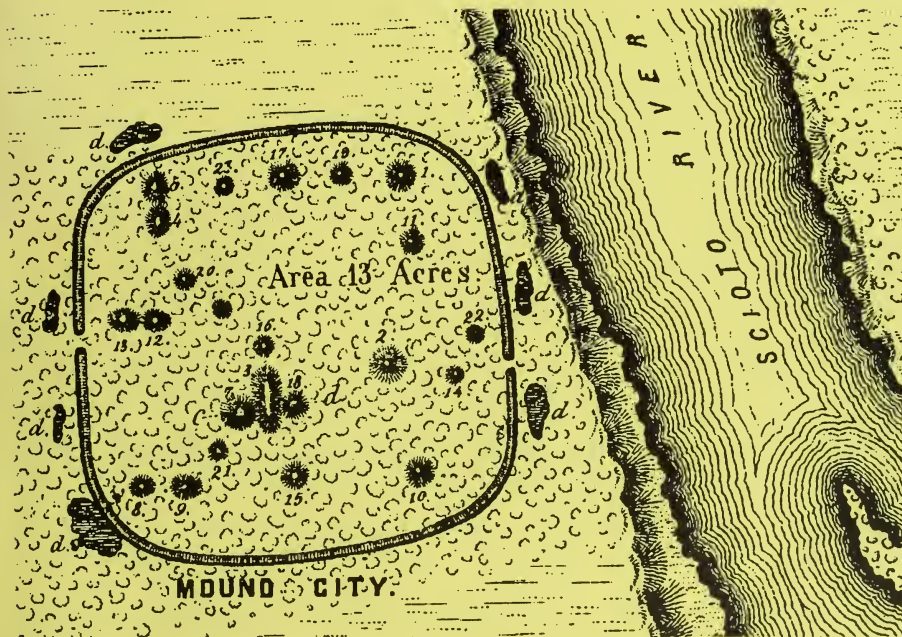


Amidst Ancient Monuments

The Administrative History of
Mound City Group National Monument/
Hopewell Culture National Historical Park
Ohio




Ron Cockrell
National Park Service
1999

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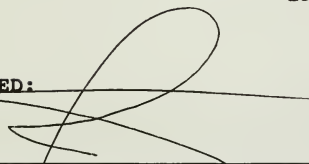
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Omaha, Nebraska
1999

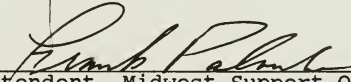
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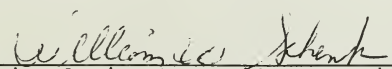
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Regional Director, Midwest Region

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Figure 1: Entrance sign to Hopewell Culture National Historical Park's Mound City Group/National Park Service administrative headquarters. (NPS/1996)

DEDICATION

For Three Men Who Have Made a Difference --

"Mr. Moundbuilder," Clyde B. King, first Mound City Group
National Monument superintendent;

And for my two National Park Service mentors:

F. A. "Andy" Ketterson, Jr., chief, cultural resources
management, Midwest Regional Office (retired)

and

Edwin C. ("Ed") Bearss, National Park Service chief historian
(retired)

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

President Warren G. Harding signed a presidential proclamation on March 2, 1923, establishing the Mound City Group National Monument, thereby preserving a group of prehistoric (ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 500) Hopewell burial mounds. The proclamation declared the mounds to be "... an object of great historic and scientific interest [to] be permanently preserved and protected from all depredations and from all changes that will to any extent mar or jeopardize their value...."

Mound City Group, in south central Ohio near Chillicothe, was originally administered by the War Department, but managed by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society as a state memorial under a revocable license. This arrangement continued in 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt reorganized the executive branch and a number of national monuments, including Mound City Group, were transferred to National Park Service administration. Bowing to local pressure, NPS revoked the license with the state society in 1946, and Mound City Group thereafter came under National Park Service management. Since 1946, several additions have been made to the monument's land base and a development program undertaken. In 1980, Congress added Hopeton Earthworks National Historic Landmark to the park, and in 1992, it included several other ancient earthworks to form Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. Mound City Group remains as a subunit of this newly expanded park.

The National Park Service's Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28) calls for the preparation of an administrative history for each unit in the national park system. An administrative history preserves information necessary to the history of a park and provides a historic basis for park management decisions. This research project concludes at the 1992 redesignation to Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, but superintendent's annual reports are used to update events through 1996. The primary information base for this history are National Park Service libraries and files of Mound City Group/Hopewell Culture and the Midwest Regional Office, Federal Record Centers in Philadelphia and Kansas City, Ohio Historical Society, Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe Gazette, as well as oral history interviews.

Preliminary research was accomplished in the mid-1980s by Volunteer-In-Park Naomi L. Hunt. Some of Naomi Hunt's effort appears in these pages. The author began a new start in 1992 with archival research substantially completed by December 1992. Oral history interviews were conducted in 1993, the time when the author changed positions from senior research historian to regional historian/ chief, branch of history. Unfortunately, demands of the new position resulted in frustrating delays in

completing this project as originally planned. The 1995 reorganization further delayed the project with a whole new set of priorities. Finally, the author began a long-term training opportunity in early 1996, with a duty-station change to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, for five months each subsequent year. Thanks to the blessings of a flexiplace schedule and working two days per week in quiet solitude at home, the draft document finally crystallized in late 1997.

The methodology used in organizing this project can be seen in the table of contents. With a few exceptions, events leading up through the superintendency of Clyde B. King are presented chronologically and include Chapters One through Chapter Three. Thereafter, the chapter format becomes topical, although the chronological approach remains within each section.

Many individuals directly or indirectly assisted in this effort. I am indebted to the individuals who agreed to sit for oral history interviews and share their memories. Special thanks go to Bill Gibson, Ken Apschnikat, Bonnie Murray, Mark Lynott, Phillip Egan, and John Kawamoto. Of course Naomi L. Hunt merits tremendous praise for ignoring her well-deserved retirement from the National Park Service's Washington Office where she served as editor of the Courier to take on this thankless chore. Her concerted effort resulted in locating original documents, conducting interviews and letters, and a first stab at making sense of this long-neglected period of park administrative history.

My appreciation is also extended to the park staff, particularly Superintendent John Neal, Administrative Officer Bonnie Murray, Administrative Assistant Laura Long, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Bob Burgoon, Park Ranger Rebecca Jones, and Archeologist Bret J. Ruby. All of them responded to repeated requests for information and never let me down. Their patience and understanding during the several years when I seemingly made no progress on this study is now hopefully rewarded. I am still amazed by their failure to complain about why this history took so long to prepare.

Thanks, too, go to the various archivists at the two Federal Records Centers, Ohio Historical Society, Ross County Historical Society, and Dwight D. Eisenhower Library.

Finally, kind thoughts go to Donald L. Stevens, Jr., a faithful friend and colleague who helped "hold down the fort" during my absences from the office. Following a decade of professional association, Dr. Stevens, always eager to discuss the fine points of administrative history, remains a valued peer. Equally warm thoughts go to mentors, Ed Bearss and Andy Ketterson, whose support, encouragement, and wise counsel continue to shape and guide this most enjoyable and challenging

career as a National Park Service historian. I will never forget them.

Ron Cockrell
December 31, 1997
Omaha, Nebraska

Postscript:

This document underwent a lengthy review process during the first half of 1998. The author made another trip to Chillicothe in the summer to gather additional information for the chapter 1 section entitled "American Archeology and Hopewell Culture," which served as the basis for a graduate independent readings in anthropology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. It has enriched the introductory chapter and hopefully places Hopewellian studies and the role Mound City Group played within the overall history of American archeology. The author also gathered photographs and Squier and Davis drawings from park archives. Final corrections were made in late 1998 and early 1999.

Chapter One

A Brief History of the Hopewell Culture

** The Hopewell Experience

While humans have been in southern Ohio's Scioto River Valley for more than eleven thousand years, the area's natural history evolved over countless eons. The Teays or Deep Stage River helped shape this valley when ice jams assisted in the deposition of glacial debris from a succession of moving ice sheets. The contemporary Scioto River flows south from the relatively flat central Ohio region into Ross County where it meets the western foothills of the Appalachian Highlands. Framed by 600-foot high rocky hills, the valley stretches into a three-mile-wide fertile plain.

The natural attributes of the area easily attracted early humans who first arrived in North America from Siberia via Alaska's Bering Land Bridge. In search of large game animals, these Paleo-Indian hunters roamed ever southward, arriving in Ohio more than eleven thousand years ago. Along with the fossilized bones of their prey, virtually the only remaining archeological evidence of Paleo-Indians are their fluted points. More evident are habitation sites related to the Archaic hunters and gatherers who depended in part upon mussels, hunting, and gathering. By 1000 B.C., these groups developed a variety of Woodland cultures known for their agricultural economy.

One of these Early Woodland period cultures, the Adena culture, emerged about 300 years before Christ and subsisted through about A.D. 200 in some areas. These prehistoric people cultivated squash, sunflowers, marsh elder, and knotweed, but supplemented their agrarian existence with hunting and other gathering activities. They typically used pottery, copper, mica, and shells. Most of what is known about the Adena derives from their mortuary practices, which took two forms. While most were cremated, specific individuals were selected to be encased in log tombs that were subsequently covered by mounds of dirt. Adjacent burials, and even burials on top of previous mounds, resulted in even larger mounds. While some Adena mounds have been identified at almost ninety feet high, most are small containing single burials, can be clustered in one area, and could even include some of the various circular earthworks seen in southern Ohio.¹

The Hopewell, developed at least in part out of Adena predecessors, because many Hopewellian cultural practices show

¹Barbara Bender, "Prehistoric Developments in the American Midcontinent and in Brittany, Northwest France," in Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers: The Emergence of Cultural Complexity, T. Douglas Price and James A. Brown, eds. (Orlando, Florida: Academic Press, 1985), 39-43.



Figure 2: An example of Hopewellian skill, a prehistoric craftsman fashioned this human hand out of mica. (NPS/no date)

continuity with the Adena.² The Hopewell perfected the use of copper to make intricate handicrafts, and are credited with achieving the highest level of Indian artisan culture in the prehistoric Eastern North America. Southern Ohio served as the cradle of Hopewell culture, and although sites have been identified throughout the "Old Northwest" and as far west as Nebraska and Kansas, they do not exhibit the high level of achievement found in Ohio. Ross County alone features an amazing collection of Hopewellian monuments, the most impressive of which include: the Seip, Baum, Frankfort, Chillicothe, and Harness groups (two circles and a square); the Dunlap and Hopeton groups (a square and circle, with linear parallel walls); the High Bank Group (a circle and octagon, with divergent parallel walls); the Hopewell Group (two squares and circles); the Cedar Bank Group (a square with a riverbank on one side); and the Junction and Blackwater Groups (numerous squares and circles). The Mound City Group, although smaller and less complex, has the greatest concentration of mounds, and is believed to have served at least in part as a mortuary facility.

The earthworks themselves indicate an advanced, well-organized society. Objects found with burials in the mounds indicate the Hopewell did not limit themselves to Ohio or the surrounding region. Hopewellian trade networks stretched to the Gulf of Mexico for sea shells, North Carolina's Blue Ridge Mountains for mica, the Chesapeake Bay for fossil shark teeth, Michigan's Isle Royale and Keweenaw Peninsula for copper, and Yellowstone for obsidian. Agrarian practices are thought to have included maize as a minor garden plant, perhaps the first introduction of this foodstuff in prehistoric North America, but this point remains in dispute.

As with the Adena, few habitation sites have been found and examined, and much of what is known about the Hopewell comes from archeological evidence related to their burial practices. Some were buried in the flesh, others were cremated. Burials saw the body placed on bark, netting, or animal skins along with ornaments and implements. A covering of logs or stones encompassed the corpse, which in turn received a covering of bark or poles with a mound of earth topping the arrangement. While some burials were alone, others appeared in groups, usually in limited numbers. Cremations occurred in an area designated for the purpose. Posts were usually placed in a circle around the

²Don W. Drago, "The Development of Adena Culture and its Role in the Formation of Ohio Hopewell," Paper 1, in *Hopewellian Studies*, Joseph R. Caldwell and Robert L. Hall, eds., Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers, Volume 12 (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1964), 3-6, 13-14, 27-34.

special site. Within these "charnel houses,"³ preparers molded damp clay into a basin within which the remains of their dead were cremated. The basins measured six by four feet, and nine inches deep. Following cremation, ashes were deposited nearby within the shrine where burial offerings were sometimes also ceremoniously placed either intact, broken, or mutilated. After the primary purposes of the charnel house were fulfilled, the Hopewell burned it and subsequently began covering it with dirt, erecting earthen monuments over the site, either in one continuous stage or a series of stages, perhaps separated by sand and/or gravel. Only at Mound City and Tremper groups were cremations reserved exclusively for those sites.

Because of Hopeton's peculiar positioning across the Scioto River from the Mound City Group, archaeologists have tried to explain a linkage between the two sites. However, the nature of the relationship between them is entirely speculative. The entire complex featured mounds of varying appearance. The smallest mounds had but one burial and measured about three feet high and twenty-five feet across. One mound with one burial, measured seven feet high and fifty-five feet across, and had three crematories. Another mound at eight feet high and sixty feet across, featured twenty-two burials and one crematory. Anthropologists believe that most of the community took part in constructing the earthen monuments to the dead. People excavated dirt adjacent to the walls of Mound City Group. Traces of eight pits have been documented, the largest depression measured 200-by 125- by 18-feet. The larger mounds featured ten to twenty-inch-thick caps of gravel excavated from the nearby river.

Around A.D. 400, Hopewell lifeways changed. Because the Hopewell left no written records and aboriginal peoples present at the time of European contact were as mystified as anyone about the "Moundbuilders," anthropologists can only speculate as to their demise. Disease, dwindling food supplies, changing climate, and pressure from outside enemies have all been suggested as reasons why the Hopewell culture changed to a pattern known as "Late Woodland" or "Mississippian."⁴

³According to National Park Service Archaeologist Bret J. Ruby of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, the "charnel houses" probably served many functions unrelated to mortuary activity. Some contained no burials. They served more like a "council house." Most artifacts were deposited in contexts not clearly associated with human remains.

⁴Brian M. Fagan, "The Story of Maize," Chapter 13 in People of the Earth: An Introduction to World Prehistory, Ninth Edition (New York: Longman Press, 1998), 344-47; Bender, "Prehistoric Developments in the American Midcontinent and in Brittany, Northwest France," in Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers, 48-49; and James B. Griffin, "Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archeology," in Archeology of Eastern United States, James B. Griffin, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 358-61; and William S. Dancey, "Putting an End to Ohio Hopewell," in A View from the Core: A Synthesis of Ohio Hopewell

The Scioto River Valley did not become vacant. Descendants of Hopewellian populations remained. Other aboriginal groups migrated into the area from the north and used the curious landscape features to bury their own dead, hence the name given to them, the "Intrusive Mound" people. By 1000, a people known as "Fort Ancient" occupied the valley. They were principally sedentary maize agriculturalists. When village food storage pits were emptied, sometimes the pits were used to hold debris and even human burials. Some ground-level burials were covered by small mounds, but most were in stone-lined depressions below grade. The Fort Ancient ended their occupation by 1650, perhaps in part driven away as a result of warfare with the Iroquois who had access to Dutch guns.

Shawnees were the occupiers of western Kentucky, through Ohio, to Pennsylvania at the time of contact in the eighteenth century. Two of the five Shawnee clans settled in the Scioto valley. Immediately prior to the American Revolutionary War, the Tshilikautha⁵ clan settled at the present-day site of Frankfort. The clan's Anglicized name, Chillicothe, emerged near the end of the century. The Pikewaa clan's settlement lent its name to both Pickaway County and Piqua, Ohio. Shawnee chieftain Blue Jacket participated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Shawnee leader Tecumseh fiercely resisted American migration into their territory. Following the U.S. victory at Fallen Timbers, the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 extinguished American Indian claims in the Scioto valley and most of Ohio. A new nation conceived and ruled by Anglo-European men, the United States of America began expanding beyond the Appalachians, seeking to impose its culture and military dominance over native peoples. With vast continental resources to exploit and lands to explore, the prehistoric mounds stood as powerful curiosities to spawn myths and legends among white Americans. Nowhere was this intense interest more manifest than along Ohio's Scioto River.⁶

Archaeology, Paul J. Pacheco, ed. (Columbus: The Ohio Archaeological Council, Inc., 1996), 394, 396-97, 402.

⁵The Shawnee pronounced the first three syllables of the word in low, guttural tones with the accent on the last syllable. Its meaning is dwelling place, or the place where people live.

⁶Parts of this section originates from the following: Clyde H. King, Historical Sketch, Part 6, Archeological Base Map, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio, 14 September 1956, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Northeast Regional Office, in Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA Philadelphia; King, History of the Mound City Group National Monument, no date, park library; and David Arbogast, "Mound City Group National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1976. Readers desirous of more detailed treatment should consult the plethora of anthropological and archeological literature.

** Squier and Davis at Mound City Group

American settlers first reached the area in 1796 when Nathaniel Massie of Virginia arrived four miles south of the Mound City Group to lay out the town of Chillicothe. Virginia laid claim to the entire region as part of its trans-Appalachian military district reserved for Revolutionary War veterans. Two years later, a 1300-acre section containing the mounds was surveyed for William Davies, but title soon transferred to Massie. As early as 1808, a Chillicothe newspaper reported on the peculiar collection of mounds in the vicinity, and news of their existence spread further in 1809 when a New York medical journal reported on them. Most local people were more concerned about surviving the rigors of frontier life than the mounds. During the War of 1812, Americans built Camp Bull, a drill field and prisoner-of-war camp for British soldiers captured on or near Lake Erie. It stood north of Chillicothe on the Scioto River's west bank about two miles from the mounds. As the local community which served as Ohio's first capital continued to expand, Nathaniel Massie subdivided his holdings and following his death, Massie's heirs sold-off his tracts. In 1832, George Shriver purchased the area including the Mound City Group, and the Shriver family held title to the land until 1917.⁷

Exploration of the mounds came in 1846 when Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis conducted an extensive investigation. Both men were amateur archeologists who explored similar Ohio antiquities from 1845 to 1847. Squier, a New Yorker, was a self-educated journalist who arrived in Chillicothe in 1845 to serve as editor of the Scioto Gazette. Following his association with Davis, Squier went on to explore antiquities in Central and South America, becoming a respected authority. Davis, a native-born Ohio physician, had a life-long interest in the earthworks and mounds of his native state. Practicing medicine in Chillicothe, he joined with Squier to document and excavate antiquarian sites throughout southern Ohio. In all, they opened more than two hundred mounds and examined approximately half that many earthen enclosures.⁸

Davis, who sought financial assistance from Eastern friends, felt an urgency to accomplish the important scientific work promptly. Acknowledging the advancing depredations of American farmers, Davis wrote, "Whatever is done to arrest from destruction the works of a former age and peculiar people must be

⁷Ibid.

⁸Terry A. Barnhart, "An American Menagerie: The Cabinet of Squier and Davis," Timeline (December 1985-January 1986), 2; and Robert Silverberg, The Moundbuilders (New York: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1970), 82-99.



Figure 3: Edwin Hamilton Davis. (Collection of the Ross County Historical Society)



Figure 4: Ephraim George Squier. (NPS)

done quickly as hundreds are yearly ploughed into the earth by our money loving tillers of the soil."

Squier and Davis's work at the mysterious collection of mounds three miles north of Chillicothe resulted in their naming the site "Mound City." From Mound Eight alone came a cache of two hundred stone-carved animal and human effigy pipes. It evoked a sense of wonder from the world's scientific community and the significant find soon became called the "American menagerie." Many marveled at the skill and anatomical level of detail exhibited by the prehistoric artisans. Squier and Davis acknowledged Mound City's variety and number of artifacts as the most significant in the Scioto Valley. In the section devoted to "sacred mounds," sixteen of eighteen pages concentrated on Mound City where they reported cremated burials along with pipes, mica symbols, various copper objects, obsidian knives, and freshwater pearls.¹⁰

Professional resentment clouded Squier and Davis' relationship. Davis, believing himself alone to be the true trained scientist, resented the top-billing Squier received and his own designation as an "explorer." Because of Squier's artistic graphic abilities and journalistic expertise, American intellectuals credited Squier in the fall of 1847 with conducting the primary research and preparing the forthcoming jointly-authored book. Angered by an early review of the manuscript in which kudos were heaped on his "junior partner" E. G. Squier, Davis conveyed his bitterness to a friend. Davis noted that Squier, who knew nothing about ancient earthworks prior to moving to Chillicothe, spent considerable time away from the project during their partnership, editing the weekly newspaper, reporting on the Ohio Legislature's lower house for one winter, and serving as its clerk during the previous session. "No where has he had the time to do everything," exclaimed Davis.

No, this Herculean labour has required years as you well know. When he came to Ohio, he found me engaged in these researches, with much experience, and a large store of facts already accumulated, and one of the best collections of antiques from the mounds in the Western Country. At this stage of the researches, Mr. S[quier], having some tasks for these subjects,

⁹E. H. Davis to Senator John Davis, letter, 22 February 1847, Davis letters to the American Antiquarian Society, Worster, Massachusetts, microfilm held by National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

¹⁰Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Series "Contributions to Knowledge," 1848), 28; and Barnhart, "American Menagerie," 2-4.

proposes to join in as the junior partner, to continue the investigation. As I was very happy to find any one who would sympathize with me in my unique pursuits, I accepted his offer. He came into the firm bringing a ready pen, a skillful pencil, with some knowledge of surveying.

At this point, Squier devoted much attention to the excavations. Davis continued his defense, stating:

We then continue to open mounds, survey works, purchase authorities, with much vigour for two years (and almost entirely at the expense of the senior partner). At the expiration of this time, the junior partner takes up his abode in the library and cabinet of the senior, where they both toil almost day and night for many months producing the work in question. Now who is entitled to the most credit. I am of a temperament to bear most things, but this is beyond all forbearance.¹¹

By the time their book saw publication, Davis, embittered and feeling betrayed, parted company with partner Squier. Their efforts came to public scrutiny in the first volume of the Smithsonian Institution's series Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge under the title Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations. This 1848 book is credited as a milestone in the early technical history of professional archeology. Journalist Squier did indeed prepare the narrative, survey drawings, and publication layout. While Davis funded their work and provided his past experience and library to the effort, the physician also undertook the meticulous task of restoring and piecing together fragmented artifacts numbering in the thousands.

Their exploration and excavations were extensive in the Ross County-Scioto River Valley region. One of Squier's maps of a twelve-mile Scioto River segment, depicted the following "ancient monuments:" Dunlap Works, Cedar Bank, Hopeton Works, Mound City Group, Shriver Works, Junction Works, Chillicothe East, High Bank, and Liberty or Harness Group.

Squier and Davis's association became irreparably damaged not simply by arguing over their individual contributions to Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, but they disputed ownership of the excavated antiquities as well. Davis, scorning Squier's claims, took the bulk of artifacts and left Chillicothe

¹¹Davis to S. F. Haven, letter, 12 October 1847, microfilm, Midwest Archeological Center.

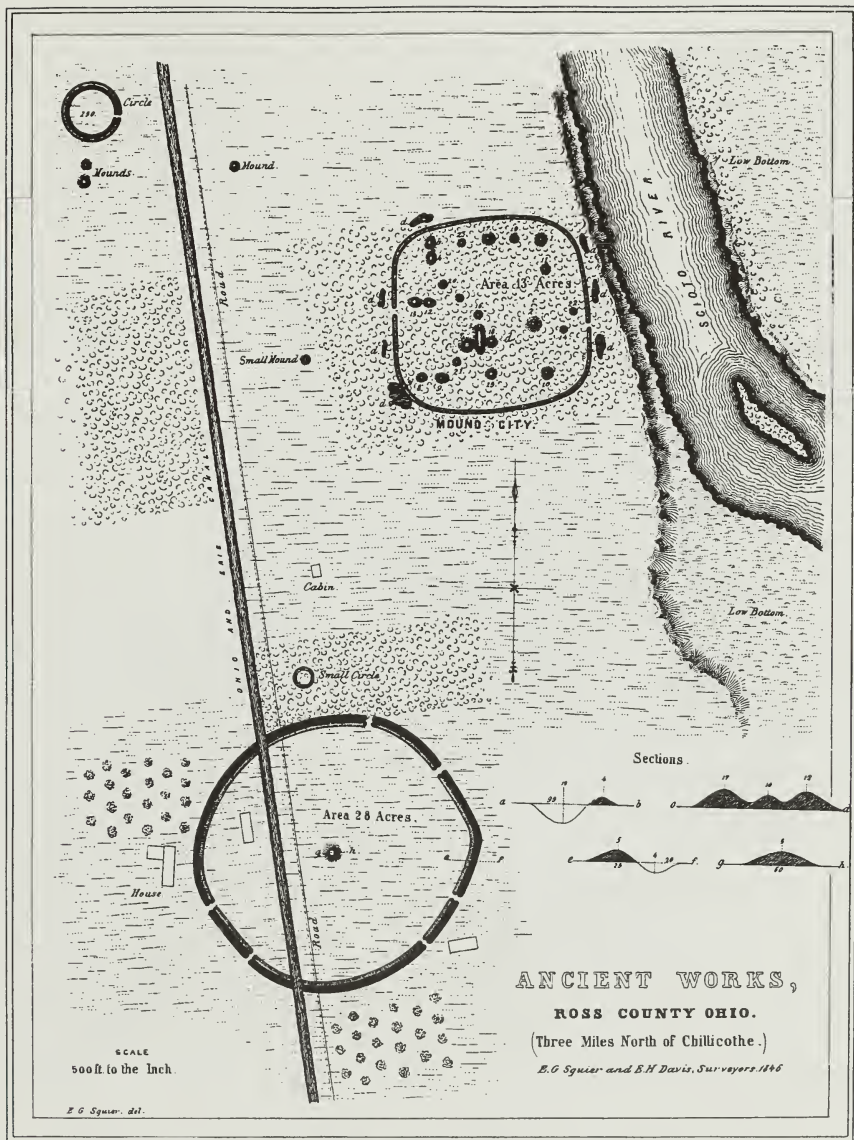


Figure 5: 1846 Squier and Davis drawing of Mound City and vicinity. (Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley)

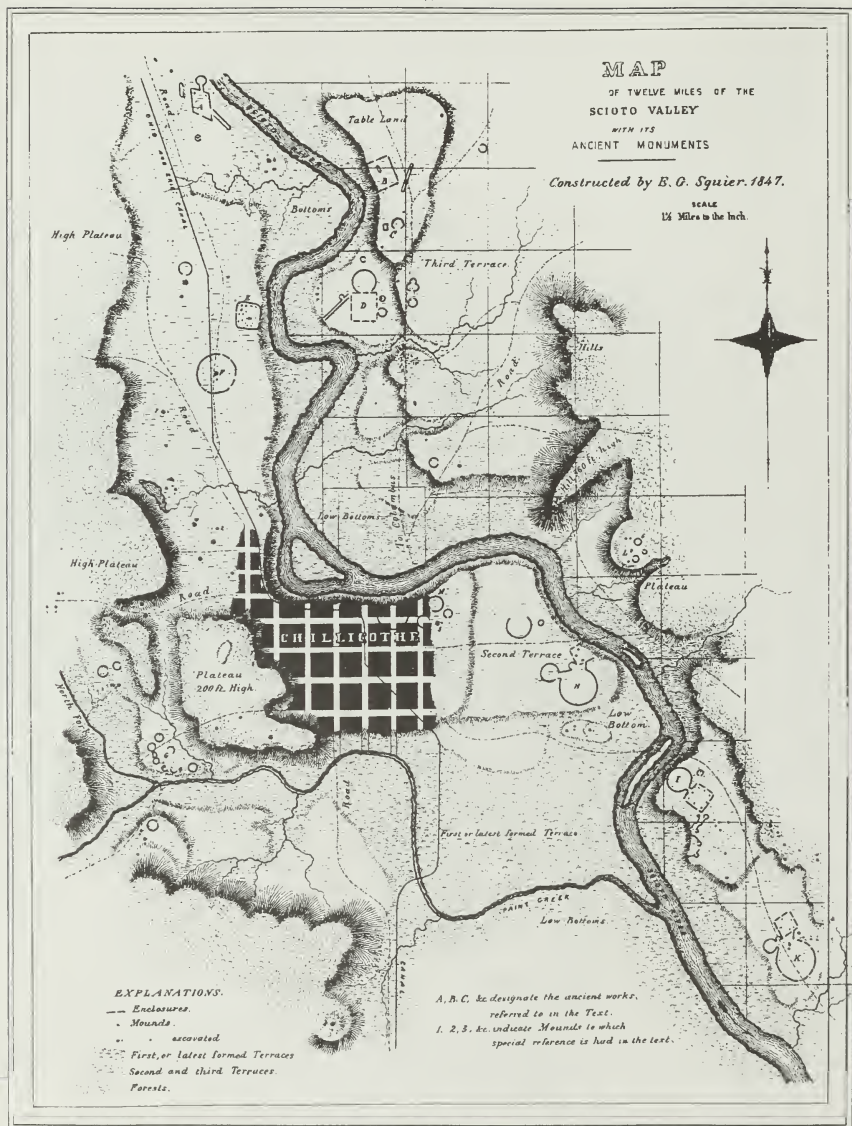


Figure 6: Squier's 1847 "Map of Twelve Miles of the Scioto Valley with its Ancient Monuments." (Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley)

in 1850 for New York where he also pursued archeology along with his medical profession.

Within a year, Davis began to search for a buyer for all his artifacts, and sought in vain for an American philanthropist or institution to keep the collection intact and at home. In preparation for the sale, Davis commissioned artist James Plunkett to paint ninety-two watercolors, including some of artifacts from the Ohio explorations, and published them along with his narrative descriptions in a prospectus entitled Sketches of Monuments and Antiques Found in the Mounds, Tombs, and Ancient Cities of America. The cover reveals a Plunkett watercolor of Mound City. In 1858, he found a temporary repository for his collection at the New York Historical Society.

In 1863, William Blackmore, a British patron of anthropology, informed Davis that if he failed to sell the collection in America where it rightfully belonged, Blackmore would buy it. In February 1864, Davis wrote Blackmore:

This is to notify you that circumstances compell me to avail myself of the privilege contained in our agreement to withdraw my collection on paying the amount advance with interest to date. It is hereby necessary for me to say that I most profoundly regret its going abroad and [?] being [?] to this country. Yet it affords me some consolation to know that foreigners and strangers do appreciate a collection containing specimens showing the highest degree of art yet developed in the stone age of this or any other continent.¹²

Lamenting the fact that no American buyers were interested, Davis accepted Blackmore's payment of ten thousand dollars and represented himself as its sole owner. The collection in England became known as the "Davis Collection." Nevertheless, thanks to Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, it was already popularly known in the United States as the Squier and Davis Collection.

Blackmore took the collection to Salisbury, England, where he established the Blackmore Museum dedicated to ancient European and American man in September 1867. The loss of the collection was soon lamented in the U.S. intellectual community. However, Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry convinced Davis to make plaster-cast duplicates of specific artifacts prior to the sale. Davis and two artists made molds and produced three complete sets

¹²Davis to Blackmore, February 1864, letter in Ross County Historical Museum, Negative 220-21 in the Hopewell Culture National Historical Park photographic collection, Chillicothe, Ohio.



