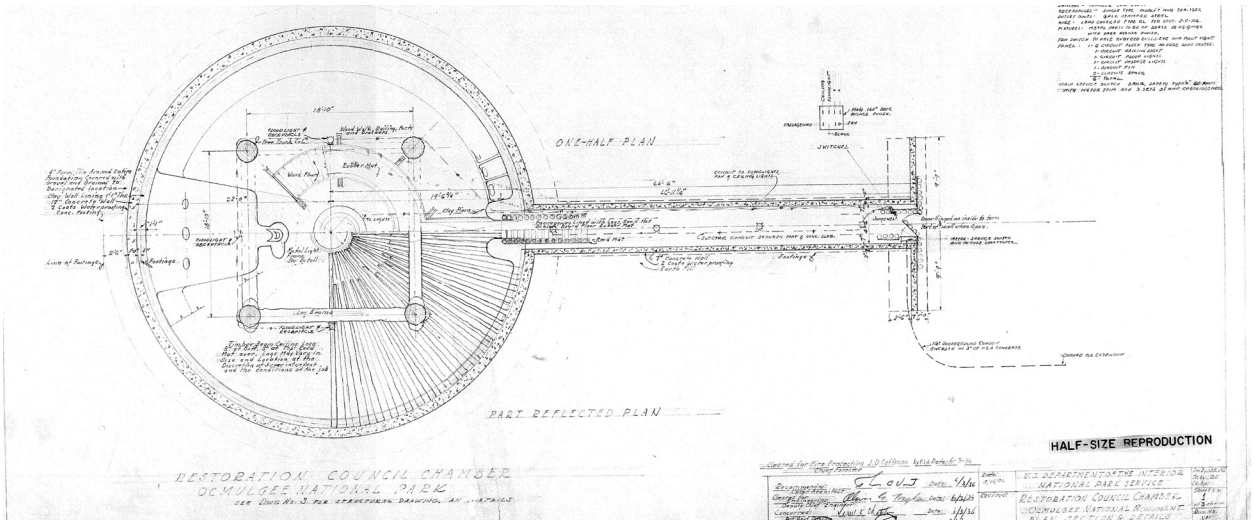


Figure 5.17. Construction plan for Earth Lodge. (Source: OCMU Archives).

allowances for drainage away from the concrete shell to help protect the interior and the archeological site. Swanson wrote that "for the sake of reducing maintenance and providing a neat and attractive finish," he and Kelly recommended adding sod to the exterior of the earth mound, although they doubted that the original building would have been sodded.[536]

James Ford aided in planning and research for the interior restoration project. Ford used a scale model to determine the final details for the roof framing for the interior of the building. Workers used traditional and modern methods to fashion and fit oak and pine members together. They covered the roof framing with native cane gathered from areas along the Ocmulgee River and Walnut Creek.[537] Final interior and exterior work continued through the summer of 1937.

One of the last pieces of project was the addition of large vertical white oak logs set on either side of the entrance to the building. As to the accuracy of the reconstruction, "Swanson made no pretense that their treatment of the Earth Lodge was accurate stating plainly that it was 'purely imaginative and based on no prevailing evidence of the original method of construction,' evidence for which was almost entirely absent."[538] Additions to the interior included a walkway, ventilation, and lighting. The building was formally opened to the public on November 1, 1937.[539]

As work on the Earth Lodge was set to start, in August 1936, Herbert E. Kahler, Superintendent of Fort Marion (now Castillo de San Marcos) and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, along with James Swanson, and a Mr. Lee, developed a six-year development plan for the park and sent it to NPS Director Cammerer.[540] The plan called for "physical developments for improvement and beautification of the monument."[541] The desire to beautify the monument stemmed from the landscape generally resembling a construction zone, with areas of bare soil and a number of unfilled trenches. The plan included a budget of $24,000 for "seeding, sodding, planting and backfilling" to fix the issue. Additional proposals provided by the plan included a mixture of new construction projects, continued maintenance, and site improvements geared towards the interpretive program. The plan called for the construction of shelters to protect several mounds, a contact station at Mound A, a superintendent's residence, a "utility group," and a levee at the

536. Swanson, Jr., "A Report," 17.
537. Jones, *Earth Lodge Historic Structures Report*, 31–32.
538. Jones, *Earth Lodge Historic Structures Report*, 34.
539. The NPS did not install interior walkways at the Earth Lodge until the summer of 1938.
540. Herbert Kahler to Arno B. Cammerer, August 27, 1936.; this letter may have been developed into a more formal master plan the following year as indicated by Oppermann, 1.A.7. No plans dating to 1937 were located in the OCMU archives.
541. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 18.



Figure 5.18. Temporary museum, undated photo. (Source: OCMU Archives).

Lamar tract. The projects were listed in order of importance, and at the top of the list was the construction of a museum-administration building.

The proposed museum-administration building was to serve multiple purposes: "to house the administrative offices of the Monument; to provide fireproof storage and study space for artifacts in well-equipped laboratories; and to provide facilities for public interpretation."[542] By the mid-1930s, thousands of visitors were coming to see the excavations at Ocmulgee. As a result, WPA workers constructed a small wooden temporary museum to house displays for visitors[543] (Figure 5.18). Initially Kelly and his team oversaw cataloguing and recordation of artifacts from the excavations in various locations throughout Macon. A letter from the Macon Chamber of Commerce noted that these locations were prone to fire and theft. The letter notes, "Of course, when the Museum building is erected on the Monument grounds, then the whole collection would be transferred there."[544] To address their concerns, a temporary laboratory/archive was established in the Art Room of the Macon Municipal Auditorium, which was considered the best available fire-proof and secure storage space in the city.[545] In addition to the growing collection from the Ocmulgee project, archeologists sent artifacts from around Georgia and the Southeast to the laboratory for cataloguing and collection. As artifacts from throughout the Southeast began to accumulate at Ocmulgee, the NPS envisioned the national monument as a site to house a regional archeological museum. Specifically, Kelly "sought to build inter-institutional affiliations for his archeological program, [and] he made plans to use Ocmulgee National Monument as the site for a regional archeological museum."[546]

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior was an early supporter of expanding facilities at the national monument. In January of 1937, he wrote Senator Walter George of Georgia advocating for the construction of museums in the national parks. He wrote,

> The National Park Service at one time suggested a museum project of fifty thousand dollars for the monument, but after representatives of its technical staff had studied the museum needs there, advised that a much larger amount would be necessary, if provision is to be made for a museum which would be adequate to meet the needs for archaeological space, systemic storage of the extensive collections of historic and archaeological materials, and preservation of the Ocmulgee story by understandable graphic exhibits.[547]

Swanson was tasked with the design of the building itself. According to the Historic Structure Report for the visitor center however, "Swanson was not a major Park Service architect."[548] NPS records do not indicate that he designed any well-known buildings before arriving at Ocmulgee. After his Earth Lodge

542. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 1.A.7.
543. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.A.6.
544. Lee S. Trimble, "Letter to Mr. James T. Swanson Regarding the Location of Excavation Material," August 11, 1937, OCMU Reading Files 193601939, Southeastern Archeological Center.
545. A. R. Kelly, "Letter to Dr. M. W. Stirling, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution Regarding Archeological Developments in the Southeast," September 23, 1937, OCMU Reading Files 1936-1939, Southeastern Archeological Center Archives; C. F. Russell, "Memorandum for the Field: Conferences on Archeological Program, Region One, Museum Needs at Ocmulgee," March 7, 1938, OCMU Reading Files 1936-1939, Southeastern Archeological Center Archives.
546. Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 16–17.
547. Quoted in, "Letter to Mr. Lee Regarding Status of Proposed Museum in Ocmulgee National Monument (Partial Copy)," July 18, 1938, OCMU Reading Files 1936-1939, Southeastern Archeological Center Archives.
548. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, I.A.8.

project, Swanson began preliminary design work on the museum. In a divergence from the NPS rustic style, Swanson's design for the building featured an Art Moderne style with embellishments that drew inspiration from the "Lamar Bond" pottery type known to exist in the area. Construction on the building began in 1938. A description of the Visitor Center building is provided below.

The labor needed to complete these projects was provided by additional New Deal program workers, specifically crews from the CCC and WPA. In May 1937, a CCC crew—Camp NM-4, Company 1426—was assigned to develop Ocmulgee National Monument into a public park.[549] The camp fell under the direction of Kelley and Gordon R. Willey (Senior Forman Archeologist). According to Kelly,

> Gordon became a foreman on the CCC camp. In addition to being superintendent of the rest of it, I was also superintendent of the CCC camp . . . And [Willey] had a group of boys from the mountains, Appalachians very likely north Georgia. And there were about 200 of them living in the dormitories . . . And [Willey] was mobilized with a big truck . . . and I gave him the ones that had the best education. Any boy who was up to 10th or 11th grade, why he was automatically pretty darn well educated for north Georgia and Appalachia.[550]

Newly established camps featured few buildings, and men slept in tents while they constructed various camp buildings and structures. Once constructed, Camp NM-4, later re-classed as NP-5, featured the typical CCC camp buildings and arrangement to accommodate the 200-person crew. The camp, located in the northeast portion of the park, included four barracks buildings, a small officers quarters, a headquarters building with attached linen room, a recreation hall and cantina, two separate mess halls, and an infirmary and educational building (Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.20). The buildings were situated at the end of a road constructed specifically for the camp. The unpaved road extended eastward from the main entrance drive, terminating in a circular drive around a flagpole. The camp's buildings fanned outward from the circular drive, with half roughly oriented east-west and the others north-south. A less-wide spur road extended southeast from the camp road and provided access to the buildings in the rear of the camp. Photographs of the site show sparse forestland and fields surrounding the camp and ornamental vegetation installed at several of the camp buildings.

Camp life under the CCC was "regimented in a quasi-military fashion." [551] The typical daily schedule included early rise and calisthenics with project work commencing at 8:00 A.M. and working until 4:30 P.M.[552] While the crew would participate in some of the archeology ongoing at the site, Kelly was not pleased with the CCC crew's archeology work so the bulk of their focus during their five years at Ocmulgee was on developing the park's facilities and infrastructure.[553] Towards this end, projects undertaken by the camp included

> . . .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.[554]

549. The CCC established nine Corps Areas, which oversaw several districts. Georgia was located in Area Four, along with Tennessee, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida. CCC camps were identified by a company number and an alphanumeric code indicating the type and location of the camp. The Camp code identified the state, project, type, and number based on the chronological order of project assignments within a state or Corps Area. The code NM stood for national monument. The company number corresponded to the state and Corps area. The first digit notes the state in which the company was formed, the second digit was the Corps area, and the last two digits ware the order of establishment within the state. A "V" after the company number designated a company composed of veterans.
550. Kelly, "In His Own Words," 14–15.
551. Davis and Davis, *Our Mark on This Land*, 25.
552. Davis and Davis, *Our Mark on This Land*, 25–26.
553. Lyon, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast," 172.
554. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,*, 22-23.



Figure 5.19. Ocmulgee CCC Camp. (Source: OCMU Archives).

The CCC crew also was involved in the initial construction of the visitor center and museum building, including the surrounding designed landscape. A prominent feature of the design included a "rustic style" bridge that spanned a shallow swale between the visitor center's designed landscape and the reconstructed Earth Lodge (Figure 5.21). While the visitor center represented a radical departure from the rustic style—the typical NPS design style for park buildings and structures of the era—the bridge epitomized the style. The rustic style was codified by architect Albert Good's *Park and Recreation Structures* manual, published in 1938. In the manual, Good explained the essential character of the rustic style:

> Successfully handled, it is a style which, through the use of native materials in proper scale, and through the avoidance of severely straight lines and oversophistication, gives the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools. It thus achieves sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past.[555]

Good's manual detailed the proper design—from materials to style—of many various park elements, including benches, water fountains, cabins, administration buildings, signage, fences, and picnic tables. These park elements featured extensive use of natural materials, such as wood logs and stones, to better blend in with the landscape and reflect a rustic charm. The bridge at Ocmulgee featured such materials including large log posts, unbroken log handrails, and rustic stone piers.

While the CCC program is well known for its history of park development during the Great Depression, the WPA also contributed to this effort. At Ocmulgee, WPA laborers worked alongside the CCC crews building trails, working in the laboratory, constructing fences, and finishing the museum building.[556] The WPA workers "also conducted excavations at Lamar," and "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."[557] A photograph included within the 1939 superintendent's report shows two African American workers constructing fences, with a description that reads "One of the most important projects of the construction program and one which has improved the appearance of the Monument property is the building of a cypress panel fence around some 9000 feet of the northern half of the area. This work has been done by the local WPA and has been very



Figure 5.20. Ocmulgee CCC Camp. (Source: OCMU Archives).

555. Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures Part I – Administration and Basic Service Facilities*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1938), 5.
556. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 23.
557. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 7.



Figure 5.21. Rustic footbridge with Earth Lodge in background. (Source: OCMU Archives).



Figure 5.22. WPA workers building fences along park boundary. (Source: OCMU Archives).

well executed."[558] This indicates that at least a small number of African American men helped to construct the park (Figure 5.22). They were likely local laborers and were probably segregated from the main work crew.

Building on the proposals of the 1937 plan, the NPS drafted a more comprehensive Master Plan in 1939, which "outlined the major facilities to be constructed while Superintendent Jesse Jennings managed projects that transformed the archeological site into a national park."[559] The NPS quickly carried out various projects proposed by the plan such as the construction of wooden stairs "leading to the top of the Great Temple Mound to provide access and stop erosion caused by climbing visitors."[560] Other projects completed at this time included the construction of a shelter to protect the Funeral Mound, two burial exhibits that "displayed the prehistoric remains in situ at the trading post site," and the half-mile Opelofa trail that followed the "historic tramline once used by the brick factory."[561] The trail was to include educational features including labeled plants "which were used for food and medicinal purposes" by American Indians.[562] Superintendent Jennings' wife, Jane, designed the trail, and it proved to be popular with the public. The 1939 plan also proposed the construction of a tunnel to pass under the railroad tracks that ran through the site but were not owned by the park, but "less expensive pedestrian footbridges were built instead."[563] Jennings recalled that during his time as Superintendent he "may have broken many fiscal rules and continuously ignored the chain of command. But we did accomplish a great deal."[564]

In June 1939, John Ewers succeeded Jennings as park superintendent. The 1939 Annual Superintendent Report written by Ewers detailed the extent of changes that had occurred at the site since work began as well as the work left to do. At this time, 55 percent of the museum building's basement had been built, the entrance road was laid out and graded, work on the three parking areas was ongoing as was the construction of a large shelter over Mound C. Additional work focused on the trail system, the draining of "low swampy areas" for mosquito control, and various beautification projects. These beautification projects included the "grading of banks, obliteration of trenches and pits, and sodding of bare areas."[565] Practical improvements to the site included the construction of "a combination fire break and truck

558. "Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1938-1957," 1957 1938, Bound Superintendent Report Volumes, OCMU Archives.
559. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 21.
560. Ibid.
561. Ibid.; After the Civil War, the area was mined for clay for brick manufacturing, leading to the establishment of a brick factory on the site. No above ground resources related to the factory exist.
562. John C. Ewers, "Letter to Dr. John Swanton Regarding the Planning and Plants for a Nature Trail at Ocmulgee National Monument," July 13, 1939, OCMU Reading Files 1936-1939, Southeastern Archeological Center Archives.
563. Wheeler, Ocmulgee National Monument, 21.
564. Jesse D. Jennings, "Macon Daze," in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986* edited by David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 50.
565. "Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1938-1957."



Figure 5.23. CCC workers grading Mound A parking area. (Source: OCMU Archives).

trail through the heavily wooded section of the monument along the southwestern boundary."[566]

Superintendent Ewers closed the 1939 report with his vision for the completed park,

> With the work of the past year in mind it takes very little imagination to look ahead toward the Ocmulgee National Monument of the future – a beautifully landscaped park area, with paved roads and ample parking areas . . ., with a modern museum in which aspects of the story of Indian occupation not easily interpreted in the field will be brought out in a series of attractive, graphic popular exhibits. It will be a museum where archaeologists can meet. . .Then truly Ocmulgee National Monument will be a center for popular education and scientific research. Toward the attainment of this ideal the accomplishments of the fiscal year 1939 have been a solid contribution.[567]

Over the course of the following year, park development work continued (Figure 5.23). It was reported that the twelve total acres of parking, spread over three parking lots, was 80 percent complete. The entrance road was nearly complete, save for its surface paving, and "fifteen hundred lineal feet of concrete walk and seven hundred feet of gravel and tar walks were built in the vicinity of the monument entrance and the Museum and Administration building."[568] Other improvements made to the site by relief roll crews included erosion and mosquito control. This year, the archeological collections that had been stored at various sites in Macon were transferred to the museum space in the not-yet-completed visitor center. Several mounds had been reconstructed with protective shelters positioned over them. Lastly, the Kiwanis Club of Macon erected a commemorative flagstaff and plaque honoring Walter Alexander Harris, Charles Cotton Harrold, and Linton Monroe Solomon for their role in promoting the creation of the national monument.

Momentum developing the park was interrupted by World War II. With the federal government fully invested in the war effort, in November 1941, "the Emergency Relief Administration halted work at Ocmulgee and the following year archeological work almost came to a complete stop," though this did not stop park planning efforts (Figure 5.24).[569] Some New Deal labor was retained into 1942. As Marsh explains,

> The CCC continued to work at the monument into 1942 but 60% of its time was devoted to defense work at nearby Camp Wheeler. 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.[570]

In March of 1942, the CCC camp was removed from NPS oversight. The shortage of labor during the war years meant that the "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

566. Ibid.
567. Ibid.
568. Ibid.
569. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 24.
570. Marsh, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* 7.

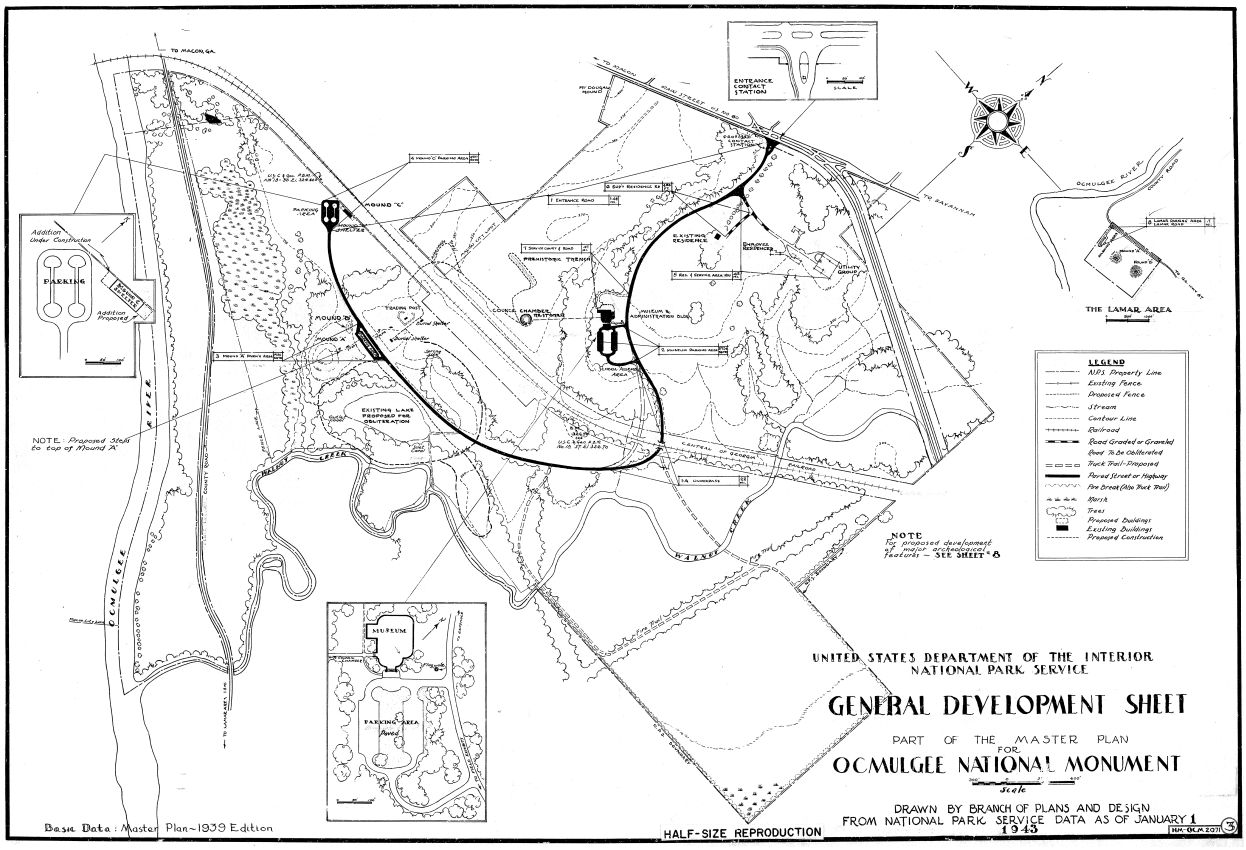


Figure 5.24. 1943 General Development Plan based on a series of revisions and edits over the course of 1940-1943. (Source: OCMU Archives).

understaffed. In 1944 the staff consisted of Superintendent Luckett, one laborer, a ranger for six months, and a clerk for seven months. The main duties consisted of patrol and guide service."[571] At this time, yet another New Deal program became associated with the site when five CCC workers employed by the Soil Conservation Service were transferred to Ocmulgee to serve as guides and a gatekeeper. With the final closing of the CCC camp in July 1942, the New Deal era at Ocmulgee came to an end.

As Marsh writes, "New Deal relief agencies had a profound impact on Ocmulgee National Monument," and today the contribution of the New Deal laborers to the development of the park is "easily discernable."[572] Such contributions include the continued presence of the park's mounds, walkways, nature trail, and other features related to the historic landscape. While the visitor center would not be completed until after the war, it is emblematic of the period when Southeastern archeology entered the spotlight, the New Deal provided millions with relief from the Great Depression, and the preservation of the Ocmulgee mounds became a reality.

Visitor Center

Swanson and the Art Moderne Design of the Museum

Modernistic architectural styles became popular in the United States in the 1920s. One of the first widely-publicized projects in the United States was a competition submission for the Chicago *Tribune* building by Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen (Figure 5.25). Although his design did not win the competition "the style quickly became the latest architectural fashion."[573]

571. Ibid.
572. Ibid.
573. Lee McAlester and Virginia McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984), 465.

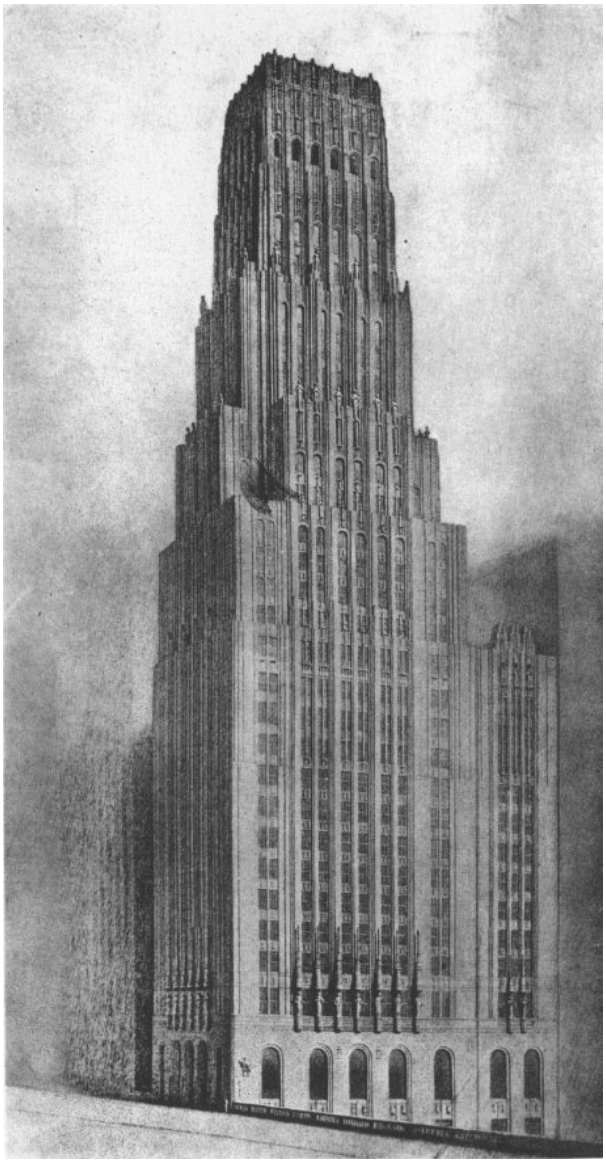


Figure 5.25. Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen's 1922 entry in the Chicago Tribune Tower design competition. (Source: Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=25715974).

"The quintessential modern bureaucratic style of architecture during the thirties became a PWA/WPA Modern Classic, sometimes referred to as 'Depression Modern'."[574] This style was a departure from 1920s park service architecture which emphasized harmony with a building's surroundings and the use of natural materials such as rustic logs and stone. This was the style WPA workers used the construct the bridge to the Earth Lodge in 1937.

As historian Gail Evans explains,

> "The period from 1935 to 1942 was marked by expanding institutional growth and operations in the Park Service, which produced changing perceptions of what park architecture should be and brought about the decline of the rustic style. This era was characterized by the utilization of contemporary building materials and methods, the gradual incorporation of modern architectural styles, and uneven quality and diversity."[575]

Cost was also a factor in the adoption of modern style architecture, as modern buildings constructed of concrete were cheaper to build, and furthermore, did not rely on the skilled labor needed to construct more intricate rustic style buildings. In this way, the use of concrete at CCC-built parks provided an additional educational opportunity for young unskilled workers to learn a new trade. Though modern architecture—with its straight lines and geometric form—did not reflect the indigenous character of a site in the same manner as the rustic style, its simplicity meant that it was not overly distracting within the landscape, a goal of the rustic style. Lastly, it may be that concrete's ability to withstand the effects of a humid environment influenced the decision to construct buildings of concrete instead of wood. Though no direct evidence for the decision appears to exist, these reasons may help to explain the presence of a concrete visitor center at Ocmulgee National Monument when other CCC-constructed national parks featured typical rustic style design.

Facades in the modernistic style were typically asymmetrical and featured smooth stucco wall surfaces and curved corners. The buildings often had flat roofs with coping at the roofline.[576] For decorative details, Art Moderne architecture "looked to industrial design, a factory aesthetic, and technology for artistic impulses

574. Robert Michael Craig, *Atlanta Architecture: Art Deco to Modern Classic, 1924-1959* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing, 1995), 19.
575. Gail Evans, "Mount McKinley National Park Headquarters District National Register Nomination Form," (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, December 1985), 10.
576. McAlester and McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 465–66.

achieved through streamlining in the first instance and through a progressive abstraction in the second."[577] "The effects of streamlining touched every aspect of American design—from decorative arts to industrial design, from transportation machines to architecture."[578] Streamlined Moderne (as Art Moderne is sometimes referred) is often considered the third phase of modern architecture after Modern Classic and Art Deco. The designs often include parallel horizontal bands across the facade. This style of architecture was not typical in Georgia, but several examples were constructed in Atlanta by the 1930s.

According to the historic structure report for this building, "Swanson's confident design for Ocmulgee's Museum and Administration Building belies his relative anonymity. The building is a sculptural showpiece of the Art Moderne style, revolutionary in both design and material."[579] Swanson's experience in the Earth Lodge reconstruction may have inspired his design for the much-needed museum and administrative building.[580]

Construction of the Visitor Center

Dr. Kelly agreed to begin official planning for the museum at the national monument in early 1938. Dr. Kelly "went to Washington March 2 [1938] to confirm with Dr. Frank Setzler of the National Museum and officers of the Museum Division, National Park Service."[581] Recognizing the need use labor while it was available at Ocmulgee through the WPA program, officials in Washington agreed to "rush building plans in an attempt to enable Dr. Kelly to utilize this WPA support in finishing the basement of the proposed Ocmulgee museum."[582]

The National Park Service approved preliminary plans for the "Museum and Administration Building" on March 14, 1938. Initial funding for the project was to come from ERA monies.[583]

The first available drawings from the "Museum and Administration Building" date to 1938. Swanson must have been planning the building prior to Kelly's March 1938 meeting in Washington as the plans are dated March 12, 1938. The plans show the building with rounded walls, an asymmetrical facade, and a large entry terrace. The main floor included a lecture hall, artifact exhibit spaces for artifacts and collections, restrooms, and offices. The main entry area was to include a topographic model in the center under a rotunda (Figure 5.26). The terrace featured steps which led down to a walk that would connect to the Earth Lodge via the bridge (Figure 5.27).

The building underwent several design changes in the early planning stages including alterations to the front entry steps, decorative frieze design and placement, and the elimination of a landing in the side stairs leading from the side of the terrace to the Earth Lodge walkway. By the 1940s, plans showed restrooms that would be accessed from inside the building rather than from the terrace. As required by Georgia law, the bathrooms were segregated.[584]

According to the Historic Structure Report,

> Color was an important element of the design and created a dramatic effect absent from the building today. A 1939 plan for the terrace specified its bold colors. Paving tiles were red outlined by an eighteen-inch-wide black border. . . this color scheme was described in an exhibit plan written in 1939-1940 and referencing 'a wide stairway, Indian red in color and bordered by a narrow band of black, flanked by concrete pilasters." The

577. Craig, *Atlanta Architecture*, 17–18.
578. Craig, *Atlanta Architecture,* 21.
579. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, I.A.9.
580. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.A.10.
581. Russell, "Memorandum for the Field."
582. Ibid.
583. Herbert Evision, "Letter to the Chief Architect, National Park Service Regarding Preliminary Design for the Museum and Administration Building," March 16, 1938, OCMU Reading Files 1936-1939, Southeastern Archeological Center Archives.
584. Opperman, *Ocmulgee National Monument*.