Figure 7: Frontispiece for "Sketches of Monuments and Antiquities" by Edwin H. Davis, 1858, depicting Mound City Group. (NPS)

of artifacts: one for the Smithsonian in 1868 for study purposes, the second to the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology at Harvard University in 1871, and the third to the American Museum of Natural History in 1874. The last transaction also accompanied purchase of thirteen Mound City pipes owned by Squier. Finally, the Smithsonian purchased Davis's intricate molds in 1884. Never reconciling since their close Ohio association in the mid-1840s, both Squier and Davis died in the spring of 1888.¹³

Although their relationship ended in bitterness, both men contributed substantially to the development of professional archeology. Their work together at Mound City perhaps ranks highest on their list of lifetime achievements. As the highlight of Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, it represented the first systematic, scientific analysis of prehistoric sites using guidelines and techniques still in use more than a century later. The intricate artifact drawings, mound cross-sections, and site plans were innovative and set the standard for future work. Also useful was their classification system based on function such as burial places, effigies, fortifications, building platforms, and so forth.¹⁴ Following destruction of much of Mound City by the early twentieth century, this important record served as the basis of a succession of professional archeological investigations and reconstructions at the site. Without the 1848 Smithsonian publication documenting and speculating on the meaning and significance of such sites, the degradation would likely have resulted in total obliteration of Mound City and related areas.

** Mythology of the Moundbuilders

Speculation as to the origin of the prehistoric earthworks began with the arrival of the region's first white settlers. They viewed with wonderment walls from five to twelve feet in height shaped in the form of rectangles, squares, octagons, circles, and ellipses. The area which these earthworks covered ranged from one to as many as two hundred acres. In the Ohio Valley alone, more than ten thousand mounds dotted the landscape. Digging into the conical-shaped mounds, settlers found burials

¹³Barnhart, "An American Menagerie," 2-9.

¹⁴Bruce G. Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 106-07; Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, Second Edition (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1980), 36; Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice, Second Edition (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 28; and Terry A. Barnhart, "The Journalist and The Physician" Inquiry Into the Career Association of Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis, Pioneer American Archaeologists," unpublished Master's thesis, Miami University, 1980, pp. 67-74.

and a wide assortment of prehistoric grave goods. From the start, virtually no one concluded that the immense earthworks could have been the result of aboriginals. In the view of whites, American Indians did not possess the skill, intelligence, or work ethic to produce such marvels. Rather, to whites, American Indians represented a savage culture which had to be swept aside for the inevitable advancement of civilization. Another rational solution had to be found concerning who built the wide array of earthworks in the eastern United States.

Squier and Davis contributed to the Moundbuilder speculation as they believed Indians were mere hunters, unable to construct such prehistoric earthworks. In the aftermath of Squier and Davis's work, ongoing public debate raged for decades. The imaginative result, the myth of the Moundbuilders, ranged from the romantic to the nonsensical. Whites looked to their own past and selected previous civilizations which also engaged in earthworks and credited them with somehow performing similar feats in the Americas. Mythmakers selected the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, Hindus, and Vikings as the ancient Moundbuilders. Others thought Adam and Eve inspired the first Moundbuilders, followed by Noah and his offspring. Still others were convinced that the mighty Aztecs strayed into the area to build the mounds. Whatever the origins of this Moundbuilder race, many were convinced that this advanced, sophisticated culture was overrun and exterminated by the savage red American Indians. Indeed, removal to genocide conducted against the red man somehow seemed justified if Indians had done the same to the Moundbuilders.¹⁵ Even after scientists and archeologists solved the mystery, contemporary naysayers continue to search for fantastic explanations, including beyond Earth's orbit to give credit to "ancient astronauts."

Largely to settle the public debate and quell disagreement within the intellectual community, Cyrus Thomas, head of the Bureau of Mound Exploration of the Smithsonian Institution (forerunner of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology), began recruiting local amateur archeologists. Under his instruction, amateurs used horse-driven farm equipment to open mounds. Demonstrating

¹⁵Thomas C. Patterson, "Who Did Archaeology in the United States Before There Were Archaeologists and Why? Preprofessional Archaeologies of the Nineteenth Century," in Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past, Robert W. Preucel, ed., Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper No. 10, 40-48; Bruce G. Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 104-05; Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, second edition (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1980), 15-17; Theresa F. Nichols, "The Hopewell Earthworks," unpublished National Park Service manuscript, 10 January 1979, 1-2; Diana C. Gleason, "The Native Americans: Moundbuilders of the Midwest and South," Touring America (February 1994), 47; and Robert Silverberg, The Mound Builders (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986), 44-48.

how far the profession had progressed, they utilized explicit problem orientation and research design in combination with documentation standards far superior to those of Squier and Davis. By 1890, the Smithsonian program had investigated hundreds of mounds in Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Thomas's findings established a solid scientific basis for crediting extinct American Indian peoples with being the true Moundbuilders of antiquity.¹⁶

**** Modern American Archeology and Hopewell Culture**

Archeology began moving from an antiquarian footing to a professional discipline in the late nineteenth century. The discipline eagerly embraced Darwinian evolution. In the U.S., Moundbuilder studies were eclipsed by the impressive Southwestern ruins. Denied a glorious prehistoric past, American enthusiasm waned with the perception that innately primitive and therefore inferior native peoples had not advanced beyond the Stone Age and were culturally static.¹⁷ Reflecting other professional organizations, the Archaeological Institute of America, founded in 1879, had an obligatory North American bent on the Southwest and Mexico, but devoted considerable fiscal resources on ancient civilizations, particularly in Greece. Eastern North America was treated like a backwater.¹⁸ U.S. archeology embraced this practice, domestically concentrating on the Southwest, and regarded the East like a neglected stepchild, a trend that continued through much of the twentieth century.¹⁹

With the myth of the Moundbuilders solved, at least in the minds of archeologists and scientists, new nomenclature became necessary. Modern archeology adopted the name "Hopewell" when a rich lode of artifacts Warren K. Moorehead excavated from twenty-eight mounds on Capt. Mordecai C. Hopewell's farm near Chillicothe were prepared for Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Because the anthropology exhibit focused on the Hopewell farm artifacts, related earthworks and their cultural materials were referred to as Hopewellian beginning in 1902. In that year,

¹⁶Wiley and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 40-43; Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 125-26; John B. Carlson, "Hopewell: Prehistoric America's Golden Age," Early Man (no date), 9, found in "Interpretive Operations Plan, Resources Information"; and Robert Silverberg, The Mound Builders (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986), 130-32, 204-05.

¹⁷Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 120-21, 127-29.

¹⁸Patterson, "Who Did Archaeology in the United States Before There Were Archaeologists and Why?," 248.

¹⁹Wiley and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 167.



Figure 8: Capt. Mordecai C. Hopewell. (Collection of the Ross County Historical Society)

the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's (OSA&HA) William C. Mills first made distinctions between Adena, Hopewell and Fort Ancient, and applied the term "culture" to each.²⁰

In the aftermath of Mills's work, U.S. archeology embraced a culture-historical ideology following 1910 as more practitioners entered the field and shared professional methods and values. Data revealed temporal changes, particularly with increasing Paleo-Indian discoveries and the reality that native peoples had inhabited North America far longer than previously believed. Prehistorical cultural groups were defined in geographical terms.²¹

Professional archeological societies and organizations became widespread in the early twentieth century, sponsoring fieldwork and publications on archeological materials and problems within state boundaries. Ohio possessed the best of these early state archeological histories. The nation's university programs also mushroomed so that by 1935, twenty-one such institutions supported research in eastern U.S. archeology.²² American archeology was in transition from a speculative-descriptive period to one stressing classification-chronology. Archeologists concentrated on stratigraphy, seriation, and typologies as well as culture classifications.²³ Still hampering archeologists was the belief that earthworks represented the only historically recorded attainment of past societies. They remained pessimistic with the assumption that understanding of earlier eras could only be through written records or credible oral tradition. This erroneous assumption would only be shed in the mid-twentieth century as archeology matured.²⁴

Among other significant excavations the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (OHS), founded in 1885, undertook investigations at Mound City Group from 1920 to 1921.

²⁰N'omi B. Greber and Katharine C. Ruhl, The Hopewell Site: A Contemporary Analysis Based on the Work of Charles C. Willoughby (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), 4; Silverberg, The Moundbuilders, 176-77, 204-05; and Willey and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 53, 77. Greber and Ruhl called the Hopewell materials "one of the most spectacular collections recovered from any archaeological site in the Eastern Woodlands."

²¹Trigger, A History of American Archaeological Thought, 186-87.

²²Carl E. Guthe, "Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States," in Archeology of Eastern United States, James B. Griffin, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 2-3.

²³Willey and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 83.

²⁴Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 72.

William C. Mills, assisted by Henry C. Shetrone, announced at the end of the first field season five important findings: The mounds represented communal burial places of the Hopewell; the "altars" described by Squier and Davis were not for sacrifices, but rather for cremations; the Hopewell migrated southward along the Scioto to the Tremper Mound area around Portsmouth, Ohio; the Hopewell had progressed from individualism to communalism; and the culture traded with Indians from the Carolinas and Lake Superior region. The archeologists found examples of ancient riveting and dowel pins amid a wealth of ornaments fashioned from stone or copper among which were an otter with a fish in its mouth, a bared-teeth bear, a raccoon digging in the ground, a heron eating a fish, a baying dog, frogs, and toads. Other copper items included headdresses of deer and bear, large ornamental plates, hands, turtles, beads, ear ornaments, pendants, and arrow points. Also found were large plates of mica used for mirrors, woven cloth and mats made from bark, engraved discs of mastodon tusks, obsidian spears and knives, and pipes.²⁵

Another field season came in 1921. Mills and Shetrone saw their work as a valuable addition to archeology and the Mound City Group as the best example of Hopewell culture in Ohio. Mills published the findings and an impressive array of artifacts were displayed in the society's museum in Columbus.²⁶ Fourteen of the twenty-four mounds recounted by Squier and Davis were examined using modern archeological techniques. The effort reignited public interest in Hopewellian studies and launched a drive to preserve its remnants.

Ohio archeologists explored other Hopewell sites during the 1920s, but with economic hardship in the 1930s, Hopewellian studies slowed to a snail's pace. Unlike other states, Ohio failed to take advantage of federal relief programs to fund archeology projects, a decision that further paralyzed Ohio Hopewellian studies during and after the Great Depression. Much of the data collected by OSA&HS proved to be "disorganized and defective.... In method, theory, and scope of research [Ohio

²⁵"Dr. William C. Mills, Assisted by H.C. Shetrone, Directs Successful Season's Field Work for the O.S.A. and H.S.," Columbus Dispatch (5 September 1920), found in OSA&HS Scrapbook, 1920-1921, Ohio Historical Society; and Silverberg, The Moundbuilders, 206-210. According to Bret Ruby, Mills' views on migration were naive, and his evolutionary interpretations were limited by unilinearity and progressivism.

²⁶William C. Mills, "Exploration of the Mound City Group," Vol. 3, Part 4, Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1922), Ross County Historical Society Archives, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Hopewellian study] stagnated."²⁷ Only one publication of note appeared during World War II, and the long hiatus progressed through the 1950s. Quite the opposite was the case in Illinois, where Hopewellian study flourished and resulted in a classification of pottery that included forty types.²⁸

Discovery of a sealed stratum at Folsom, New Mexico, in 1926, resulted in building a chronology of early North American human existence, but the exact placement of prehistoric peoples like the Hopewell remained in dispute.²⁹ Part of the problem was the lack of temporal data to understand how the Adena, Hopewell, and Mississippian cultural complexes fit. At the Midwestern Archaeological Conference held in Indianapolis in 1935, temporally independent taxonomic categories were assigned to Hopewellian artifacts. By 1939, the categories were officially referred to as the "Midwestern Taxonomic Method" or the "McKernian Classification." A conference at Andover Academy in 1941 evaluated the interface between Adena and Hopewell. Material from both conferences resulted in regional sequences found in the 1952 volume, Archeology of Eastern United States, edited by James Griffin.³⁰ By examining ethnological and archeological evidence in concert, it became apparent that the cultures overlapped.³¹

On the eve of World War II, most archeologists held that the Hopewell dated from A.D. 1200 to 1400, and by 1949, some thought the dates could stretch from A.D. 500 to 800 or 900.³² In 1950,

²⁷Olaf H. Prufer, "How to Construct a Model: A Personal Memoir," Chapter 4 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 112.

²⁸Thorne Deuel, ed., "Introduction," Hopewellian Communities in Illinois, Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers Vol. V (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1952), 7-11. For a good summary of Illinois Hopewell see same volume, Deuel, "The Hopewellian Community," Paper 6, 249-265.

²⁹Greber and Ruhl, The Hopewell Site: A Contemporary Analysis Based on the Work of Charles C. Willoughby (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), 9.

³⁰David S. Brose and N'omi Greber, "Preface," Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference, Brose and Greber, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979), xv-xvii; Willey and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 106-07; and Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 190-91.

³¹Fred R. Eggen, "The Ethnological Cultures and Their Archeological Backgrounds," in Archeology of Eastern United States, James B. Griffin, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 35-38; and Richard G. Morgan, "Outline of Cultures in the Ohio Region," same volume, 83, 97-98.

³²James B. Griffin, "Radiocarbon Dates for the Eastern United States," Appendix in Archeology of Eastern United States, James B. Griffin, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) 367, 369.

chemist W. F. Libbey developed absolute dating from organic material containing carbon, giving archeology the powerful new method of radiocarbon dating. For archeology, radiocarbon and other geochronometric techniques allowed application of a universally accepted chronology that permitted the duration as well as relative order of subsurface archeological materials.³³ Most importantly, the new scientific tool began to energize the field as radiocarbon dating for the Ohio Hopewell finally categorized the culture at roughly 1500 to 2000 years ago.³⁴

In reaction to the seemingly mindless classifications and obsession with culture history, archeologists Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, in their 1958 monograph Methods and Theory in American Archaeology, proposed a three-pronged approach to research: observation/fieldwork, description, and explanation (or processual interpretation). Among others, their argument helped spawn in the 1960s a fundamental shift of the discipline led by younger archeologists, including Lewis Binford, away from culture history to science-based archeology. Hopewellian studies also reflected the larger discipline's shift to the "New Archeology."³⁵ Basing research on the scientific method, archeologists no longer focused exclusively on classificatory exercises, making the Midwest Taxonomic System seem suddenly archaic and obsolete. Instead, a whole new world of empirical data from other science-based disciplines became available for scrutiny and use.

At the onset of this intellectual debate, Olaf H. Prufer reluctantly undertook a Hopewellian topic for his doctoral dissertation during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In seeking professional courtesies from the Ohio Historical Society, Prufer's initial inquiry met an icy rebuke. The German-born, Harvard-educated scholar, an unwelcome interloper, had encountered the exclusive "Ohio gang" of archeologists. Nonetheless, by examining both the body of literature and museum collections, Prufer produced a reevaluation or new synthesis of the Ohio Hopewell that shattered the subdiscipline's professional complacency and lethargy.³⁶

Prufer offered different views on several topics. While preferring "Hopewell Complex" to "Hopewell Culture," Prufer said

³³Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 7.

³⁴Greber and Ruhl, The Hopewell Site, 9.

³⁵Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, Method and Theory in American Archaeology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 1-7; Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 294-96; and Willey and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 143-44, 185-86.

³⁶Prufer, "How to Construct a Model: A Personal Memoir," 105-11.

the evidence suggested that the Hopewell originated in Illinois and spread through southern Indiana to Ohio where it "found its purest expression and its most intense apotheosis."³⁷ Pruffer concurred with cultural chronologies based on seriation of artifacts, principally pottery, and confirmed by radiocarbon dating. Evidence also suggested an overlap of Adena and Hopewell cultures, and Pruffer offered his own chronological ordering of Hopewellian sites, with defensive hilltop enclosures appearing in the Late Hopewell period during its terminal phase.³⁸ Pruffer likened the classic Mesoamerican settlement pattern to the Hopewell, i.e., vacant ceremonial centers with shifting semi-permanent small settlements on the periphery, and speculated on contact between the two cultures.³⁹ Concurring with Pruffer regarding Southwestern contact, anthropologist Edward McMichael postulated in 1961 that this Mexican diffusion originated in Veracruz and stimulated Hopewellian lifeways through the Crystal River Complex on Florida's Gulf Coast.⁴⁰

It was through study of the well-known Hopewell trade network that archeologist Joseph Caldwell developed the concept of interaction spheres in the early 1960s. The innovative concept had universal application throughout the discipline. Interaction spheres exist when independent societies, or peer polities, exchange material products as well as information in the form of symbols, ideas, values, inventions, and goals. Within Ohio Hopewell society, the far ranging interaction sphere created an overall semblance of cultural unity while enveloping other societies and cultures within its mortuary-ceremonial or religious beliefs.⁴¹

³⁷Olaf H. Pruffer, "The Hopewell Complex of Ohio," in Hopewellian Studies, James R. Caldwell and Robert L. Hall, eds. Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers 12, No. 2 (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1964), 40-41.

³⁸Ibid., 42-49, 66-67. Among others, the defensive thesis has been disputed by Griffin. See his "Interpretations of Ohio Hopewell 1845-1984 and the Recent Emphasis on the Study of Dispersed Hamlets," Chapter 15 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, Eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 416-17.

³⁹Ibid., 70-71. This pattern is known as Vacant Ceremonial Center-Dispersed Agricultural Hamlet.

⁴⁰Edward V. McMichael, "Veracruz, the Crystal River Complex, and the Hopewellian Climax," Paper 5, in Hopewellian Studies, Joseph R. Caldwell and Robert L. Hall, eds. Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers, Volume 12 (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1964), 125, 128, 130, 132.

⁴¹Joseph R. Caldwell, "Interaction Spheres in Prehistory," Paper 6, in Hopewellian Studies, Joseph R. Caldwell and Robert L. Hall, eds., Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers, Volume 12 (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1964), 135-38; Stuart Struever, "The Hopewell Interaction Sphere in Riverine-Western Great Lakes Culture History," Paper 3, in same volume, 87-89, 105-06; Renfrew and Bahn, Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice, 364, 367;

Invigorated by the New Archeology, a revival of Hopewellian scholarship took place in the 1970s, culminating with the 1979 monograph, Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference, edited by David Brose and N'omi Greber. Fifty-four submissions covered the gambit of Ohio prehistory, including trade, domesticated plants, and settlement patterns. The conference and its regionally diverse submissions demonstrated that this branch of archeology was no longer moribund.⁴²

Within Hopewellian studies, few archeologists avoided the so-called "maize debate" that emerged in the post-World War II era concerning the role of maize in the Eastern Woodlands. With the introduction of stable carbon isotope analysis in the late twentieth century, determining maize content in the prehistoric diet became possible. Such data suggested that limited maize consumption became a pattern only after A.D. 900-1000. Using the accelerator mass spectrometer (AMS) to refine the radiocarbon age of maize kernels, coprolites, and archeobotanical sequences, maize did find itself in eastern North America as early as A.D. 200-300, during the Hopewell culture, but only as a minor crop. However, Bruce Smith argued that these premaize so-called hunter-gatherer people were limited agriculturalists who cultivated, stored, and processed a variety of other crops. Smith argued that archeobotanical assemblages dating from the time of Christ demonstrated the significance of seed crops for Middle Woodland/Hopewellian people.⁴³ Other scholars continued to disagree, asserting that hunting-gathering-fishing intensified, with small-scale horticulture augmenting that primary subsistence activity only in the late Middle Woodland. The Hopewell were thinly dispersed and seasonally mobile, and in no way tied to the land other than with their mortuary-ceremonial complexes.⁴⁴

Wiley and Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology, 175; and Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought, 331.

⁴²James B. Griffin, "An Overview of the Chillicothe Hopewell Conference," in Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference, David S. Brose and N'omi Greber, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979), 278; and Griffin, "Interpretations of Ohio Hopewell 1845-1984 and the Recent Emphasis on the Study of Dispersed Hamlets," Chapter 15 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 414-415.

⁴³Bruce D. Smith, "Hopewellian Farmers of Eastern North America," Chapter 9 in Rivers of Change: Essays on Early Agriculture in Eastern North America, Bruce D. Smith, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 201-07; and Brian M. Fagan, "The Story of Maize" in People of the Earth, 346.

⁴⁴Barbara Bender, "Prehistoric Developments in the American Midcontinent..." in Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers, 25-26; and James B. Griffin, "Interpretations of Ohio Hopewell 1845-1984..." in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, 415-16.

Papers presented at a 1992 symposium entitled "Testing the Prufer Model of Ohio Hopewell Settlement Pattern," resulted in a 1995 monograph edited by William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco called Ohio Hopewell Community Organization. Presenters found that few archeologists had tested Prufer's contention concerning Hopewell habitation sites, and it became their goal to do just that.⁴⁵ The editors concurred that existing data supported the "Prufer model," but more fieldwork could yield as many as four alternate hypotheses, namely:

1. Communities are nucleated and the major settlements are villages located adjacent to the earthworks (Nucleated Sedentary).
2. Communities inhabit nucleated settlements adjacent to earthworks for part of the year but disperse seasonally to outlying camps (Semi-permanent Sedentary).
3. Communities are residentially stable, but high-ranking households (chiefdoms?) reside in the shadows of the earthworks (Central Place).
4. The households making up a community are seasonally mobile throughout the year (Seasonal Mobility).⁴⁶

Using microwear analysis to test artifacts found in close proximity to the Newark Earthworks, Bradley Lepper and Richard Yerkes cast doubt on Prufer's hypothesis of uninhabited ceremonial centers because of the immediate presence of seasonally occupied camps.⁴⁷ Other site evidence supported their position.⁴⁸ Archeologist James B. Griffin determined that the notion of dispersed hamlets was overdrawn, and the incidents of residential debris near the earthworks could not be ignored.

⁴⁵William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, "Preface" in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, Dancy and Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), xv-xvii.

⁴⁶William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, "A Community Model of Ohio Hopewell Settlement," Chapter 1 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, Dancy and Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 3.

⁴⁷Bradley T. Lepper and Richard W. Yerkes, "Hopewellian Occupations at the Northern Periphery of the Newark Earthworks: The Newark Expressway Sites Revisited," Chapter 7 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 175, 187-89.

⁴⁸Robert P. Connolly, "The Evidence for Habitation at the Fort Ancient Earthworks," Chapter 10 in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, William S. Dancy and Paul J. Pacheco, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 251, 268-69.

Griffin concluded that Ohio Hopewell settlement systems "included permanent settlements, perhaps of great size, near the Hopewell centers."⁴⁹

Following up on the 1979 Chillicothe conference, a similar effort came in 1993, which three years later resulted in an edited book by Paul Pacheco called A View from the Core: A Synthesis of Ohio Hopewell Archaeology. True to its subtitle, it represented the most comprehensive overview of the Ohio Hopewell/Middle Woodland period.⁵⁰ While it provided new information supporting and opposing Prufer's settlement model, one of the more unusual papers examined geometric or mathematical distinctions of Ohio's earthworks. James A. Marshall, an Illinois civil engineer with an avid interest in prehistoric geometry, surveyed and analyzed Hopewell earthworks through the Midwest. He called them the "closest to a written record of a prehistoric people yet discovered north of the Rio Grande." These sophisticated people did not construct the mounds at random. Rather, Marshall established that planning and a precise knowledge of geometric principles were used along with a standard measuring unit. The mounds appear to have been built in an orderly alignment.⁵¹

As contemporary knowledge about the Hopewell continues to grow, the need to locate and examine habitation sites becomes more apparent. Until the late twentieth century, most work accomplished concentrated on burial sites. However, enough is known to categorize the Hopewell as the pinnacle of all mound-building cultures, and the most advanced of any north of Mexico. Robert Silverberg in The Mound Builders described the Hopewells as the "Egyptians of the United States, packing their earthen 'pyramids' with a dazzling array." Silverberg further observed,

There is a stunning vigor about Ohio Hopewell. By comparison, the grave deposits of the Adena folk look sparse and poor. Hopewell displays a love of excess that shows itself not only in the intricate geometrical

⁴⁹James B. Griffin, "Interpretations of Ohio Hopewell 1845-1984 and the Recent Emphasis on the Study of Dispersed Hamlets," in Ohio Hopewell Community Organization, 405.

⁵⁰Paul J. Pacheco, "Introduction" in A View from the Core: A Synthesis of Ohio Hopewell Archaeology, Paul J. Pacheco, ed. (Columbus: The Ohio Archaeological Council, Inc., 1996), vi.

⁵¹Quote in James A. Marshall as told to John B. Carlson, "Geometry of the Hopewell Earthworks," Early Man (Spring 1979), 1-2; and Marshall, "Toward a Definition of the Ohio Hopewell Core and Periphery Utilizing the Geometric Earthworks," in A View from the Core: A Synthesis of Ohio Hopewell Archaeology, Paul J. Pacheco, ed. (Columbus: The Ohio Archaeological Council, Inc., 1996), 210, 218-19.

enclosures and in the massive mounds, but in the gaudy displays in the tombs. To wrap a corpse from head to foot in pearls, to weigh it down in many pounds of copper, to surround it with masterpieces of sculpture and pottery, and then to bury everything under tons of earth--that is the kind of wastefulness that only an amazingly energetic culture would indulge in.⁵²

In moving from myth to scientific study over the course of two centuries, Hopewellian studies have contributed to and benefitted from the maturation of American archeology. This remains true as the larger discipline experiences its current post-processualism phase, maintaining its feet in science, but also revisiting culture history.⁵³ Like most research, conclusions presented herein are still undergoing scrutiny as many more secrets of the Hopewell culture remain to be uncovered.

⁵²Silverberg, The Mound Builders, 218-19.

⁵³Renfrew and Bahn, Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice, 461, 464.



Figure 9: World War I-era Camp Sherman barracks built atop a leveled mound, with cut made for adjacent roadway. (NPS/ca. 1920)

Chapter Two

Preservation of the Mound City Group

** The War Department and Camp Sherman

Following Squier and Davis's excavations in 1846, the Mound City Group remained largely ignored, with the surrounding area cleared and put to the plow for the next seventy years. While many farmers regarded prehistoric mounds as obstacles and nuisances to be obliterated, the concentration of large mounds in the Scioto River Valley did not escape this fate, with most of them incorporated into fields as plowing permitted. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Chillicotheans, as had been done in the War of 1812 at Camp Bull, used the area as a drill ground and referred to it as Camp Logan.¹

The region's bucolic serenity came to an abrupt end following President Woodrow Wilson's April 6, 1917, call for the commitment of United States military forces against Germany in World War I. Rapid mobilization for war required federal establishment of training camps throughout the country. Chillicothe's claim of hosting such facilities during two previous wars gave it an edge over competing cities when in June 1917 it became the site of a World War I cantonment called Camp Sherman. Because farmers resisted the loss of fertile land for the low government lease price of fifteen dollars an acre, local businessmen contributed an additional five dollars per acre. Some farmers still resisted until eminent domain settled the matter. Lease terms gave the government the option to purchase all two thousand acres within five years, and the War Department began exercising that right between 1919 and 1921.

Construction of Camp Sherman as the subsequent home of the 83rd, 84th, 95th and 96th Divisions during the wartime mobilization caused Chillicothe's population to swell from 16,000 to 60,000. Erecting a building every twenty minutes, a construction crew of more than five thousand men raced to complete the task in a matter of weeks. Amazingly, the first draftees arrived at Camp Sherman on September 5, 1917. In all, Camp Sherman consisted of two thousand buildings, including two-story wooden barracks accommodating up to forty thousand

¹Clyde B. King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date; and "Chillicothe and Ross County" in Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers' Project of Ohio, Ohio: American Guide Series (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938). During the Spanish American War, Chillicothe's Company H of the 42nd Division mustered into service here as well. See G. Richard Peck, The Rise and Fall of Camp Sherman: 'Ohio's World War One Soldier Factory.' second edition (Chillicothe, Ohio: pamphlet privately published, 1972), 21.

doughboys, at a cost to taxpayers of four million dollars. In essence, it represented a small city unto itself with full hospital, railroad, prison, sanitary, and farming facilities.²

Siting of barracks in the area of the Mound City Group in Section N and O came about under the influence of local and state officials. Albert C. Spetnagel, a prominent Chillicothe amateur archeologist, appreciated the significance of the mound group and did not want to see the complex destroyed to accommodate the Army's regimented grid pattern. Among Spetnagel's friends were William C. Mills, director of the Ohio State Museum, and his fellow professionals at the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Henry C. Shetrone and Gerard Fowke. Through Spetnagel's efforts, Shetrone, the society's curator of archaeology, successfully urged the Army to turn one barracks so as to avoid razing one of the largest mounds. Shetrone met with Capt. Ward Dabney, camp commander, to urge caution. Dabney replied: "We will construct the buildings in such a way on the mounds that they will not be destroyed. However, it will be necessary to run pipe lines through some of the mounds. Care will be taken so that specimens may be preserved intact, but if this is impossible, they will be turned over to the [society]."³ Nonetheless, barracks, streets, and utility lines severely intruded on Mound City Group. While some of the smallest mounds had already been leveled by plowing, still others were obliterated or severely damaged by Camp Sherman construction. Most damaging was the installation of water and sewer lines because they intruded far below grade.⁴

The November 11, 1918, Armistice brought the inevitable announcement five days later to discharge twelve thousand men from Camp Sherman. Members of the 40th Infantry were designated custodians of the facility during peacetime. The newly-formed U.S. Veterans Bureau designated the Camp Sherman medical facilities to house a permanent Chillicothe Veterans Hospital to care for wounded soldiers. By July 1920, most of the discharges were completed, and the 19th Infantry took over as custodians, leaving Camp Sherman as one of the last World War I cantonments to be closed and its buildings sold as surplus.

²Peck, The Rise and Fall of Camp Sherman, 1-3.

³"Camp Sherman Construction," Chillicothe News Advertiser (30 July 1917).

⁴Clyde H. King, "Historical Sketch, Part 6, Archeological Base Map, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio," 14 September 1956, RG 79, FRC/NARA Philadelphia; and King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date.



Figure 10: Cross-section of Mound 18 covered by Camp Sherman barracks. (NPS/1920-21)



Figure 11: Excavation of Mound 7 by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. (NPS/1921)

Through President Warren G. Harding's Executive Order 3558 of October 11, 1921, under congressional authority granted on August 9, Camp Sherman Military Reservation transferred to the Veterans Bureau. The U.S. Veterans Bureau Training School opened in conjunction with the hospital and became fully operational in 1922. A Camp Sherman brick factory, operated by prisoners of war and conscientious objectors, produced the bricks which built the Chillicothe Correctional Institute (CCI) just to the south of Mound City Group. The vegetable gardens and fields maintained by prisoners subsequently were chores taken up by CCI inmates in the early 1930s.⁵

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society undertook investigations at Mound City Group from 1920 to 1921. After a five-hundred-dollar state appropriation proved inadequate, Columbus Dispatch editor Arthur C. Johnson, along with contributions from R. F. and H. P. Wolfe, financed the fieldwork, and the newspaper further helped to secure the necessary verbal permission from the War Department and Camp Sherman commander.⁶ Dr. William C. Mills, assisted by Henry C. Shetrone, also of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, began excavating the first of eight mounds on June 16, 1920. Four of those mounds were half-covered by barracks. Mills called the 1920 season one of the most successful of his career. He told the newspaper,

The life story of this people as told in these mounds is one of the highly interesting chapters in the history of primitive civilization. No primitive people has shown such skill and perserverance in wresting from nature the raw materials needed for their purposes, nor such versatility in fashioning these materials into

⁵"Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Book, 1974," and Peck, The Rise and Fall of Camp Sherman, 22-23. In 1927, the area immediately south of Mound City Group came under Department of Justice jurisdiction for federal reformatory purposes.

⁶"Mound City Relics Formally Turned Over to Ohio Museum," Columbus Dispatch (15 December 1920), found in scrapbook entitled "OSA&HA Newspaper Items Relating to the Society, Its Activities, Parks, Monuments, and Etc., Sept. 1920-Dec. 1921" (hereafter cited as OSA&HA Scrapbook 1920-21); and Theresa F. Nichols, "History of Mound City's Establishment and Administration," unpublished NPS manuscript, 19 March 1979, compiled from data recorded in Proceedings of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society journals, 1920 to 1946, Ohio Historical Society. Mound City artifacts were placed on exhibit on the second floor north of Archeological Hall, along with intrusive burial artifacts.



Figure 12: Excavation of Mound 7. (NPS/1920-21)



Figure 13: Henry C. Shetrone (left) and William C. Mills (right) of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at the Mound City Group excavation. (NPS/1920-21)

finished products. In the records preserved in these mounds we find a vivid picture of the strength and persistence of the forces underlying human development and urging it against odds toward a higher plane of development.