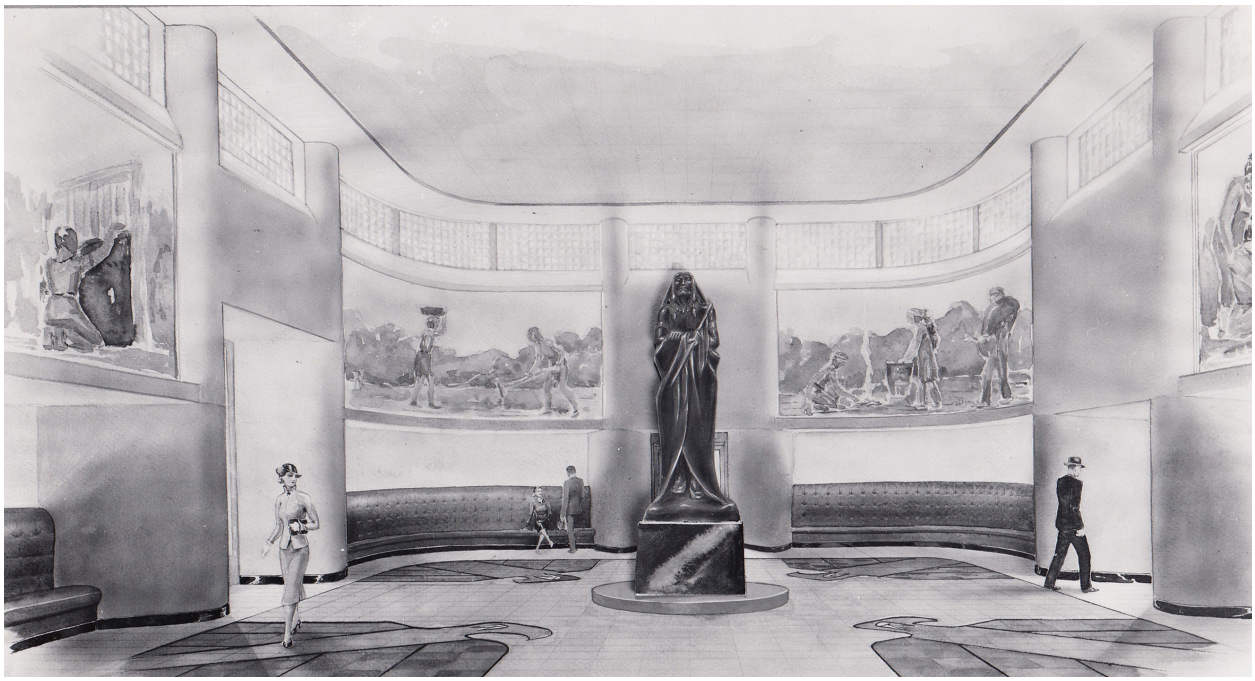


Figure 5.26. Rendering of interior of Museum and Administration Building. (Source: OCMU Archives, Reading Files, Drawings Ocmulgee National Monument).

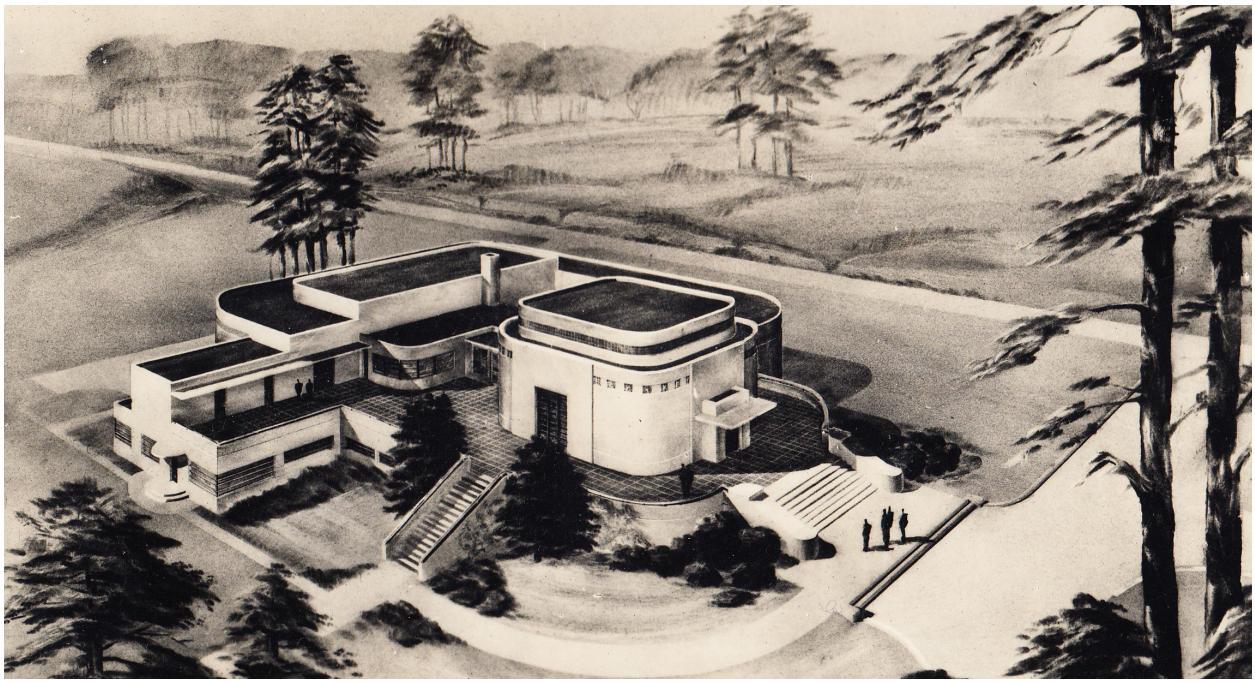


Figure 5.27. Circa 1939 rendering of Proposed Museum and Administration Building, Ocmulgee National Monument. (Source: OCMU Archives, Reading Files, Drawings Ocmulgee National Monument).

> description includes the banding around the rotunda, 'tastefully decorated with a colored frieze bearing an incised geometric design adopted from the rim decoration of an Ocmulgee Fields pottery vessel.'. . . Swanson may have chosen these colors expressly for their similarity to the characteristic colors of Lamar pottery, generally black with exposed areas of red clay."[585]

Despite plans for the building still being in the development stage, the groundbreaking for the project took place in May 1938. Grading and formwork for the project began immediately, using non-skilled labor provided by FERA. By July 1938, the foundation of the structure had been laid, "and concrete above the ground" was scheduled to be poured starting in August.[586] Funding for the project came from ERA and PWA funds. The project was envisioned to be completed in phases, "with a sequence of building units starting with the basement of the rotunda" completed with ERA labor.[587] The next phase was to include offices, a corridor, the elevator, restrooms, and archeological storage, work to be performed with PWA labor. The third stage of the lower level of the project would include the storage areas beneath the exhibit spaces in the museum.[588] A sketch illustrating work completed during fiscal year 1939 shows this phasing (Figure 5.28). In the upper-level, the walls for the rotunda, restroom, and a ranger's office were complete as well as the terrace and cheekwalls to the front steps.

Plans for the building continued to develop during 1939. Updated plans showed a reduced building after the elimination of the auditorium and the outer gallery. According to the historic structure report, "it is unclear whether these and later plans were limited to show current construction, or if they indicated consideration of a smaller building as World War II escalated in Europe."[589]

By 1939, Superintendent John Ewers envisioned the completed park,

> With the work of the past year in mind it takes very little imagination to look ahead toward the Ocmulgee National Monument of the future – a beautifully landscaped park area, with paved roads and ample parking areas . . ., with a modern museum in which aspects of the story of Indian occupation not easily interpreted in the field will be brought out in a series of attractive, graphic popular exhibits. It will be a museum where archaeologists can meet.[590]

The 1939 Master Plan for the national monument describes the work completed on the visitor center building,

> It is a concrete structure of modern design It will house, beside the administrative and technical offices of the monument, a fully equipped archaeological laboratory for the processing and study of artifacts, ample space for the storage of vast archeological collections from this and other areas in the Southeast, a large museum which will combine with the field exhibits to interpret to the public the archaeological story of this monument and its relation to the entire field of Southeastern archaeology. Other features of this building will be an auditorium and a library.[591]

By May of 1940, the lower-level was complete enough for park workers to move all of the artifacts and laboratory equipment from the Macon Auditorium into the new building (Figure 5.29). The NPS

585. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.B.5.
586. "Letter to Mr. Lee."
587. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, I.B.7.
588. Ibid.
589. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.B.8.
590. "Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1938-1957."
591. National Park Service, "Ocmulgee National Monument Master Plan, 1939 Edition, General Development Supplement to Sheet Number 3," 1939, OCMU Archives.

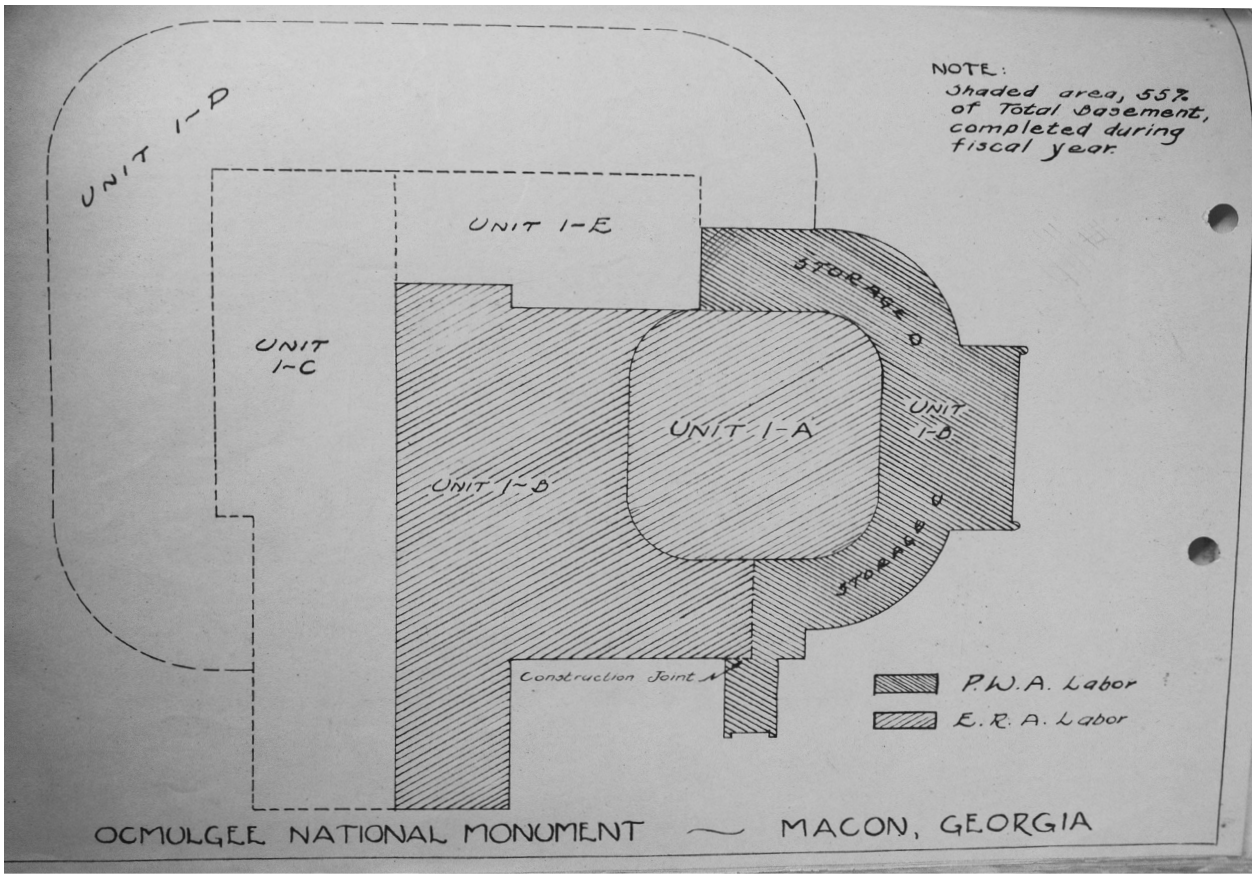


Figure 5.28. Construction of Museum and Administration Building, Fiscal Year 1939. (Source: Superintendent's Annual Report, 1939, OCMU Archives).

established a temporary exhibit space in the building as well.[592] During the next few months, funding for the project began to stall. "Reaville M. Brown, ERA Superintendent who oversaw construction, made reference to a possible alteration of the [building] program if there was a change in the money allotted."[593]

In 1941, the Kiwanis Club of Macon erected a flagstaff and plaque honoring early Macon proponents of the national monument. The plaque, mounted at the flagpole base reads,

In Recognition of The Pioneer Work of
WALTER ALEXANDER HARRIS
CHARLES COTTON HARROLD
LINTON MONROE SOLOMON
In the establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument
This tablet is erected by the Kiwanis Club
of the City of Macon, Georgia
October 1st, 1941

Because of the reduced labor force and diminished government allocations, most of the maintenance and projects throughout the national monument came to a halt for nearly four years. "Trails, fences, parking lots, and the mounds themselves suffered from vandalism and the lack of works, and the roof of the

592. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, I.B.11.
593. Ibid.

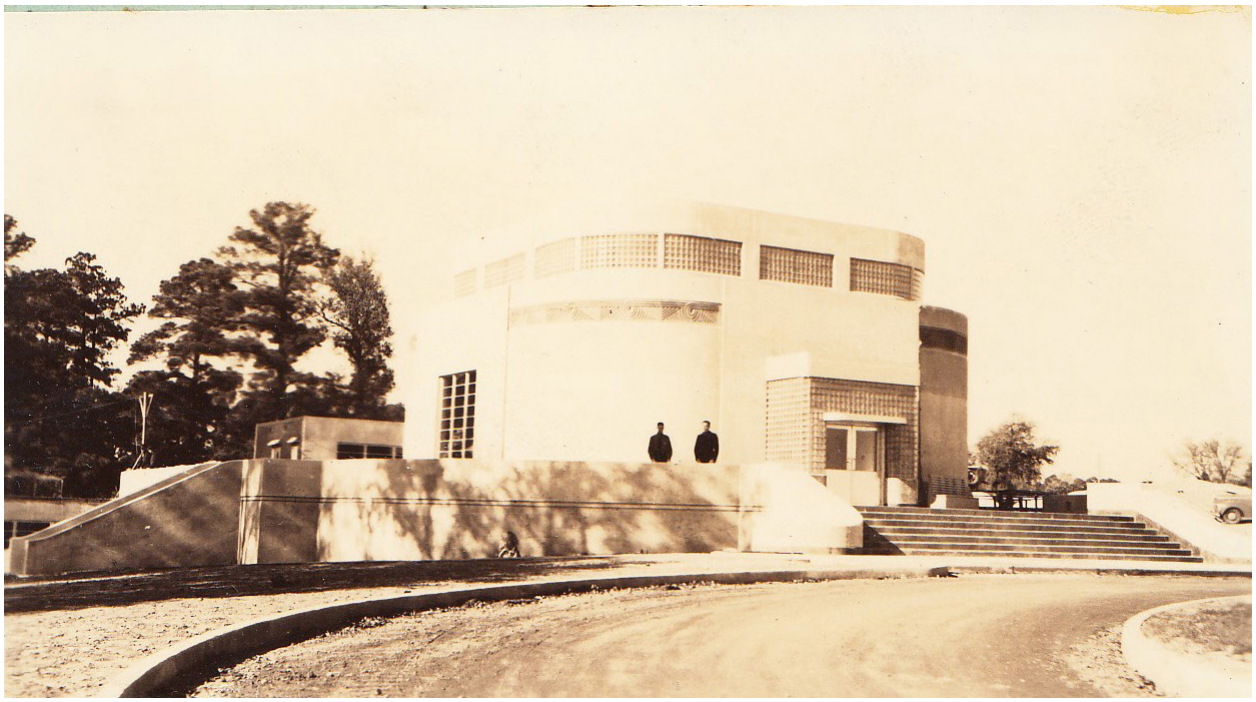


Figure 5.29. South elevation of the Visitor Center. (Source: OCMU Archives, Reading Files, Photographic Workbook 1974 composed of loose positives by B Berg – CCC Work Visitor Center 1940-41).

unfinished building leaked while construction remained on hold."[594] New funding to restart the project did not become available until 1948, when funds for repairs to the building were allocated to the national monument. The monument's superintendent, Millard Guy, summarized the problems with the building in 1949,

> In approaching the building, the visitor first sees 40 squares of temporary roofing on unfinished sections of the building and countless pieces of reinforcing steel protruding in every direction. . . he sees a massive concrete front with innumerable discolorations, greasy in appearance, from the terrace floor to the roof. He ascends broken steps through which water seeps from under a deteriorated terrace floor. . . continuing through the building, he finds inadequate heating and lighting facilities, leakage into the basement, archeological collections stored in shoe boxes and unfinished room after room.[595]

The NPS issued revised plans for repair and completion of the building in 1949 and 1950, and construction resumed in June 1950. Construction was completed in 1951. The result was a modern building that, though incorporating stylistic flourishes from pottery recovered during the New Deal projects, did not wholly "fit" with the otherwise rustic character of the park. Many people were not pleased with the building. For instance, Devereaux Butcher of the National Parks Association called the building "supremely ugly" and a "monstrosity."[596] However, as the Visitor Center HSR notes, "Others appreciated the park. In a 1952 article, a local reporter opined, 'It is the finest, most modern and best prepared archeological presentation anywhere in the U.S. That is undisputed by the National Park Service which supervises such monuments and parks . . . Recently completed, the museum building and exhibit are Middle Georgia's finest showplace from an educational and historic standpoint.'"[597]

The Dunlap House under the NPS

The Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Society for Georgia Archeology, and the Macon Historical

594. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.B.14.
595. "Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1938-1957."
596. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.B.21.
597. Oppermann, *Ocmulgee National Monument,* I.B.11.

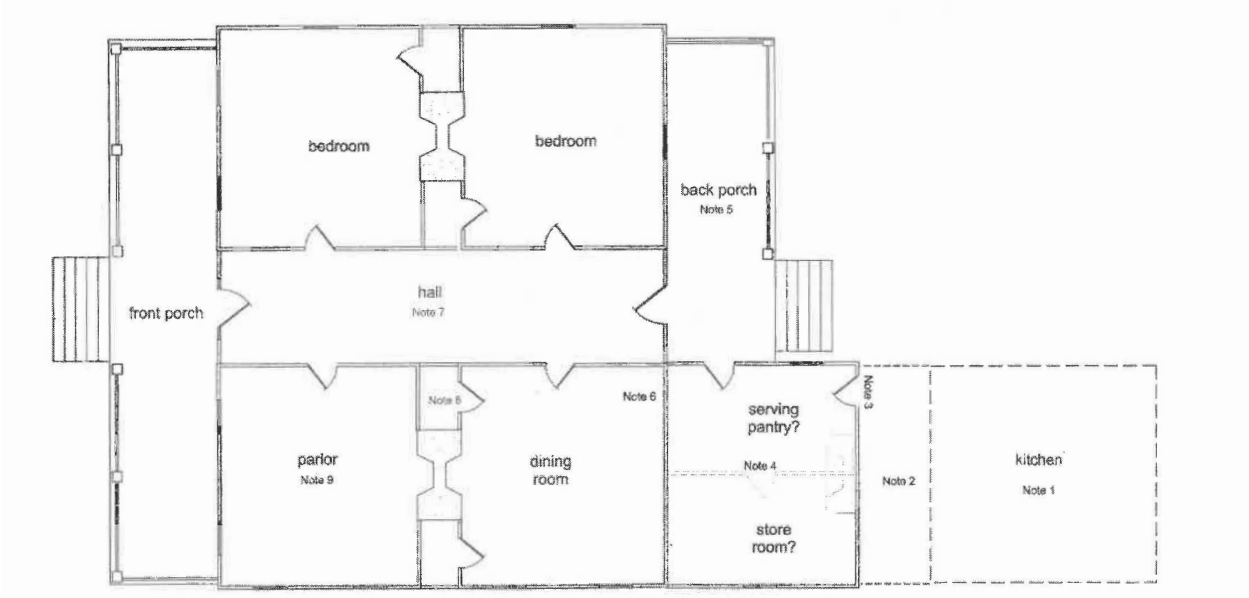


Figure 5.30. Drawing of probable layout of Dunlap House. (Source: "Dunlap House Historic Structure Report," Tommy Jones, 2011.)

Society actively campaigned to acquire the site, originally called the Ocmulgee "Old Fields," in 1933.[598] One year later, Lillian Dunlap gifted her familial land to the Macon Historical Society. In January of 1935, the Historical Society gave all 350.08 acres of the Dunlap property, including the dilapidated house, to the United States government (Figure 5.30). The Civil Works Administration had recently approved funding for a massive archaeological dig at the site of the surviving American Indian mounds, so the Dunlap House was put into service as the living quarters and laboratory of Dr. Arthur Kelly, archaeologist for the Smithsonian, and his staff. There was no plumbing or electrical service in the house during their stay.[599]

In 1936, the National Parks Service put together a rehabilitation plan to transform the house into administrative offices and a museum.[600] The plan called for the repair of all visible damage, including the replacement of broken windows, the removal of the old roof covering, and the replacement of the original back porch. The most ambitious part of the plan was the addition of two bathrooms in the rear of the house. Plumbing lines were added underneath the house. Waste flowed into septic tanks located on the southwest side of the building. The NPS also wired the house for electricity, and they installed gas lines. The NPS added display cases to the hallway and in the east bedroom. By 1937, the Dunlap House had been transformed again with a small museum in the front rooms and administrative offices in the rear.[601]

The NPS used the Dunlap House as a museum for only a few years until they completed construction of the basement of the new Art Moderne Visitor Center in 1940. The house then underwent another rehabilitation, which shifted its use from a museum to a "temporary residence."[602] According to plans, workers removed two public bathrooms: the former men's restroom became a "store room," while the women's bathroom became a kitchen.[603] There is not enough evidence in the walls and foundations of the building to ascertain how much of these planned alterations were completed because the house was extensively altered again in 1952.

After the Second World War, the Dunlap House was slated for further renovation. Dr. Kelly had taken over the superintendent position at the Ocmulgee National Monument, and he used the Dunlap House as

598. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 13.
599. Ibid.
600. Ibid.
601. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 13-16.
602. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 16.
603. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 18.

his residence. The house had improved exponentially since his first stay with the addition of plumbing, electricity, and running water, but further improvements were needed. There were once again major alterations to the existing floor plan: the southern half of the center hall was combined with the southeast bedroom to create a large kitchen, laundry room, and small bedroom. The windows on the southeast side were closed, and workers installed new, smaller windows into the east and south walls of the new kitchen. The NPS replaced the 1936 back porch, rewired all electricity, and installed a central forced air-heating unit. Throughout all of this work, the NPS made an effort to maintain the historical features and original character of the Dunlap House.[604]

Between 1984 and 1986, the house went through a less invasive renovation. The NPS performed regular maintenance, including fresh exterior paint, a new roof, new plumbing and HVAC lines, and the installation of a burglar alarm. Once again, the NPS transformed the rooms to fit the needs of the household members, such as the removal of the bathroom closet to create the two bathrooms in the current layout. There were also some cheaper repairs done to the windows, using stock materials instead of replicas of the original woodworks. A fire started by an arsonist in 2011 damaged the rear of the house, which was repaired with minimal alterations to the existing structure.

604. Jones, "Dunlap House HSR," 20.

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Identification of Historic Resources

Introduction

This chapter provides more detailed information about the character, configuration, and a brief history of each of the historic cultural resources located within Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (OCMU) that have been assessed as part of this Historic Resource Study (HRS). The descriptions of these resources are organized by the contexts with which they are most closely associated. The resource descriptions are illustrated with maps and representative photographs.

Many of the resources have previously been evaluated based on criteria for National Register of Historic Places eligibility. Where this eligibility has been determined, this assessment is noted. A resource's NRHP eligibility is dependent on its ability to convey its historic significance. Thus, sites must be able to demonstrate an association to historic contexts and themes. Integrity is an important component of this ability. Recommendations for future evaluation or re-evaluation are included in management recommendations.

The National Register (NR) criteria for evaluation states,

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

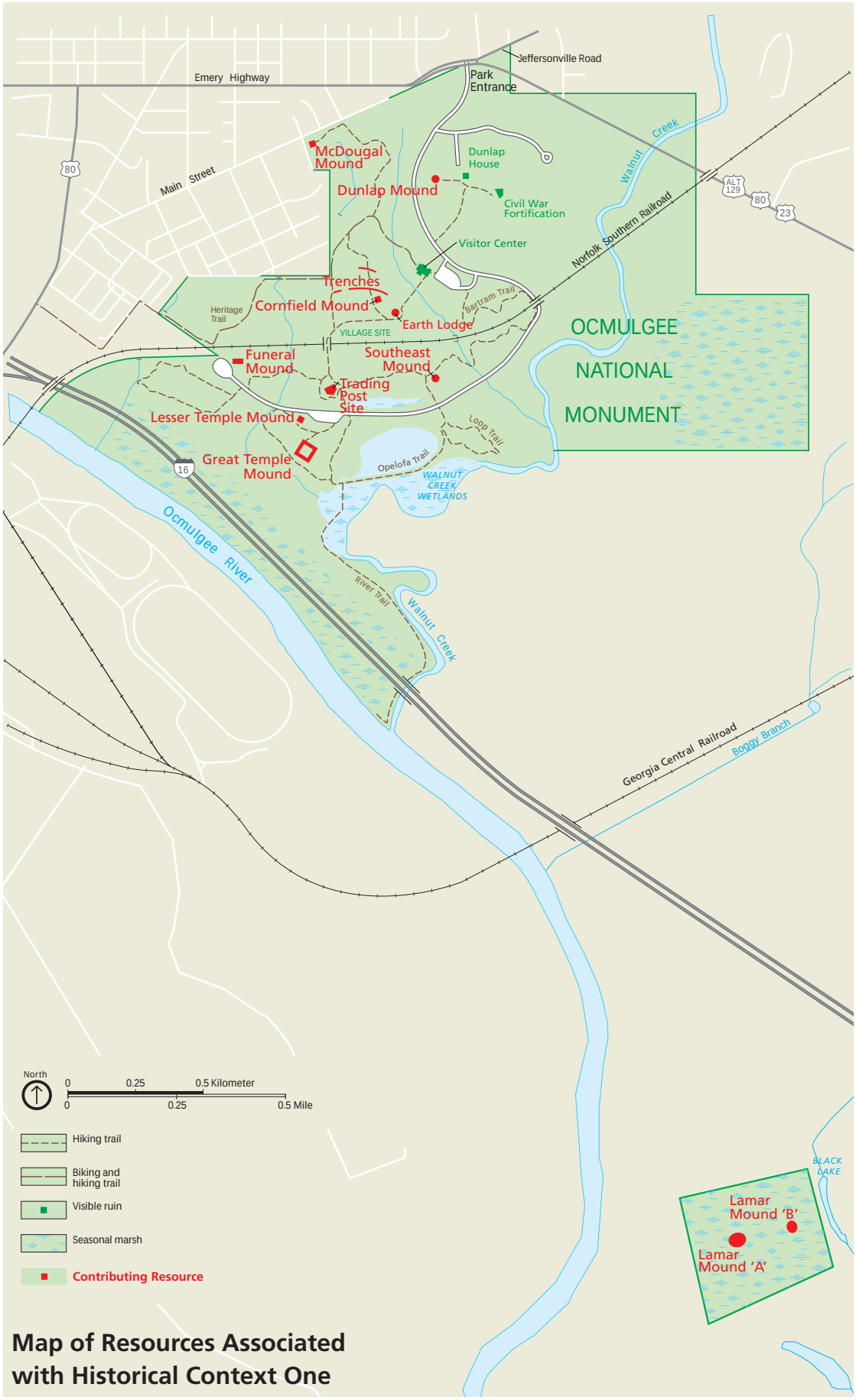
C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.[605]

Historic Resources Associated with Historic Context One

Mississippian features contributing to Macon Plateau's designation as a National Register district include the following resources. These descriptions, as well as the assessment of significance and condition, derive from the individual LCS entries and the additional documentation submitted as part of the Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination. Although they have not been addressed as part of this study, there are also likely additional archeological resources within the park that relate to this context. Recommendations for future study are included in Cultural Landscapes, Ethnographic Resources, Archeology, and Museum Collections chapter.

605. National Park Service, "National Register Bulletin," 2.



Map of Resources Associated with Historical Context One



Figure 6.1. Greater and Lesser Temple Mounds. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number A604FFD6-1DD8-B71C-07785524560E5751).

The mounds and archeological sites located in the main mound complex are contributing resources to Ocmulgee National Monument Historic District. These features are nationally significant under NR criteria A, C, and D. The National Register documentation for Ocmulgee National Monument nominated the site as a nationally significant district in the thematic areas of prehistoric and historic archeology and architecture.

Great Temple Mound/Mound A (LCS 005086, HS-01)

The Great Temple Mound, or Mound A, is a 300-foot-wide by 270-foot-long by 40-foot-high, flat-top temple mound built during the Early Mississippian period, 900 to 1200 CE (Figure 6.1). The mound served as the principal religious structure of American Indians living on the Macon Plateau from 900 to 1200 CE. A stair-stepped, earthen ramp in the center of the north face originally led to the top of the mound, where one or more buildings were located. It is constructed of layers of earth and covered with grass. The National Park Service built wood stairs on the north face of the mound and a wood deck at the top for visitor use. It is the largest remaining mound on the plateau and is one of the largest precontact mounds in the eastern United States. The NPS assessed the mound as being in "good condition" in 2013.