Mills said a future project would be to investigate the village site across the river to "see if there is any connection between the earthworks on the east side of the river and the burial grounds on the west side."⁷

Another field season came in 1921, as Congress, reacting to a post-war economic recession, began slashing funds for Camp Sherman operations.⁸ Mills and Shetrone called their work a "rich addition to the archeology of Ohio,"⁹ with Mills stating that Mound City Group represented the "best example of Hopewell culture in Ohio."¹⁰ Their work concentrated public attention on the Mound City Group and ignited a drive to preserve it.¹¹

** President Harding Proclaims a National Monument

Camp Sherman had helped transform sleepy Chillicothe into a thriving economic center in south-central Ohio. Peacetime brought about new opportunities for use of the large federal holdings to the city's north. Albert C. Spetnagel remained determined to secure a safe future for the prehistoric Hopewell mounds at Mound City Group. The impending demise of Camp Sherman forecast an uncertain future for the mounds. Spetnagel's effort gained credible support when William C. Mills announced his support for a "national park" at Mound City Group. It

⁷William R. Palmer, "Dr. William C. Mills, Assisted by H.C. Shetrone, Directs Successful Season's Field Work for the O.S.A. and H.S.," Columbus Dispatch (5 September 1920), found in OSA&HS Scrapbook, 1920-1921.

⁸"Mound Excavation" (5 July 1921) and "Important Finds in Camp Mounds" (16 July 1921), both in Chillicothe Advertiser, OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-1921.

⁹"Rich Scientific Reward from Two Years' Field Work," Columbus Dispatch (21 August 1921), OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-21.

¹⁰"Reorganization of Ohio Historical Museum Staff Proposed," Columbus Dispatch (12 October 1921), OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-21.

¹¹Clyde H. King, Historical Sketch, Part 6, Archeological Base Map, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio, 14 September 1956, RG 79, FRC/NARA Philadelphia; King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date; and David Arbogast, "Mound City Group National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, March 7, 1976.

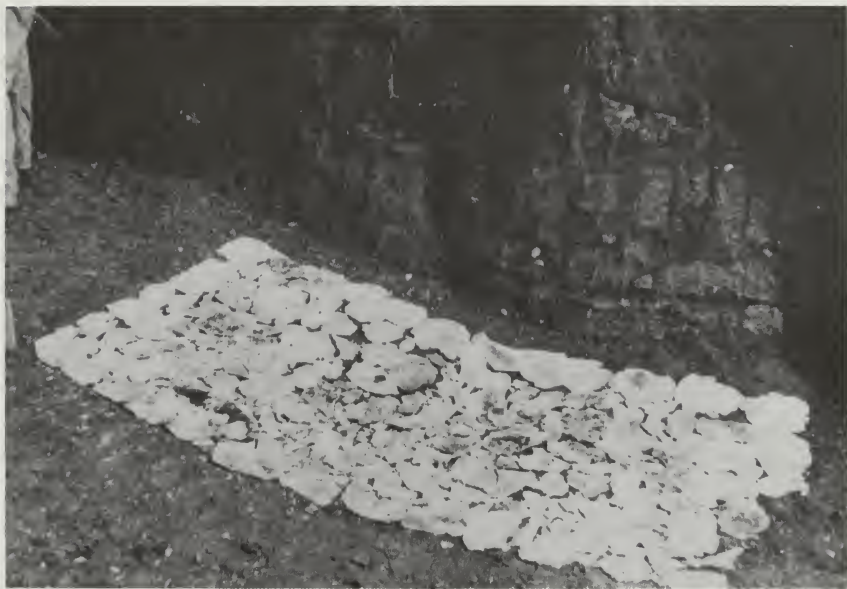


Figure 14: Mica deposit at the bottom of a Squier and Davis shaft in a mound excavated by Shetrone and Mills. (NPS/1920-21)

represented a fourth suggested use for the military reservation, the others being a training center for disabled soldiers, a reformatory for youths, and a citizens' military training grounds.¹²

Ohioans desirous of preserving Camp Sherman in any form conducted a furious letter-writing campaign directed at President Warren G. Harding, himself a native Ohioan. Many letters were sent to the president's personal physician and confidant, Brig. Gen. Charles E. Sawyer. One letter, from Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Secretary C. B. Galbreath declared the prehistoric earthworks should be "under the custody of the state or national government."

Galbreath explicitly offered to assume guardianship of the 117-acre farm containing Mound City Group with a plan to operate it on a self-sustaining basis. He concluded by affirming, "The transfer of this farm to the custody of our society would in no way interfere with the other uses that have been suggested for the large Camp Sherman tract of land." Impressed by the society's offer, and letters of support from the Smithsonian Institution and other scientists, Sawyer pledged to dispatch his son, Dr. Carl Sawyer of Marion, Ohio, to inspect the site and deliver a recommendation.¹³

The U.S. Veterans Bureau, newly charged with Camp Sherman, did not object to use of Mound City Group for park purposes. In October 1921, bureau chief C. R. Forbes inspected the site and conveyed his decision to retain title to the land, but to allow the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to develop a state park there.¹⁴

At the grassroots level, Albert C. Spetnagel lead a civic committee dedicated to ensuring the preservation of the mound group. Utilizing the auspices of Chillicothe's newly-formed Rotary Club chapter, Spetnagel's committee worked with Ohio political figures, and first proposed designation of "Mound City Group National Monument" in 1921 utilizing executive branch powers authorized by the Antiquities Act of 1906. Because there was no legislative mechanism to do otherwise short of a time-consuming act of Congress, the group strategized retaining the

¹²"Dr. Mills May Recommend Camp's Prehistoric Mounds as National Park Site," Chillicothe Advertiser (29 July 1921), and "Would Use Mounds as National Park," Columbus Citizen (29 July 1921), OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-21.

¹³Louis Ludlow, "Watching Ohioans Run the Government," Columbus Dispatch (15 August 1921), OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-21.

¹⁴"Government to Retain Title to Mound City," Columbus Dispatch (28 October 1921), OSA&HS Scrapbook 1920-21.

proposed national monument under War Department jurisdiction; however, its daily administration and operation would be as a state memorial of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Thanks to the mechanism provided by the 1906 Antiquities Act, their preservation effort easily bore fruit. On March 2, 1923, President Warren G. Harding signed proclamation 1653 establishing the Mound City Group National Monument on fifty-seven acres along the Scioto River.¹⁵ Harding's statement called the prehistoric mounds "an object of great historic and scientific interest and should be permanently preserved and protected from all depredations and from all changes that will to any extent mar or jeopardize their historic value."¹⁶ The 1906 Antiquities Act, originally passed to protect archeological resources in the American Southwest from vandals, gave the president the right to declare "historic landmarks, historic or prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest... to be national monuments" anywhere in the country. Afflicted by willful abuse and damage under previous terms of federal stewardship, Mound City Group National Monument could only hope for more prudent care.

Because the federal government had not developed a statement of purpose for the country's national monuments, most remained in limbo with volunteer caretakers overseeing them. Congress allocated almost no funding for their development or care. Even upon the National Park Service's creation in 1916, America's national monuments received scant attention from the new bureau, a practice that continued until the New Deal era when the majority of such sites transferred to NPS administration and Congress loosened its pursestrings. The legacy of second-class status, however, did not quickly evaporate. Therefore, the decision to seek non-federal stewardship for Mound City Group proved fortuitous.¹⁷

Twenty-five days following President Harding's action, Assistant Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis executed a revocable license per the plan of Spetnagel's Rotary Club committee. The license read as follows:

¹⁵Ibid., and Brian Hackett, "Local Rotarians Initiated Idea of Mound City Park," Chillicothe Gazette (17 May 1992). On the same day, President Harding also proclaimed Hovenweep National Monument straddling the Colorado and Utah border. See John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 291.

¹⁶"Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Book," 1974.

¹⁷Hal K. Rothman, America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 89-90, 187-191.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society is hereby granted a license, revocable at will by the Secretary of War, to care for, preserve, protect, and maintain the "Mound City Group" of historic mounds located on the Camp Sherman Military Reservation at Chillicothe, Ohio, and declared a national monument by Presidential Proclamation No. 1653, dated March 2, 1923, under authority of Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 2251), and for that purpose to occupy the tract of land upon which they are situated, which tract was reserved by said proclamation as the site of the said monument, the site so reserved and hereby authorized to be occupied and cared for being described as follows:

All of Sections N and O, bounded on the north by East Liverpool Street, on the east by the Scioto River, on the west by Columbus Avenue, and on the south by Portsmouth Street, containing fifty-seven (57) acres, more or less.

The license is granted upon the following provisions and conditions:

1. That the said site shall be open to all people desiring to visit these mounds and shall be properly cared for and policed by the licensee without any expense whatever to the United States.
2. That no buildings or structures of any kind whatever shall be erected upon the property without the consent of the Secretary of War.
3. That no excavations of the said mounds shall be allowed, except upon permission granted by the Secretary of War.¹⁸

The War Department and its Veterans Bureau had little to no interest in the Mound City Group National Monument. Federal authorities were only too happy to permit Ohio officials to care for and operate the monument. By 1930, of the sixteen national monuments under the War Department's care, fifteen were expressly related to military operations significant to the nation's history. Mound City Group clearly did not fit that mold, and only remained under the War Department's purview because it was surrounded by the former Camp Sherman Military Reservation governed by the Veterans Bureau. Ohio's offer seemed like the

¹⁸Transcribed "Revocable License" in park files.



Figure 15: Mound City Group restoration of the mid-1920s, looking southeast. Death Mask Mound in center features stairs and viewing platform. (NPS/ca. 1927)



Figure 16: Mound City Group restoration of the mid-1920s, looking southwest. Note a Camp Sherman-era remnant fire hydrant at left. (NPS/ca. 1927)

best possible option to federal military officials perplexed by the innocuous piece of real estate known as Mound City Group National Monument.¹⁹

****Ohio Establishes a State Memorial**

In late 1921 or early 1922, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society adopted Albert C. Spetnagel's committee of Rotarians, calling it the "Mound City Committee." With Spetnagel as committee chairman, the membership included Edwin F. Cook, Charles Haynes, Dr. J. M. Leslie, Robert W. Manly, D. M. Massie, and William Allen Scott, all of Chillicothe; Arthur C. Johnson and W. C. Mills, both of Columbus; and J. R. Gragg, of Bainbridge. In his 1922 summary for the annual report, Mills reported:

The committee... has been constantly at work trying to have the Government turn over about 50 acres for a public park.... Mr. Spetnagel has carried on a very voluminous correspondence with the War Department and this department now finds that no law will permit the gift of this land to the Society but can issue a revocable license which would give the Society the right to restore and beautify the ground to be kept as a free public park.

I can see no objection to such a license as it gives us the property to have and to hold for park purposes and I fully recommend to the Society the acceptance of the license and to ask the legislature to appropriate funds for its restoration and maintenance.

During the society's fall 1922 meeting, Mills announced that Spetnagel had received assurances from the War Department of its willingness to transfer the land by revocable license. In response to Mills' enthusiastic recommendation, the society accepted the verbal offer.²⁰

The 1923 presidential proclamation and subsequent transfer of Mound City Group National Monument saw the state ill-prepared

¹⁹"Glimpses of Our National Monuments," National Park Service pamphlet, Washington, D.C., 1930, found at the Ohio Historical Society. There were a total of sixty-four national monuments. In addition to those of the War Department, sixteen were under Department of Agriculture jurisdiction, and thirty-two were administered by Department of Interior bureaus.

²⁰Theresa F. Nichols, "History of Mound City's Establishment and Administration," unpublished NPS manuscript, 19 March 1979, compiled from data recorded in Proceedings of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society 1920 to 1946 journals, 1922: 42-43, 76-77, 88-89, Ohio Historical Society.

to accept the offer. Inexplicably, the initial appropriation requested for mound reconstruction and site restoration was omitted from the legislature's 1923 budget. However, Director William C. Mills used other funds to purchase the Camp Sherman YMCA building remaining on the property as a prelude to site development work.²¹ While Spetnagel's group, renamed the "Mound City Park Committee," supervised preliminary site work, Mills had to intervene with military authorities to save the mounds. Charged with clearing away much of what remained of Camp Sherman, overzealous workers threatened to sweep away the damaged remnants of the mounds as well.

The Ohio Legislature appropriated funds to begin converting Mound City into a state memorial in 1925. On October 1, site clearing began under Henry Shetrone's supervision, and fifty wagonloads of Camp Sherman debris were removed. Workers then deep-plowed the mound area, and twenty-four mounds and their earthwork enclosure walls were located using the Squier and Davis map. Federal assistance from the Veterans Administration (newly renamed from the Veterans Bureau) came when farm manager Dean Gaddon provided a tractor, mower, horses, wagon, tools, and electrical power at no cost.

Reconstruction work based on the 1848 map continued for several weeks into the fall and resumed until completion in the spring of 1926.²² Twenty large dead trees along the Scioto River, tall weeds, brush, along with saplings and omnipresent virginia creeper that covered the area were carried away in eighty wagonloads. Laborers again deep-plowed the area. The Mound City Park Committee sold the western part of the YMCA building containing a large auditorium. The deteriorating structure, too costly to repair, was not needed and its salvaged pieces were used for a small picnic shelter. However, the remaining portion of the YMCA building was ideal for rehabilitation into a five-room quarters for a caretaker. Concrete latrine bases were broken up and removed along with lead packing, iron piping, and wood scraps.²³

In 1927, reformatory workers from the Chillicothe Correctional Institute planted and harvested an oat crop on the mounds before cultivating a mixture of timothy and blue grass.

²¹Ibid., 1923: 24-25. The price was likely minimal because the 1926 report states the YMCA building was donated.

²²Ibid., 1925: 82-85.

²³Ibid., 1926: 50, 61, 81, 83-84; and Clyde B. King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].



Figure 17: Mound City Group restoration of the mid-1920s, looking northwest. Note Death Mask Mound at left with stairway and viewing platform. (Ross County Historical Society, ca. 1927)



Figure 18: Mound City Group restoration of the mid-1920s, looking southwest. Taken from atop the observation platform, note the perimeter earthwall, restored mounds, and sterile landscape. (NPS/ca. 1927)

Workers finished rehabilitating the caretaker's home, converted a latrine into a tool house, and painted both buildings. With the fencing of the monument, Spetnagel reported confidently that the area would soon be ready to open for visitors.²⁴

The following year, work included building a stone gateway to the park as well as an observation platform atop the high, centrally-located Mound 7, which provided a good view of Mound City Group as well as the surrounding river valley. The ornamental gateway and entrance drive tied into existing Camp Sherman roads to form a loop drive past the mound group, paralleling the active railroad spur, and then exiting through the north boundary road. In conjunction with the rustic shelter and surrounding picnic grounds, laborers roughed out a baseball diamond for use by a local league.

Clearly, the intent of local planners was to provide a recreational emphasis for the park with little concern for its true national significance. Proud of the gleaming new picnicking grounds, Chillicothe staged its own dedication ceremony in the early summer of 1929 as the new state park opened for visitors. The local newspaper revealed future plans of the Spetnagel group for "winding roadways with extensive parking facilities, the planting of a variety of shade trees and the laying out of picnic grounds to the east and bordering on the river."²⁵

Funding for such development was not forthcoming from Columbus, nor would it be as financial crisis on Wall Street in the early fall of 1929 precipitated a virtual collapse of the nation's once-booming economy. As the Great Depression gripped the country, budgets for Ohio parks flattened and declined.

²⁴Ibid., 1927: 96. On April 23, 1979, Intake Park Ranger Theresa F. Nichols reported that the owners of the Chillicothe bus station informed her that James Sampson served as caretaker during the years the monument served as a state memorial. Sampson, his wife, and son Albert, lived in the caretaker's residence. They reported that visitors frequently enjoyed digging in the mounds for recreation. See note to files, H24; King confirmed the claim. Sampson was superintendent or supervisor in charge of maintenance for Mound City and other state memorials in south-central Ohio from 1930 until 1946. See King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].

²⁵Quote in "City Considering Formal Dedication of Mound Park," Chillicothe News Advertiser (14 February 1929), Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum; and King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].



Figure 19: Newly-constructed entrance gate and sign for "Mound City State Park." (Collection of the Ross County Historical Society/1928)

Growing public complaints about the lack of facilities development brought a subcommittee of the state finance committee on an April 1933 visit. After an inspection tour in which legislators called Mound City "the best kept and cleanest state park they had seen anywhere in Ohio," local representatives asked for shelter houses to be considered as soon as possible for park development. As their predecessors had done in previous years, the legislators promised to advocate increased development only in accordance with the state's worsening financial condition.²⁶

Even as the spring 1933 visit took place, steps were being taken in Washington, D.C., to change the course of historic preservation in the United States. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt followed through on a plan by his predecessor to reorganize the executive branch via executive order. One bureau that benefitted tremendously was the National Park Service which became charged with administering all of the national monuments scattered throughout federal departments. For example, in addition to historical battlefields, the War Department relinquished control of its national monuments, including Mound City Group, effective August 10, 1933. The move consolidated the function of federal historic preservation into one agency: the National Park Service.²⁷

Six weeks prior to his inauguration as the thirty-second president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed to employ a quarter-million men in public works and conservation projects as a means of breaking the cycle of social and economic misery brought about by the Great Depression. A compliant Congress, alarmed by the mounting despair and panic pervading the American public, gave the new president a virtual *carte blanche* and authorized much of Roosevelt's "New Deal" proposals. Thus began the United States' turn away from *laissez-faire* capitalism to an active course of federal intervention and regulation in not only the economy, but many other areas of American life.

During the "First 100 Days," Congress passed and Roosevelt began implementing his strategy to provide immediate relief. In March 1933, President Roosevelt officially announced the formation of Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) which soon became popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Four

²⁶"Legislative Committee Visits Mound City," Scioto Gazette (6 April 1933), Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum. Locals included Spetnagel, E. S. Wenis and John A. Poland of Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe Mayor J. Robert Gunning, R. E. Myers of the chamber of commerce, Fred C. Keeler representing organized agricultural interests, and E. F. Greenman of Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

²⁷Executive Order 6166, 10 June 1933 and Executive Order 6228, 28 June 1933, in "Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Book," 1974.

departments of the executive branch had authority over the New Deal program: Labor to select the enrollees; War to handle administrative concerns; and Agriculture and Interior to utilize the manpower. Of these last two departments, two bureaus reaped the most benefit from this unemployment relief program: Agriculture's U.S. Forest Service and Interior's National Park Service.

For the National Park Service (NPS), ECW/CCC meant the opportunity not only to develop the long-neglected national parks, but to provide a needed boost to the nation's individual state park systems. Initially, Assistant Director Conrad Wirth turned to the Washington Office's division of Planning and State Cooperation to handle the new program. The project's magnitude prompted the bureau to decentralize its operations in August 1937 by establishing four NPS regional offices in the following cities: Richmond, Virginia (Region I); Omaha, Nebraska (Region II); Santa Fe, New Mexico (Region III); and San Francisco, California (Region IV). The regional offices directly supervised NPS field personnel and equipment; oversaw funding; approved designs; and supplied technical expertise. Areas within each NPS region were further subdivided into district offices containing field inspectors who, in addition to certifying projects, gave advice on designs and plans. Ohio, which fell under the purview of the Region I Office in Richmond, was served by the District D Office in Cincinnati, and later by the CCC Ohio Central Design Office in Columbus.²⁸

Because Mound City Group National Monument hung in limbo until its late summer transfer to NPS jurisdiction, it did not benefit directly from CCC labor or NPS oversight. Chillicothe and south central Ohio, suffering from high unemployment and depressed agricultural prices, needed immediate help and the undeveloped Mound City Group provided an ideal place to stage emergency public works projects. Therefore, the mounds received similar conservation assistance as a result of two other New Deal emergency relief programs: Civil Works Administration (CWA) and Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). CWA/FERA combined funding in 1933 and 1934 to construct two buildings. The first was a massive two-story with partial basement frame utility/maintenance garage building with toilet facilities and a coal furnace. Its rough sawn redwood timbers were salvaged from a nearby covered bridge. Because temporary quarters for the caretaker were placed on the second floor, most likely the

²⁸Ron Cockrell, A Green Shrouded Miracle: The Administrative History of Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, Ohio (Omaha, Nebraska: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), chapter 2.



Figure 20: Mound City Group custodian's residence and maintenance building. (NPS/early 1940s)



Figure 21: Imposing maintenance building, the second story later featured dormer windows to accommodate groundskeeper James Sampson. (NPS/early 1940s)

deteriorated Camp Sherman-era YMCA building was razed at this time. The second was a one-story, two-room masonry comfort station with wood shingle roof measuring more than 430 square feet. Unheated, the building featured concrete facilities with open-pit toilets and unfinished interior walls, floors, and ceilings.²⁹ The rustic architecture of the facilities mirrored similar park construction by the National Park Service-directed Civilian Conservation Corps.

Yet another relief program, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), funded two additional park improvements in 1937. First, WPA workers built a one and one-half story wood frame residence on a masonry foundation adjacent to the utility building. The house, also with a coal furnace, featured a total of twenty-seven rooms (including closets) and had a ten-by-ten-foot office for park administrative purposes at its east entrance. The house and the utility/maintenance garage building were both stained gray to emulate aged redwood.

The second WPA building was a one-story, two-room picnic shelter house measuring more than 2,640 square feet. A rustic chestnut frame rested on a masonry foundation with stone wall columns connected to a shingle roof. A six-foot cobblestone walk connected to the east side of the shelter and on the west and south sides where an enclosed kitchenette stood.³⁰

State workers added soil to many of the mounds, most without consulting the 1848 Squier and Davis documentation. A parking area, walkways, and boatlanding were also installed. Acting on a recommendation from the Division of State Memorials, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society added Seip Mound, another Ross County Hopewellian earthworks, to Mound City's administration.³¹

By the late 1930s, Mound City Group National Monument had

²⁹Park buildings files, Utility Building (Building 2) and Comfort Station (Building 4); and King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].

³⁰Ibid., Residence (Building 1) and Picnic Shelter/Temporary Museum (Building 3).

³¹Theresa F. Nichols, "History of Mound City's Establishment and Administration," unpublished NPS manuscript, 19 March 1979, compiled from data recorded in Proceedings of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society 1920 to 1946 journals, 1937: 65; and King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953]. The board also sent Director Shetrone to Mound City to investigate "practices involving moral turpitude" involving society employees in connection with WPA projects. Shetrone found no evidence of wrong-doing, but did admonish workers who used state-funded gas and labor on personal vehicles used for WPA-related matters (see 1937: 80-82).

become a full-fledged member of the Ohio state memorial system. Its national nomenclature was largely ignored; state promotional materials referred to it as "Mound City State Memorial," while road signs declared "Mound City State Park," one of about thirty-five such units operated by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. There was no signage announcing its national status to visitors.³²

Indeed, even the National Park Service remained unconcerned about Mound City Group National Monument. Since Mound City Group's transfer from the War to Interior Department in 1933, NPS officials suggested to their Ohio counterparts that they supported a federal to state transfer of title, but progress on this initiative cooled when Ohio Congressman W. E. Brahn protested the move. However, when Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes approved the transfer on March 6, 1937, NPS Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth formally announced the proposed move on March 10.³³ In the meantime, NPS perfunctorily pursued a boundary expansion for a wider buffer strip varying from three hundred to six hundred feet along the northern edge of the mounds.³⁴

As a quasi-state institution founded in 1885 with support from private members, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's budget was subject to the legislature's whim. Within the Division of State Memorials, Mound City fared well budget-wise, but the state's "drastic economy program" made it impossible to plan for sustained growth and development. The society benefitted tremendously from CCC funding and labor at many of its units. As late as 1940, Mound City received grounds

³²The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at the New York World's Fair, 1939, pamphlet, Ohio State Archives, Ohio Historical Society.

³³"File Finder for Research on Mound City," prepared by George A. Palmer, 27 July 1982, from RG 79, Box 91, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Brahn letter was dated July 1934. On April 14, 1934, Director Cammerer decided not to act on the management issue. See "Note for Mr. Wirth, Mound City Group," G. L. Collins, 5 December 1944, Midwest Archeological Center Files, Lincoln, Nebraska.

³⁴NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer to Veterans Administration Director/Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, letter, 27 May 1937. The roughly ten-foot existing buffer was deemed unsatisfactory, and additional land "would allow for the proper landscape development of the monument." Apparently, the move came as a result of a site visit from the Region One Office in Richmond, Virginia. Because of access road adjustments and the potential relocation of the VA incinerator and warehouse, no agreement was reached.



Figure 22: Picnic shelter house built at Mound City State Park.
(NPS/June 26, 1937)



Figure 23: Chillicotheans and Ross County residents soon made the Mound City shelter house their premier recreation destination point. (NPS/June 26, 1937)

maintenance attention from a U.S. Soil Conservation Service camp in Chillicothe. Without the additional federal help, the Ohio sites would not have fared as well as they did through the Depression. Indeed, all of Mound City's capital developments came as a result of federal funding. Curator of State Memorials Erwin C. Zepp acknowledged his dilemma to society members in his 1940 report:

To expand properties and facilities at the expense of maintenance and control is recognized by the Division as unsound policy. With a state policy of economy in force, a program of maintenance and control was mandatory. However, there existed and continues to exist an acute need for expanding the educational phase of the memorial program. To merely preserve historic sites and structures is falling short of fulfilling the mission of the Division of State Memorials. This was increasingly apparent in 1940. The average visitor is becoming more aware and appreciative of his democratic heritage in the light of events abroad. He is seeking to rediscover the facts of Americanism. He is demanding an explanation and an interpretation of the history which is preserved in State Memorials. Museums, guides, literature, signs, and other informative and educational media are badly needed.³⁵

Zepp's statement was unquestionably targeted at Mound City Group and its local promoters. The lack of adequate state financing clearly frustrated Mound City boosters in Ross County. Led by Albert C. Spetnagel, the group opposed ongoing negotiations by NPS to relinquish title to Ohio, thereby terminating Mound City Group's national monument status. Such a move, Spetnagel believed, would forever banish the mounds to an inferior position within the state bureaucracy with little development likely to occur anytime soon. Society Director Mills, however, concurred with NPS Historian Herbert Kahler's suggestion that because Ohio funds maintained Mound City since 1923, Ohio should rightfully hold title to it. Mills believed that such a move would eliminate the legislature's reluctance

³⁵"The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Division of State Memorials, Annual Report, 1940," Ohio State Archives, Ohio Historical Society. Organized geographically into four districts, three supervisors managed all but District One which was managed out of the Columbus central office. The latter included Mound City, Buckeye Furnace, Bigg Bottom, Buffington Island, Fort Hill, Leo Petroglyph, Logan Elm, Seip Mound, Serpent Mound, and Tarlton Cross. In budget terms, Mound City ranked third behind Serpent Mound and Fort Hill, and second in visitation (36,135) behind Serpent Mound (58,719). A 1943 reorganization saw Mound City made a district office headquarters.



Figure 24: A picnic sponsored by the YMCA brought a large crowd, some of whom toured the prehistoric mound area. (NPS/June 26, 1937)



Figure 25: With the B & O railroad spur in the foreground, the parking lot for the popular shelter house can be seen beyond the Mound City Group enclosure earthwall. (NPS/no date)

to increase the park's appropriations.³⁶

A summary of Ohio's fiscal expenditures at Mound City Group from 1920 to 1946 is as follows:

1920	\$ 500.	archeological fieldwork
1921	\$ 499.06	archeological fieldwork
1922-24	\$ 0.	
1925	\$2,000.	site work funds spent \$683.39
1926	\$2,000.	site work funds spent \$1,216.61
1927		restoration \$26.14; fence \$411.18
1928		no data/no annual meeting or report
1929	\$ 720.	salaries spent \$720
	1,000.	repairs spent \$998.15
	40.	communication spent \$1.75
	2,000.	general plant spent \$1,652.80
1930	\$2,500.	salaries \$510; wages \$193.45; agric. supplies \$717.25; office supplies \$1.00; printing \$14.50; building repairs \$509.18; and materials \$528.78 = \$2474.16
1931		total disbursements \$3,040.65
1932		total \$2,948.43 (personnel \$1,632.40; maintenance \$1,316.03
1933		total \$2,152.25
1934		total \$2,166.86
1935		total \$2,367.76
1936		\$2,194.54
1937		\$2,500
1938		\$3,633.42
1939		\$3,228.48
1940		\$3,674.96
1941		\$3,822.50
1942		\$6,423.27
1943		\$4,604.62 (became headquarters of District One)
1944		\$4,463.20
1945		\$5,214.36
1946		Park returned to NPS in summer; Curator of Archeology withdraws exhibits. ³⁷

³⁶Mills to Spetnagel, letter, 30 December 1940, Ohio Historical Society, State of Ohio Archives. Mills further worried that public pressure on NPS to expand its system and create additional jobs might imperil the revocable license and recission of state custody of Mound City.

³⁷Clyde B. King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953]. The average annual spending at Mound City Group "state memorial" was slightly over \$3,550. Total state investment stood at \$61,618.54.

As another world war loomed and the chances of further park development vanished, Spetnagel acted. Ever more cognizant as each year passed that no educational facilities interpreting Mound City Group's significance to the public would be forthcoming from Columbus, he donated funds to construct a small museum. Spetnagel paid more than \$780 to remodel the kitchenette at the end of the shelterhouse into a display room, with the south walkway also enclosed at the same time. He also donated a display case within which he placed Hopewellian artifacts from his personal collection. A small spotlight lit the display area. The Mound City museum opened with a special dedication ceremony on May 26, 1942.³⁸

Albert Spetnagel's intentions, however, were not respected or followed by the Columbus society. The only Mound City Group-related interpretation provided to the public were Spetnagel's own donated artifacts. The society's interpretive displays said nothing about Mound City Group. On the walls were a large map of Ross County, artifacts and photographs related to the three cultures of Ohio's mound builders, and similar depictions of artifacts relating to Ohio's other archeological sites. Locals noted that after the museum dedication, Albert Spetnagel withdrew from his active participation in the society. Local opposition to the proposed transfer of Mound City Group National Monument to the state had his full support.³⁹

National and world events in the late 1930s and early 1940s prevented substantive progress on the transfer. Mound City Group never became a priority for action. As early as December 20, 1940, NPS Chief Historian Ronald F. Lee recommended Mound City Group be dis-established as a national monument, to which Associate Director Arthur B. Demaray concurred. In a background

³⁸"Archaeological Museum is Opened at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (26 May 1942), Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum.

³⁹King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953]. Spetnagel's health may have begun to decline as he took no active public role in opposing the transfer. Upon his death, a newspaper editorial credited him with saving the mounds: "Almost single-handed, he brought about establishment of Mound City as a national monument by his contacts with Camp Sherman commanders and representatives in Washington." See "Al Spetnagel," Chillicothe Gazette editorial (18 June 1946), found in scrapbook volume 4, "About People January 13, 1946-December 28, 1947," Division of State Memorials collection, Ohio Historical Society.