Lesser Temple Mound/Mound B (LCS 005087, HS-02)

Macon Plateau's Lesser Temple Mound, or Mound B, is a platform measuring approximately 10 feet high and 75 feet square at its base (Figure 6.1). Builders constructed Mound B during the Early Mississippian occupation of the Macon Plateau. Railroad construction destroyed three-quarters of it in 1843 and evidence of the railroad cut remains on the precipitous north side of the mound. The National Park Service placed a wood stairway with concrete pad at the base on the south face of the mound to provide visitor access to the top. The LCS describes Mound B as "a prime archeological site" in "good condition" in 2013.

Funeral Mound/Mound C (LCS 001188, HS-03)

The Funeral Mound, or Mound C, is a burial mound measuring approximately 60 feet wide, 200 feet long, and 20 feet high (Figure 6.2). It was initially composed of seven stages, of which only three now remain.



Figure 6.2. Funeral Mound. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number A5E65982-1DD8-B71C-07EE9B2ECF0FD8A9).



Figure 6.3. McDougal Mound. (Source: WLA Studio).

The mound dates to the Early Mississippian period (900 – 1200 CE). Grass covers the slopes of the mound. The construction of a railroad cut in 1872 obliterated half of the mound and excavations in the 1930s further altered its shape. The National Park Service built a concrete stairway on the west side of the mound and a three- to four-foot-high concrete wall on the north side. No other mound at the Macon Plateau has yielded human burials. The LCS describes the mound as being in "good condition" in 2012.

Cornfield Mound/Mound D (LCS 005088, HS-04)

The Cornfield Mound, or Mound D, is located near the center of the park, to the west of the Earth Lodge. Ford and his crew excavated the mound beginning in 1933. Though only a portion of the mound was excavated, it revealed the presence of a precontact agricultural field, dating to 900-1100 CE (Early Mississippian period). Similar agricultural fields have been identified in the American Bottom and further north but are virtually unknown in contexts elsewhere in the Southeast.[606] Research indicates that the prehistoric mound was originally rectangular and stood roughly nine to ten feet high. The Cornfield Mound was not restored after excavation. The mound is currently 90 feet wide by 160 feet long by 6 feet high. According to the LCS entry for the resource, the mound is covered by grass which is mown regularly on the north side but allow to grow longer on the south side. According to the LCS listing for the feature, the mound was assessed as being in "good condition" in 2013, though much of it has been rebuilt.

McDougal Mound (LCS 001181, HS-05)

The McDougal Mound is an Early Mississippian mound located in the northern lowlands area of OCMU, a large plot of land north of the Mound X ridge (Figure 6.3). Modern housing units that border the Northern Lowlands on the north and west are the probable source of trash that litters areas in the vicinity of the McDougal Mound. Unfortunately, some of the damage caused to this portion of the site extends below the ground surface such that shovel testing in recent decades encountered modern trash mixed into subsurface deposits. McDougal Mound and the surrounding area are poorly understood. It was excluded from the park boundary until recently. Current data suggest that McDougal Mound is an Early Mississippian construction. According to the LCS listing for the feature, the mound was assessed as being in "good condition" in 2013.

Southeast Mound/Mound E (LCS 005089, HS-06)

The Southeast Mound is a conical mound built during the Early Mississippian period occupation of the Macon Plateau. The mound is approximately 20 feet square and over 3 feet in height (Figure 6.3). WPA archeologists are believed to have excavated into the eastern side of the mound, but they kept such poor records of the particular dig that all "Mound E" collections had to be lumped together into a single provenience.[607] As a result, very little is known about the mound.

606. Riley, "Ocmulgee and the Question of Mississippian Agronomic Practices."
607. J.E. Ingmanson, "Mound E, Southeastern Plateau, and Middle Plateau Fortifications at Ocmulgee National Monument." (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, 1965).



Figure 6.4. Dunlap Mound. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 6.5. 1941 photo of the Earth Lodge. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number 217F76C8-1DD8-B71B-0B59C02366682E6B).



Figure 6.6. Interior view of the Earth Lodge (Source: Ken Lund).

Since 32 percent of the sherds in the Mound E collection were shell- or shell-and-grit-tempered, Hally and Williams concluded that construction began on Mound E during the latter half of Ocmulgee's Early Mississippian (900-1200 CE) occupation.[608] Future investigations of the mound may reveal additional about life during Ocmulgee's protracted decline. According to the LCS listing for the feature, the mound was assessed as being in "good condition" in 2013.

Dunlap Mound (LCS 001180, HS-07)

The Dunlap Mound is located roughly 30 yards west of the Dunlap House in the northern portion of the park. It was not excavated until 1936 (Figure 6.4). Excavations revealed that at some point, occupants of the site constructed one or more rectangular structures on the mound.[609] When it was excavated, the mound measured 100 feet wide by six feet high. Research indicates that "the mound originally had a platform top, which probably served as a house site during the Early Mississippian period, [CE] 900-1100." Presently, the Dunlap Mound measures 50 feet in diameter, 300 feet in circumference, stands 5 feet high. The mound is covered with grass and several large trees grow on its perimeter. Research indicates that the original extents of this mound include the visitor center and its parking area, indicating that modern construction dating from the antebellum period through the 1980s has disturbed much of the mound area.[610] According to the LCS listing for the feature, the mound was assessed as being in "good condition" in 2013, though much of the mound has been disturbed.

Earth Lodge (LCS 00186, HS-08)

Centrally located within the park, the Earth Lodge is a modern reconstruction of a precontact communal structure that was first constructed between 900 and 1200 CE (Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6). One of the roof timbers provided a calibrated radiocarbon date of 886-1280 CE.[611] Archeologists conclude that builders constructed the lodge entirely above grade, "with the natural red clay of the area heaped up to form a circular earth-embanked wall that has an interior diameter of

608. David J. Hally and Mark Williams, "Macon Plateau Site Community Pattern." in *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936-1986*, ed. David J. Hally (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 82-95.
609. J.E. Ingmanson, "Dunlap and McDougal Mounds, Ocmulgee National Monument," (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service) Figure 2.
610. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 165.
611. Birch, Lulewicz, and Rowe, "A Comparative Analysis," Table 1.

about 42', with the embankment extending 13'-21' beyond the interior wall face."[612]

The mound was excavated beginning in 1934, revealing an intact ceremonial space. WPA workers reconstructed the lodge between 1936 and 1937. The intact interior floor of the mound was enclosed with a steel-reinforced concrete structure. The interior floor and approximately one meter of the interior wall is original. The floor features 50 seats encircling the room, a raptor effigy platform on the west end, a central fire pit, and four massive postholes. The LCS describes the condition of the Earth Lodge as "good" as of 2013.



Figure 6.7. 1930s aerial view of Lamar Mounds A and B. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number E3053E33-1DD8-B71B-0B6FEC24C2691C63).



Figure 6.8. Lamar Mound B/Small Spiral Mound after excavation in the 1930s. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number E2D6F818-1DD8-B71B-0BBC121606D1A32E).

Lamar Mound A (LCS 001187, HS-11)

Mound A at the Lamar village site (9BI2) is a large rectangular truncated mound measuring approximately 610 feet around its entire base (Figure 6.7). According to archeological reports, the original settlement at this site may have started on a natural levee of the Ocmulgee River.[613] A palisade originally encircled an area measuring approximately 25 acres located on the levee.[614] Dense vegetation, including large hardwood trees, covers the mound. The mound dates from the Late Mississippian period, 1400 – 1650 CE; a portion of the mound was excavated in the 1930s. Due to flooding the mounds are inaccessible, and the LCS listed its condition as "fair" in 2013 due to flooding, vegetation, and "inappropriate/inadequate preservation/rehabilitation."

Lamar Mound B/Small Spiral Mound (LCS 005092, HS-12)

Lamar Mound B, or the Small Spiral Mound, at the Lamar village site (9BI2) is a rounded earthen mound with a circumference of 430 feet built during the Late Mississippian period (Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8). The mound exhibits a ramp which spirals in a counterclockwise direction from base to summit. Dense vegetation, including large hardwood trees, currently obscures the mound. Lamar Mound B has not been excavated. It is one of only three such Mississippian mounds ever documented in the southeastern United States, and the only surviving example.[615] Future archeological investigations may reveal information about its manner of construction, including its highly unusual shape. Due to flooding the mounds are inaccessible, and the LCS listed its condition as "fair" in 2013 due to flooding, vegetation, and "inappropriate/inadequate preservation/rehabilitation."

Mound X (LCS 091395, HS-17)

The remains of this low earthen mound, built in the Early Mississippian period, 900 to 1100 CE, are located north of the Earth lodge and the Cornfield Mound. Mound X is 75 feet in diameter and 3 to 5 feet tall. Currently, it is covered with high grasses. Archeological investigations in the 1930s did not examine this

612. Jones, *Earth Lodge Historic Structures Report*, 1.
613. Mark Williams, "Lamar Revisted: 1996 Test Excavations at the Lamar Site." LAMAR Institute, 1999, http://www.thelamarinstitute.org/images/PDFs/publication_43.pdf.
614. Charles H. Fairbanks, "Palisaded Town," *The Regional Review (1941)*, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/regional_review/vol6-5-6b.htm.
615. William H. Marquardt and Laura Kozuch, "The Lightning Whelk: An Enduring Icon of Southeastern North American Spirituality." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 42 (2016): 1-16.



Figure 6.9. Prehistoric Trenches. (Source: WLA Studio).

mound. Williams and Henderson first identified it in 1974 in their study, *The Archeology of the Macon North Plateau*, making mention of its postholes and assessing the mound as a "severely eroded."[616] Mound X likely contains preserved archeological deposits beneath its eroded outermost layer. According to archeological reports, Mound X has never been accurately dated. "The use, date, and spatial extent of a Mound X occupation remain unknown."[617] According to the LCS listing for the feature, the mound was assessed as being in "good condition" in 2013.

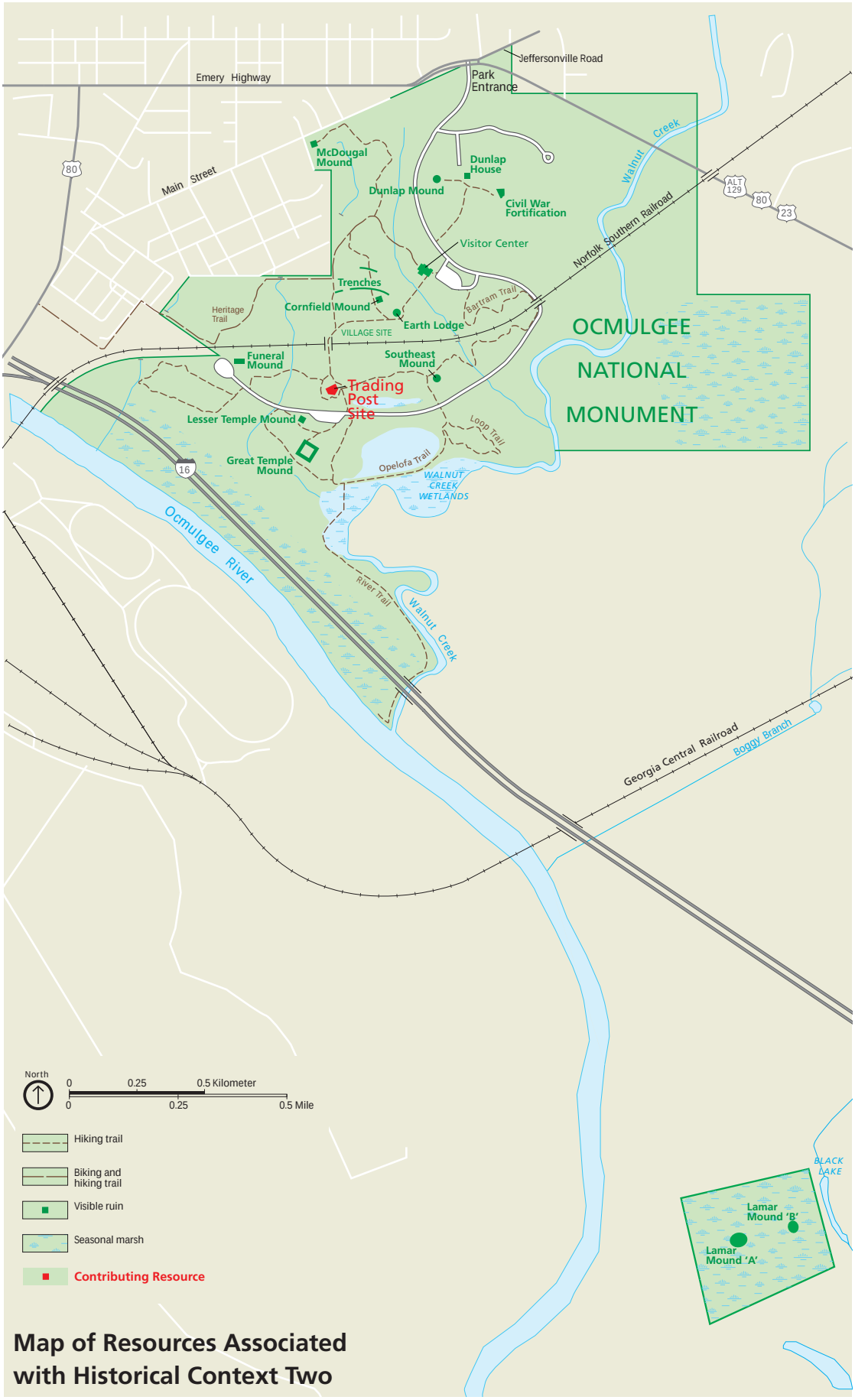
Palisade Trenches (LCS 091394, HS-16)

The Palisade Trenches are the approximately 5- to ten-10-wide ditch remains of a substantial palisade and trench system that once encircled the Lamar village and mounds. National Park Service archeologists excavated the Lamar palisade before construction of a levee at the site between 1939 and 1941. Vegetation, including some hardwood trees, covers the trenches at present. The palisaded Lamar village was built around 1400 CE, in the Late Mississippian period (1400-1650), on a hammock within a low-lying flood plain. The palisade originally enclosed approximately 21.5 acres and ran for a distance of 3,560 feet. Archeological investigations found post holes in double or triple lines along most of the length of the trench, indicating placement of posts forming the palisade. These holes are from six to twelve inches in diameter and have an average depth of eighteen inches; they are spaced approximately twelve inches apart from center to center. The palisade was essentially an open or picket fence about 12 feet high. The trench defines the path of the defensive palisade. The LCS lists the Palisade Trenches as being in "fair" condition in 2013 due to inundation and flooding.

Prehistoric Trenches (LCS 091396, HS-19)

Two roughly parallel arcs of precontact trenches, or dugouts, are found on the north, northeast, southeast, and south sides of the Macon Plateau village (Figure 6.9). These long, oval earthen trenches are a series of independent excavations. The northeastern trench measures approximately 40 feet long, 20 feet wide, and over six feet deep. The portion of the trench west of the Cornfield Mound is divided into three end-to-end segments, all of which are around 20 feet wide and over six feet deep. The north segment of this group measures approximately 120 feet long, the middle segment is 147 feet long, and the western is 88 feet long. Measurements are not available for the southern extension of the trench system. In the precontact period, clay lined the trenches, but grass covers them at present to limit erosion at the site. This Early Mississippian period (9000 - 1200 CE) feature probably once encircled the entire village, either as a defensive structure protecting the residents from attack or as a borrow pit for the construction of the mounds.[618] The Macon Plateau's prehistoric trenches demarcate the path of Ocmulgee's Early Mississippian defensive wall. The LCS lists the Prehistoric Trenches as being in "fair" condition in 2013 due to vegetation and erosion.