Figure 26: Thanks to Albert C. Spetnagel, the shelter house's kitchen became the "Mound City Museum." (Collections of the Ross County Historical Society/1942)

check on the issue, one official wrote to Assistant Director Conrad Wirth:

...it is a very important site, but... was pot hunted by early students, Squier and Davis, in 1846, and later 1920-21 was systematically dug out by the Society. So there is little left in original condition. The historians say that it is representative only of the culture, a very important one of the Hopewell people, but it has been so disturbed and restored that little original condition remains. They want another, untouched, example of what the Hopewell people left behind and say that it might be possible to obtain one for the NPS.⁴⁰

Operations of the national headquarters of the National Park Service were severely impacted when the wartime emergency necessitated drastic personnel reductions and removal of the non-defense agency to Chicago for the duration of the war. Many park units were simply mothballed until after the war. The policy question concerning Mound City Group nonetheless arose again in late 1944, and the NPS chief of interpretation offered a similar recommendation to relinquish title to Ohio.⁴¹

With the war in Europe over and Japan on the brink of defeat, steps were initiated in May 1945 to achieve the transfer. Upon approval of Ohio Governor Frank J. Lausche, the National Park Service prepared draft legislation to effect the deed transfer. When news of the effort reached Chillicothe, four powerful groups formed a coalition to voice their opposition. The coalition, whose membership included the Chillicothe Chamber of Commerce; Chillicothe Retail Merchants Association; Chillicothe Newspapers, Incorporated; and Ross County Historical Society, for the first time publicly announced dissatisfaction with Mound City Group National Monument's management by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. It called for revocation of the 1923 War Department license and advocated National Park Service assumption of daily site management. The coalition formed a special committee, called the "Mound City Committee," to achieve its goals. Its membership included the following prominent businessmen: J. Herbert Mattox, Roy Drury,

⁴⁰"Note for Mr. Wirth, Mound City Group," G. L. Collins, 5 December 1944, Midwest Archeological Center Files, Lincoln, Nebraska.

⁴¹Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Director, 10 May 1968, Management Appraisal Report, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, RG 79, Midwest Regional Office Records, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri.



Figure 27: The Mound City Committee, a coalition of local businessmen, mobilized to transfer Mound City Group National Monument from state to federal stewardship. (Chillicothe Gazette, August 21, 1945)

Nelson L. Kellenberger, Eugene D. Rigney, Oliver O. Overly, Earl Barnhart, David McKell, David Crouse, J. K. Hunter, and Harold Cruitt.⁴²

Along with wide press coverage of their action, the Mound City Committee's most effective move came with a lengthy letter to Eleventh District Congressman Walter E. Brehm outlining the "deplorable condition" of Mound City Group National Monument along with recommendations on how to remedy it. The committee's well-argued grievance against the society included the following statement:

In twenty-two years, The Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society has done nothing to improve or develop the property; to the contrary, it has permitted a National Monument to become little more than a roadside park. During the course of exploration of Mound City by the State Society, in 1920-1921, a magnificent collection of prehistoric art was discovered and promptly hauled off to Columbus where it has remained, partly in storage, despite the fact that it is federal property and should have been displayed in a museum on the site. The State Society has never instituted a program of interpretation, although this was suggested years ago by the National Park Service.

The State Society has always ignored the area's status as a National Monument and has classed it as another of the State Memorials under its supervision. As such, picnic facilities were provided and landscaping carried out. No attempt was made to provide a museum on the site or in any other way to foster knowledge of the area. Neither printed guides nor even the simplest form of descriptive leaflet have ever been available for general distribution in, or about, the area. There are no signs at the entrance indicating Mound City IS a National Monument. The only descriptive plaque in the area (besides one prohibiting the use of 3.2 beer!) recites the number of mounds, and suggests that the visitor (who reasonably expects to learn about Mound City on the site) may travel fifty miles farther to Columbus for the privilege of seeing the artifacts removed from the mounds! It is little wonder, then, that visitors have skirted the mounds on their way to picnic spots and departed without the

⁴²King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].

faintest conception of the importance of their surroundings.⁴³

The letter mirrored Albert Spetnagel's long-standing disgust at the society's inaction and his personal funding of the existing inadequate museum. The society refused to place its Mound City Group artifacts there because the facility was not fireproof. The group opposing the transfer to Ohio called it "a little room with a complex, unimportant mass of material from other mound areas, to pad out a meager showing of trifling odds and ends, plaster casts and some photographs of pieces from Mound City. The visitor is still bewildered."⁴⁴ The committee further informed the congressman that the monument's budget was inadequate, resulting in deteriorated roads and "antiquated facilities" as the hallmarks of the society's "slipshod operation."

The coalition demanded revoking the society's operating license and placing Mound City Group National Monument under National Park Service management. Once accomplished, NPS should:

fully develop the area and erect a suitable, fireproof museum building to house the superb collection of prehistoric art, owned by the federal government, and, at present, in the Ohio State Museum. The Mound City Museum should be in keeping with the quality of the fine art housed therein and with the dignity of the surrounding area. The size of the building should be governed not only by the collection stored at Columbus but also by the distinct possibility of recovering the Davis Collection of Mound City material (including over two hundred effigy pipes) from the British Museum.⁴⁵

Finally, the group called for the congressman to work for adequate NPS appropriations for monument maintenance and development, as well as a site visit for an NPS architect to conceive cost estimates for site construction. It asked for expeditious action: "We believe that every effort should be made to have all phases of this program instituted or in operation by 1946, the 100th anniversary of the first exploration of the Mound

⁴³"Mound City Needs Told in Letter to Rep. Brehmn," Chillicothe Gazette (25 August 1945).

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid. They suggested the British government would be amenable to the gift because Mound City Group, located on the Camp Sherman reservation, was connected to the sacrifice of World War I and II servicemen with the training camp and VA hospital: "The gift of this collection to the United States would constitute a suitable memorial to commemorate these great struggles."

City area by [Squier and] Dr. Davis."⁴⁶

After having been the target of fierce lobbying since May 1945, which included Ohio's U.S. Senators Robert A. Taft and Harold H. Burton, Governor Lausche withdrew his support for the transfer on August 1. Lausche informed Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Director Henry C. Shetrone,

It is my considered judgment that further negotiations for the transfer of title to this land from the Federal Government to the State Government ought to be promptly terminated. The preponderance of judgment is that it would be better for the development of the memorial and for the attraction of tourists to that community to have title remain in the Federal Government. It is further revealed to me that the Federal Government is not insisting nor asking that the title in the memorial should be taken in the name of the State of Ohio.⁴⁷

Congressmen Brehm acted immediately. On August 21, 1945, Brehm, accompanied by NPS Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler, met with the committee and local officials and toured Mound City Group. Kahler advised that an appropriations request would have to be submitted by September 15, and at Brehm's request, an NPS architect would be sent to survey the area.⁴⁸ In September, Acting NPS Director Hillory A. Tollson requested Region One Director Thomas J. Allen to send an architect to Chillicothe to prepare a master plan.⁴⁹ The same month Tollson informed Brehm that an Interior appropriations request for Mound City Group maintenance and operations had been forwarded to the Bureau of the Budget on its way to the House Interior subcommittee.⁵⁰ Regional Landscape Architect Ralph W. Emerson arrived for an inspection of Mound City Group's condition and needs in late

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷"Mound City Unchanged," Chillicothe Gazette (1 August 1945), Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum.

⁴⁸"Appropriation for Museum at Mound City Requested of Congress by Local Committee," (22 August 1945) and "Chief of Parks at Mound City," (21 August 1945) Chillicothe Gazette, Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum.

⁴⁹"Park Plans to Ickes," Chillicothe Gazette (10 September 1945), Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum. Region One officials reported that the regional landscape architect was hospitalized with severe burns and to expect some delay in accomplishing the survey.

⁵⁰"Mound City In Budget," Chillicothe Gazette (26 September 1945), Miscellaneous Clippings Book September 7, 1944-December 26, 1946, Division of State Memorials, Ohio Historical Society.

October 1945. Emerson surveyed the grounds for the proposed museum and any other necessary developments to "bring the park up to federal standards."⁵¹

NPS officials, forced by public and political pressure to take Mound City Group National Monument seriously after twenty-two years, were never comfortable about the management arrangement with Ohio. Many questioned whether the revocable license was actually legal in the first place. Forced to assess the situation because of the dissatisfaction of Chillicothe citizens, NPS acknowledged the prevailing political winds and honored Governor Lausche and the Ohio congressional delegation's wishes. The federal bureau announced its intention to take charge of Mound City Group National Monument at the start of the next fiscal year: August 1, 1946.

****The National Park Service Assumes Control**

Although a bitter pill to swallow, officials at the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society bowed to the inevitable. On September 21, 1945, the society's board of trustees passed a formal resolution concurring that Mound City Group National Monument should be returned to the federal government. Further, the board pledged its support to help the Ross County Historical Society achieve the goal.⁵² However, the society realized Ross County citizens advocated return of the Mound City Group artifacts gathered in 1920 and 1921, and few on the board supported such a move. Little did board members realize that NPS officials were already investigating the question of who owned that collection, the federal or state government. On September 5, 1945, the Department of the Interior requested a War Department review and report on the matter. The answer came on April 19, 1946, in a letter from Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson:

A search of the records of this Department and a study of files pertinent thereto discloses no grant of authority from the United States to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to excavate in the Mound City Group, Camp Sherman, Ohio. A study of the records indicates that the license granted said society on 27 March 1923 was the only license properly

⁵¹"Architect Visits Mound City Park," Chillicothe Gazette (26 October 1945), Miscellaneous Clippings Book September 7, 1944-December 26, 1946, Division of State Memorials, Ohio Historical Society.

⁵²"State Society to Go Along," Chillicothe Gazette (10 October 1945), Miscellaneous Clippings Book September 7, 1944-December 26, 1946, Division of State Memorials, Ohio Historical Society.

granted. This license provided that no excavation of the mounds would be allowed except upon permission granted by the Secretary of War. There is no evidence available that such permission was ever granted. It, therefore, appears that the artifacts excavated by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in the Mound City Group and removed therefrom were taken without right. Accordingly, it is the opinion of this Department that the subject artifacts remain the property of the United States.⁵³

NPS officials determined not to make an issue over its ownership of the 1920-1921 Mound City Group artifact collection. Because there were not adequate curatorial facilities at Mound City Group or in Chillicothe, particularly at the Ross County Historical Society and Museum, NPS officials were no doubt content to maintain the status quo and not antagonize their state counterparts unnecessarily. For the time being, the collection would remain in Columbus.

Notice that the 1923 Mound City Group management license with the War Department would be revoked as of August 1, 1946, came from Interior in early 1946 when it became clear Congress would include Mound City Group in the fiscal 1947 NPS budget. The revocation notice came in a letter to society director Henry C. Shetrone. Interior recognized the society's role in saving Mound City Group from destruction, and guiding its development program.⁵⁴

Regional Archeologist J. C. Harrington arrived at Mound City Group on July 30, 1946, to make last-minute arrangements for the transfer. William W. Luckett accompanied Harrington from Richmond to Chillicothe. Luckett, who served as custodian at Shiloh National Military Park (Tennessee), Ocmulgee National Monument (Georgia) and Salem Maritime National Historic Site (Massachusetts), entered on duty as acting custodian of Mound City Group on his way to his next permanent assignment at Fort Pulaski National Monument (Georgia).

On the morning of August 1, Harrington accepted responsibility for the park from Richard S. Fatig, curator of state memorials for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Harrington reported the park to be in good physical condition, "mowed and every part of it was neat and clean." However, the temporary museum was stripped bare. The society had

⁵³Robert P. Patterson to Oscar L. Chapman, letter, 19 April 1946.

⁵⁴Secretary of the Interior to Dr. Henry C. Shetrone, letter, undated [circa spring 1946], Midwest Archeological Center files, Lincoln, Nebraska.

withdrawn its exhibits, as had Albert C. Spetnagel, who probably did so to spur federal park officials into approving long hoped for developments. The society also removed its equipment and signage from the Chillicothe park.

With the agency's position on retaining Mound City Group National Monument within its system of federal parks remaining unclear, the National Park Service faced the daunting task of "starting from scratch."⁵⁵

⁵⁵Quotes from Harrington to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, 2 August 1946, Mound City Group History File; "Mound City Returned to the United States," Museum Echoes of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Vol. 19, No. 10; "Mound City Park Passes to U.S.," Columbus Dispatch (1 August 1946) and "Mound City Becomes U.S. Park," Chillicothe Gazette (31 July 1946), both in Albert C. Spetnagel Collection, Ross County Historical Society Museum.

Chapter Three

Clyde B. King, "Mr. Moundbuilder," 1946-1962

The transfer of Mound City Group National Monument from state to federal stewardship on August 1, 1946, occurred without fanfare. The National Park Service faced an immediate dilemma of providing basic public services, a task made more difficult by state removal of its non-real park property for use in other state memorials. While it would take nearly two decades to bring Mound City Group National Monument up to the high standards expected of any National Park Service unit, the initial rudimentary steps proved significant to establish an immediate federal presence.

One of Acting Custodian William W. Lockett's first moves was to secure a large entrance sign which for the first time informed visitors they were at a national monument. Another interpretive marker went up near the mounds. During Lockett's two-month tenure, the monument experienced heavy visitation and Lockett found it impossible to provide the same services as before such as reserving picnic tables for a fee and selling charcoal. He also began turning off the shelterhouse lights earlier than usual.

On November 2, 1946, Mound City Group's first permanent NPS custodian entered on duty. Clyde B. King was pleased to find buildings and utilities in good condition, slightly less than ideal roadways, and gravel walkways to the comfort station and Scioto River. Picnic facilities included seven fireplaces and an assortment of unstable picnic tables. Although picnicking was to end at dusk, there had never been strict enforcement other than flashing the lights on and off in the shelterhouse to encourage people to leave. King noted, "A hitching rail encouraged hayride parties which invariably arrived after dark to hold picnics; a ball diamond, dangerously close to the picnic area, had been unattended except such attention as could be given from the residence."¹

King lamented the unusual amount of picnicking that occurred at the park. The recreational use, almost to the exclusion of the site's interpretive significance, would be a thorn in Clyde B. King's side for years to come.

¹King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," no date [circa 1953].



Figure 28: First National Park Service entrance sign on Highway 104 for Mound City Group National Monument. (NPS/William W. Luckett, September 1946)



Figure 29: Comfort station near Scioto River, across parking lot from Mound City shelter house. (NPS/late 1940s)

** From Custodian to Superintendent

Acting Custodian William W. Luckett was not a one-man show at Mound City Group National Monument. Maintenance man James Sampson stayed on and continued routine maintenance operations such as mowing the fifty acres of bluegrass and regular cleaning of the picnic grounds. Thanks to the loan of mowing equipment from the Veterans Administration and state, and donation of small equipment from other Eastern NPS units, the transition from state to federal operations went smoothly. Bereft of interpretive exhibits, the "hordes" of visitors were left to enjoy picnicking, softball, and horse-shoe pitching. In order to provide minimal interpretive services, Luckett prepared a two-sided site flyer which the Region One Office mimeographed for distribution. Luckett reported his literary effort paid off because he found no discarded copies of it littering the grounds.²

Briefed for two days by his predecessor, Clyde King assumed the Mound City Group custodian position on November 2, 1946. King, a Park Service employee since 1935 with service at Natchez Trace Parkway, Tennessee; Moore's Creek National Military Park, North Carolina; and Meriwether Lewis National Monument, Tennessee, was pleased by Luckett's work on signage and interpretive services. During these early years with minimal staff, King enjoyed budget and personnel services provided by the Region One Office.³ In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the park received similar administrative services from Mammoth Cave National Park, Kentucky. In October 1948, reflecting a nationwide effort to conform job classifications, King's title changed from custodian to superintendent.⁴

King spent considerable time individually counting visitors, groups of picnickers, and noting various state license plates on vehicles parked in the lot. During the first year of NPS administration, 31,572 visitors came to Mound City Group, and 5,445 people entered the pavilion exhibit room where King displayed a topographical model of the mounds and he discussed

²Acting Custodian Luckett to Director Newton Drury, 10 September 1946, August 1946 report; Luckett to Drury, 6 October 1946, September 1946 report; and Custodian Clyde B. King to Drury, 1 September 1948, August 1948 report. On September 7, 1948, Sampson transferred to the Fire Guard at Patterson Field in Dayton. On September 8, King hired Joseph V. Acton from Adena State Memorial for the position.

³King to Drury, 1 December 1946, November 1946 report; and King to Drury, 2 February 1947, January 1947 report.

⁴King's title changed between the September and October 1948 monthly reports. King routinely carbon-copied Mammoth Cave on all important correspondence to keep that unit informed of Mound City Group activities.

their use in the context of Hopewell culture. In July 1947, bowing to public demand and to prevent foraging for natural fuel, King arranged an informal concession with a Chillicothe hardware store to supply picnickers with charcoal. Typical of hard-working, unheralded, and uncompensated Park Service spouses, Mrs. King handled area sales.⁵

Unfortunately, hopes for speedy development of NPS facilities were not forthcoming. An effort to include \$47,700 for a museum building and exhibits into the 1948 and 1949 NPS budget failed.⁶ King made the best of the situation. Nine new picnic tables for the shelterhouse and fifteen for the surrounding grounds were purchased for the 1948 visitor season, along with homemade exhibits added to the display room. Five thousand additional visitors arrived, reflecting the rapid national increase in vacation travel during the prosperous post-war years. Superintendent King increasingly made off-site talks to groups within a fifty-mile radius of Chillicothe on topics ranging from the national parks, moundbuilders, and wildflowers.

Like most managers at small parks with a staff of one to two people, Clyde King was a jack-of-all-trades. When not building exhibits and signs or interacting with visitors, King rendered assistance to Maintenance man J. Vernon Acton. Such duties could be hazardous. For example, in February 1949, while helping to move picnic tables from storage in the shelter, King sprained his back. Several weeks later while pulling out a dead snag from shrubbery, it broke loose, struck him in the mouth, and caused a wound requiring three stitches. A chagrined King reported he lost no work-time as the mishap and the quick trip to the doctor took place during his lunch hour.⁷ Living with his family in the onsite residence, King found himself on twenty-four-hour, seven-days-a-week call. Relief came during the 1952 season when local teacher Max V. Baughman entered on duty as the park's first seasonal employee, an information receptionist. "His presence gives me relief four evenings out of the week from 6 p.m. until dark," King noted, "and makes it possible for me to have two full lieu days each week."⁸

⁵King to Drury, 2 July 1947, June 1947 report; and "31,572 Visit Mound City During One Travel Year," Chillicothe Gazette, 7 October 1947.

⁶"Museum for Relics of Mound-Builders May be Built on World War Camp Site Near Chillicothe," Columbus Dispatch (9 October 1947), Memorials Misc. Clippings Book 1944-1947, Division of State Memorials, Ohio Historical Society.

⁷"Mound City is Popular Even During the Winter," Chillicothe Gazette (1 October 1948); King to Drury, 28 February 1949, February 1949 report; and King to Drury, 31 March 1949, March 1949 report.

⁸King to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 1 July 1952, June 1952 report.



Figure 30: Superintendent Clyde B. King inspects museum exhibits, many of which he designed and built. (Chillicothe Gazette/Marcus Orr, September 14, 1949)

The predictable routine of monument operations lifted momentarily when special guests passed by for a visit. On August 22, 1950, NPS Director Newton B. Drury and his wife arrived at Mound City Group National Monument for a tour. Director Drury told the media he found the park "impressive" and "interesting," and said that development plans for Mound City Group were still pending within Interior. King arranged a personal meeting between the director and the park's "staunchest supporters": Eugene D. Rigney of the Ross County Historical Society and chamber of commerce secretary Douglas R. Pinkerton.⁹

If he was inclined after his visit to Mound City Group National Monument to assist its development, Newton Drury did not do so. Seven months later, Drury was no longer NPS director, but was replaced for most of the remainder of 1951 by Arthur E. Demaray, who then retired. On December 9, 1951, Conrad L. Wirth became the sixth NPS director. Just as the top administrative juggling caused uncertainty, so too did a reorganization in mid-1955. When the new Region Five (renamed in 1962 to Northeast Region) was created with headquarters in Philadelphia, a sixteen-state area, including Ohio, came under its purview. During the Truman administration and early Eisenhower years, facility improvements at Mound City Group never elevated to a priority level.¹⁰

Superintendent King first enumerated clear management goals for the park in 1953. His number-one priority was to shift Mound City Group's focus from recreation to interpretation. To do so, however, required a headquarters-museum building for adequate exhibits to provide enough visitor interest in order to curtail or eliminate outright the popular picnic usage. King's second goal was a complete restoration or more accurate reconstruction of the earthworks along with elimination of the railroad spur line and related Veterans Administration facilities. Third on King's list was a landscape program of screening and ornamental plantings. Until these goals were accomplished, King did not believe Mound City Group could be classified as a truly functional national monument.¹¹

Lack of NPS movement on park development was undoubtedly rooted in persistent concerns about Mound City Group's physical

⁹"National Park Service Chief Finds Mound City Interesting," Chillicothe Gazette (23 August 1950); and King to Drury, 1 September 1950, August 1950 report.

¹⁰Wirth to Fred A. Seaton, "Annual Report of the Director, National Park Service, to the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year 1956," Ohio State Archives, Ohio Historical Society.

¹¹King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," [circa 1953], 19.

integrity and, hence, its eligibility for national significance. Upon Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay's request, NPS formed an "Area Management Study" in late 1953, the purpose of which was to identify National Park System units of questionable significance for possible disestablishment and relinquishment to state or local governments. In formulating its goals, the team cited Mound City Group National Monument among others as initial units to be studied. News of the December 1953 survey team effort reached Ohio authorities in February 1954. The Chillicothe Gazette, noting that a similar effort to transfer Mound City Group to the state was defeated just nine years previously, denounced claims that the site lacked national significance. The editorial stated, "It appears it will be necessary to serve notice again that the Chillicothe area is vitally interested in Mound City and not just as a picnic and softball area as it was referred to so lightly in Washington dispatches." The newspaper warned that if successful, the transfer would place it at the "whims of the legislature and eventually it will become just one of the 60 state parks."¹²

On February 19, 1954, survey team member and cooperative activities chief Ben H. Thompson recommended to Director Wirth that Mound City Group be one of the units included in the disposition program. Eugene Rigney, Ross County Historical Society director, denounced the action and pledged to work with the chamber of commerce and others to block it. Rigney feared loss of national monument status would mean a decrease of national visitation as the Chillicothe park was the only NPS unit in southern Ohio. With nearby Adena State Memorial, Rigney warned that the legislature would not be likely to provide adequate funding for two state parks in the same vicinity. To create such a state unit in the middle of the federally-owned reformatory and Veterans Administration land would be untenable. Disagreeing with Rigney, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society director Erwin C. Zepp welcomed the proposed transfer, while former director Henry C. Shetrone exclaimed, "I think it would be the finest thing that could happen to Ohio in a long time. Their park was developed with Ohio funds [sic] and belongs to Ohio."¹³

Two weeks later, Ohio Governor Frank J. Lausche once again came to the defense of Chillicothe and Mound City Group National Monument. He denounced the determination that the monument was not nationally significant, and pointed out that NPS administered only two Ohio parks totalling no more than eighty-two acres

¹²"Keep It National," Chillicothe Gazette editorial (13 February 1954).

¹³Quote in "Proposal Stirs Fuss: Urge U.S. Retain Mound City Park," Columbus Dispatch (19 February 1954); and "Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," unpublished typewritten manuscript, April 1980.



Figure 31: Clyde King presents a program to a fifth-grade science class. Whether discussing natural or cultural resources, King never missed a chance to highlight Mound City Group and the Hopewell culture. (Chillicothe Gazette, October 1948)

total. Federal park services rendered in Ohio, Lausche argued, were miniscule in comparison to fiscal commitments in other states. He called the federal withdrawal "wrong and an injustice. Ohio, with an area of about 43,000 square miles, has [82] acres being administered by the National Park Service. If you abandon Mound City, from the standpoint of area," Lausche argued, "you will have nothing left. To me, it is inconceivable, that from the standpoint of National Monuments, Ohio should be so devoid of worth. It simply isn't so."¹⁴ Responding to Lausche's protest, Director Wirth declared:

The Secretary of the Interior last year designated a survey team to study the organization of the National Park Service in the interest of greater efficiency and economy. Among the recommendations submitted by this survey team was one to the effect that this Service should review certain areas of the National Park System to determine which, if any, might be found to be of less than national significance and whether they might more appropriately be administered by State or local agencies of government.

The Mound City Group National Monument happened to be among those mentioned by the survey team as examples of the kinds of areas it felt should be reviewed. The Secretary accordingly has directed this Service to make the review as suggested and it is currently being undertaken as a basis for further Departmental consideration. Until this study is complete I am unable to say, of course, which areas may be recommended for disposition. As you may know, however, the abolishment or transfer of any area of the National Park System would require legislation by the Congress.¹⁵

Adding fuel to the Ohio controversy, the Interior secretary's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments entered the fray. The advisory board, established following passage of the 1935 Historic Sites Act, reviewed the NPS survey team's results of seven areas that lacked national

¹⁴Lausche to Wirth, letter, 3 March 1954, L1415, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Northeast Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as "RG 79 FRC/NARA Philadelphia"); and "Lausche Urges U.S. to Retain Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (5 March 1954). In the March 6 editorial "Lausche Lends a Hand," the newspaper praised the governor's action. Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial at Put-in-Bay, South Bass Island, was the other NPS Ohio unit.

¹⁵Wirth to Lausche, letter, 19 March 1954, L1415.

significance and should be transferred.¹⁶ Approving the four on the top of the NPS list, including Mound City Group, the board added nine more sites of its own.¹⁷ On March 22, 1954, the advisory board formally resolved that Mound City Group National Monument lacked national significance and should be abolished, and that NPS begin the process of getting the park turned over to the state.¹⁸

Superintendent King refrained from issuing any personal position on the controversy to the media, but continued to stress NPS's role in protecting and interpreting the site. By contrast, whereas the state society's usual practice was to provide site interpretation of local units in its Columbus museum, King hoped "this public service contribution by [NPS] can be brought out more effectively in the community. It is unfortunate that here the interpretive point is so completely surrounded by the picnic facilities."¹⁹ King succinctly summarized the debate for Director Wirth as follows:

That if prehistoric tribes are to be recognized on a National level then the Hopewell certainly should be included in at least one site. This group was the most extensive in occupation area and the most advanced culturally of all prehistoric tribes in the eastern United States.

That of all Hopewell sites the Mound City Group is the outstanding burial shrine, both in the type of burials and the variety of objects found at the site. Too, it is central to the largest concentration of their geometric earthworks.

That while it is unfortunate that the site is a

¹⁶John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 522. The areas included: Millerton Lake Recreation Area, Platt National Park, Mound City Group National Monument, Moore's Creek National Military Park, Big Hole Battlefield National Monument, Natchez Trace Parkway, and Lehman Caves National Monument.

¹⁷Ibid., 523. It approved for disposition: Hot Springs National Park, Platt National Park, Capulin Mountain National Monument, Mound City Group National Monument, Pinnacles National Monument, Shoshone Cavern National Monument, Verendrye National Monument, Moore's Creek National Military Park, Brices Cross Roads National Battlefield Site, Cowpens National Battlefield Site, Tupelo National Battlefield Site, White Plains National Battlefield Site, and Millerton Lake National Recreation Area.

¹⁸"Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," unpublished typewritten manuscript, April 1980, 4, and see appendix "Memoranda on Turning Over Mound City to the State: 1954-1956."

¹⁹King to Wirth, 2 March 1954, February 1954 report.

restoration, it is even more unfortunate that no other site can be acquired which will not require restoration to make it an effective display. Further, no site of this type can equal the Mound City Group in economy of operation since the area involved is so limited and located near utilities.

That no other site matches it in the part played in the history of American Archeology, especially in connection with "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" first of the Smithsonian publications.

That the completion of a headquarters building and of a display will tend to change the emphasis from picnic use to interpretive and will increase such use in what is normally the "off" season.

That while the State of Ohio will maintain the area effectively it will not maintain a proper interpretive program. Too, the National status tends to draw tourists from all states and countries whereas a State status will tend to localize its use.²⁰

In Clyde King's mind, in spite of its overwhelming use for picnicking, Mound City Group deserved retention of national monument status and operation by the National Park Service.

Politically, the transfer effort initially received enthusiastic endorsement from Congressman James G. Polk. Polk, whose district included Ross County, stated that Ohio might do a better job at Mound City Group because federal spending there had been stingy in recent years. When his constituents in Chillicothe rose in protest, Polk tempered his position and announced federal funding would be available for at least one more year of NPS operations at Mound City Group.²¹ Polk received his assurances from Conrad Wirth who, encouraged by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's willingness to assume management, was at the same time reluctant to act because of Governor Lausche's vehement opposition. On June 9, 1954, Wirth informed Secretary McKay that while Ohio Senator John W. Bricker might back the transfer legislation, "I recommend that no further action for the transfer of this national monument be taken in the immediate future. Later in the year," Wirth continued, "I would expect to discuss with members of the Ohio delegation and others concerned the possibilities of the

²⁰Ibid. King reported that February visitation alone had increased from the 676 counted in 1953, to 1,060 because of the public debate.

²¹"Fight Promised if Mound City Shift Develops," 12 February 1954, and "Mound City Park 'Safe', Polk Feels," no date, Chillicothe Gazette.

enactment of legislation to abolish the area as a national monument and transfer it to the appropriate State agency for administration as a State historical park or monument."²²

By the end of 1954, when public opposition to the transfer had not abated, Area Management Study team member Ben Thompson concurred with Senator Bricker's staff assistant that the matter should be deferred to a later date. In the meantime, Thompson recommended NPS move ahead by asking the Ohio society to turn over Mound City Group artifacts in order to warrant construction of a museum and full interpretive program. The strategy received both Director Wirth and Secretary McKay's approval. In June 1955, Erwin C. Zepp told NPS Chief Historian Herbert Kahler that while the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was still interested in the new management scenario, it could not cooperate as long as Governor Lausche remained opposed. Zepp confided that perhaps things would change following the next gubernatorial election.²³

Yet another NPS review approved by Associate Director Eivind T. Scoyen on February 20, 1956, sanctioned continued efforts for Mound City Group disposition. Scoyen's act came in the context of the agency's MISSION 66 program, a ten-year facility development effort launched by the Eisenhower administration to enhance visitor services in the national parks in time for the Park Service's fiftieth anniversary in 1966. This initial MISSION 66 prospectus for Mound City Group simply reiterated contemporary NPS policy of maintaining status quo operations while seeking authority to transfer the area. However, lingering doubts about the transfer which had simmered within the cultural resources professional ranks, soon erupted to call the policy into question.

In a landmark move, NPS Staff Archeologist John M. Corbett's observations on February 29, 1956, delivered the first professional argument from an archeological standpoint to justify retention of Mound City Group. Recognizing that MISSION 66 sought a well-rounded, balanced national park system, Dr. Corbett observed that NPS managed nineteen archeological units, including fifteen recognizing various American Southwest culture groups, primarily pueblos and cliff dwellers. Outside that region were a scant four: Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa; Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia; Pipestone National Monument,

²²Wirth to McKay, 9 June 1954, "Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," April 1980.

²³"Area Management Study, Mound City Group," E. V. Bushman to Ben H. Thompson, 2 November 1956 in "Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," April 1980. The spate of correspondence is dated 27 December 1954, 2 February 1955, and 1 June 1955.

Minnesota; and Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio. Corbett noted that while Effigy Mounds demonstrated some Hopewellian traits, it was peripheral to and probably later than classical Hopewellian sites in the Ohio and Illinois valleys. Therefore, Mound City Group represented the sole Hopewellian unit of the national park system. The Hopewell culture, Corbett argued, was significant and had to be interpreted to the American public:

Although the visible remains left by the Hopewell people, largely earth-covered burial mounds, are not so readily interpreted or as spectacular to the average visitor (or as well publicized for that matter) as the ruined pueblos and ancient cliff dwellers of the Southwest, the Hopewell people themselves possessed a remarkably well developed and unique culture, and which existed a thousand years before the great prehistoric pueblos of the Southwest, and one which had a marked effect upon all subsequent Indian cultures east of the Mississippi River from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. The intellectual, cultural, and religious achievements of these people were in their way, just as magnificent as that of the later Southwestern Anasazi and Hohokam.²⁴

While archeologists had studied the Anasazi for seventy years, serious examination of the Hopewell had been underway only one or two decades. Further, Dr. Corbett noted, while the Antiquities Act had been invoked to save a multitude of Southwestern sites, most of the finest Hopewell sites had already succumbed to the ever-advancing population and industrialization of the Eastern United States. As archeologists continued to study sites and develop better techniques for interpretation of past cultures, public interest would be elevated and lead to increased appreciation for the Hopewell on a level approaching that held for the pueblo and Anasazi. Corbett recognized the Historic Sites Survey and Advisory Board's subsequent designation of Grave Creek Mound, West Virginia; Miamisburg Mound, Ohio; and Serpent Mound, Ohio, all classic Adena sites under state control, as national historic landmarks. He viewed divestiture of Mound City Group as unwise:

Since disestablishment of Mound City Group as a national monument would only further throw out of balance a system already heavily weighted toward the Southwest, and since we have no other truly comparable area in the park system and since the accomplishments of the Hopewell people and their effect upon later culture are not as readily appreciated today as they

²⁴Corbett to Chief, Division of Interpretation, Ben H. Thompson, 29 February 1956. Corbett subsequently became NPS chief archeologist.

may be in the foreseeable future, I recommend:

1. That we move with extreme caution in attempting to turn Mound City Group National Monument over to Ohio state; and 2. If disestablished, the Service acquire an equal or better area characteristic of Hopewell culture.²⁵

In a follow-up examination of Mound City Group's potential, John Corbett observed there were no other Hopewellian sites left that were of its same or greater magnitude. "There is no one area which encompasses the story of American archeology--especially that part of the story which started east of the Mississippi and later spread to the Southwest. But Mound City," Corbett argued, "is as logical a place in which to tell this story because of its association with Squier and Davis and later with Shetrone of Ohio archeology fame and because of its physical closeness to the center of much of the early archeological work which took place in the Ohio valley."²⁶ To improve the park's interpretive possibilities, Corbett urged reduction of the heavy local picnic usage by imposing a modest entrance fee in conjunction with an increased interpretive program focused both on the Hopewell culture and the development of American archeology through the early work of Squier and Davis. "Such a combined archeological-historical interpretive approach," Corbett opined, "would assist greatly in gradually shifting the emphasis at Mound City from local recreational use to the more conventional historical-interpretive use pattern. It would make Mound City Group National Monument a full working member of the Park Service family."²⁷

While John Corbett's argument to retain Mound City Group National Monument in the National Park System ended the policy decision to seek disposition, and likewise quelled the political impetus, the February 20, 1956, MISSION 66 prospectus remained in effect, providing no program benefits to the Ohio park. Until the prospectus was amended, Mound City Group remained in limbo.²⁸

Clyde King worked diligently at the local level to change the laissez-faire policy. As early as January 1949, King began

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Corbett to Thompson, 27 April 1956, K1815.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," April 1980 (applicable memoranda are dated 20 February, 2 May, and 1 October 1956); and "Threat to Mound City Dissipated," Chillicothe Gazette (no date, circa June 1956), Ross County Public Library microfilm. Senator Bricker discontinued Interior-inspired efforts to introduce transfer legislation.

scouring the archives in Columbus searching for survey and excavation notes from 1920-21, and discussed loan of artifacts. Columbus officials refused to discuss temporary loans, especially in light of inadequate museum conditions in Chillicothe. Nonetheless, King persisted in attempts to build an interpretive program. One of his off-season duties involved preparing the park's archeological base map. Handicapped by the "missing or mislaid" 1920-21 records, King approached completion of draft base maps by the spring of 1951.²⁹ When the disestablishment effort intensified, he forwarded the package, complete with historical narrative, to Region Five. On October 23, 1956, Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin sent it to the Washington Office with the expressed wish that "it will add weight to the retention of Mound City Group in the National Park System and [for] its full development and interpretation."³⁰ In addition to continued efforts to negotiate artifact loans from Columbus, King worked to update the park's master plan that focused on a self-guiding leaflet for visitors in the mound area. There were no trails planned; instead, visitors were free to wander the mounds at will.³¹

In ten years at Mound City Group, King's belief in the park's significance never wavered, but this resolve was tempered by boredom and disgust at the lack of park development. In the aftermath of the failed disposition attempt, he confided his personal desire for a transfer to a colleague: "I want one but I stay here, for no more than 9 years more anyway [until retirement]. However, rather than sit idly by waiting for something to happen, and not a thing has..., I took on an extra part-time job."³² Using his accrued vacation time, King began

²⁹King to Director, 31 January 1949, January 1949 report; 31 March 1949, March 1949 report; 1 March 1951, February 1951 report; and 1 May 1951, April 1951 report. In this last report, King noted he was still working on the final sheet: "This was to have been one depicting precise information on mound sites and sizes as detailed by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. To date I have been unable to locate neither the original survey notes nor the notes made during the restoration in 1926."

³⁰"Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument," April 1980. "Data Sheets for Archeological Base Map" were approved by Dr. John L. Cotter, Regional Archeologist of Philadelphia Service Center on 24 May 1961. King credited John Corbett for their development in his 1 July 1961 memorandum for the June 1961 report.

³¹King to Director, 1 February 1951, January 1951 report; Acting Chief of Design and Construction Henry Langley to Region One Director Elbert Cox, 2 July 1953, D1815; King to Director, 1 October 1958; September 1958 report; and King to Director, 1 November 1958, October 1958 report.

³²King to Superintendent, Stones River National Military Park, (unidentified, but probably Victor H. Shipley), letter, 18 December 1956. Confessing boredom, King wrote, "If I could just get out of *seeming* to be on duty it would be even easier. Today I have recorded a grand total of 8 cars."



Figure 32: School groups ate lunch at Mound City before reboarding school buses for their ultimate destination: Adena State Memorial. (NPS/no date)

substitute teaching in the local schools to provide himself with an intellectual challenge as well as to escape the monotony of counting visitors and picnic groups. Until the pervasive recreational aspect could be curtailed or, even better, altogether eliminated, Mound City Group National Monument would never progress beyond being a local playground.

** Recreation Overwhelms the National Monument

While picnicking and group recreation, primarily softball and horseshoes, were the most common visitor activities at Mound City Group, other popular endeavors included kite-flying and "rolling down the mounds."³³ Clyde King's efforts to curb picnicking began soon after he entered on duty in late 1946. Two stone grills were removed north of the pavilion in an effort to end picnicking in that area adjacent to the parking lot and mounds. In 1948, King implemented further restrictions, including no children under sixteen unless chaperoned by an adult, an absolute 10 p.m. curfew, not more than three picnic tables per group unless conditions permitted otherwise, and moving softball playing to an open area further away from the pavilion for safety reasons. As a result, fewer large groups came, and those that did come were there for educational purposes, too. Because of its many years of use, closing the park to picnickers was not advisable, King lamented. Too many touring groups used the park as a lunch and information stopover, particularly those on their way to Adena State Memorial. Families of patients at the Veterans Administration hospital also regularly used the pavilion. Most of the use was local; few tourists from outside the region knew about, or used, the pavilion.³⁴

In 1952, another restriction limited picnicking strictly within the picnic grounds themselves, except when that area was at capacity. King directed absolute policy enforcement toward school groups which served food in the shelter, and then dispersed into the mounds to eat. High school children particularly were guilty of leaving "plates, cups, wrappers, and cellophane bags in the mound area" for Maintenance man J. Vernon Acton to pick up.³⁵

³³King to Director, 1 April 1955, March 1955.

³⁴King to Director, 2 January 1947, December 1946 report; and King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," [circa 1953], 18. Tired of reminding ballplayers to go further away from the parking and picnic areas, King planted trees in the spots used for bases. See King to Director, 1 May 1952, April 1952 report.

³⁵King to Director, 2 June 1952, May 1952 report.



Figure 33: Groups of children arrived at Mound City Group in droves during the fall and spring while on school-sponsored trips. (NPS\circa 1960)

When MISSION 66 development plans (see next section) for a museum/visitor center were unveiled in November 1957, news that picnicking would be de-emphasized was not well-received. The local newspaper advised against eliminating the shelterhouse.³⁶ However, King remained adamant, ignored local sentiment outright, and secured NPS permission to remove it.³⁷ By late summer 1959, King received verbal commitments from both city and state government to accept the pavilion if details could be worked out. On October 1, 1959, the Chillicothe Park and Recreation Commission urged the mayor to accept the structure and secure funding to dismantle, transport, and resite it in the city's Yoctangee Park.³⁸ At its October 15 meeting, the city council failed to act on the NPS offer, and King speculated the council was playing "power politics" in light of behind-the-scenes efforts to get NPS to change its mind. He reported to Philadelphia, "I prefer to raze the building myself than to have it become a nuisance to the entire future program of the area."³⁹ In an October 24 meeting with city officials and Garrett S. Dill, manager of the local American Automobile Association (AAA), King informed them that if the campaign to retain the pavilion persisted, NPS might revisit the issue of relinquishing management of the site. Anticipating political pressure, King urged Regional Director Tobin to stall "long enough that the shelter will be a thing of the past before January 1, 1960."⁴⁰

In response to local letters of protest, political pressure came swiftly. One typical letter came from the Ross-Highland Automobile Club representing four thousand members in two counties. In a unanimous vote, its board of directors demanded NPS retain the pavilion and reopen the recently-closed road

³⁶"Monument or Park?" Chillicothe Gazette editorial, 12 November 1957. Recognizing that new facilities would draw more tourists, the paper, rationalizing that "monument" gave the impression of a memorial shaft like that at Perry's Victory, urged a name change to "Mound Builder Park," "Park of the Prehistoric Indians," or "Indian National Park."

³⁷On August 26, 1959, Regional Architect Lawrence B. Coryell visited and prepared a report of survey (request for structural removal) on September 9. The pavilion required \$10,000 for rehabilitation with annual maintenance costs set at \$1,000. The NPS Regional Board of Survey on October 20 set its value at \$800, and stated maintenance would be excessive in comparison to benefit, and cost of razing it would exceed salvage value. The board recommended it be offered free to any public entity providing the recipient pay for dismantling and removal. In case of no takers, NPS should raze it. See Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Director Wirth, 23 December 1959.

³⁸King to Wirth, 1 September 1959, August 1959 report; and "Mound City Shelter House Offered City," Chillicothe Gazette (1 October 1959).

³⁹King to Tobin, 17 October 1959.

⁴⁰King to Tobin, 24 October 1959.

leading to it. Extolling the good condition of the structure, the group could not understand why it had to be removed when it could scarcely be viewed from the proposed visitor center-museum. Used for reunions, club meetings, Sunday school and church groups, political gatherings, and diverse types of city, county, and regional groups, the pavilion was like no other comparably-sized public facility in that part of Ohio.⁴¹ Senator Stephen Young of Ohio, promising to do his "utmost to postpone or prevent the discontinuance" of the pavilion, arranged an emergency meeting with NPS Director Conrad Wirth.⁴² In the meantime, Tobin instructed King once again to offer it to the state and, should Ohio decline the offer, "take immediate steps to demolish the structure."⁴³

As King acted on his instructions, Mother Nature intervened to save the pavilion. By late fall, contract workers had already removed the parking lot to pavilion roadbed as well as the 40-car lot itself. After exhibits were removed, they also dismantled the pavilion's small museum display room. As work was set to begin separating the building from its stone foundation, a December 7 snowstorm struck and delayed the work long enough that by mid-December, mounting political pressure forced Interior officials to agree to a public meeting. Tobin ordered the initial removal work be halted. In the meantime, in reaction to the removal work, the state division of parks accepted the building, the city immediately asked that it be given another shot at it, and the state withdrew its offer.⁴⁴

Into this confusion came Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter and Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer on January 27, 1960. The public meeting promised by Interior took place in the Ross County probate courtroom. Palmer announced his

⁴¹L. T. Franklin to Senator Frank J. Lausche, letter, 26 October 1959.

⁴²"Solon Against Moving of Shelter House," Chillicothe Gazette (27 October 1959).

⁴³Tobin to King, 29 October 1959. Tobin suggested immediate removal of the museum room exhibits: "Our objective should be to get rid of the structure at the earliest possible date."

⁴⁴King to Tobin, 2 January 1960, December 1959 report; "City May Get Shelter House Yet," Chillicothe Gazette (10 December 1959); City Manager C. R. Lukens to Tobin, letter, 11 December 1959; "Shelter House to be Subject of Confab," Chillicothe Gazette (11 December 1959); "Mound City Shelter to be Given to State," Chillicothe Gazette (12 December 1959); L. T. Franklin to Tobin, letter, 13 December 1959; and Chief, Division of Parks, Ohio Department of Natural Resources, to King, letter, 14 December 1959. Ironically, as Assistant Secretary (with NPS oversight responsibility) Roger C. Ernest stood firm and informed the Ohio congressional delegation the pavilion would be removed, Assistant Secretary Royce A. Hardy agreed to instruct Regional Director Tobin to set up the public meeting to discuss the issue.

and Cotter's presence was merely to gather information on the 1957 NPS decision, expressed in the MISSION 66 prospectus, to remove the shelter house. He stated dissimilar activities, recreation and education, needed to be physically separated. When the pavilion was built in the 1930s, Palmer declared, it was allowed because there was nothing else for visitors to do at Mound City Group and those facilities were lacking in the area. Three decades later, Palmer noted, the situation had changed, and Mound City Group's MISSION 66 facilities were soon to be open to the public. Palmer then listened as twenty local representatives of organizations and businesses presented their arguments which reflected three principal themes: groups needed a place for lunch while on organized tours, it encouraged increased tourism travel, and the local perception of MISSION 66 necessitated recreational development at each unit. Garrett Dill, manager of the Ross-Highland Automobile Club, dramatically announced a telephone poll of the eighty-one national monuments operated by NPS. It revealed thirty-nine possessed picnic facilities. From a national standpoint, Dill concluded, Mound City Group conformed to Park Service policies.⁴⁵

Palmer later reported being disconcerted by two things. First, the same contractor who performed the work of removing the parking lot and road to the pavilion spoke out against the very policy which gave him a job. Second, the person who presented the most effective argument against NPS had been portrayed to him by Clyde King as a staunch friend and supporter. Eugene Rigney, director of the Ross County Historical Society, said the logical thing to do would be to assess the situation only after the new visitor center had been in operation for a few visitor seasons. To make the decision at this time, Rigney argued, seemed very premature. Palmer reported to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, "The National Park Service is not without fault in this very unfortunate public relations situation from which I am convinced there is no withdrawal without considerable loss of prestige and friendship in the community." Palmer believed King should have taken the 1957 prospectus to community officials and discussed its implications. Further, believing the structure had to be removed, maintenance was deferred and deterioration occurred. "To anyone attending the public meeting," Palmer noted, "it was obvious that our reversal of policy [regarding picnicking] and

⁴⁵King saw Dill's organization as the most vocal and effective opposition group through its petition-circulating activities and political lobbying. King later noted that Dill's group advocated full road, parking, and shelter repairs, along with winterization of the shelter house; modern restrooms; additional softball grounds with backstops and bleachers; croquet fields; badminton, volleyball, and horseshoe courts; fencing along the river; and regular spraying for flies. See King to Lee, 12 September 1961.

the presentation of it to the community has been mishandled."⁴⁶

In response to a public meeting claim that the deteriorated shelter house was "not worth moving," King conducted an immediate safety inspection. A red-faced superintendent apologized to Regional Director Lee that he had not paid more attention not only because he believed the building would be razed, but that much of the extensive wood rot had been covered up by high shrubbery stripped away in November in preparation for the removal. Finding it potentially unstable, King recommended it be condemned as unsafe pending professional investigation. He worried that because four of the five roof supports showed signs of deterioration that much of the remaining wormy chestnut could also be affected by dry rot as well. Determined to be rid of picnicking once and for all, Clyde King advised that the contract proceed for pavilion removal.⁴⁷

George Palmer responded tersely to King's request. Still peeved by being blindsided during the public relations debacle, Palmer nixed King's counsel, admonishing, "You should, by all means, not make any public statement that will make our relations with the local community any more difficult than they are at the present. The Director has taken the matter of the final disposition of the building out of our hands so that the action you take or the action that we take here will not be the determining one."⁴⁸ King's subsequent request to disassemble the remainder of the museum room as well as electrical power and fixtures "to discourage night use and youths playing music" brought another rebuke from Philadelphia. Palmer denied permission to proceed with any additional dismantling work which "could be misunderstood and misinterpreted" by the community.⁴⁹

In Region Five's recommendation to Director Wirth, Palmer noted that with removal of the parking lot, pavilion road, and even the VA incinerator road, it was too late to retreat from the policy decision to abandon picnic facilities. To replace proper

⁴⁶Quotes from Palmer to Lee, 5 February 1960; and "Shelter House Issue Aired at Meeting," Chillicothe Gazette (27 January 1960).

⁴⁷King to Lee, 3 February 1960, January 1960 report; and King to Lee, 30 January 1960. Following up on the safety hazard theme, King relayed a frequent demand by picnickers that NPS erect barricades along the riverbank to prevent children from falling in and drowning. From the boat landing along the picnic grounds to the southeast boundary, the main channel ran not less than six feet deep with the hazardous riverbank ripped, in 1925 and 1927 to prevent erosion, with rocks piled atop rolled-wire fencing and Camp Sherman-vintage bunk beds.

⁴⁸Acting Regional Director Palmer to King, 4 February 1960.

⁴⁹Quotes from King to Lee, 19 February 1960, and Acting Regional Director Palmer to King, 3 March 1960.

access would cost \$40,000, and \$10,000 more to make all necessary building repairs. While the region believed it to be necessary to stand firm on removal, Palmer admitted, "It is my honest opinion that the Service has made a mistake at Mound City in accepting statements that the picnic ground is not needed or used sufficiently to justify it. There is a local need for a picnic ground and the state has not provided one that would replace the picnic facilities at Mound City." Palmer committed Region Five to channeling federal recreation monies to Ohio to construct such area facilities, but in the interim, Mound City Group should continue to serve those picnickers willing to walk to the pavilion from a new parking lot. NPS Washington officials concurred.⁵⁰

Rehabilitation of the shelter house roof support system occurred in April 1960 for the summer visitor season, and the first of many groups balked at having to carry their supplies from the new visitor center lot to the pavilion. King had to barricade the "driveway beyond the railroad tracks to prevent groups from parking around the shelter itself. It may become necessary to barricade the residence driveway to keep it from becoming an area for picnic parking. Some groups demand it."⁵¹ George Palmer, returning to Mound City Group for an inspection tour and to meet with local officials, announced the shelter house would remain for at least three years until other facilities became available in the area. Visitors would have to walk to the pavilion from the visitor center parking lot, and outdoor cooking grills along with the former museum room walls would be removed.⁵²

These measures contributed to a dramatic reduction of picnicking use. Following the 5 p.m. visitor center closing, evening picnics ceased altogether, and weekend use came about only by those groups willing to walk to the area, after which most said they would henceforth go elsewhere. In light of diminished use, King again recommended razing the pavilion prior to the 1961 season. Region Five, anxious to avoid further public criticism and confident that the passage of time would cure the problem, again rebuffed King's request, advising him to focus his

⁵⁰Quote from Acting Regional Director Palmer to Director Wirth, 29 February 1960; and Acting Director E. T. Scoyen to Lee, 10 March 1960.

⁵¹King to Lee, 3 May 1960, April 1960 report.

⁵²King to Lee, 1 June 1960, May 1960 report; "Shelter House to Stand at Mound City for While," *Chillicothe Gazette* (10 May 1960); and Acting Director Hillary A. Tolson to Senator Frank J. Lausche and Senator Stephen M. Young, letters, 17 July 1960.

attention on the new visitor center and forget the picnic area.⁵³ Visitor use statistics revealed the drop in picnicking use. July 1960, traditionally a heavy visitor-use month, saw 3,806 visitors compared to 7,782 during July 1959. Those visitors largely were recorded at the new visitor center. King reported that only one group of thirty and ten family groups used the picnic grounds along with a "few 'die-hards' who feel the change in emphasis was a personal slap at Chillicothe."⁵⁴ In his August 1960 report, King noted,

Local 'play' groups just will not come out for picnics if they cannot drive almost to their tables. With but few exceptions the local citizens are accepting the changes, if they are explained in the proper way. The first approach: that we are responsible for operating a Monument, not a playground, therefore, the road was removed. Then if they are not satisfied they are reminded that an area with a steep bluff and deep river is not the ideal choice for a playground. After that but few have more to say for most local people have often commented about how dangerous the area was, especially for small children.

The closing of the picnic ground, even in the remote future, does not come into the discussion but for all effective purposes, the picnic ground is closed. They rarely use it during the week, sometimes only one group, sometimes none, and seldom more than two groups use it on Sunday. The Ross County Fairground is open to group picnics such as formerly used this area and several of these groups have gone there this year.⁵⁵

Other recreational uses continued on a reduced scale as well. Evening use included people exercising their dogs, children running and rolling over the mounds, fishermen walking to the river, and those out for an evening drive.⁵⁶

King refused to back down from his non-compromising position on razing the shelter house. When asked to assess local sentiment at the end of the 1961 season, King reported that while

⁵³King to Lee, 21 June 1960; and Acting Regional Director to King, 19 July 1960.

⁵⁴King to Lee, 2 August 1960, July 1960 report.

⁵⁵King to Lee, 2 September 1960, August 1960 report.

⁵⁶King to Lee, 1 December 1960, November 1960 report; and King to Lee, 2 August 1961, July 1961 report.

Dill and Rigney stuck with their previous views, the chamber of commerce now believed picnicking should be strictly the city's responsibility. Most local people had already found other accommodations. King said that the goal of eliminating such facilities was intentionally omitted from the MISSION 66 prospectus "lest local pressure compel us to keep and improve [them]. Since my arrival here almost 15 years ago I have been advised by the Service to eliminate picnicking as soon as possible." In the two seasons that elapsed since the phase-out of picnicking was announced, none of the picnics actually required use of a shelter. "In fact," King commented, "the use of the area has been insufficient to warrant the retention of any facilities in that area. To reopen the discussions might endanger our position, whereas the razing of the building as a justifiable safety measure would be accepted with no comment."⁵⁷

Clyde King did not see demolition of the despised shelter house occur on his watch. In late March 1962, he transferred to Harper's Ferry National Monument, West Virginia, as management assistant. Although hailed as "Mr. Moundbuilder" by the local newspaper, King's editorial tribute was muted in its praise; the long altercation had clearly taken its toll.⁵⁸ In July 1962, following an inspection that revealed the pavilion's deterioration might again make it unsafe, George Palmer met again with Chillicothe officials, and secured agreement from Eugene Rigney that the building should be removed. However, they agreed that three picnic tables, a trash barrel, and a small parking lot be provided in the park's northwest corner adjacent to State Route 104.⁵⁹ On August 24, 1962, contract work began to remove the wooden pavilion, leaving the stone foundation, concrete

⁵⁷Quotations in King to Lee, 12 September 1961; and Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Croner to King, 6 September 1961.

⁵⁸"Mr. Moundbuilder Leaving," Chillicothe Gazette editorial (22 March 1962); and Acting Superintendent Richard D. Faust to Lee, 6 April 1962, March 1962 report. Other than Clyde King's repeated and determined requests to raze the pavilion in spite of decisions already made in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., the files do not explicitly suggest that King's transfer was less than voluntary. However, when local controversies were elevated to the departmental level, traditional Park Service practice was to move a park manager. The conflict blemished an otherwise good record, and King did not receive a comparable assignment. The picnicking strife lived on in the public's memory. According to former park archeologist Lee Hanson: "I found myself having to defend the decision from visitors, who bemoaned the fact that the park wasn't what it used to be. The files contained a spate of letters written in protest at the time and calling for King's dismissal." See Lee Hanson to Naomi Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986.

⁵⁹Faust to Lee, 9 August 1962, July 1962 report; and Lee to Director Wirth, 14 December 1962. The new picnic facilities were placed on July 12. From that day to the end of the month, forty-four cars stopped to use the new picnic site.

walks, and comfort station,⁶⁰ which were removed by April 17, 1963, with the sites fertilized and seeded in grass.⁶¹

Picnicking never again became the dominant recreation activity that it was prior to 1960. The long-held NPS goal of eliminating it was successful, but cost the agency considerable public goodwill by the manner in which it came to be. In August 1973, the small picnic area was moved inside the perimeter fence for safety reasons. The poorly-designed lunching spot became increasingly hazardous as the volume of State Route 104 traffic continued to increase. Moved to a spot northwest of the visitor center, patrons could now more conveniently park in the main lot and walk to the tables. This interim solution ended in 1976 when the picnic area was again relocated and received favorable public comment.⁶²

****Era of Development: MISSION 66 at Mound City Group**

With disposition to the state of Ohio looming in the mid-1950s, MISSION 66 improvements at Mound City Group National Monument almost did not occur. The February 20, 1956 prospectus arrived with instructions from Associate Director E. T. Scoyen not to undertake any facility development without prior agreement with Ohio. Instead of being placed in a new visitor center/museum, administrative functions were approved for removal from the small office in the superintendent's residence to the shelter house which would be rehabilitated to accommodate this combined purpose.⁶³

New attitudes directed toward Mound City Group came in the aftermath of Archeologist John Corbett's early 1956 assessment of significance. A Region Five team conducting an area management study in June 1956, reflected Corbett's views. The team declared the pavilion was poorly sited to serve as the park's visitor center and administration building, and to make it as such would be "pouring good money after bad." They added,

It is our conviction that Mound City Group National

⁶⁰Faust to Lee, 6 September 1962, August 1962 report; and Superintendent John C. W. Riddle to Lee, 10 October 1962, September 1962 report.

⁶¹Riddle to Lee, 12 April 1963, March 1963 report; and Riddle to Lee, 13 May 1963, April 1963 report. One year later, Riddle reported that the area had rejuvenated to such an extent it was almost impossible to detect any trace of the former improvements. See Riddle to Lee, 5 June 1964, May 1964 report.

⁶²"Mound City Picnic Area Moved," Chillicothe Gazette (15 August 1973); and Superintendent's Report, 1977.

⁶³Scoyen to King, 20 February 1955.

Monument should not be subjected to a further interim period of existence. If the decision is to retain it in the National Park System, it should be effectively developed as soon as it can be programmed. If it is to be disposed of, it should be left as it is and immediate steps taken to transfer it.⁶⁴

The team concurred with Clyde King that "undue emphasis" remained on the picnic area with the mounds considered a mere adjunct area for amusement. The monument required a visitor center to "provide proper understanding of the mounds." The team declared, "As a result of our study of Mound City and visits to other mound sites in the vicinity of Chillicothe, we feel that the Monument should be retained as a unit in the National Park System to tell the fascinating story of the Hopewell Indians." If retained, Mound City Group should not only be restored to the prehistoric period, but its title should be changed to convey a more accurate picture to visitors, with a name like "Hopewell Mounds" or "Indian Mounds" National Monument.⁶⁵

In its review and approval of the area management study, Region Five shifted gears and recommended a fundamental revision of the MISSION 66 prospectus. The region concurred with John Corbett concerning national significance, and in assessing the integrity issue, George Palmer stated, "The erection of Camp Sherman did not bring complete destruction of the mounds as we had understood and it appears that the excavations of 1920 and 1921 by the Ohio Archaeological Society was a highly professional project. To us the Mound City Group appears to have higher professional recognition and archeological merit than the National Park Service has credited to it in the past."⁶⁶ Therefore, Palmer recommended that the prospectus be altered to include a new visitor center/museum building and parking lot along State Route 104. Such a facility would serve visitors immediately upon their entering the park, would separate primary cultural resources from the public service area, and would constitute an interpretive focus on the mounds themselves. Acknowledging the tardiness of this MISSION 66 proposal, Palmer

⁶⁴Region Five Chief of Operations J. Carlisle Crouch, Chief of Interpretation Murray H. Nelligan, and Administrative Officer Benjamin F. Gibson, Area Management Study of Mound City Group National Monument, 6-7 June 1956.

⁶⁵Ibid. Interpretive planner Nelligan first proposed the name change. King subsequently recommended "Hopewell Indians National Monument" with Mound City Group as the "illustrative exhibit." He expressed the hope that the name change would prompt the state highway department to change its directional signs from "Mound City" to, at the very least, "National Monument."

⁶⁶Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Director Wirth, 25 January 1957.

pressed for its timely consideration.⁶⁷

Although the MISSION 66 prospectus was soon amended to reflect Palmer's request, Director Conrad Wirth's final approval hinged on preparing an acceptable museum prospectus. When a March 1958 draft included plans to use artifacts at the Ohio State Museum, NPS Washington officials wanted a written commitment that the artifacts would be made available upon the visitor center's completion. Acting Director E. T. Scoyen warned, "We believe it would not be proper to program this project without this assurance."⁶⁸ When Ohio Historical Society director Erwin C. Zepp agreed to the long-term loan as well as procurement of replicas,⁶⁹ planning continued unencumbered.

Public announcement of MISSION 66 improvements came on November 11, 1957. Clyde King reported phase one, fiscal year 1958 improvements of \$22,700 in the form of roads, trails, and signs, with \$163,200 programmed the following year for the visitor center and utilities. King announced the de-emphasis of Mound City Group as a city picnic area as follows: "The need for a balanced program of cultural preservation at Mound City has not been met. This program will place the interpretation of the Hopewell prehistoric peoples and their culture in its proper perspective and give it the needed emphasis." With new interpretive facilities, King predicted visitation to hit 75,000 by 1966.⁷⁰

Unfortunately, the MISSION 66 program for Mound City Group came in the immediate aftermath of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's speech calling for increased military scientific research spending following the Soviet Union's successful "Sputnik" manned spacecraft launch into Earth's orbit. It prompted a petition circulated by Circleville resident Stewart F. Martin, signed by fifteen other citizens, opposing "spendthrift foolishness" to improve a park already "attractive and highly

⁶⁷Ibid. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments had at one meeting reversed its prohibition on Mound City Group development, and at the next reinstated it. Dr. John O. Brew, member from April 1952 to June 1958, remained adamantly against the monument. See Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter to Regional Chief of Interpretation Murray H. Nelligan, 13 November 1957, D18.

⁶⁸Acting Director Scoyen to Regional Director Tobin, 31 March 1958, D6215; and Chief, MISSION 66 Staff, W. G. Carnes to Tobin, 13 January 1958. Wirth's concurrence to Palmer's request can be found in Wirth to Tobin, 3 June 1957. Approval of Final Master Plan Drawing NM-MCG 3000B of the General Development Plan came from King via memorandum dated 30 July 1957, D18.

⁶⁹Zepp to Tobin, letter, 17 April 1958, D6215.

⁷⁰"Mound City Additions to Total \$185,900 by 1960," Chillicothe Gazette (11 November 1957).

satisfactory." Directed to their immediate congressional delegation, the petition-signers said only a periodic "fogging" for files was required, adding, "When we reflect upon the President's recent address and consider the gravity of the current world conditions with the effort and expense of maintaining defense, we cannot afford the luxury of the whimsical desire to put the Hopewell, or any other prehistoric Indians, in the 'proper perspective' or give them their 'needed emphasis.'" ⁷¹ In response, Acting Director E. T. Scoyen stated the monument was nationally significant, and as such merited Park Service preservation and interpretation, with development not going beyond the modest amount of \$185,900 over a ten-year period. ⁷² A local drive to drown out the small opposition group effectively mobilized to support park development. ⁷³

Budget limitation imposed by the Bureau of the Budget eliminated Mound City Group's development funds scheduled for fiscal year 1959. Responding to Ohio Senator Bricker, Acting Director Scoyen said the park held a high priority in the MISSION 66 program and expressed hope that national economic conditions would permit reprogramming and/or scheduling the project. ⁷⁴ Such a hope sparked to life at mid-year but in reduced form when Director Wirth limited visitor center development to less than \$100,000 for building and exhibits. The museum prospectus estimated space requirements at 4,500 square feet, but to fit

⁷¹Stewart F. Martin, William R. Sheridan, Hugh R. Barnhill, James A. Wade, Charles D. Harrison, Ramona Charles, R. T. Kerrison, James W. Steele, G. D. Welsh, Charles D. Lee, Darrol Timmons, Robert Schumann, Donald E. Bowman, James E. Hinkle, Leroy D. McManis, and Glen Poff to Senators Frank J. Lausche and John W. Bricker and Representative James G. Polk, letter, 15 November 1957.

⁷²Scoyen to Senator Frank J. Lausche, letter, 5 December 1957.