616. J. Mark Williams and Joseph N. Henderson, *The Archeology of the Macon North Plateau: 1974.* (Atlanta, Georgia: Department of Natural Resources, 1974).
617. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement," 133.
618. Fairbanks, *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound*, 34.



Map of Resources Associated with Historical Context Two

Historic Resources Associated with Historic Context Two

Many of the resources associated with context two are either outside the park boundary (transportation route rights-of-way) or research has not revealed physical evidence of their location at the site. The descriptions of these features, as well as the assessment of significance and condition derive from individual LCS entries as possible and any additional documentation submitted as part of the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination. Several of the resources described below are not included as contributing resources according to the National Register Nomination, which is noted in the resource description. Although they have not been addressed as part of this study, there are also likely additional archeological resources within the park that relate to this context.

The resources described below all relate to the use of the site as a crossroads or connection point for people and the development of trade routes and transportation in the area.

Colonial Trading Post (LCS 091397, HS 18)

The features associated with the colonial trading post are also referred to as the "Corn Storage Pits" in both the National Register Nomination and LCS. Located in 1934-1935 by archeologist Arthur R. Kelly, the site includes the remains of a fortified trading location that served the English and Creek during the early Colonial period (Figure 6.10). The post is thought to have been co-established by the Creek and English, but physically constructed by the Creek in 1690. The Creek occupied the post during from 1690-1715.

Archeology revealed that the remains of the trading post included three to five corn storage pits varying in size from 9 to 15 feet in diameter and 3 to 5 feet deep. The pits occupy an approximate 900-square-foot area. Archeology revealed the pits contained charred corn cobs.

The corn storage pits associated with the colonial trading post are significant under Criteria C as functional structures built and utilized by the Creek Indians and Criteria D in the area of historic archeology due to their status as part of one of the most intact historic period American Indian archeological sites in the Southeast. The features are historically significant as extant structural remains from the historic Creek occupation of the Macon Plateau. The LCS lists the condition of the feature as "good" in 2013.

Lower Creek Trading Path/Federal Road

(Not included as a contributing resource in existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination). Arthur R. Kelly and colleagues excavated the entire trading post and much of the area surrounding it, discovering among other things a well-worn path arcing past the entryway and continuing southwest for at least a kilometer.[619] This was a section of the Lower Creek Trading Path which plotted a course along the Fall Line, crossing the Ogeechee, Oconee, and finally the Ocmulgee River at the Macon Plateau.[620] English traders regularly used this rugged trail, often with American Indian guides, stocking storehouses among preferred clientele and avoiding ambushes by American Indians in the area. Later, this path was used by naturalist William Bartram as a route for his exploration of the southeastern colonies. He camped at the Old Fields during his travels. The 1805 Treaty of Washington specified funds to improve the trail and establish it as a postal route between Washington D. C. and New Orleans. The route eventually became known as the Federal Road. Additional archeological work may reveal new information about the location of the route through the site.



Figure 6.10. 1941 photo of Colonial Trading Post site. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number 8f967e2c6a554012a958bf3fc03efde6).

619. Kelly, "Preliminary Report."
620. Waselkov, "The Macon Trading House."



Figure 6.11. View of Central of Georgia Railroad. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 6.12. View of Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee. (Source: WLA Studio).

Ferry Sites within OCMU

(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) Historical research reveals that two ferries operated within the existing park boundary, which transported goods and people across the Ocmulgee River. A bridge replaced these ferries in 1826. Research does not reveal the locations or owners of the two ferry sites. Future archeological research may reveal additional information about these sites, but evidence of their location may have been destroyed during the construction of Interstate 16 along the east side of the Ocmulgee River.

Central of Georgia Railroad

(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) In 1843, the Central of Georgia Railroad constructed a line through the Macon Plateau, including through mound areas. In 1873, railroad engineers relocated the line north, destroying additional mound areas. The rebuilt line included a railroad roundhouse and a brick overpass for the Dunlap farm. Archeologist Charles C. Jones summarized the destruction caused by the northern realignment.

> This excavation for the line of the railroad necessitate the removal of a considerable portion of the northern side of the central mound. In the conduct of this work, the laborers, while cutting through the slope of the mound, and at a depth of perhaps three feet below the superior surface, exhumed several skulls.[621]

The Central of Georgia Railroad eventually leased the rail line and overpass to the Southern Railway System. The railroad right-of-way is a 200-foot-wide swath of land that runs through the northern part of OCMU (Figure 6.11). The alignment enters the site on the western side at the Ocmulgee River south of Coliseum Drive and bridges over Interstate 16. The railbed crosses Walnut Creek on the eastern side of the park and exits near US Highway 23 (Emery Highway).

Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee (LCS Shadow 092480, HS-21)

(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) According to the Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee National Register Nomination form, the Central Railroad of Georgia Railroad secured right-of-way from Samuel Dunlap to realign the railroad across his property. This agreement included construction of an underpass, which allowed him access to his property across the train tracks. The small arched brickmasonry overpass possesses statewide significance for its design and construction in the areas of architecture, engineering, and transportation (Figure 6.12).

621. Charles C. Jones Jr., *Classics Southeast Archaeology: Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly the Georgia Tribes*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 159–60.

Railroad Roundhouse
(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) During the 1873 realignment of the rail line at the OCMU site, railroad workers constructed a roundhouse near the Funeral Mound (Mound C). Historic maps show the roundhouse location. Research did not reveal when the Central Railroad of Georgia stopped using this roundhouse. Superintendent Dillahunty supervised the removal of the roundhouse foundation in the 1960s. A loop trail, which begins south of the Funeral Mound parking area passes the approximate location of the former roundhouse.

Railroad Building Ruins (LCS Shadow 092482, HS-24)
(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) According to a National Register Nomination Update, there are at least two building ruins associated with the railroad, which date from the period 1870 to 1930. These ruins are located between the railroad right of way and the existing Southeast Mound trail. Only the foundations of these building remain above ground. The National Register Nomination update states, "[t]he ruins do not contribute to the areas or periods of significance for the Ocmulgee National Monument. The functions of these structures are unknown, and they lack sufficient integrity for listing."[622]

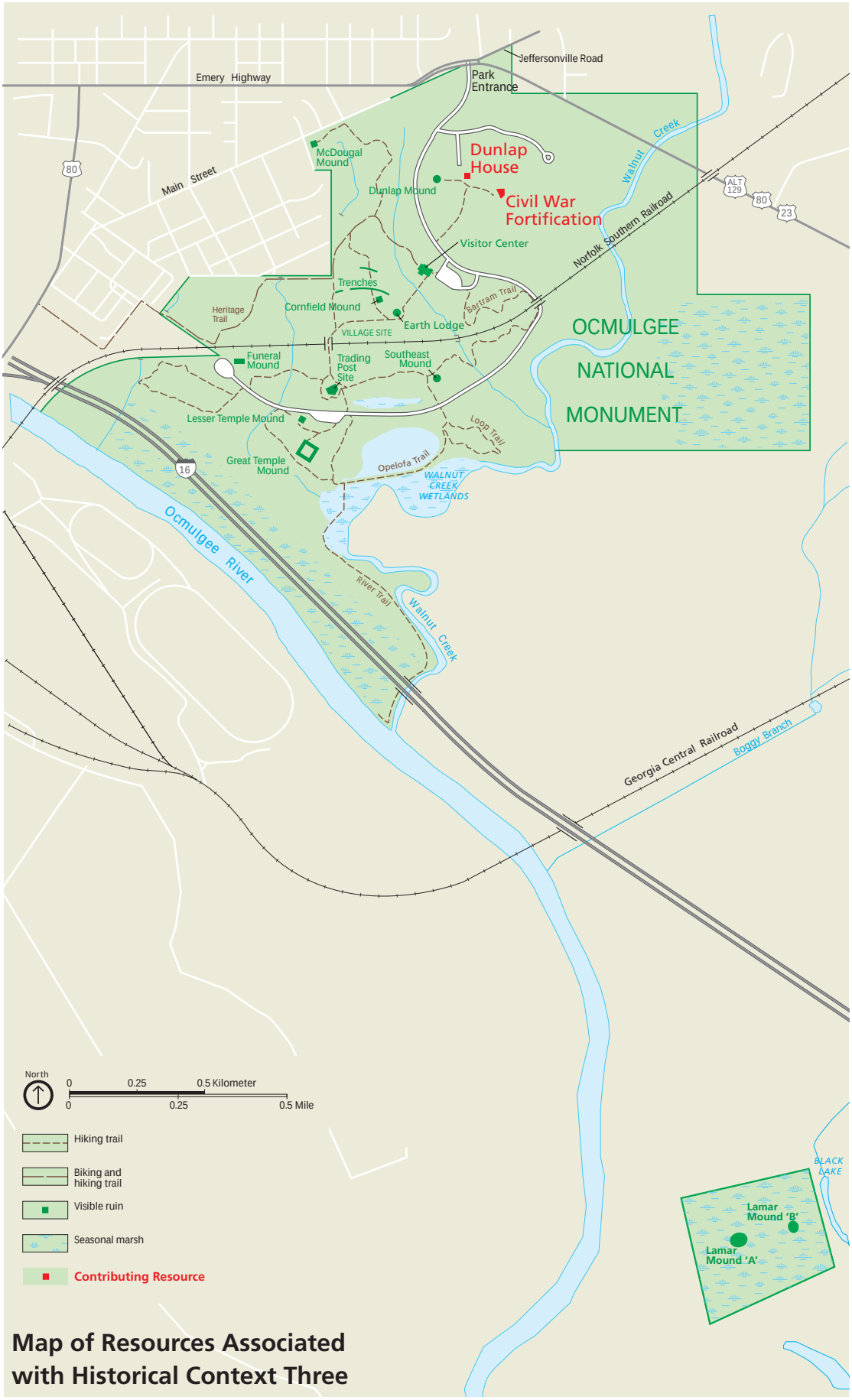
Interstate 16
(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) Highway engineers suggested routing a new interstate connecting Macon to Savannah through the OCMU boundary. After some reticence, the NPS attempted to thwart this effort, but succeeded only in rerouting the highway to a zone parallel to the Ocmulgee River. Prior to construction, archeologists were able to excavate critical areas, resulting in a more detailed understanding of human occupation and use of the site. The resulting construction destroyed the bottomlands of the site and caused areas adjacent to the river to be constantly inundated with water. The interstate is part of a federally funded system that connects states for both civilian and military purposes.

Historic Resources Associated with Historic Context Three

While many of the outbuildings associated with the Dunlap farm are no longer evident at the site, two historic-period resources related to the Civil War remain including the Dunlap House and the Civil War Fortifications. The Battle of Dunlap's Hill maintains national and regional historical significance due to its association with the American Civil War. The area was utilized by the Union as a strategic location for conducting maneuvers against Macon and the surrounding countryside. Both Union and Confederate soldiers died in the vicinity. Due to its connection to the Atlanta Campaign, Stoneman's Raid, Kilpatrick's Feint, the Dunlap House meets the Criterion A for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The railroad still runs through the site, but it is not within the park boundary (addressed in context two). Although they have not been addressed as part of this study, there are also likely archeological resources within the park that relate to this context. The resources described below all relate to the Civil War period at the site.

Dunlap House (LCS 005090, HS-09)
Plantation owner Samuel Dunlap's family constructed the Dunlap House in 1856 (Figure 6.13). The house became property of the federal government in 1935, and officially part of the new national monument in 1936. The current footprint of the building is the same as when it was first built. There have been only slight alterations to the exterior of the house, including the replacement of the back porch and front porch balustrades. The house is a one-story, hip-roofed dwelling with a boxed cornice. The front faces north and has five bays, with a center wood panel door with transom and side lights. Its windows are six-over-

622. *Ocmulgee National Monument, National Register Nomination*, Section 7, 8.



Map of Resources Associated with Historical Context Three



Figure 6.13. Dunlap House. (Source: WLA Studio).

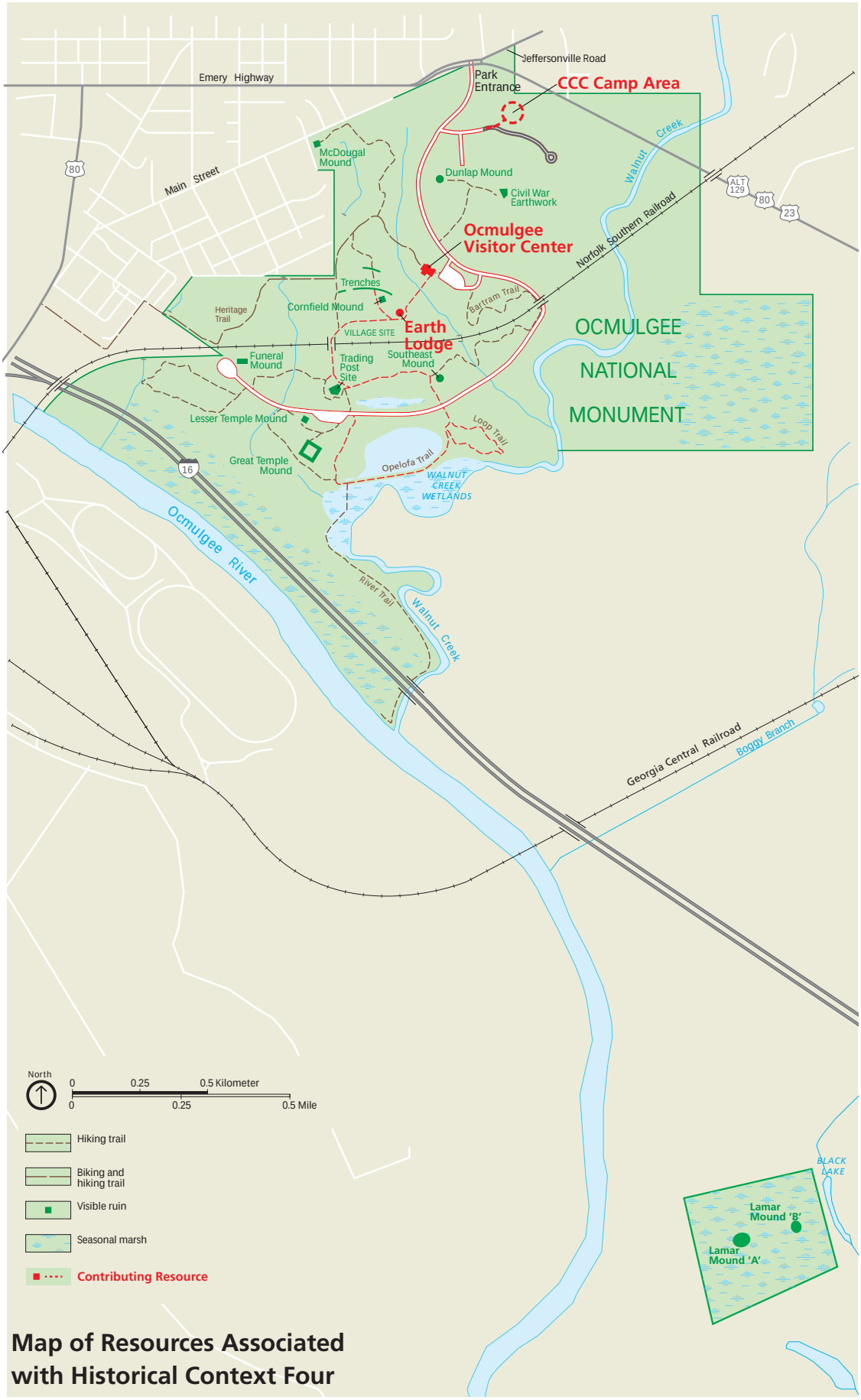


Figure 6.14. Dunlap's Hill Civil War Fortifications. (Source: WLA Studio).

six double-hung with a wood sash. The structure has retained several original elements: some of the flushed siding across the front of the house, the lapped siding on parts of the east and west sides, and the large six-over-six double-hung sash windows with louvered shutters.[623] The LCS listed the condition of the Dunlap House as "fair" in 2013.