⁷³Dr. L. T. Franklin, president, Ross-Highland Auto Club, to Senator John W. Bricker, letter, 21 December 1957; "Auto Club Spurs Action on Mound City Project," Chillicothe Gazette (2 January 1958); and "Foe of Mound City Expenditure Tells Why," Chillicothe Gazette (4 January 1958). Eisenhower's beating of the Cold War drums against the USSR, led to his 1958 State of the Union message for Americans to sacrifice federal projects for national goals. In a local editorial, eerie parallels were drawn to MISSION 66 at Mound City Group: "Can we leave anything to posterity unless we have the military and financial strength to face up to Russia? The President in calling for sacrifices cited the grave peril confronting the U.S. as result of the Soviet sweep in military science. The \$186,000 project for Mound City is a mere drop in the bucket compared with the billions involved in the forthcoming budget. But, we'll gladly forego that project if it will help save the nation from bankruptcy and conquest." See "Economy Begins at Home," Chillicothe Gazette editorial (10 January 1958).

⁷⁴Scoyen to Bricker, letter, 23 January 1958; and "Mound City Development Loses Out," Chillicothe Gazette (7 February 1958).

funding, planners began reducing the overall space allocation.⁷⁵ To King, the reduction in office space still represented more than the existing ten by ten office room in the residence, and he approved space cuts in this area.⁷⁶

Typical of the Park Service's minimalist approach, Mound City Group was to get a "bare bones" MISSION 66 package. Building design came after exhibit planning which occurred in July 1958 with the assistance of Washington Office Archeologist John Corbett and Regional Archeologist John Cotter. The team took their draft plan to Columbus for review by Ohio State Museum curator Raymond Baby. It contained fifteen exhibits to show the use of mounds, who built them and how, and an array of objects the Hopewells used. The plan adopted an existing exhibit and one exhibit was to be seasonal in nature and changed frequently.⁷⁷ With funds identified in the fiscal year 1960 budget, King scheduled a project bid-opening for August 18, 1959. Construction drawings called for a one-story stone and brick veneer museum/office building with a panorama bridge deck atop its eastern end. Plans called for a museum surrounding an open-air patio measuring forty by forty feet, with offices, utility room and entranceway facing State Route 104. An outdoor lecture area with steps leading to the panorama bridge faced the mounds and afforded an excellent view of the mound group. A forty-car paved lot to the south was connected via a new road to the existing entrance.⁷⁸

Winning bidder at \$119,334 (not including landscaping), C. A. Yeager and Company of Portsmouth, Ohio, began work on September 21, 1959, with Brewer and Brewer of Chillicothe constructing the roadway.⁷⁹ Yeager finished work, including that of a gas and oil house measuring twenty-four square feet, on May 5, 1960. A separate landscaping contract came in late May with

⁷⁵Chief, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Edward S. Zimmer to chief, design and construction division, 11 July 1958; and Tobin to Zimmer, 1 August 1958.

⁷⁶King to Tobin, 5 August 1958. Employee levels in 1960 were set at three permanents: superintendent, archeologist, and administrative aide. King did not foresee an "operative staff exceed[ing] 5, including part-time employees." Because original artifacts would be on loan from Columbus, there would not be a large collection for display purposes "and will likely never be in storage at the site."

⁷⁷King to Tobin, 1 August 1958, July 1958 report; "Mound City Museum Awaits Funds," Chillicothe Gazette (14 July 1958); and "Funds Awaited: Mound Museum Planned," Columbus Dispatch (3 August 1958).

⁷⁸"New Center Planned for Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (27 July 1959).

⁷⁹"Work on Mound City Center is Under Way," Chillicothe Gazette (22 September 1959).



Figure 34: Region V Archeologist John L. Cotter delivers the keynote speech at the visitor center dedication. (NPS/Mrs. Clyde King, May 14, 1961)

work held up until fall because of difficulty in finding the specified flagpole.⁸⁰ Limited use of the visitor center came on May 13, 1960, with existing office furniture and exhibits. The new museum displays were installed in early July along with Mound City Group artifacts from the Ohio State Museum. A tentative dedication, planned for early October, was postponed until May 1961, pending finishing touches and selection of an appropriate lead dignitary from Director Wirth's staff.⁸¹

The most popular visitor service came on August 8, 1960, when speakers were installed on the visitor center's roof and panoramic viewing platform. A recording operated by push-button related the interpretive story of the mounds and the Hopewell culture. It remained available even during the visitor center's after-hours and received very favorable public comment.⁸²

Dr. John L. Cotter, regional archeologist, served as keynote speaker at the May 14, 1961, visitor center dedication with Mayor Nicholas H. Holmes the master of ceremonies. Also on the program was James H. Butt, president of the chamber of commerce; Superintendent King; Ross County Historical Society director Eugene D. Rigney; and Ohio Historical Society director Erwin C. Zepp. In his keynote address, Cotter spoke about the park's significance: "Mound City Group is a silent but eloquent testimonial of mankind and his noble effort to honor the past and dedicate himself to the future. It is the story of a people who, from the remote centuries of which we can only surmise a history, draw a living tradition of ceremony to which they devoted some of the finest prehistoric art known to modern man."⁸³

⁸⁰Gas and Oil House (Building 6) description, 31 March 1960; Visitor Center (Building 5) description and Form 10-174 Completion Report: Construction of a Museum and Visitor Center and Alterations to the Utility Building, Mound City Group National Monument, Contract No. 14-10-0529-1801, 23 June 1961; King to Lee, 3 May 1960, April 1960 report; and King to Lee, 2 August 1960, July 1960 report.

⁸¹King to Lee, 1 June 1960, May 1960 report; "Visitors' Center Gets Moundbuilder Displays," Chillicothe Gazette (2 July 1960); Lee to Wirth, 8 September 1960; and Associate Director Scoyen to Lee, 9 February 1961.

⁸²King to Lee, 2 September 1960, August 1960 report; and "Mound City in 38th Anniversary," Chillicothe Gazette (2 March 1961).

⁸³Quotation from "Visitor Center Dedication Speech by Dr. John L. Cotter" in History file; "Dedication Sunday at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (13 May 1961); and Dedication Program, 14 May 1961. Steering committee included A. P. Story, Chairman; G. S. Dill; Ralph W. Heckel; N. L. Kellenberger; Richard E. Midden; Peavy Schachne; and H. L. Worf. Regular members: Earl Barnhart, Harold Briel, Lloyd Davis, Raymond Embree, Richard Enderlin, Joseph Epperson, A. E. Gower, Leonard Growdon, John Hershey, Jr., Paul Hydell, Alvin Jones, J. A. MacLeod, Col. David McC. McKell, Merton A. Moore, Truman A. Morris, William H. Nolan, Don H. Placier, Eugene D. Rigney, Maurice Schachne, N. A. Seidensticker, Bernard J. Stacey, and R. M. Stewart.



Figure 35: MISSION 66 also saw a chestnut rail fence erected around the monument's boundary; looking north from the entrance road is the new fence along tree-lined Highway 104. (NPS/Richard D. Faust, June 1963)



Figure 36: Another MISSION 66 project included construction of an ethnobotanical trail, part of which paralleled the Scioto River. (NPS/John C. W. Riddle, August 1963)

Upon completion of the visitor center, several additional MISSION 66 projects were funded. A June 30, 1961, contract provided for modifications to the entrance gate and signage.⁸⁴ As part of the Kennedy administration's "New Frontier" public works program in 1963, \$85,000 were earmarked to accomplish four Mound City Group projects. First, reforestation "back to the days of Squier and Davis" saw 139 large-sized trees planted along with 1,400 seedlings. Second, workers installed 5,210 feet of split-rail chestnut fencing along the park's north, south, and west boundaries. Third, came an ethnobotanical trail featuring stone walls and a pathway along the Scioto River as well as an interpretive audio station. The fourth and final MISSION 66 project, an earthworks restoration, involved the borrow pits and several other mounds, two of which had never before been opened (see Chapter Four).⁸⁵

Superintendent Clyde B. King's sixteen-year tenure at Mound City Group National Monument constituted a period of dramatic change. King arrived in 1946 to find a largely undeveloped park being operated exclusively as a playground. Park visitors, preoccupied by recreational pursuits, had scant knowledge of the prehistoric earthworks. King immediately set to work formulating an interpretive program spending countless hours conducting historical research and utilizing historical society and museum archives in Chillicothe and Columbus. He personally designed and constructed the exhibits in the small museum room, and never missed an opportunity to wax eloquent on the Hopewell culture. Following long-held NPS policy, King worked tirelessly to curtail and nearly eliminate picnicking at Mound City Group. He cultivated allies from within and outside the Park Service to stave-off attempts to turn the park over to the state. King believed strongly in his park and worked tirelessly for it to be transformed from a playground to a legitimate national monument. His dream for Mound City Group was only fulfilled through the auspices of MISSION 66. In his zeal to achieve NPS goals, Clyde King damaged himself in terms of community goodwill and, by extension, caused strained relations with superiors in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Nonetheless, King's tribute as "Mr. Moundbuilder" remains legitimate and enduring. Clyde King's strength and vision truly transformed Mound City Group National Monument from a roadside municipal picnic ground into a modern, fully-functional unit of the national park system.

⁸⁴King to Lee, 1 July 1961, June 1961 report.

⁸⁵"Mound City Grant Not Clarified," Chillicothe Gazette (21 January 1963); "Mound City Project Clarified," Chillicothe Gazette (24 January 1963); and "Mound City Undergoing Four-Point Development," Chillicothe Gazette (15 June 1963). A cost breakdown for the four projects was as follows: \$4,900, \$10,100, \$10,000, and \$60,000.

Chapter Four

Administering the Mound City Group

It takes good managers and a talented, hard-working professional staff to make park administration and operations a success. Mound City Group National Monument and its successor entity, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, have largely enjoyed both. With a dedicated corps of park professionals in Chillicothe, the park's geographical positioning near the center of the state, close to the capital at Columbus, made it a natural focal point for National Park Service operations in Ohio. In the early 1970s, Mound City Group National Monument, itself already fully developed, served as headquarters for the "Ohio National Park Service Group," whereby all Ohio's federal parks answered to the "general superintendent" in Chillicothe and Mound City Group staff served more than one park. Known within the bureau simply as the "Ohio Group," the cooperative administrative entity endured only a few years.

The idea refused to die, however, as Mound City Group/Hopewell Culture employees helped establish and augment operations as new federal park units came on-line in Cincinnati, Cleveland/Akron, and Dayton. Bureau reorganization in the mid-1990s created new opportunities for the Chillicothe park to shine within the National Park Service's Midwest Region and presented a real possibility of cooperation among Ohio's federal parks.

**** National Park Service Staff**

Following the March 1962 transfer of Clyde B. King, John C. W. ("Bill") Riddle arrived on September 7, 1962, to become Mound City Group's second superintendent. This represented Bill Riddle's first superintendency, having served as district ranger at Acadia National Park, Maine, with previous assignments at Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania; and Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia. A management inspection conducted by Northeast Regional Administrative Officer John J. Bachensky found Mound City Group operations "very compact, direct, and efficient" and the four permanent staff in conformance with the Group 'A' category, a designation indicating the monument functioned at a basic operations level with minimal staff. Bachensky foresaw no further increases for permanent or temporary personnel. The staff included Superintendent Riddle, Administrative Aide (vacant), Maintenance man J. Vernon Acton, and Archeologist Richard Faust. Three seasonal positions included a

laborer, information-receptionist, and ranger-historian.¹

Riddle held the first staff meeting in Mound City Group history on November 26, 1962. The exercise received such high praise that Riddle resolved to hold regular meetings at least twice per month. Riddle hardly had time to adjust to his new position for by mid-June 1965, he transferred to the superintendency of Hopewell Village National Historic Site, Pennsylvania.² Administrative Aide Delmar G. Peterson became acting superintendent until James W. Coleman, Jr., entered on duty on July 19, 1965. Coleman, a second-generation Park Service employee, formerly served as historian at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia.³

As a newly-developed park with daily operations static and routine, the Mound City Group superintendency ideally lent itself as a training position for new managers preparing themselves for more challenging positions elsewhere. Like his immediate predecessor, Coleman remained at Mound City Group for only two years. On July 2, 1967, Coleman transferred to Saratoga National Historical Park, New York. Coleman's replacement, George F. Schesventer, the former management assistant at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia, took over the job on July 30, 1967. It was under Schesventer's superintendency that NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr.'s, policy of having "state coordinators" became implemented. The politically astute Hartzog ordered one NPS superintendent per state be designated as the bureau's "eyes, ears, and mouth." The coordinator position was a key link between state and federal park and historic preservation programs, and Hartzog intended it to give NPS an elevated profile in state and local political circles. Chillicothe, in close

¹Quotation in John J. Bachensky, "Management Inspection Report," 19 December 1962, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service/Midwest Regional Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Federal Records Center, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, NARA/FRC, Kansas City); Riddle to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 10 October 1962, September 1962 report; and "New Superintendent on Jobs at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (15 September 1963).

²Via secretarial order of September 19, 1985, this unit's name changed to "Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site."

³Riddle to Lee, 11 December 1962, November 1962 report; Riddle to Lee, 4 June 1965, May 1965 report; "Peterson in Charge at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (26 June 1965); "Mound City Has New Superintendent," Chillicothe Gazette (21 July 1965); and Coleman to Lee, 12 August 1965, July 1965 report.



Figure 37: Mound City Group National Monument staff: (left to right) Kathleen Allyn, Virginia Skaggs, Walter Fraley, Linda Shreve, Nicholas Veloz, Susan Brady, J. Vernon Acton, and George Schesventer. (NPS/Phillip Egan, June 10, 1969)

proximity to Columbus, made Mound City Group's superintendent the logical choice to be state coordinator.⁴

In addition to his liaison role, Schesventer also assumed superintendent responsibilities for William Howard Taft National Historic Site in Cincinnati upon its authorization by Congress on December 2, 1969. Schesventer continued in that capacity until December 3, 1970. The following day, at the behest of Director George Hartzog, the Ohio National Park Service Group was established with headquarters at Mound City Group National Monument. Taft, along with Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, were linked with Mound City Group and administered by the Office of the General Superintendent physically located at Mound City Group. Schesventer was not designated general superintendent of the new entity, however, as he transferred on March 6, 1971, to assume the superintendency of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, Florida.

Taking his place in Chillicothe and filling the new Ohio NPS Group general superintendency, William C. ("Bill") Birdsell began his duties on March 7, 1971.⁵ Public relations was at the heart of Birdsell's position as he acknowledged in early 1974: "It became apparent shortly after the Office of the General Superintendent was established that NPS public relations in the State of Ohio were in need of top priority attention. It was of major concern to us," Birdsell wrote, "that U.S. Representatives and Senators and the Governor and his staff were not even aware of National Park Service areas in their state, and that most local townspeople had never visited their neighboring NPS sites."⁶

Tying Park Service units together to achieve economy and coordination in operations had long been a favored practice. Grouping all NPS units within a state under one general superintendent represented something tried in several other areas, but largely discarded after the 1970s, particularly after

⁴"Mound City Staff Loses Two," Chillicothe Gazette (27 May 1967); "Named Mound City Superintendent," Chillicothe Gazette (29 July 1969); and Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Director Hartzog, March 4-8, 1968, Management Appraisal Report, 10 May 1968, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-1975, RG 79 NARA/FRC, Kansas City.

⁵Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials, May 1991, 75, 145, 153, 188; and "New National Parks Chief has Many Jobs," Chillicothe Gazette (9 April 1971).

⁶"Ohio Group" booklet, circa February 1974, folder MOCI Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files.



**Figure 38: Superintendent William C. ("Bill") Birdsell.
(NPS/Betty White, May 1974)**

President Richard M. Nixon's December 1972 firing of NPS Director Hartzog.⁷ Remarkably, Bill Birdsell had not previously been a superintendent before he received his new assignment with Hartzog's blessing.⁸

Although Birdsell continued to lobby for it, he was unsuccessful in getting Northeast Region approval to fill the park manager position for Mound City Group in order for Birdsell to devote full-time to state coordinator and Ohio NPS Group duties.⁹ In fact, the Ohio NPS Group existed only through the strength of Birdsell's personality. It never received a separate budget allocation. Instead, Birdsell was forced to skim funding from all three Ohio park units, but with extra amounts taken from William Howard Taft National Historic Site which had yet to be restored and made fully operational. Birdsell staffed his office with Administrative Technician Joan Crider, Secretary Virginia Skaggs, and Clerk-Typist Rhonda Hughes. George Kane, the only NPS ranger in Ohio, divided his time between Mound City Group and the visitor season at Perry's Victory. Ohio NPS Group employees Birdsell, Skaggs, and Hughes took care of administrative and clerical matters for Mound City Group, with interpretation and maintenance remaining as the only full-time permanent function allotted for Mound City Group. Park Technician Bonnie Meyer took care of visitor services and interpretation for four summer seasons at Perry's Victory before transferring to Mound City Group in winter 1973-74 to fill a permanent position.¹⁰

On January 6, 1974, following establishment of the Rocky

⁷Examples include: Boston National Park Service Group (1968-1974); Alaska Group Office (1959-1972); Flagstaff National Park Service Group (1968-1971); Indiana-Illinois National Park Service Group (1971-1974); Rocky Mountain National Park Service Group (1969-1972); Seattle Administrative Group (1969-1971); New York City National Park Service Group (1964-1967); New York Group (1974-1975); Southern Utah Group (1969-1972); and Southern Arizona Group (1971 to present). Similar entities would also include Southeastern National Monuments Headquarters and Southwestern National Monuments Headquarters. See Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials, May 1991, above listings.

⁸Birdsell to Hartzog, letter, 6 May 1971, P4019.

⁹Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Book, 1974. As a GS-12 general superintendent, Birdsell wanted to down-grade the other three superintendents from GS-11 to GS-9. His plan was not adopted. According to his position description, Birdsell was to divide his time as follows: state coordinator sixty percent; Mound City Group fifteen percent; Perry's Victory ten percent; and William Howard Taft fifteen percent. His position description clearly stated that someone else serve as Mound City Group superintendent.

¹⁰"Ohio Group News: Roundup" newsletter, no date (circa February 1975); "Ohio Group" booklet, circa February 1974, folder MOCI Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

Mountain Region, NPS underwent a fundamental shift of boundaries. The Ohio parks, already subjected to two previous regional realignments (Region One/Richmond and Region Five/ Northeast Region, Philadelphia), found themselves shifted yet a third time to the purview of Midwest Regional Office with headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska. Effective March 1, 1974, the administrative transfer took place and Ohio NPS Group began reporting to Midwest Regional Director J. Leonard Volz.¹¹ While the Northeast Region directorate favored "grouping" parks, officials in Omaha did not. Termination of the Ohio NPS Group became imminent. Upon authorization of Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area on June 26, 1975, Bill Birdsell, who as state coordinator had served as project keyman for the proposed unit sandwiched between Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, became the new park's superintendent. Effective July 1, 1975, the Ohio Group dissolved. All four Ohio parks became autonomous with their superintendents reporting to Omaha. When Birdsell left Chillicothe on July 21, he took his state coordinator duties with him.¹²

That was not all Birdsell took with him. In addition to using Mound City Group personnel to perform maintenance and administrative tasks prior to hiring his own staff, Birdsell took Mound City Group capitalized equipment, including a vehicle, and other materials to Cuyahoga Valley. When Fred J. Fagergren arrived in Chillicothe to replace Birdsell on October 26, 1975, he found the unauthorized transfer of property intolerable. Fagergren complained to Regional Director Volz that not only would he have to debit his own budget to replace the items, he resented the fact that Cuyahoga Valley, as a new area, would henceforth automatically receive priority funding at levels higher than Mound City Group's.¹³

¹¹Birdsell to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, letter, 29 January 1974, A34 (Ohio Group records). From the tone of Birdsell's letter, he regretted leaving the Northeast (renamed Mid-Atlantic) Region. See also Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

¹²John Kawamoto interview, 21 December 1993. Upon Birdsell's fatal coronary on August 18, 1980, state coordinator duties returned to the Mound City Group superintendent.

¹³Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1975; Birdsell to all employees, 18 July 1975, file A6435 Book 1 1968-1975, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Kansas City; Ohio NPS Group staff meeting, 30 June 1975, A40; Mound City Group staff meeting, 22 August 1975, A40; Superintendent Fagergren to Regional Director Volz, 18 November 1975, S42; and Ron Cockrell, A Green Shrouded Miracle: The Administrative History of Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, Ohio (Omaha: NPS, Midwest Regional Office, 1992), 311-12. In the interim, Administrative Technician Joan F. Crider served as acting superintendent. Virginia Skaggs and Bonnie Murray helped set up Cuyahoga Valley park headquarters and trained new employees. Maintenance men Phil Egan and Joe Gothard provided maintenance services. As staff increased at Perry's Victory and William Howard Taft, Mound City Group continued to provide basic services and support.



Figure 39: Superintendent Fred Fagergren, Jr. (NPS/Theresa Nichols, January 1979)

An operations evaluation report in February 1976 conducted by Midwest Region personnel concurred with Fagergren and recommended expedited replacement of the "fairly significant list of property and supplies" removed from Mound City Group. In examining the de-clustering of the Ohio parks, the team reported it "has had [a] less positive effect on Mound City than on the other units." Grade-level re-evaluations were recommended for the superintendent, administrative technician, and secretary, and the team urged speedy review and approval of a new park organizational chart.¹⁴

Superintendent Fagergren's tenure at Mound City Group spanned five years. Like Coleman, Fagergren was a second-generation Park Service employee. Mound City Group represented his first park management assignment, and Fagergren was its first superintendent with a degree in anthropology. Fagergren's administration embodied a significant time of transition when studies on other Hopewell sites were prepared that subsequently spawned an initiative to expand and transform Mound City Group. Fagergren aggressively pushed for change with a determination to reorient the park's interpretive focus upon its cultural resources.¹⁵

Upon Fagergren's transfer on March 7, 1981, Ken Apschnikat became Mound City Group's seventh superintendent on April 19, 1981. Apschnikat, historian at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, naturalist at Shenandoah National Park, and chief of interpretation and visitor services at Richmond National Battlefield Park, all in Virginia, had eleven years of experience before assuming his first park management post.¹⁶ Apschnikat's tenure arrived at the same time the administration of President Ronald W. Reagan began implementing its tight controls on land-managing federal agencies through Secretary of the Interior James G. Watt. Watt, a conservative Westerner who wanted to curb federal power over the private sector, instituted a moratorium on federal land acquisition until such policies could clearly be

¹⁴Hugh P. Beattie and Thomas L. Weeks, Operations Evaluation Report, Mound City Group National Monument, February 1976, approved 10 March 1976, A5427 January 1976-December 1979, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Kansas City.

¹⁵Fagergren graduated from the University of Arizona with a bachelor's degree in 1972, and served as an interpretive specialist for Rocky Mountain National Park, Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, and Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, all in Colorado. Prior to his Ohio assignment, he served as park ranger/archeologist at Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa. "Fagergren Family Moves to Florida," NPS news release, 18 February 1981, K3415; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

¹⁶Ibid., and "New Director to Oversee Mound City Improvements," Chillicothe Gazette (17 July 1981), K3415.

spelled out through Interior-approved land acquisition plans. In the meantime, as the nation slipped further into an economic recession, NPS adopted "basic operations" plans for each unit. Mound City Group's focused on resource preservation and protection. Apschnikat's basic operations objectives were as follows:

To identify, inventory, and evaluate the park's cultural resources; to monitor their condition; and to preserve, protect, and interpret them in a manner consistent with the requirements of the enabling legislation, historic preservation laws, and National Park Service policies.

To ensure, through authorized acquisition or other means, a land base that is adequate to protect and interpret the burial mounds and associated cultural resources.

To help ensure that land use and development in the park's vicinity are compatible with long-term preservation of park resources through cooperation with other agencies, organizations, and interests.

To protect the historic and prehistoric resources from erosion by the Scioto River.

To foster public understanding and appreciation of the Hopewell and other native American cultures and the relationship between these people and their environment, as well as the more general evolution of the relationship between man and his environment.

To re-establish to the degree possible, the historic scene to reflect the environment of the "Hopewell Culture."¹⁷

Watt came into office believing the national park system had grown too big, too fast, and contained units of less-than-national significance which should more properly be administered by state or local governments, non-profit organizations, or other qualified groups. Reminiscent of the 1950s, when Interior's inspector general began making plans to audit such small historical parks, Mound City Group National Monument once again found itself on a deaccession "hit list." The uproar from around the country, spearheaded by cultural and environmental interest groups, was angry and immediate. Stunned by the response, Secretary Watt publicly disavowed knowledge of the move,

¹⁷Apschnikat to Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning, Basic Operations Declaration, 18 January 1982.



Figure 40: Superintendent Kenneth Apschnikat. (NPS/November 1982)

instructed that the audits be cancelled, and stated no part of the national park system would be dismantled while he held office.¹⁸

The Reagan administration launched a number of federal spending programs in the early 1980s to ease the brunt of a deepening domestic economic recession. For NPS, still under tight land acquisition controls, Watt wished to improve existing parks, not add new ones, and launched the billion-dollar Park Rehabilitation and Improvement Program. In 1982 at Mound City Group, it meant road repairs, replacement of the visitor center viewing deck, addition of handicapped and bus/recreation vehicle parking, a ground water heat pump for the visitor center, and a solar-heated water system for the residence. Additional manpower came under the Emergency Jobs Appropriation Act of 1983. It provided \$28,500 for Mound City Group to replace the river trail steps as well as painting and general repair work.¹⁹

The Reagan/Watt-imposed basic operations program also generated a new policy of "management efficiency," which in effect formalized the practice of "doing more with less." Managers were encouraged to identify a range of cost-saving measures. A part of this exercise involved the Office of Management and Budget's "Circular A-76," which entailed contracting various federal functions to the private sector. A primary target for A-76 was grounds maintenance and janitorial services (see Chapter Seven). A-76 symbolized the administration's anti-big government stance that many federally-performed activities could best be handled by private enterprise. At Mound City Group in 1983, as at most parks, A-76 was deferred pending further instructions, and eventually the bureau received an exemption from Congress.²⁰ To improve productivity, the park installed a radio system, a pay-telephone for visitors, converted the secretary from subject to furlough to full-time permanent, and purchased its first computer, a Xerox 820-II to streamline administrative functions.²¹

Seeking to improve efficiency further, the park purchased its own touch tone telephone system in 1984, which resulted in reduced service costs, increased staff efficiency, and shorter

¹⁸"Mound City to Retain Park Status," Chillicothe Gazette (8 December 1982).

¹⁹"Mound City Sees Increase in Visitors," Chillicothe Gazette (27 February 1982); and "New Jobs Bill to Benefit Mound City," Chillicothe/Ross Advertiser (15 June 1983).

²⁰Cockrell, A Green Shrouded Miracle, 208, 276-77.

²¹Apschnikat to Dunning, 30 September 1983, A64; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

time periods in placing calls. Mound City Group had come a long way since its last upgrade in service. In 1962, it switched from an eight-party business line to two private lines, one each in the visitor center and residence. Unsatisfactory service from the Federal Telecommunications System (FTS) operator in Columbus, led to going through Cincinnati at a higher cost. Prohibitively high costs to install its own FTS line or accessing FTS through the Veterans Hospital continued to frustrate Mound City Group managers.²² An evaluation of how electronic transmission of data between the park and Midwest Regional Office via computer and telephonic modem began in 1985, and succeeded in April 1987 when timecards, payroll data, and reports could easily be exchanged.²³

William Penn Mott, Jr., only the second NPS director to visit Mound City Group National Monument, arrived on November 24, 1985, for a brief park tour and side trip to Hopeton Earthworks.²⁴ Superintendent Apschnikat, attempting to implement provisions of Mott's "Twelve-Point Plan," began working with a local American Indian citizen to form a park friends group. The effort did not bear fruit.²⁵

Despite the perceived heavy-handedness at the top executive branch level, Superintendent Apschnikat continued to make positive changes. On August 25, 1986, Ken Apschnikat issued the first compendium of "Superintendent's Orders" for the monument. He set visiting hours to daylight periods only, except for special evening programs or by individual permits. To prevent erosion, mounds and earthwalls were closed to public foot and vehicular travel, although visitors could walk between these features. Recreational pursuits such as jogging, kite-flying, and games were confined to the mowed turf area between the highway and visitor center, principally to "reduce potential for accidents with other visitors, to avoid disturbing those visitors taking part in activities deemed appropriate to management

²² Superintendent's Report, 1982, 1983, and 1984; Riddle to Lee, 10 October 1962, September 1962 report; Fagergren to Dunning, 1 December 1980, A44; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993. Another upgrade came in the early 1990s with the advent of FTS 2000. See Superintendent's Report, 1991; and Murray interview.

²³ Apschnikat, report on meeting in Midwest Regional Office, 21 February 1985, D2215; Superintendent's Report, 1987; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

²⁴ Superintendent's Report, 1985; and "National Director Visits Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (3 December 1985).

²⁵ Apschnikat to Regional Director Charles Odegaard, 16 June 1986, A64; and Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993. Apschnikat proposed the name of "Native American Cultural Preservation and Restoration" group with a purpose of advocating historical sites, being an informational source on Native American issues, and encouraging study of native customs and traditions.

objectives of the area, and to preserve the dignity of the prehistoric burial area." Gathering or collecting of fruits, nuts, berries, mussel shells, leaves, and other natural resources were also prohibited. To protect government property and for fire prevention, lighting or maintaining fires, and the use of stoves or any other cooking device, were banned as well.²⁶

To offset flat budgets, a donation box first appeared in the museum area near the visitor register and free brochure rack in November 1985. The following calendar year donations nearly totalled \$2,600. Donated funds were used to support ongoing park projects. In 1987, Congress first instituted park entrance fees at 135 areas, and \$54 million was earmarked nationwide for research and visitor services with the remainder of NPS fees going back into the U.S. Treasury. Mound City Group used its portion of fee money to hire seasonal employees for curatorial work ranging from inventory to preparing exhibits to research, and seasonal rangers for walks and talks on summer weekends. On July 1, 1988, the monument began charging an entrance fee in the visitor center. Donation box contributions immediately declined. Remarkably, only a few visitor complaints were received, most of which came from locals who frequented the park.²⁷ The one-dollar per person fee or three dollars maximum per private vehicle charge netted the park fifty percent of the revenue, plus an additional percentage of total nationwide fees based on the monument's budget.²⁸

Doubling of the single visit entrance fee in 1993 resulted in an eighteen percent drop in visitation from the previous year. Instead of the one-dollar charge, the fee went to two dollars, and the vehicle entrance fee went from three to four dollars. Total revenues from entrance fees surpassed \$13,500 for 1993.²⁹

Lack of sufficient administrative office space had been an issue since the visitor center's opening in 1961. Innovative ways were found to jam together a growing number of employees, office equipment, and files into a small space. A 1987 operations evaluation report, acknowledging the difficulty in securing funding for a visitor center expansion, recommended adapting the quarters for administrative offices and storage.

²⁶Superintendent's Orders for Mound City Group National Monument, 25 August 1986, W46 General Regulations.

²⁷Superintendent's Report, 1987 and 1988; and "Mound City Benefits From Expanded Fee Program," Chillicothe/Ross Advertiser (7 June 1987).

²⁸Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; "Mound City Begins Charging Entrance Fees," NPS press release for July 1, 1988, K3415 Press Releases; and "Mound City Visit Will Soon Cost \$1," Chillicothe Gazette (28 June 1988).

²⁹Superintendent's Report for 1993.