Dunlap's Hill Civil War Fortifications (LCS 05091, HS-10)
A Civil War era earthwork embankment is located 800 feet southeast of the Dunlap House. This feature is also a contributing resource in the 1976 National Register Nomination for the Ocmulgee National Monument (Figure 6.14). Not to be confused with the Dunlap Mound, Confederate troops from Fort Hawkins used these fortifications to successfully defend the Walnut Creek railroad trestle from the Union troops who had occupied the Dunlap House during Stoneman's Raid.[624] This earthwork saw further action a month after Stoneman's Raid when Union General Kilpatrick's cavalry attacked the Walnut Creek railroad bridge again during the Battle of Walnut Creek.[625] Enslaved individuals constructed these earthworks during the Civil War, and they are the "only physical evidence of the action remaining" as other "such fortifications around the town have been obliterated."[626] The fortifications measure 150 feet by 120 feet by 75 feet with 20-foot-thick walls. The embankments vary in height, with the tallest measuring 5 feet high. The fortifications are covered with regularly mown grass. The Civil War Fortifications are locally significant under NR Criteria A and D and represent Confederate emplacement associated with Stoneman's 1864 Raid. The LCS lists the condition of the Civil War Fortifications as "good" in 2013.

623. Jones, "Dunlap House," 9.
624. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 10.
625. Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen*, 456-58.
626. National Register of Historic Places, *Ocmulgee National Monument*, 1976.



Map of Resources Associated with Historical Context Four

Historic Resources Associated with Historic Context Four

Many of the "well executed" features constructed by the New Deal workers, such as the cedar fencing, rustic footbridge, and the CCC camp itself, no longer exist. However, a number of historic-period resources related to park development remain and include the Visitor Center, the reconstructed Earth Lodge, and several other components of the historic landscape.

The descriptions of these features, as well as the assessment of their significance and condition derive from the individual LCS entries and the additional documentation submitted as part of the Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination. Several of the resources described below are not included as contributing resources according to the National Register nomination, which is noted in the resource description.

The resources described below all relate to the New Deal period of archeology and park development. This report adds one additional feature to the preestablished list—the historic cultural landscape of the site.

Earth Lodge (LCS 001186, HS-08)

See description included in Historic Context One.

Flagstaff (LCS 091398, HS-15)

A commemorative flagpole honoring the contributions of several prominent citizens was installed north of the Visitor Center in 1941 (Figure 6.15). It stands 50 feet tall and features a two-tier, square concrete base measuring 9 feet on all sides and an octagonal concrete column from which the pole rises sits atop the square base. The concrete is painted red and the pole is painted silver. A bronze plaque on the southern side of the column reads: "In recognition of the pioneer work of/ Walter Alexander Harris/ Charles Cotton Harrold/ Linton Munroe Solomon/ In the Establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument/ This Tablet is Erected by the Kiwanis Club/ of the City of Macon, Georgia/ October 1st, 1941." John Dennis, a member of the Kiwanis Club of Macon, designed the plaque. The Kiwanis Club presented the plaque to the park in honor of the three club members influential in the establishment of the national park at Ocmulgee.

The Ocmulgee Flagstaff is locally significant under NR criterion A. The flagstaff and the Visitor Center represent the early phases of park development under the National Park Service at Ocmulgee National Monument. The flagstaff meets National Register Criterion A for its role in the commemorative development of the park. The LCS lists the condition of the Flagsaff is listed as "good" in 2013.



Figure 6.15. Flagstaff. (Source: WLA Studio).

Historic Cultural Landscape

(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) The historic cultural landscape of Ocmulgee as it relates to park development is comprised of several individual resources. Collectively, these resources help to situate Ocmulgee's mounds, buildings, and structures in the landscape and provide a historical context for the development of the park. Cultural landscape resources include the ruins of the CCC camp established in 1937, vegetation planted by



Figure 6.16. CCC Camp area. (Source: WLA Studio).

CCC workers, the views and vistas created by park designers, and the road and trails constructed by New Deal laborers.

CCC Camp

In May 1937, a CCC Camp was constructed in the northeastern portion of the park. The camp contained eleven distinct buildings, an entry drive, spur road, footpaths, and formal landscaping. Today, the area is completely wooded, and only three potential remnants of the camp remain: a small leader of brick edging a swale, a circular depression that may have been the flagpole location, and two small pieces of concrete (Figure 6.16). Archeology is needed to get a more complete understanding of surviving resources related to the CCC camp.

CCC Plantings

According to the 2007 CLR, "alternating magnolia and holly trees planted near the McDougal Mound by CCC workers still exist today."[627] A thorough tree and shrub survey would be required to determine if any other plantings remain from this period.

Views and Vistas

The CLR notes that intentional vistas "connect the Visitor Center, Earth Lodge, Great Temple Mound, Lesser Temple Mound, and Funeral Mound." In the 1930s, the NPS "designed vistas between the mounds and provided access to the platforms to maintain views."[628] These vistas remain partially intact, with impacts to the vistas a result of vegetation growth.

627. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 21.
628. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 47.

Circulation Features
Several circulation features within the current park date to the period of significance, and include the primary park road, parking areas, the former CCC camp road, the Opelofa, Loop, and Bartram trails, and pedestrian walkways. According to the LCS brick drain culverts associated with CCC road construction (LCS Shadow 092479, HS-20) were determined ineligible for the National Register because they do not relate to the areas or periods of significance for OCMU.

Lamar Levee (LCS Shadow 000189, HS-13)
(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) The Lamar Levee is an earthen structure with concrete drain pipes and substructure. Built by the National Park Service between 1939 and 1941, the levee is approximately 65 feet wide and encircles the Lamar village site. Grass grows on the top and the slopes of the levee, with young trees growing at slope break and large trees at its base. The levee protects the Lamar mounds from flooding at Black Lake from the Ocmulgee River. The National Register Nomination Update states that the levee does not contribute to the areas or periods of significance for the Ocmulgee National Monument; it is a utilitarian structure and not part of the commemorative development at the park.

Pump House (LCS Shadow 092481, HS-23)
(Not included as a contributing resource in the existing Ocmulgee National Monument National Register Nomination.) The pump house is a four-foot-square concrete structure with curved concrete slab roof located between the southern side of the active railroad line and the Southeast Mound. The front faces north and has a square opening; the interior has a concrete floor. The building dates from the period 1900 to 1930. The National Register Nomination update states that the pump house does not contribute to the areas or periods of significance for the Ocmulgee National Monument; it is a utilitarian structure and not part of the commemorative development of the park. According to the LCS, the pump house is not managed as a cultural resource.

Visitor Center (LCS 091399, HS-14)
The Visitor Center is a one-story, Art Moderne style building with a full basement built between 1938 and 1951 by the National Park Service (Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.18). The exterior is yellow stucco with red-brown trim, and the building has a flat roof. The original portion of the structure has a streamlined appearance with rounded corners and smooth wall surfaces. The door surround and clerestory windows are glass brick; the windows are awning casement type. The plan is irregular, with the main entrance through a rotunda and an array of offices and exhibit rooms to the rear and side. A molded geometric frieze near the top of the exterior wall imitates the decoration on a Lamar Bold Incised pottery vessel. A wide terrace wraps around the south and east sides of the rotunda. A stair on the south side of the terrace is on direct axis with the center of the Earth Lodge dome, and an asphalt path connects the two structures. The north side has a later, one-story addition containing an auditorium, offices, and museum storage area.

The Visitor Center is listed in the National Register under Criterion C as a representative example of the Art Moderne style of architecture. Additionally, the Visitor Center is significant under Criterion A for its role in the commemorative development of the park under the National Park Service. Though the LCS lists the condition of the Visitor Center as "good" in 2013, it has undergone recent repairs to its basement level, which have likely improved its condition.



Figure 6.17. Visitor Center interior. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset Number A39058C1-1DD8-B71C-071DE6004E372132).



Figure 6.18. Visitor Center. (Source: WLA Studio).

Management Recommendations

Introduction

Since the park's establishment in 1936, the NPS has worked to preserve, protect, and interpret a variety of historic resources at OCMU. To guide this work, the NPS has completed many planning documents over the years. This chapter includes a summary of the most recent efforts.

This chapter also provides an overview of the cultural resource types associated with Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park site that are not specifically addressed in the historic context chapters. The five cultural resource areas of the National Park Service are: cultural landscapes, historic structures, ethnographic resources, archeological resources, and museum collections.



Figure 7.1. Lamar Bold incised pottery on display at Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset ID: A44A1E15-1DD8-B71C-07E3F4892419E7AD).

Current Planning Documents

The most current General Management Plan (GMP) for the national historical park was approved in 1982. This document provided National Park Service guidance for development, visitor use, and resource management for the then national monument. The document's goal was to outline management of the park for the following ten years. Action items included in the plan were to relocate the park entrance road to Main Street to improve visitor safety, construct a footbridge over the railroad tracks to facilitate visitor movement within the park, and construct a trail to the southern end of the park to improve visitor awareness of the river. In 1990, contractors made improvements to the north end of the park entrance road and realigned the main entrance. Improvements included a new intersection alignment with a traffic light.[629] The NPS constructed the footbridge over the railroad track in 2003 with improvements made to the bridge in 2019.

The most current planning documents and studies are as follows:

- Interpretive Prospectus (1973)
- General Management Plan (1982)
- Scope of Collection Statement (1985)
- Administrative History (1985)
- Statement for Management (1991)
- Museum Collection Condition Survey (1993)
- Management Objectives Workshop (May 25-25, 1994)
- Museum Collection Management Plan (1995)
- Management Analysis Report (March 30-31, 1999)
- Archives and Records Management Review, 3 vols. (2002)
- Interpretive Workshop Theme Statements (2004)
- Historic Structure Report, Earth Lodge (2005)
- Cultural Landscape Report (2007)

629. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 27.

- Historic Structure Report, Visitor Center (2008)
- Strategic Plan (2005-2009)
- Historic Structure Report, Dunlap House (2011)
- Foundation Document (2014)
- Museum Emergency Operation Plan (2018)

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Site has Project Management Information System (PMIS) statements to develop and update a Collection Storage Plan, Administrative History, Comprehensive Interpretive Plan, and Cultural Landscape Report.

Administrators at Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Site should consider updating the General Management Plan. A General Management Plan is required by law for every area administered by the National Park Service. While these plans are long range, they should be updated every 15-20 years. This document will receive public comment and will determine future management strategies to support the purpose and significance of the park, inform visitor experiences, and identify impacts to archeological, natural, and cultural resources in the national historical park. It would be practical to complete an updated General Management Plan once the boundary expansion is complete, so that managers can evaluate the resources in the newly acquired property for the document.

National Register of Historic Places Nomination

The OCMU site was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places with the passage of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The Keeper of the National Register accepted documentation for Ocmulgee National Monument in 1976. This documentation was updated in 1979 and 1996. Criteria for significance include contributions to the broad patterns of history (Criteria A), having distinctive architecture (Criteria C), and the potential to yield archeological information (Criteria D). The 1996 nomination update also includes Criteria Consideration F, a commemorative property, as applicable to OCMU. Areas of significance include Archeology (Historic and Prehistoric), Architecture, Commerce, Ethnic Heritage – Native American, Military, and Commemoration.

Determination of Eligibility

Due to the age of the existing nomination, several OCMU resources may need to be reassessed in terms of their eligibility for listing. It is recommended that the national historical park wait until all properties within the boundary expansion area have been acquired before the National Register is updated, so that these areas may be included in the additional documentation.

In addition to new features added to the park through the boundary expansion, existing historic resources that may warrant evaluation or re-evaluation include:

Lower Creek Trading Path/Federal Road

When the National Register Nomination is updated for the site, the preparers may want to consider including the Lower Creek Trading Path as a contributing resource under Criteria D for potential to yield additional archeological information.

Ferry Sites

Research did not reveal the exact location of the ferry sites at OCMU. While these ferry sites are important to the overall trade and transportation context of OCMU, they likely were not constructed during the period of significance and do not pertain to the existing areas of significance for the park listed in the National Register nomination. Under the existing areas of significance, and because the ferry site locations are unknown, it is unlikely that the ferry sites would be considered contributing features to the significance OCMU.



Figure 7.2. Muscogee (Creek) dancers at OCMU in 2015. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset ID: A06B7341-1DD8-B71C-07BC257B41F04551).

Railroad Resources

The construction of railroad resources in the park destroyed archeological data, but this history is also part of the overall trade and transportation context related to OCMU and the state of Georgia. The Railroad Overpass at Ocmulgee is individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The Central of Georgia Railroad right-of-way (now Norfolk Southern) is located outside the park boundary. The railroad building ruins are located within the park boundary. These resources may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places because of their association with the development of Georgia's railroad system.[630]

Dunlap House

The house that survived the Battle of Dunlap's Farm is still standing. While the structure was a contributing property of the 1976 National Register Nomination for the Ocmulgee National Monument, there is a lack of historical context for its inclusion under Criteria A and B.[631] The 1976 nomination failed to provide any historical context and evidence of other vernacular styles typical of that time period. It also included several factual errors, such as the statement that the Dunlap House was "one of the oldest houses in Macon."[632] Due to a fire caused by arson in 2011, the Cultural Resource Division of the Southeast Region of the National Parks Service completed an historic structure report to provide documentation of the various renovations of the house and to ascertain its historical integrity. The report recommended an updated National Register Nomination, which would provide additional historical context for the structure including the role enslaved individuals played in the construction of the house.[633]

Civil War Fortifications

Preparers of an updated National Register Nomination should consider the role of enslaved labor in the construction of the Confederate emplacements associated with the Stoneman's Raid and Kilpatrick's Feint.

630. See Georgia Department of Transportation, "Georgia's Railroads, 1833-2015: Historic Context and Statewide Survey."
631. National Register of Historic Places, *Ocmulgee National Monument*.
632. Ibid.
633. Jones, "The Dunlap House," 34.