Upon Ken Apschnikat's transfer on August 13, 1988, work began that fall and winter on the superintendent's residence to convert it to a new administrative headquarters. Offices were fabricated for the superintendent, administrative technician, secretary, chief of interpretation and resource management, and maintenance worker foreman. Space for a lunch/break room, copier/mailroom, conference and storage rooms were accommodated. Office space promised to become less problematic in the late 1990s when a new maintenance building allowed conversion of the previous structure into the "Resource Management Building."³⁰

Administrative Technician Bonnie Murray served in an acting capacity from August 14 until Superintendent William Gibson arrived on December 4, 1988. Gibson, chief ranger from Saratoga National Historical Park, New York, was also in his first park management position.³¹ Gibson and staff occupied the new headquarters building in the fall of 1989. In one of his first moves, Gibson ended the twenty-four-hour flag-flying policy at the visitor center, conforming flag protocol to reflect operating hours only. In 1989, computer automation extended to all park divisions as the technology became integral to budget formulation and preparation of reports and correspondence. Reflecting increased responsibilities and an expanding park, position upgrades were approved for the superintendent (GS-11 to GS-12) and park ranger (GS-05 to GS-07) in 1990. On October 6, 7, and 8, employees were furloughed and the park closed because of lack of congressional appropriations.³²

The first facsimile machine came in October 1990, a gift from the Midwest Regional Office. While enhanced communication with Omaha had been a reality for a number of years, "fax" capacity meant almost instant contact with hard-copy documents. Automation also continued to advance as new equipment arrived and curatorial employees began tracking collection items in a database.

³⁰Ken Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; Superintendent's Report for 1988 and 1994-95; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993. The building holds the name without immediate justification, awaiting rehabilitation, as staff remains housed in separate buildings.

³¹"New Superintendent Starts at Mound City on Dec. 4," Chillicothe Gazette (23 November 1988). Apschnikat transferred to Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, as superintendent. Gibson's previous service included Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey; Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, New Mexico; Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (district ranger); and Gateway National Recreation Area, New York (chief of interpretation and resource management).

³²William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; chiefs squad meetings, 12 January 1989 and 14 November 1989, A4031 Meetings; and Superintendent's Report, 1989 and 1990.



Figure 41: Superintendent William Gibson. (NPS/February 1991)

On June 14, 1990, the third NPS director to visit Mound City Group, James Ridenour, toured the park on his way from Washington, D.C., to his Indiana home.³³

Following up on the groundwork laid by his predecessors, Superintendent Gibson and his staff worked tirelessly to assist NPS efforts to transform the park and other nearby related sites into Hopewell Culture National Historical Park (see Chapter Ten). In spite of the roadblocks to land acquisition erected during the Reagan administration, success finally came when President George Bush signed the authorizing legislation on May 27, 1992.

Much had occurred in the course of Mound City Group National Monument's seven-decade history. The roadside municipal playground of Clyde King's era had steadily progressed under a succession of competent NPS managers to a point where its resources were fully appreciated, preserved, and interpreted in a broader cultural context. In 1992, more than just the "City of the Dead," Mound City Group became the administrative hub of a larger NPS unit including additional sites related to the Hopewell culture.

Lack of funding to implement provisions transforming the area into Hopewell Culture National Historical Park limited transitional measures during that fiscal year to simplistic, cosmetic changes like new letterhead and signage. Mound City Group's visitor brochure received a wrap-around interpretive flyer explaining Public Law 102-294 to visitors during the interim period.³⁴

Superintendent Bill Gibson transferred as the first superintendent of Dayton Aviation National Historical Park in Dayton, Ohio, in April 1993. Administrative Technician Bonnie Murray provided administrative support, earning herself a temporary promotion. Because permanent staff increases for Dayton Aviation Heritage were slow to materialize, Gibson's arrangement with Hopewell Culture continued, eventually leading to Murray's upgrade to administrative officer with plans to hire administrative assistants at both areas. Hopewell Culture received a new superintendent in July 1993 when John Neal, formerly park manager at Missouri's George Washington Carver National Monument, entered on duty. With the nationwide implementation of "Ranger Futures" at mid-decade, Hopewell

³³Staff meeting, 27 July 1990, A4031 Meetings; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report, 1990. The late 1980s electronic telecommunication program was known as "Seadog," which gave way to cc:Mail in the early 1990s.

³⁴William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1992.

Culture Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Robert Burgoon and Park Ranger Robert Petersen both received grade increases, from GS-09 to GS-11, and GS-07 to GS-09 respectively. Audit of the superintendent position resulted in its upgrade from GS-12 to GS-13 in August 1995.³⁵

John Neal not only faced the challenge of managing an expanded park, but effectively dealt with a shift of responsibility from the regional office to the parks. The October 1, 1995, National Park Service reorganization saw not only the states of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Arkansas placed into an expanded and redesignated Midwest Field Area, but the division of the former Midwest Region into two geographic clusters of parks, Great Plains and Great Lakes, with the professional staff in Omaha divided similarly into respective system support offices. Management and coordination of each geographic cluster group fell to a cluster management team. For the duration of the 1995-1997 Great Lakes Cluster Management Team (CMT), Hopewell Culture Superintendent John Neal served as chairman. The important position required devoting considerable attention away from daily park operations to matters covering the six-state Great Lakes cluster. As Great Lakes CMT chairman, Neal oversaw and directed project and budget priority-setting for his park cluster. New responsibilities, including delegation of cultural resources compliance from the regional director to park superintendents, further empowered Neal and his peers. These actions highlighted a new management philosophy to shift responsibility to local, front-line managers and enhance cooperation, not competition, among parks.

Upon the October 1, 1997, reorganization back to the former Midwest Region, the Omaha support staff collapsed into a consolidated Midwest Support Office and delineation among geographic clusters blurred but did not vanish. The two CMTs subsequently blended into the Midwest Leadership Council, and Neal's collateral-duty special assignment ended.³⁶

The spirit of Park Service cooperation flourished among the Ohio parks. In the north, Cuyahoga Valley assisted Perry's Victory in numerous administrative ways. In Southern Ohio, on October 23, 1996, superintendents, supervisory personnel, and professional discipline specialists of Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, and William Howard Taft National Historic Site convened at Caesar Creek State Park to discuss the feasibility of integrating park operations. Facilitated by a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers employee, the group discussed forming a potential "Southern Ohio

³⁵ Superintendent's Report for 1993 and 1994-95.

³⁶ Author's observations.

Group," formally sanctioning the shared expertise between park areas that Mound City Group initiated years previously. One of the many offshoots of this cooperative spirit involved agreement on utilizing Archeologist Bret Ruby's expertise to oversee archeological compliance requirements at all three parks per section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The largest Ohio park unit, Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, extended its fully operational human resources management office to handle Hopewell Culture's personnel recruitment for permanent jobs and classification of existing positions. The larger park also helped ease Hopewell Culture's conversion to a new payroll entry program.³⁷

Fiscal year 1996 hosted numerous furloughs of federal employees as President Bill Clinton battled a Republican-dominated Congress over the federal budget. The longest furlough stretched over the course of several weeks, all the while America's federal government ceased to function except for critical positions and services. The National Park Service shutdown its operations. Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, still experiencing its growing pains, reluctantly closed to the public and went into a mothball status. Essential work remained undone, and the small staff, once back to work, struggled to regain the initiative on a growing backlog of projects.³⁸

**** History of Boundary Changes**

The first NPS-produced survey map, prepared by Region One Topographical Engineer George Martin, appeared in late 1946. Efforts, which began a decade previously, continued to secure from Chillicothe Veterans Hospital a northern buffer strip measuring three hundred feet wide and fronting on State Route 104 eastward to the river. In April 1948, VA officials arrived to assess the proposal. Even though the ten-and-a-half-acre tract served its farming program and included the hospital's incinerator, VA officials supported the transfer. Citing its scenic protection and ability to ensure full park restoration, Interior pushed for the transfer before the House of Representatives as the veterans committee considered H.R. 5951. The bill easily passed Congress, receiving President Harry S Truman's signature on April 3, 1952.³⁹

³⁷Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

³⁸Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

³⁹Custodian King to Regional Director Allen, 1 December 1946, November 1946 report; King to Allen, 19 March 1947; King to Allen, 9 November 1947; King to Allen, 1 May 1948, April 1948 report; "Mound City Park May Be

Enlarging the boundary to include a total monument area of 67.5 acres raised more questions than were answered. A search of Virginia Military District and early Ohio land records showed imprecise methods adopted to mark boundaries. In fact, when Camp Sherman evolved, the excepted State Route 104 became appropriated by the Army, relocated, and not officially defined again. Neither the VA nor Department of Justice's reformatory possessed surveys, even of the earlier transfer to establish the reformatory. King proposed that all parties agree to accept Camp Sherman's road system for boundary configuration purposes, using the centerpoint of north-south roads as boundary demarcations. During agency deliberations however, Director Conrad Wirth proposed to VA that "where the Monument is bounded by a street the boundary shall be a line fifteen feet toward Monument property measured from and parallel to the center line of the street." In other words, NPS would not own or maintain the road.⁴⁰

While the VA officially acknowledged Wirth's proposal and pledged to cooperate at the local level, in practice, nothing happened. In July 1956, Clyde King, irked by the inactivity and jolted by a sudden land transfer between the VA and Department of Justice, borrowed a transit, measured three hundred feet from the center of Portsmouth Road (effectively dismissing Wirth's position), and pounded in iron posts to mark the proposed boundary. A year later, NPS engineer C. S. Waldren arrived to conduct an official survey and monument the boundaries. When the Bureau of Prisons reformatory indicated its satisfaction, the marking work became complete in September 1957. King wryly noted, "For the first time in its 44 year history the area has defined boundaries."⁴¹

In late 1958, the VA declared additional land surplus to its needs and notified the General Services Administration (GSA) to effect its disposal. The area included land immediately west of Mound City Group across State Route 104. Regional Archeologist John Cotter arrived on February 25, 1959, to conduct a one-day

Expanded," Chillicothe Gazette (1 February 1952); and Clyde B. King, "History of the Mound City Group National Monument," circa 1953.

⁴⁰Quotation from Wirth to VA Administrator H. V. Higley, letter, 27 May 1954, L1415 Boundaries, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Philadelphia; King to Cox, 21 May 1954, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Philadelphia; King to Cox, 2 March 1953, February 1953 report; and King to Cox, 1 April 1953, March 1953 report. King noted the new addition, which he intended to permit to reforest naturally, had become a sanctuary for ground-brooding birds such as pheasants. See King to Cox, 2 July 1954, June 1954 report.

⁴¹Quotation in King to Tobin, 1 October 1957, September 1957 report; H. V. Higley to Wirth, letter, 11 June 1954, L1415, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Philadelphia; King to Tobin, 1 August 1956, July 1956 report; and King to Tobin, 1 August 1957, July 1957 report.

examination of the tract for archeological resources. The VA lent a road grader and operator to test six strips, fifty feet long, eight feet wide, and about eighteen inches deep to reach sterile soil. Cotter's inspection revealed negative signs of aboriginal occupation. He relayed his findings to Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin with the recommendation that a 300- to 500-foot buffer strip be acquired to protect the monument:

If the National Park Service does not acquire this land, the Department of Justice will definitely take it over for agricultural purposes, I was told by local workmen. This has already been indicated to the National Park Service, I believe, by GSA. This would mean that 'trusty' convicts would be working within a few yards of the new visitor center and directly across the highway from the National Park Service land. This would be most undesirable, as the distraction of visitor interest, plus the possibility -- even temptation -- of a break by the reformatory inmates near a lot full of parked and often unlocked cars, should render obvious.⁴²

In March 1959, regional planners met with King to discuss the matter and determined that the land had no historical or administrative value. While NPS determined not to seek its acquisition, it did inform GSA of Park Service interest in keeping the area undeveloped and in continued agricultural use.⁴³

The Bureau of Prisons announced in September 1966 the closure of its Chillicothe reformatory and ten-year lease to the state commencing December 1, 1966. Governor James Rhodes announced that the cellblock and hospital segment would serve as a psychiatric treatment and care facility for psychotic prisoners while the remainder of the complex would be a medium security prison, all collectively called the Chillicothe Correctional Institution (CCI).⁴⁴ Along with the facility transfer, the Department of Justice leased its farmland to CCI, but in early 1969, however, the department announced plans to dispense with

⁴²Cotter to Tobin, 27 February 1959, Mound City Archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁴³King to Tobin, 2 January 1959, December 1958 report; King to Tobin, 3 March 1959, February 1959 report; Regional Chief of Planning Andrew G. Feil, Jr., to Tobin, 20 March 1959, L1427, Mound City Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files; and "Interpretive Operations Plan and Administrative History of Mound City," no date [circa 1980]. Regional officials were more interested in acquiring the Hopeton Earthworks.

⁴⁴"Reformatory to go to State on Dec. 1," Chillicothe Gazette (23 September 1966).

the properties altogether. The announcement prompted Superintendent George F. Schesventer to propose an ambitious acquisition program to add almost 186 acres, in effect, trebling the monument's size. The parcels Schesventer proposed in no particular priority order to Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison were as follows:

Parcel 1: A forty-foot-wide strip along the park's south boundary measured 2.26 acres. From a management standpoint, the existing boundary, determined then to be down the centerline of Portsmouth Road, was undesirable because NPS controlled only half of its own utility road. Schesventer proposed acquiring all of the road, the southern berm, and enough to plant a vegetative screen between the mound complex and the prison. Prison authorities consistently cut back or removed trees and shrubs along the corridor so as to have an unobstructed field of view to shoot at escapees.

Parcel 2: This 45.44-acre tract on the park's northern boundary would follow both State Route 104 and the Scioto to the VA's drainage ditch. Judging from surface finds, archeologists believed it potentially contained a Hopewell occupation site. Its acquisition could also provide sufficient area for reforestation, a more desirable natural scene than its contemporary agricultural use.

Parcel 3: An 18.37-acre tract in front of the prison contained a large circular Hopewellian earthwall. Because the partial circle could still be seen from aerial photographs, it easily could be reconstructed and interpreted from the visitor center.

Parcel 4: This 114-acre parcel stood on the opposite side of State Route 104 across from the park's visitor center. The same 1959 arguments for its acquisition resurfaced in 1969 and became more urgent because it could now pass out of federal ownership and control. Two buildings at the tract's southwest corner could serve park needs. The largest could serve as a maintenance and storage building, while the second, Camp Sherman's library, could be used to interpret one of World War I's largest US Army cantonments. Schesventer proposed relocating picnic grounds to this parcel's northeast corner to satisfy locals.

Parcel 5: The 5.75-acre tract included four contemporary houses within view of the visitor center. Its acquisition would solve the park's chronic employee housing problem. "The superintendent and the permanent staff," according to Schesventer, "would be able to reside nearby but still not be 'under the guns' of the prison and in the migration route of the Veteran's Hospital mental patients. Future recruiting of employees would be

improved if there were housing available to them in the area."⁴⁵

Regional Director Lemuel Garrison sent specialists to inspect the proposed additions. John L. Cotter, chief, office of archeology and historic preservation in the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center,⁴⁶ and regional maintenance chief Nathan B. Golub largely concurred with Schesventer's proposals. Cotter believed Parcel 2's acquisition was necessary in order to control Scioto River erosion into archeological resources as well as provide for a "living farm-ethno-historical demonstration area." They recommended reducing Parcel 4 to eliminate the large metal maintenance shed and historic library building which lacked considerable original fabric. Instead, a nearby Camp Sherman-era recreational hall and two brick buildings could be adapted to served as a maintenance, interpretive, and administrative complex to tell the combined Hopewell, Ohio and Erie Canal, and World War I story. Further, they believed the superintendent's residence and utility buildings should be removed for safety reasons as the area came under the direct line of fire from the prison's guard towers.⁴⁷

Garrison forwarded the Cotter-Golub findings, which added up to 172 acres, to Associate Director for Management and Programming Edward A. Hummel. Garrison saw considerable environmental and recreational potential for the additions, as well as a management need to prevent adverse development surrounding the park. In addition, he advocated adding a five-acre strip connecting Parcels 3 and 4 along State Route 104. Because of the urgency involved with the acquisitions, he requested scheduling immediately an amendment to the 1966 park master plan.⁴⁸

The Park Service's bid on the surplus lands interrupted surreptitious plans between the Bureau of Prisons and Ohio penal authorities to transfer all of the property. As a federal agency, however, NPS had first claim to any excess federal land.

⁴⁵Schesventer to Garrison, 19 May 1969, L14 General, MOCI Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁴⁶This entity began as the Field Office of Design and Construction on June 1, 1954, and became a planning and service center in March 1966. Abolishment and transfer of function to the Washington Planning and Service Center came on September 7, 1969. See Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials (Washington, D.C.: NPS, 1991), 37.

⁴⁷Garrison to Schesventer, 17 June 1969, L14; Cotter to Garrison, 18 August 1969; and Golub to Garrison, 15 August 1969, MOCI Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁴⁸Garrison to Hummel, 16 September 1969, L1415, MOCI Area General File, Midwest Archeological Center files. Such an amendment took almost two decades to schedule and achieve.

The agricultural leasing agreement between the two continued, however, and the only land transfer came in 1971 when 14.75 acres went to the Ross County Board of Commissioners to establish the Camp Sherman Memorial Park at the beginning of Camp Sherman Memorial Highway (State Route 104).⁴⁹

On February 4, 1972, General Superintendent Bill Birdsell secured Congressman William H. Harsha's support to effect the land transfer for NPS. Harsha soon learned from the Department of Justice that CCI and state authorities opposed it. Birdsell wanted to continue using congressional means to achieve NPS goals. "We believe we have an excellent opportunity to round-out the Hopewell Indian culture story" Birdsell reported, "by developing [Mound City Group] into the area its significance deserves and makes it more than just a 'City of the Dead' (pun intended)." ⁵⁰ Birdsell warned of increasing area industrial development with the advent of flood control programs. He dismissed the Northeast Regional Office's view of "Hopeton is hopeless," that acquisition of the ceremonial and habitation site across the river would never happen. Instead, Birdsell pressed for its addition to the park along with Justice department lands and called for the necessary master plan amendment.⁵¹

In response to a query from the Northeast Regional Office, Acting Regional Solicitor William H. Thornton, Jr., opined that while legislation was not necessary to complete the federal lands transfer, a presidential proclamation under the 1906 Antiquities Act would suffice. However, the House Interior and Insular Affairs and Interior Appropriations committees let it be known that they wanted NPS to seek legislation so as not to usurp congressional authority.⁵²

To produce public pressure for the transfer, in August 1972, Birdsell outlined NPS plans to tell a more complete Hopewell culture story before the Chillicothe Rotary Club. Birdsell held out the promise of picnic facilities if a sufficient land base not in conflict with archeological resources could be secured.

⁴⁹Birdsell to Regional Director Henry G. Schmidt, 23 July 1971, 23 July 1971, L1417 Surplus Real Property. NPS supported Ross County acquisition of the land, in return for which commissioner Grant MacDonald pledged support for NPS plans, including acquiring Hopeton Earthworks.

⁵⁰Birdsell to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 7 February 1972, L14.

⁵¹Birdsell to Brooks, 20 April 1972, A3815.

⁵²Assistant Regional Director, Operations, Nathan G. Golub to Regional Solicitor, 3 July 1972, L14; Thornton to Golub, 21 July 1972, L14 Transfer of Land from VA; and Acting Regional Director Richard P. Schwartz to Chief, Office of Land Acquisition, Phillip Stewart, 22 December 1972, L14 Transfer of Land from VA.

On October 14, Congressman Harsha announced 9.27 acres of land in the southeast corner of the VA Hospital's grounds would be transferred to NPS under the Legacy of Parks program. The transfer took effect on November 2, 1972.⁵³

In mid-1973, a Denver Service Center planning team led by Robert L. Steenhagen began a study which led to the March 1974 formal assessment of surplus federal land additions. It largely reflected the park and Northeast Region plan from 1969, although it pared down Parcel 2 provisions to exclude an area still desired by the VA, and called it "Parcel 2a." The team recommended that surplus Justice lands be used in an exchange for Hopeton Earthworks.⁵⁴ Omaha regional officials accepted the report, but no progress was made to draft legislation. All parties acknowledged that if Ohio needed the land to continue its program at CCI, the legislation would not progress very far.⁵⁵

A meeting with CCI officials in 1976 found resistance to relinquishing agricultural lands to NPS. Superintendent Fagergren pushed for legislation to acquire Parcels 1, 2, 2a, and 4, with consideration given to obtaining either Parcels 5 or 6 to alleviate the park's chronic housing problem. With the dissolution of the Ohio NPS Group, the Denver Service Center's findings in 1974 were no longer valid. He advocated a high-level meeting of all parties to resolve the logjam.⁵⁶ In September 1976, the Midwest Regional Office requested legislative support data and materials for Congress. The package that went to Congress in the fall of 1977 was as follows:

⁵³"Mound City Growth Areas Outlined for Rotary Club," Chillicothe Gazette (22 August 1972); "Land Freed for Park Near Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (14 October 1972): Birdsell said the tract was not adequate to serve as a picnic grounds, but hoped Department of Justice lands would soon become available for this purpose. Referring to the development of recreation in the area including Great Seal State Park, a proposed riverfront park, and the "Tecumseh" amphitheater on Sugarloaf Mountain, Birdsell said "We believe it is our responsibility to grow, too." "Two Park Tracts Turned Over to County; Mound City Grows 9 Acres," Chillicothe Gazette (3 November 1972).

⁵⁴Planning directive for special Denver Service Center study, July 1973, L14 Transfer of Land from VA; Steenhagen to Regional Director J. Leonard Volz, 22 March 1974, L14 Federal Land Acquisition; and Birdsell to Volz, 28 June 1974, L14 Federal Land Acquisition.

⁵⁵Legislative Specialist Frosty Freeman to Birdsell, telephone call, 8 July 1974, L14; and Acting Regional Director Merrill D. Beal to Manager, Denver Service Center, John W. Henneberger, 16 July 1974, L14 Federal Land Acquisition. The report's title: "An Evaluation of the Suitability of Including Certain Federal Lands as Part of Mound City Group National Monument."

⁵⁶Fagergren to Files, "Land Acquisition, NPS vs. CCI Interests," 13 August 1976; and Fagergren to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 14 August 1976, L14 Federal Land Acquisition.

Parcel 1: Adjacent to State Route 104, Parcel 1 contained 7.5 acres and a house occupied by a state prison employee, lending itself to employee housing or future park infrastructure.

Parcel 2: 48.85 acres; bounded on the west by State Route 104, and the east by the eroding Scioto riverbank. Parcel 2 contained an unexcavated Hopewell village or campsite. Planners envisioned the tract accommodating the park's residence and utility building, relocated here so as to remove them from their close proximity to the Mound City Group earthworks. Gone from this proposal was any mention of the "ethno-historical demonstration area."

Parcel 3: An east-west strip fifty feet by 2,600 feet containing 3.34 acres along the park's south boundary utility road, cultivation here would cease with grass planted. There would be no vegetative screening.

Parcel 4: Contiguous with Parcel 3 to the prison wall, this buffer strip, used by CCI for alfalfa, measured 350 feet by 3,000 feet and contained 22.4 acres. Continued agricultural lease was recommended.

Parcel 5: A north-south strip immediately west of State Route 104, Parcel 5 measured 200 by 3,800 feet, or 21.59 acres, and used as corn fields. Cultivation occurred to within twenty-five feet of the road and within this strip were powerlines and evenly-spaced silver maple trees.⁵⁷ Continued agricultural use was recommended.

The entire proposal constituted 103.68 acres.⁵⁸ Continued opposition expressed by the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction stalled the effort. In December 1979, Governor James Rhodes announced plans to construct a new prison on the leased agricultural lands across State Route 104 from Mound City Group National Monument. NPS promptly notified General Services Administration to reserve specific tracts should the Department of Justice lands be declared surplus. The Park Service had already drafted legislation and pushed for its introduction into the second session of the 96th Congress in January 1980. The legislation eliminated Parcel 1 and, with a few minor

⁵⁷While most (20.49 acres) was Department of Justice land, 1.1 acres was VA land maintained as lawn. This latter tract was part of a larger 9.274-acre tract extending west beyond Parcel 5 and was under special use permit by NPS. The remaining 8.174 acres beyond the 1.1 were not needed by NPS.

⁵⁸Fagergren to Beal, 28 October 1977, "Legislative Proposal for Adding Certain Federal Lands to Mound City Group National Monument"; Fagergren to all employees, 17 September 1976, W38 Legislation; and Fagergren to files, boundary expansion/federal lands, 1 July 1977, L14 Federal Land Acquisition.

alterations, the package now stood at 92.23 acres.⁵⁹

While Fagergren advocated presidential proclamation to transfer the land, his superiors continued to rule the action unwise and a disregard of congressional prerogative. The surplus declaration came in April 1980, and Ohio declared its interest in acquiring all lands it already leased. NPS officially notified GSA of its interest in the lands with the promise that if GSA did not set them aside, NPS intended to nominate the significant archeological resources to the National Register of Historic Places, thereby invoking section 106 compliance review per the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.⁶⁰ NPS designed the move to slow the process down and prevent surreptitious action.

The presence of the National Register-eligible Hopewell village brought about a June 3, 1980, meeting attended by NPS, GSA, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Ohio State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and three state agencies: Department of Mental Health and Rehabilitation, Public Works, and Bureau of Prisons/CCI. NPS was the only federal agency expressing an interest in the excess property. State agency officials, exclusive of the SHPO, were either unconcerned about cultural resources or denigrated them. The meeting revealed state plans to site the new prison on Parcel 4. While Ohio did not object to NPS plans for Parcels 1 and 2, it vigorously opposed them on Parcels 3 and 4. GSA pushed NPS not to request transfer of 3 and 4, instead asking that deed restrictions guaranteeing present use with a reversion to NPS clause should ownership ever change. NPS accepted the compromise if Ohio promised to provide water and sewer service to the area within five years of the transfer. During review of the deed restrictions, NPS insisted on an additional clause on Parcel 4 which gave NPS the right to implement a mutually-acceptable vegetative screening plan with costs borne by NPS.⁶¹

⁵⁹Fagergren to Beal, 3 January 1978, L14; and Acting Regional Director Odell A. Hanson to Director, Real Property Division, GSA, Robert H. Crouse, letter, 21 December 1979. With previous Parcel 1 eliminated, the renumbering started over with a new Parcel 1 and the total now at four.

⁶⁰Foster Freeman to Fagergren, 28 March 1980; Fagergren to Arthur Eck, 28 March 1980; John Puffer, GSA Real Property, Chicago, to Freeman, 28 March 1980; Fagergren to Bill Dean, 18 April 1980; Freeman to Fagergren, 23 April 1980, all in L14 Federal Land Acquisition; "Federal Land at Correctional Institute Declared 'Surplus,'" *Chillicothe Gazette* (17 April 1980); and Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Crouse, letter, 25 April 1980, L14 Federal Land Acquisition.

⁶¹Fagergren, meeting minutes of 5 June 1980; Crouse to Dunning, letter, 1 August 1980; Dunning to Crouse, letter, 19 September 1980, all in L14 Federal Land Acquisition. The site is believed to be one of many short-term campsites surrounding Mound City Group. See Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

On December 28, 1980, President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 96-607 which, in part, expanded the monument and provided for acquisition of the 150-acre Hopeton Earthworks and 52.7 acres surplus to the Justice department (Parcel 1 at 47.16 acres and Parcel 2 at 2.87 acres).⁶² Immediate transfer became hampered by two events: the beginning of the Reagan administration and GSA request for a fair market value payment of \$72,500 for Parcels 1 and 2. Because GSA did not consider PL 96-607 as congressional direction to it to transfer the tracts without reimbursement, NPS had to seek an exception via a request from Interior Secretary Watt to GSA, with concurrence from the Office of Management and Budget. Watt's request did not come until March 4, 1983, and GSA's conveyance came on April 28, 1983. Under direction of PL 96-607 and the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, GSA Real Property Division Chief Robert M. Crouse transferred the property "without reimbursement to the Department of the Interior together with a reversionary interest in a strip of land 200 feet wide situated along the west side of State Route 104 and another strip of land 350 feet wide located along the southern boundary of the monument."⁶³

Under the historic leasing program, Mound City Group promptly issued an agricultural special use permit to CCI. Park maintenance installed boundary markers, planted shrubs and trees for screening, and instructed the telephone company to move its utility poles. To provide a more effective natural screen, the park stopped mowing the strip adjacent to the agricultural use area.⁶⁴ The expansion effort that began in 1969, came to legislative fruition in 1980, and culminated in 1983, with all but Hopeton Earthworks yet to be acquired (see Chapter Ten).

⁶²Superintendent's Report, 1980 and 1981; "Carter OK's Growth of Mound City Group," Columbus Citizen-Journal (30 December 1980), K3415; and Dunning to Crouse, letter, 9 January 1981. Title 7, Section 701 (b) of PL 96-607 provides that the "Secretary is authorized to acquire lands and waters by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, transfer from any other Federal Agency, or exchange. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, Federal lands in the vicinity of the Monument which are determined to be surplus to the needs of the United States shall upon the request of the Secretary be transferred to the Secretary for use by him in acquiring lands within the Monument by exchange." NPS requested "any or all 244 acres be transferred... for use in facilitating exchanges with landowners within the boundaries" of the monument.

⁶³Quotation in Crouse to Dunning, letter, 28 April 1983; Dunning to Crouse, letter, 8 April 1982; Crouse to Dunning, letter, 28 June 1982; and James Watt to Gerald P. Carmen, GSA Administrator, letter, 4 March 1983, a;; in L14 Federal Land Acquisition, folder 2; and Superintendent's Report, 1982. CCI purchased its Justice department lands for \$8 million on 27 August 1982.

⁶⁴Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report, 1983 and 1984; and Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Paper, 1987."

** History of NPS Archeological Research

National Park Service archeologists who compared the Squier and Davis survey with the restoration work performed by Mills and Shetrone in the early 1920s noticed that the extant configuration differed from the historic plan. An early 1960s report prepared by Northeast Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter made five recommendations to rectify the discrepancy. First, Cotter called for restoration of the borrow pits, one to the north of the rectangular enclosure, the other outside the northeast corner. Second, the earthen wall itself required restoration by finding the cross sections at each corner as well as on the north side. Third, Cotter wanted all mounds that lacked adequate excavation data to be base-tested to verify extant post molds because original mound circumferences were on or slightly within the post mold circles. These included mounds 1, 4-6, 10-11, 14-17, 19, and 21-24. Two small mounds outside the enclosure, north and south of the visitor center, also required verification. Fourth, other mounds needed to be checked for precise location and restored in height and shape per 1848 data. Fifth, Cotter called for the area to be tested again to corroborate 1848 and 1920s claims that no habitation evidence existed within or near Mound City Group.

Cotter recommended that NPS contract the work to the Ohio Historical Society's curator of archeology, Raymond S. Baby. He estimated that the excavation work would require two, six-month seasons, performed by about twenty laborers. Earthen restoration would cost \$60,000, including \$25,000 for investigation and research. As Cotter first conceived it, the contract would run from May 1963 to October 1964, with a final report due in 1965.⁶⁵ As work progressed, however, NPS ultimately expanded the project to span a dozen years.

Funding came almost immediately. The Kennedy administration's Accelerated Public Works Program made available \$85,000 in January 1963, and the contract work began May 1. Contract supervisory archeologist James A. Brown from the Illinois State Museum served as Baby's onsite project manager, with Mound City Group Archeologist Richard D. Faust looking after NPS interests. In the first month, the team found the charnel house and a cremated burial of Mound 10 beneath Camp Sherman's Toledo Avenue. Below grade of the charnel house was a subfloor tomb, which in addition to the crematorium, were a copper headdress, adze, and beads, as well as shells and freshwater

⁶⁵ John L. Cotter, Historic Structures and Grounds Report, Part I on Mound City Group National Monument (Philadelphia: Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 1963).