WPA Era Utilitarian Resources

Preparers of an updated National Register Nomination may also want to reconsider utilitarian features related to WPA construction at the site. While the last National Register update lists features relating to architecture and commemoration for this period, other features constructed during the WPA era such as the Lamar Levee and brick drain culverts are considered "utilitarian" and therefore noncontributing. The CCC Camp site is not included in the National Register documentation. Preparers may want to consider additional research and historical context information that supports inclusion of these resources as part of the historic cultural landscape.

Cultural Resource Areas

Cultural Landscapes

The National Park Service defines a cultural landscape as "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values."[634] There are four types of cultural landscapes: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park contains historic sites, historic designed landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.

A Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) describes the historical development of a property, documents the existing site conditions, provides analysis of the landscape's potential National Register significance, identifies character defining features, determines appropriate treatment strategies, and develops treatment recommendations that facilitate preservation of these resources, address park management concerns, and inform ongoing proposed management decisions.

Beth Wheeler with the National Park Service completed a CLR for OCMU in 2007. In evaluating the site's integrity, the report determined that the landscape does convey its historical significance through the remaining landscape features at the park. The report concluded "[a]s a whole, Ocmulgee retains integrity given the extensive period of significance, continual occupation, and historic park development."[635] The report recommended an overall treatment strategy of preservation for long-term management of the cultural landscape. Analysis of the cultural landscape conducted for the CLR suggests that the period of significance spans from 10,000 BCE to 1951 CE, "representing the continuum of human occupation along the Ocmulgee River."[636]

The documentation, preservation, and treatment of the park's cultural landscape should continue to be a priority for park staff.

Historic Structures

The historic structures on the site include the Visitor Center, Dunlap House, and Earth Lodge. Historic structure reports have been prepared for each structure, providing documentary, graphic, and physical information about each building's history and existing condition. However, because these three documents are over ten years old, it is recommended that the national historical park update these documents to reflect recent repairs and changes to these historic features.

Ethnographic Resources

The NPS recently approved an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Study for the park, produced by the University of Florida Department of Anthropology in 2014. The report "examines the extant

634. National Park Service, "Understand Cultural Landscapes - Cultural Landscapes," U.S. National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/culturallandscapes/understand-cl.htm.
635. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 49.
636. Wheeler, *Ocmulgee National Monument Cultural Landscape Report*, 41.



Figure 7.3. Great Temple Mound, 2015. (Source: National Park Service, NPGallery, Asset ID: a1be7edb344c4b63b7dace240344b39f).

demographic, ethnohistorical and ethnographic resources that document the associations with and traditional uses of, resources" at OCMU.[637] The document includes recordation of consultation with members of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Thlopthlocco Tribal Town, and Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. In addition, park staff conducted interviews with representatives of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, the results of which have been included in this report (see Context 1).

The NPS is the steward of this site which is considered important to several indigenous communities who have cultural, spiritual, and subsistence connections to the resources located at OCMU. Ethnographic resource types include sites, structures, objects, and landscapes and can include both cultural and natural features.[638]

Several key pieces of legislation and NPS policies require consultation and gathering of ethnographic data when NPS actions might affect ethnographic resources. Among others, the NPS must comply with:

- National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), when NPS actions might affect the interests (subsistence, religious, residential, etc.) of tribes and other communities;
- American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), when NPS actions might affect Native American religious interests;
- National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), when NPS actions affect ethnographic resources with National Register eligibility;
- Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), when archeological activities might affect resources of concern to Native Americans;
- Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), when NPS collections contain materials potentially associated with Native Americans, when planned archeological excavations might affect Native American interests, and when human remains and associated grave goods are discovered accidently;

637. Andrews, Collings, and Lee, "Ethnographic Overview," 6.
638. National Park Service, Office of Policy, "NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline," 157–76.

- Presidential Memorandum on Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments, when NPS actions might affect the interests, trust resources, and tribal government rights of federally recognized tribes; and
- Executive Order 13007 on Indian Sacred Sites, when NPS actions might affect the physical integrity of sacred sites, and both access to and ceremonial use of these sites by American Indian religious practitioners in federally recognized tribes.[639]

As of April 2018, the following thirteen tribes are traditionally associated with Ocmulgee National Monument:

- Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas
- Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town
- Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
- Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians
- United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians
- Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
- Kialegee Tribal Town
- Muscogee (Creek) Nation
- Thlopthlocco Tribal Town
- Poarch Creek Indians
- Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida
- Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
- Seminole Nation of Florida

The Ethnographic Overview for OCMU recommends continued consultation with affiliated tribes.

The Ethnographic Overview report also recommends ethnographic research to reveal the connection of African Americans to the site, which includes enslaved individuals as well as members of the all-female African American team that conducted archeological work at the Swift Creek Site. The contexts outlined in this HRS support these potential efforts. A community-based research framework may be an appropriate methodological approach to this project. Sites that have both American Indian and African American archeological data could serve as a model.[640]

Community outreach efforts may also reveal descendant information related to the antebellum and Civil War resources at the park. A Special History Study may be the appropriate research and narrative approach for this type of study. National Archives records may include records indicating the names of the all-female African American team members who worked at the Swift Creek Site. Genealogical research may reveal descendant information for these workers.

Archeology

Management of archeological resources in park lands is mandated by both legislation and NPS policy. Important legislation includes the Antiquities Act of 1906, Sections 106 and 110 of the NHPA, the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act, the ARPA, the Abandoned Shipwreck Act, the NAGPRA, and their "respective implementing regulations, standards, and guidelines.[641]

Types of archeological resources covered by these policies and laws include physical evidence of both prehistoric and historic time periods and can be located above or below ground. Information gathered

639. National Park Service, Office of Policy, 175–76.
640. One current example of a public archeology project is the research conducted at Historic Mitchelville Freedom Park in Beaufort County, South Carolina. The descendant community on Hilton Head has deep ties to the Mitchelville site and have informed archeological research.
641. National Park Service, Office of Policy, 67.

from archeological investigation is compiled and entered into park and NPS-wide databases for planning and management purposes. Park planning documents must consider direct and indirect effects on archeological resources.

To date, OCMU has been the subject of many studies and investigations beginning with the 1930s work conducted by the Civil Works Administration and Arthur Kelly. Many of the findings of these investigations were recorded after the fact by Charles Fairbanks (1956), Ingmanson (1964, 1965), Prokepetz (1974), Smith (1973), and Williams and Henderson (1974). Recent studies have been conducted by SEAC for compliance reasons such as prior to the construction of a pedestrian footbridge over the railroad and various utility projects.

A resource's NRHP eligibility is dependent on its ability to convey its historic significance. Thus, sites must be able to demonstrate an association to historic contexts and themes. Archeological deposits and landscape features at the Macon Plateau and sites within the park boundary unquestionably possess significant data potential; investigations to date, though rather limited in scope, have nonetheless revealed much about Mississippian and Early Contact period histories and cultures. Several major questions remain, including:

1. What was the nature and spatial extent of the Macon Plateau's Paleoindian occupation?
2. How did the Macon Plateau function as a central place during the Archaic period? What was its role in the formation and constitution of Archaic macrobands who gathered seasonally at Fall Line sites? What was the site's role in early plant domestication?
3. How did the Macon Plateau figure into large-scale regional and interregional interaction networks during the Middle and Late Woodland period?
4. How were interregional trade, nonlocal ideologies, and new subsistence practices involved in Macon Plateau's Mississippian origins?
5. Why is shell-tempered pottery abundant at Macon Plateau but virtually nonexistent at sites in the immediate area?
6. How was the Early Mississippian community at Macon Plateau organized spatially and how did its organization shift over time? Do geophysical anomalies detected across the site correspond to buried structures, as Bigman claims?[642]
7. Why did the Early Mississippian community to abandon Macon Plateau? Where did they go and what is their historic relationship to the people who occupied the Lamar site? To the Muscogee (Creek)? To other American Indian tribes?

Deposits capable of answering these questions must possess archeological integrity. While the greater portion of the Macon Plateau and sites within the park boundary are likely preserved, heavy disturbance limits the potential of other areas. As mentioned, the Swift Creek site was destroyed during World War II-era United States Army operations, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century industrial activities have damaged many of the monuments and habitation areas at the Macon Plateau. Additionally, deposits at the Lamar site and low-lying sites within the vicinity have likely been impacted by the construction of I-16, which changed local hydrology and transformed the Ocmulgee River floodplain into a perennial swamp.

Additional investigation may reveal information pertaining to the antebellum occupation and development of the site as a plantation. Research indicates that there were additional buildings located on the site

642. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee."

associated with the Dunlap plantation including a barn, an overseer's house, and chicken coops.[643] There were also likely quarters associated with the enslaved persons who lived at the plantation. Archeological and ethnographic investigations may reveal additional information about the location of these buildings.

Museum Collections

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park "possesses one of the largest collections of recovered artifacts in the national park system, together with associated maps and other documentation."[644] Its archeological research collection is one of its fundamental resources, identified in the Foundation Document. A small fraction of Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park's museum objects are on display in the Visitor Center. According to a Scope of Collections Statement for the park, as of FY 2016, the collection at OCMU "totals over 2.6 million museum objects in the disciplines of archeology, ethnology, history, art and archival documents."[645] Additionally, the national historical park has 458 biology specimens, 8 paleo specimens, and 62 geology specimens. Together, these collections provide a view of the natural environment as well as the lives of the people who once lived, passed through, fought, and worked at the site.

The archeological collection encompasses the extent of the park's period of significance (10,000 BCE – 1951 CE) and relates to the 21 documented archeological sites at the park. According to the collections statement, many artifacts are housed in the park's museum storage area, but the majority of the artifacts are housed at the Southeast Region Archeological Center (SEAC) in Tallahassee, Florida. Archeological objects in this collection include projectile points, ceramic vessels, pottery sherds, funerary objects, and beads. Historic objects include books, tools, and programs related to the WPA-era and Civil War-era artifacts among others.

Several key pieces of legislation and NPS policies dictate management of museum collections. Among others, the NPS must comply with:

- NPS *Management Policies* (2001), Chapters 5 and 7
- Director's Order #24: NPS Museum Collections Management
- Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management (1998)
- Cultural Resource Management Guideline (1997)
- NPS *Museum Handbook*
- Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, 25 USC 3001-13

Collection management recommendations are detailed in the Scope of Collections Statement. The document is due to be updated in 2023. Management recommendations in the statement include those pertaining to accessions and deaccessions in the collection. Regarding future research, any archeological collection, except those identified by NAGPRA, recovered within the park boundary must be retained in the park's museum collection.[646]

643. Bigman, "An Early Mississippian Settlement History of Ocmulgee," 157.
644. National Park Service, "Foundation Document Overview: Ocmulgee National Monument," 2.
645. National Park Service, "Scope of Collection Statement," 1.
646. National Park Service, "Scope of Collection Statement," 4.

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OCMU_363_1007_[60015]	1936 Remodeling Plan for Temporary Museum
OCMU_363_1051_[41942]	1936 Proposed Shelter for Mound C
OCMU_363_1051A_[60017]	1936 Proposed Shelter for Mound C Elevations
OCMU_363_1052A_[58675]	1936 Proposed Entrance Gate
OCMU_363_1052B_[86620]	1936 Entrance Gate
OCMU_363_1053_[54154]	1936 Proposed restoration of council chamber (
OCMU_363_1053AZ1_[112007]	1939 Entrance road design
OCMU_363_1053Z1_[51919]	1936 – Grading plan for road
OCMU_363_1055A_[60025]	1936 Plans for footbridge near council chamber
OCMU_363_1055B_[66785]	1936 Footbridge between parking and council chamber
OCMU_363_1057_[75287]	1937 Temporary Shop Building
OCMU_363_2000_[80071]	1937 Mound A Parking Area
OCMU_363_2001_[80082]	1937 Museum Parking Area
OCMU_363_2002_[85820]	1938 (Nov) Preliminary Design for Museum and Administration Building
OCMU_363_2002A_[93787]	1938 (Oct) Museum Plans
OCMU_363_2002B_[115689]	1939 (Sept) Revised Ground Floor Layout Museum
OCMU_363_2002C_[121384]	1939 (Dec) Basement Floor Plan Museum
OCMU_363_2006_[89368]	1938 Museum and Admin Building Unit IA Plans
OCMU_363_2009_[106713]	1939 (May) Suggested layout for temp toilets, museum
OCMU_363_2010_[113973]	1939 (July) Museum Unit IE
OCMU_363_2012_[114021]	1939 (Aug) Grading plan museum area
OCMU_363_2013_[117600]	1939 Museum and Admin Bldg, Units IB and 2A
OCMU_363_2013A_[119749]	1939 Plumbing and Tile – Museum; Shows "Colored" & "White" restrooms
OCMU_363_2026B_[123443]	1940 (Jan) Planting, Grading, Road Profiles Museum
OCMU_363_2036_[147380]	1940 Planting Plans – Museum Area
OCMU_363_2050_[103423]	1937 Museum Parking Area
OCMU_363_2050A_[84705]	1937 Museum Parking Area
OCMU_363_2050B_[112038]	1939 parking for Museum Area

OCMU_363_2051_[79110]	1937 Mound A Parking Area
OCMU_363_2053_[85869]	1938 Extension of Road, Mound A
OCMU_363_2054_[115760]	1939 Sidewalk and Curb, Entrance to City Limits
OCMU_363_2055_[132782]	1940 Lamar Mounds Parking Area
OCMU_363_2057_[150988]	1940 Tree Planting – Northwest Section of Park
OCMU_363_2064_[159837]	1942 Planting Plan Mound A Parking Area
OCMU_363_2065_[159850]	1942 Planting Plan Mound C Parking Area
OCMU_363_2070_[115764]	1941 Master Plan – cover sheet only
OCMU_363_2071_[165276]	1943 General Development Sheet – Master Plan
OCMU_363_4050_[101687]	1939 Lake Development
OCMU_363_5300_[121472]	1939 Museum Roof Slab plans and details
OCMU_363_5301_[115778]	1939 Museum Roof Slab plans and details
OCMU_363_5302_[130580]	1940 Main Park Road
OCMU_363_5303_[150863]	1941 Roof & Electrical Plan – Museum and Admin Bldg
OCMU_363_8000_[93859]	1938 Mound C Parking Area
OCMU_363_8002_[101709]	1939 (Jan/Feb) Mound A Parking Area
OCMU_363_8006_[112053]	1939 Layout Plan Temporary Museum
OCMU_363_8010_[141849]	1940 – mosquito control plan
OCMU_363_60014_[190460]	No Date – Land Lots prior to development
OCMU_363_60020_[125472]	No Date – “Creek Burial Exhibits”
OCMU_363_60029_[125483]	No Date – hand rendered existing vegetation plan
OCMU_363_D42_[152718]	1942 Final Report on Surfacing of Road and Parking areas
OCMU_363_D61_[136325]	1940 Monthly reports of visitation
OCMU_363_D67_[125783]	1939 Superintendent’s Annual Report
OCMU_363_D74_[100877]	1937 General Development Plan

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

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