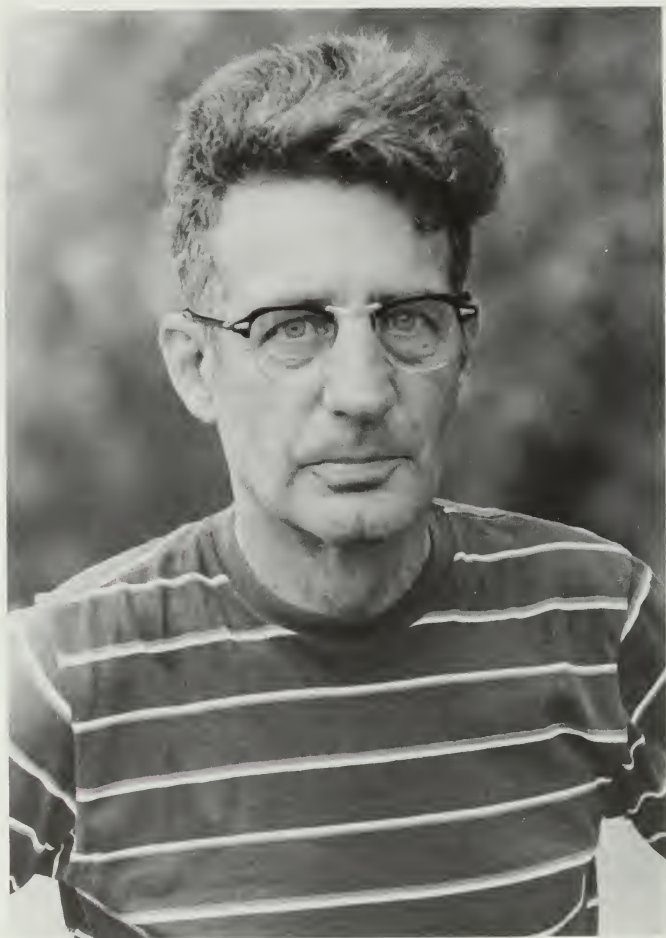


Figure 42: Raymond S. Baby, curator of archeology, Ohio Historical Society. (NPS/Betty White, May 1974)



Figure 43: Excavated Mound 10 revealed a post mold pattern of a structure as well as a ditch associated with a Camp Sherman street, visible as a dark linear stain. (NPS/ca. 1963)



Figure 44: On the southwest corner periphery, archeologists discovered and restored a previously unrecorded borrow pit. (NPS/John C. W. Riddle, September 1963) pit

pearls. Workers subsequently picked up and moved the 1920s Mound 10 reconstruction to its proper location. During the second month, Superintendent Riddle reported his pleasure at increased local press coverage, stating the new finds "have changed a somewhat static [public] attitude" toward the park and spawned increased demand for an interpretive program. Indeed, locals were intrigued by the discovery of a previously undocumented borrow pit near the earthwall's exterior southeast corner that yielded the first skeletal Hopewellian burial ever found at Mound City Group. Placed with the skeleton were nine flint knives.⁶⁶

Work performed in August 1963 ascertained that the entire south earth wall had been incorrectly sited during the 1920s restoration, including its opening leading towards the river. Archeologists did not remove a skeletal burial partially exposed outside the south earth wall because it rested beneath the railroad spur right of way. In September, reexcavation of Mound 13 occurred with the south enclosure wall accurately located thirty-five feet away. Archeologists ascertained Mound 13's true configuration, and restoration of the in situ exhibit, known as the "great mica grave," was deferred until 1964, its outline marked by wood posts protruding a few inches above the restored mound's surface. A "carbon 14" date performed on charcoal from the cremation burial found in Mound 10 produced an A.D. 178, plus or minus fifty-three years, result. The new test provided the "closest and best authenticated carbon 14 date for Mound City Group and one of the key dates for the entire Hopewellian culture." Regional Archeologist Cotter further reported at the conclusion of the first field season:

The work beneath Mound 13 has now revealed two complete charnel house floors, one rectangular and one square with double wall post molds. At the margin of the Mound, but associated with Hopewellian occupation, an extended burial has been found in good condition. The individual has an undeformed head, long in proportion to width, indicating a true Hopewellian physical type.... The outline of Mound 13 has been determined accurately to have been 70 feet rather than nearly 100 feet as reported by Squier and Davis, and its estimated height according to the 70 foot diameter would be 14 feet.

It is now beginning to be apparent that the original placement of the Mounds within the enclosure

⁶⁶Quotation from Riddle to Lee, 11 July 1963, June 1963 report; Riddle to Lee, 8 February 1963, January 1963 report; Riddle to Lee, 13 May 1963, April 1963 report; Riddle to Lee, 10 June 1963, May 1963 report; Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986; and "Mound City Mounds to be Put in Place," Chillicothe Gazette (7 May 1963).



Figure 45: Excavation and recording of Mound 13. (NPS/John C. W. Riddle, October 1963)



Figure 46: Mound 13 post patterns and remnants of original floors indicated the presence of two structures, one built earlier than the other. (NPS/May 1963)

was symmetrical and with a well-defined pattern rather than the haphazard one apparent to the visitor in the faulty restoration of 1923. Present indications are that when the restoration is completed Mound City Group will take on a far more meaningful appearance and will interpret more accurately the true intention of its builders.⁶⁷

With a six-man crew employed by the Ohio Historical Society and Richard Faust as supervisory archeologist, the second phase of restoration work began on July 29, 1964. Work focused on restoration of Mounds 4 and 5. Excess earth taken from the construction of the great mica grave exhibit, also underway in 1964, went to Mound 4 in addition to a new load of dirt obtained to restore the mound to sixty feet in diameter by three-and-a-half-feet high. Contemporary disturbances at Mound 4 had all but obliterated it, save for post molds and its charnel house.⁶⁸

Construction of the mica grave exhibit concrete structure continued through the winter of 1964-65, with the glass front installed in mid-1965 to reveal in situ ashes in four burial pits. Securing an additional \$2,500, NPS extended the Ohio Historical Society's contract to perform additional location work on Mound 5, restore the northwest corner of the enclosure wall, and excavate Camp Sherman debris out of the borrow pit at the same corner. Work on this phase began on September 27, 1965, with new Park Archeologist Lee Hanson overseeing the project. Mound 5 proved to be fifty feet west of where the 1920s restoration placed it, and twelve times larger. The work for this phase ended in early November 1965.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Quotation from Cotter to Chief, Division of History and Archeology [?], 11 October 1963, Mound City Group archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files; Riddle to Lee, 7 August 1963, July 1963 report; Riddle to Lee, 11 September 1963, August 1963 report; Riddle to Lee, 4 October 1963, September 1963 report; and Riddle to Lee, 6 November 1963, October 1963 report. A request to use Chillicothe Federal Reformatory labor to perform test work on large circular earthwork on the reformatory grounds met a firm rebuff from the reformatory superintendent who objected only to the use of prison trustees, not the investigation under specific conditions. See Lee to Riddle, 21 April 1964, and Acting Regional Director Palmer to Riddle, 3 June 1964, H2215-CHAA, Mound City Group archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁶⁸Riddle to Lee, 7 August 1964, July 1964 report; Riddle to Lee, 10 September 1964, August 1964 report; and Riddle to Lee, 12 October 1964, September 1964 report.

⁶⁹Riddle to Lee, 4 June 1965, May 1965 report; Coleman to Lee, 8 September 1965, August 1965 report; Coleman to Lee, 13 October 1965, September 1965 report; "Indian Burial Site Displayed for Public at Mound City Memorial," (17 June 1965) and "Mound Five Being Put in Old Place," (4 November 1965) Chillicothe Gazette; Coleman to Lee, 12 November 1965, October 1965 report; and Coleman to Lee, 3 December 1965, November 1965 report.



Figure 47: Construction of the Mica Grave Exhibit necessitated installation of a vertical panel to reduce glare on the glass. NPS removed this exhibit and restored Mound 13 in 1996.



Figure 48: Charnel house of Mound 5 appears in center of post molds marked by newspaper. (NPS/Lee Hanson, October 1965)

Two Ohio Historical Society reports on the excavation/restoration work were accepted by NPS in 1966.⁷⁰ However, archeological work yet continued. Park Archeologist Hanson, using power equipment wielded by the maintenance crew, restored a borrow pit north of the enclosure wall. Jim Ryan of the Ohio Historical Society assisted in the June 20-22, 1966, work that saw the removal of a large cottonwood tree and fill removed from the pit and stored for use in future restoration activities.

In October 1966, Hanson completed the excavation and restoration of the east gateway in the enclosure wall, with the incorrect gateway filled back in with soil. During the 1920s restoration, a depression caused by a Camp Sherman waterline was mistaken for the opening, while the correct one was filled in. Hanson made two recommendations that he directed be accomplished prior to siting an interpretive trail through Mound City Group. First, one of four mounds along the northern tier should be taken down and its charnel house pattern exposed to enhance visitor understanding. Second, whereas Squier and Davis recorded twenty-three mounds at Mound City Group, and Mills and Shetrone restored twenty-four, the mound in dispute required testing to authenticate it.⁷¹

No archeological work transpired during 1967, but resumed in 1968 with the Ohio Historical Society's excavation and relocation of mounds 17 and 23. Directed by Barbara S. Saurborn, the archeologists quickly determined that Mound 23's exact location was just to the south of where its 1920's position had been. Mound 17 took longer to pinpoint, but it was relocated to the southeast and its configuration proved to be larger. Baby announced the significant discovery that the charnel houses of

⁷⁰Acceptance of Mound City Revisited, Cotter to Baby, letter, 15 July 1966; and Excavation of Section F, Mound City Group National Monument, Garrison to Baby, letter, 13 January 1966, both found in H24.

⁷¹Coleman to Garrison, 7 July 1966, June 1966 report; Coleman to Garrison, 10 November 1966, October 1966 report; and Lee H. Hanson, Jr., Excavation of Section B, The East Gateway at Mound City Group National Monument, November 1966, Record Group 79, records of Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



Figure 49: Elmo Smalley, Sr., uses heavy equipment to remove Mound 17. (NPS/Nicholas Veloz, Jr., April 29, 1968)



Figure 50: Ohio Historical Society's Martha Potter plots the post molds of Mound 17. (NPS/Nicholas Veloz, Jr., May 1968)

mounds 17, 3, and 23 were in direct alignment through the center of Mound City Group.⁷²

With six of the twenty-four mounds verified, NPS wanted to extend the work to include the remaining eighteen mounds. A management appraisal report prepared in early March 1968, called for guidelines for the archeology program that "can be consistently followed by Northeast Regional Office and the changing superintendents and park archeologists." Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer informed Director Hartzog that the 1958 decision to retain Mound City Group was "based upon the premise that it would be an interpretive site. During the interim period it has been demonstrated that there were archeological deposits that had not been destroyed in the past and could be uncovered." Because the 1960's work proved successful in yielding new information, Palmer advocated "a thorough study and recommendation from the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation" on the park's collection and research policies that constantly shifted with changes in park personnel. He observed the collection included an array of artifacts not directly associated with Mound City Group, gathered by off-duty personnel or donated by citizens.⁷³

Ernest Allen Connally, chief of the office of archeology and historic preservation, directed NPS to continue its practice of cataloging artifacts excavated by the Ohio Historical Society, and advocated continued verification of mound locations. He acknowledged that artifacts the society previously excavated were unquestionably federal property, but "to make any real efforts to secure the collection at this time, when our relations... are excellent, would only have very unfortunate public relations repercussions." NPS facilities for curation and research at Mound City Group and Ocmulgee continued to be inferior to the

⁷²"Diggers Bare Spot of Original Mound," Chillicothe Gazette (15 May 1968); "Two Mounds Being Relocated," Chillicothe Gazette (5 June 1968); and "Indian Mound Relocation Project Now Under Way Near Chillicothe," Columbus Dispatch (12 May 1968). NPS accepted Saurborn's report, A Re-examination of Mounds 23 and 17, Mound City Group National Monument, when her abstract was submitted (February 1969). See Acting Regional Director Thomas E. Whitcraft to Raymond S. Baby, letter 8 January 1969, H42 Contract--Archeological Excavations.

A request for a \$4,500 donation from Eastern National Park & Monument Association, to be combined with a proposed \$1,500 in NPS funds, did not transpire for the "central complex" of mounds 3, 7, and 18. See Acting Superintendent Nicholas F. Veloz, Jr., to executive secretary, Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 8 November 1968, Mound City archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁷³Management Appraisal Report, March 4-8, 1968: Palmer to Cotter, 10 May 1968, and Palmer to Hartzog, 10 May 1968, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, Record Group 79, records of Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

society's. Connally recommended Park Archeologist Nicholas F. Veloz begin compiling an archeological research management plan to address outstanding issues.⁷⁴

Another contract with the Ohio Historical Society in 1969 resulted in mounds 1 and 19 relocated to their original sites. Society employees involved in the effort were Baby, Assistant Curator Martha A. Potter, and Ohio State University students Wayne Haulpert and Steven Stathes, while Veloz and Edward Wolford represented NPS. Phase two, involving mounds 6, 20, and 24, came in 1970.⁷⁵

A fortuitous discovery in 1970 yielded the location of Squier and Davis's field notes along with fifty pictorial plates. Long-standing efforts to locate the materials bore fruit when an astute researcher noticed in a 1954 reference book that the long-lost papers were in the Library of Congress. A request to the manuscript division yielded the response that not only did it possess numerous boxes of Ephraim G. Squier's papers, but it was in the process of microfilming all of it.⁷⁶

Mound 24 testing conducted by Dr. Baby in 1970 revealed no subsurface features, thereby demonstrating that Mound 24 never existed. Mills and Shetrone mistakenly constructed it in 1923. Baby attributed the discrepancy to the Squier and Davis map that depicted twenty-three mounds, while the narrative stated there were twenty-four. In October 1970, workers removed Mound 24, and mounds 6 and 20 were moved slightly to the south to conform to their post hole patterns. In April 1971, excavation and relocation of Mound 12 began. It proved to be the most productive work in terms of artifacts since the investigations began in 1963, an unusual finding since the mound had previously been disturbed and excavated. Mound 12 also proved significant because of its charnel house pattern and single, not double, post holes. Experts speculated that the mound could represent one of the earliest constructed at Mound City Group.

⁷⁴Connally to Hartzog, 19 June 1968, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-1975, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁷⁵"Mounds Relocated at Mound City by Ohio Historic Society Team," Chillicothe Gazette (18 September 1969); and "Mound Restoration Efforts Successful," Chillicothe Gazette (27 September 1969). A proposal to establish an "Archeological Field Study Station" at the park with living accommodations for up to eighteen Ohio State University students came to naught. See Schesventer to Garrison, 16 June 1969, H2215.

⁷⁶Schesventer to Library of Congress, letter, 24 November 1970; and Library of Congress Assistant Chief, Manuscript Division, John C. Broderick, to Schesventer, letter, 10 December 1970. The 1954 source book was Bibliographical Society of America, Volume 53, Number 4, pages 309-326.

Additional archeological work performed under contract by Ohio Historical Society in 1971 involved mounds 11 and 16, the last of the mounds north of the enclosure's center to be relocated to their true positions. Baby's work uncovered two nearly intact clay pots inserted into two postholes. Mound 11 had a charnel house with a single, not a double, doorway that opened to the east covered with a large canopy. It had nine interior roof supports, not the typical seven. Mound 11 proved to be twenty-five feet north of its original placement, while Mound 16 was only slightly off. Following up on the recommendation first made in 1966, the archeologists advocated Mound 15 not be reconstructed, but to have posts placed in postholes for visitors to see and better comprehend what lay beneath the mounds.⁷⁷

Nineteen seventy-two saw the removal of the railroad spur through the mound group and restoration of the area. Removal of the ballast beneath the rails provided the opportunity to excavate the skeleton of an Indian woman initially uncovered in 1963 while probing for the southeast corner borrow pit.⁷⁸

General Superintendent Birdsell found sufficient funds (\$4,500) in the Ohio NPS Group's budget to accomplish research and restoration of Mounds 14, 21, 22, and the completion of interpretive exhibit Mound 15. Dr. Baby found the charnel house of Mound 15 to be rhomboidal-shaped with a north-south orientation directly aligned with Mound 3, which gave additional credence to his theory of mound alignment. Mound 15 proved to be 120 feet east of its 1920s predecessor. Treated wooden posts were installed to mark its post hole pattern, and a May 1974 dedication brought four hundred people to view the new exhibit. During the event, archeologists demonstrated their restoration and relocation methodology to quell persistent rumors that the mounds were being arbitrarily moved about. The same season saw Mound 14's restoration sixty-six feet southwest of its previous site, and among the scattered artifacts were pieces of sheet mica. Workers resited Mound 22 forty-four feet southeast of its

⁷⁷"Explorations Show Mound 24 Not Real," Chillicothe Gazette (8 December 1970); Birdsell to Mrs. D. M. Arnold, letter, 6 April 1971, K1459; Schesveter to Schmidt, 24 February 1971, H24 Contract--Archeological Excavations (work on mounds 11 and 16 cost \$1400); "Mound City Team Ending Location Study on Mound 12," Chillicothe Gazette (3 June 1971); "Mound City Relocation Work Planned," Chillicothe Gazette (12 August 1971); and "Prehistoric Clay Pots Found in New Mound City Digs," Chillicothe Gazette (10 November 1971).

⁷⁸Acting Superintendent Roberto A. Costales to Brooks, 19 November 1971, H2215; and "Burial Uncovered," Chillicothe Gazette (18 May 1972). NPS also accepted the following report: Raymond S. Baby, Martha A. Potter, and Stephen C. Koeszar, Excavation of Section I and J, Mound City Group National Monument, see Acting Regional Director Palmer to Baby, letter, 31 January 1971, H24 Contract--Archeological Excavations.

previous location. This mound featured the second rectangular charnel house yet discovered. Orientation of the charnel house's long axis was to the west gateway of the earthwall enclosure. In the last project of the 1974 season, archaeologists determined Mound 21 to be 180 feet off its correct site and filled with large pieces of Camp Sherman debris.⁷⁹

Commiserate with the shift in NPS regional boundaries brought a move to assign project cost estimates based upon Denver Service Center (DSC)-devised figures. When DSC arbitrarily assigned restoration costs at \$15,000 per mound, Birdsell exploded. Citing the Ohio Historical Society's niggardly \$3,000 to \$4,000 estimates, Birdsell complained to Midwest Archeological Center chief F. A. "Cal" Calabrese, "It greatly disturbs us to have an exorbitant and unsubstantiated amount programmed for each of these excavations when we have on record a lower relative firm estimate to accomplish this work." Birdsell feared that the high estimates would prevent Mound City Group from receiving programmed funds. The park would be forced continuously to siphon money from its own operating budget, supplemented by surplus Midwest Archeological Center monies, to keep its archeological program alive.⁸⁰

Times had clearly changed as the professionalization of what became known as "cultural resources management" occurred in the 1970s. With the burgeoning field of public history thriving, thanks to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, universities and their allied partners in state historical societies and museums no longer dominated. That meant without traditional subsidization by academia by using students and volunteers, the true cost of such work emerged. With cultural resources management becoming standardized throughout the federal government, the cheap, good old days vanished. In archeology, this became acutely apparent.⁸¹

The 1975 season proved to be the capstone of the twelve-year archeological program. In the spring, an Ohio State University team of archaeologists and anthropologists, led by Raymond Baby, excavated Mound 9 and relocated it ten feet north. In September, Baby's team investigated Mound 8, the site where Squier and Davis in 1846 uncovered nearly two hundred effigy stone pipes. Mounds 8 and 9 were in alignment east to west. Baby noted with the

⁷⁹Birdsell to Brooks, 19 June 1973, H22; Birdsell to Brooks, 25 October 1973 and 18 June 1974, H2215 Jan. 73-Dec. 75, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; "Ancient Evidence," Chillicothe Gazette (20 May 1974); and Birdsell to Carl Falk, telephone call memorandum, 26 November 1974, K18.

⁸⁰Birdsell to Calabrese, 6 March 1975, H2215 Jan. 73-Dec. 75, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁸¹Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

season's work, "major errors have been corrected" in restoring mound alignments at the park. He observed, a "deliberate orientation of the [charnel] house structures" with mounds 23, 17, 19, and 1 aligned 120 feet from one another. Carbon-dating analyses determined structures at Mound 10 at 179 A.D., the south earth wall at 61 A.D., and Mound 17 at 358 A.D.⁸²

After 1975, there was only one additional mound excavation at Mound City Group. In early 1975, the Midwest Regional Office discovered activities in its Ohio parks were not in conformance with section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Section 106 guidelines, promulgated in the early 1970s, provided the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation an opportunity to comment on federal projects determined to affect National Register-eligible resources. With the passage of the 1966 legislation and the creation of the National Register of Historic Places, cultural units of the national park system, including Mound City Group National Monument, were automatically listed on the register. So as not to derail the 1975 season, Cal Calabrese pointed out to the Advisory Council that the work was being conducted by the Ohio state historic preservation officer's own agency, the Ohio Historical Society, and secured a verbal "no adverse effect" determination for work to be performed on mounds 8 and 9.⁸³

The section 106 legal requirement coincided with a realization that final archeological reports produced by Ohio Historical Society contained scant administrative, interpretive, or scientific information beyond mound location and size of post molds. Issues of significance within the larger mound complex were not addressed. Upon Fagergren's recommendation, the Midwest Regional Office rejected Baby's report for mounds 14 and 22 until it contained adequate professional content per the purchase order agreement. Further, Fagergren called for Midwest Archeological Center's assistance in clarifying the park's management of its cultural resources, stating, "It is our belief further archeological investigations should not occur unless they can provide information useful to management and interpretation of the area. Past research has done little beyond verifying mounds locations and a greater cost-benefit ratio should be shown for justification of future work." NPS also pressed for Raymond Baby to submit long-overdue reports. Once received, a comprehensive synthesis of all past archeological work would yield research

⁸²Quotation from Sandy Fosson, "Team Checks Mound City Site," Chillicothe Gazette (18 September 1975); and Acting Superintendent Joan Crider to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 12 September 1975, H30.

⁸³Cooperative Programs Assistant Regional Director Bill W. Dean to Deputy Regional Director Robert Giles, 6 May 1975; and Beal to Executive Secretary, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Robert Garvey, letter, 14 May 1975, H2215 Jan. 73-Dec. 75, Midwest Archeological Center files.

questions to fill remaining gaps in knowledge related to Mound City Group. Only then could responsible archeological excavations resume.⁸⁴

David S. Brose of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History led a survey team in 1976 in areas identified for potential landscaping work to determine the presence of significant resources, and thereby eliminate those sensitive areas from consideration. The survey took place beyond the immediate mound group itself, and yielded conclusive evidence of Hopewellian activity. Brose noted,

A more significant result of these archaeological investigations is their demonstration of the presence of prehistoric Hopewellian activities beyond the walls, possibly associated with the ceremonial activities within the Mound City Group enclosure. Whether such occupation represents domestic or ritual behavior, and whether it is to be associated with some construction or post-construction phase of mound-building Hopewellian cultural behavior remains uncertain given the limited excavation and the extensive recent disturbance of the area. However, it is now clear that models of Hopewellian ritual, subsistence-settlement pattern, or regional exchange cannot justifiably use missing data as true negative evidence for occupation from the vicinity of the major Hopewell ceremonial centers. Hopefully, future archaeological investigations of Ohio Hopewell sites will concentrate less on the mounds for the dead than on the excavation of evidence for the living culture.⁸⁵

Fagergren's discussions with Brose over books for the park's sales area led to a more grandiose scheme for the first professional conference devoted to Hopewell archeology. Held March 9-12, 1978, in Chillicothe, the conference received joint sponsorship by Mound City Group National Monument and the Cleveland Museum of Natural History with an objective of "providing adequate and current regional and topical data for discussion of the Hopewellian complex in Eastern North America." Proceedings of the conference did provide a sales item at the

⁸⁴Quotation from Fagergren to Beal, 2 April 1976, A5427 Jan. 76-Dec. 79, Midwest Archeological Center files; Fagergren to Calabrese, 18 February 1976, H2215; untitled report on status of interpretive prospectus objectives, circa 1976, A6419; and Superintendent's Report for 1976. NPS accepted Baby's report on mounds 8 and 9 in 1977. See Calabrese to Martha Potter Otto, letter, 6 June 1977, H24.

⁸⁵David S. Brose, An Archaeological Testing Beyond the Walls of the Mound City Group, Ross County, Ohio, October 1976.

park.⁸⁶

In 1977, the stone steps to the summit of Mound 7 were removed, thus eliminating visitor confusion concerning their origin and resulting in random use patterns within the mound group. Maintenance workers repaired the eroded scar and reseeded the following year. In 1979, excavation of Mound 9, in the program pipeline since 1975, took place and received its correct siting. Bruce Jones and Bob Nickel of Midwest Archeological Center first used a proton magnetometer at Mound City Group in August 1979 on areas to determine magnetic differences between Camp Sherman remains and less disturbed areas.⁸⁷

Working with Martha Otto, curator of archeology at the Ohio Historical Society, Fagergren tracked down long-forgotten purchase orders and firmly pressed for completion of outstanding mound excavation reports. Reports for mounds 11, 12, and 16 were approved for payment in 1980, with the remaining reports on mounds 21 and 24, following soon after.⁸⁸

In 1982, Regional Archeologist Mark Lynott, assisted by Sue Monk, Bob Nickel, and Chris Schoen, surveyed surplus Department of Justice land north of the park boundary designated for addition to the monument. Their survey demonstrated the area contained a significant Hopewell occupation site, most likely related to Mound City Group. Monk's work at the park with faunal remains indicated a disproportionate number of rib cage sections were brought into the mound enclosure, thereby bolstering the hypothesis of Mound City Group not ever having been permanently inhabited.⁸⁹

The report and subsequent work has established that no one previous to A.D. 900 or 1000 in the Eastern United States were true agriculturalists. While the Hopewell may have used maize for gardening, they did not practice dedicated farming. Most

⁸⁶David S. Brose and N'omi Greber, editors, Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979.

⁸⁷Staff meeting minutes, 11 July 1979; John Kawamoto interview, 21 December 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1978; and "Tests Aimed at 'New' Mound City Remains," Chillicothe Gazette (29 August 1979). Proton magnetometers and other soil resistivity equipment measure electromagnetic differences between and within soils to assess what might occur there without excavation. Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

⁸⁸Fagergren to Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning, 23 August 1979, H22; and Fagergren to Dunning, 15 August 1980, H24.

⁸⁹Superintendent's Report for 1982; and Susan A. Monk, A Summary of Identified Vertebrate Remains Recovered from Mound City Group National Monument, Ross County, Ohio (Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1985).

Hopewellian peoples practiced a fully agricultural economy, but it focused on a suite of native annual seed-bearing plants.⁹⁰

By the early 1980s, the National Park Service lacked basic data only on Mounds 3, 7, and 18. None of these had been re-excavated since the 1920s, nor had two other mounds to the west outside the earthwall enclosure. The latter mounds were suspected of being 1920s fabrications, approximately sited to mimic mounds which appeared on Squier and Davis' map. Modern archeological methods would certify the authenticity of these unrestored mounds.⁹¹

James Brown of Chicago's Northwestern University received custody of some of the Mound City Group archeological collections to produce a contracted synthesis of past research and excavation efforts. In response to Brown's concern regarding the condition of the collection, Mark Lynott and Melissa Connor, both of the Midwest Archeological Center, met with him to discuss the issue in November 1983. The archeologists noted mistreatment of the collection by "improperly trained personnel" resulting in "considerable damage to the research value of the collection." Lynott recognized curation and cataloging practices performed on the archeological collections "without insuring that basic provenance information about the artifacts is preserved." The consensus recommendation was either to add a professional archeologist to the park staff to manage the collections or to transfer the artifacts to Midwest Archeological Center to ensure proper care.⁹² The curatorial concern remained until the transformation of the monument into a large, multiple unit national historical park. Following a two-decade absence, the park added a term-appointment archeologist to its staff in the mid 1990s.

The combined body of twentieth-century archeological reports related to Mound City Group excavations are of poor quality, lacking basic, detailed information, and in many cases, maps. Contemporary experts find reconstructing an informed history of Mound City Group archeology nearly impossible based upon the hastily-prepared reports, most of which were accomplished by the Ohio Historical Society. This observation applies to most other reports of the pre-1970 period, including those of the National Park Service. Future excavations will have to be based upon

⁹⁰Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

⁹¹Ranger Jerry B. Chilton, "Threats to Cultural Resources in the Parks" questionnaire, 27 January 1981; and Apschnikat, 10-238 "Excavate, Verify and Restore 5 Mounds," 10 December 1982, D2215.

⁹²Lynott to Acting Regional Director Randall R. Pope, 23 November 1983, A26, Midwest Archeological Center files.

legitimate research questions in areas such as chronology and persistent cases of verifying mound placements. [Archeology related to Hopeton Earthworks appears in Chapter 10.]⁹³

A minor footnote to the archeological history of Mound City Group is the National Park Service's role in the controversial work of Arlington Mallery related to the mysterious "iron furnaces" found in the western half of Ross County. Intrigued by his search for pre-Columbian stone masonry, Mallery visited Spruce Hill in 1948, discovered what he determined to be iron slag, and began formulating his theory of a pre-Columbian Iron Age in North America. Mallery began excavating more than a dozen archeo-pyrogenic sites, or iron furnaces, and as press coverage spread news of his findings, public curiosity grew. Mallery attempted to lend credence and prestige to his findings by declaring his iron materials would be displayed by the National Park Service at Mound City Group National Monument. Mallery did so in the absence of Superintendent King. Upon his return, King restricted the viewing to scientists and consigned the display area to the maintenance building, thereby limiting and controlling the publicity. In the Chillicothe area, the publicity proved largely negative.

Mallery and his display were at Mound City Group from November 23 to November 30, 1949. Other than a few scientists, no more than twenty-five individuals viewed the materials. Raymond Baby denounced Mallery's findings, stating "The evidence does not warrant any of the claims." Dr. S. L. Hoyt, metallurgist, declared it "interesting but not conclusive."⁹⁴ Ralph Solecki of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology, in the area conducting river basin surveys along Deer Creek and Paint Creek for flood control along the Scioto, also visited. Solecki even inspected the Mallery sites themselves and denounced the Norse or Viking furnaces as "nothing more than lime-burning pits which probably date from the period of the construction of the Ohio and Erie Canal in about 1835."⁹⁵

Undaunted, Mallery went on to publish his work in 1951 in a book titled Lost America, which gained even more popularity when a related article appeared in National Geographic Magazine. An updated version, co-authored by Mary Roberts Harrison in 1979, eleven years after Mallery's death, was titled The Rediscovery of Lost America. In assessing Mallery's work, David Orr criticized

⁹³Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

⁹⁴King to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, 1 December 1949, November 1949 report.

⁹⁵Frank H. Roberts, Jr., director, River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, to Allen, letter, 9 December 1949.

it as "sloppy even by contemporary standards" in that he demolished sites in his zeal for corroborating evidence. Further, Orr charged Mallery "stacked one questionable claim upon another until he could conclude exactly what he had hoped: that the pre-Columbian New World had been visited by a superior race of people--undoubtedly of European" origin.⁹⁶

Although some individuals and organizations still herald Mallery's claims, no professional archeologists have been willing to examine extant evidence or search for more. References and inquiries to Mallery's work, however, still occupy Park Service attention and will continue to do so as long as the mystery of the iron furnaces persists.⁹⁷

Following up on the successful 1978 Hopewellian conference, "A View from the Core" took place in Chillicothe on November 19 and 20, 1993. Co-sponsored by Hopewell Culture National Historical Park and the Ohio Archeological Council, more than 250 individuals attended and heard papers presented by noted archeologists and anthropologists. One session saw Park Ranger Robert Petersen discussing how interpreters convert raw archeological research into material for public education. Participants were also able to tour the new units of the national historical park.⁹⁸

Archeologist Bret J. Ruby, who began working at Hopewell Culture on a term appointment in January 1995, soon reinvigorated the park's archeology and cultural resource management program. Giving the program increased visibility, Ruby initiated a monthly archeology column in the Chillicothe Gazette. Some 1995 accomplishments included hosting an Ohio State University-Midwest Archeological Center field school at Hopeton designed to salvage Hopewellian occupation sites. The public benefitted from weekly public lectures by noted scholars connected with the field school. Ruby helped facilitate surveys adjacent to Hopewell Mound Group to determine if the boundary adequately encompassed archeological resources. Conducted through the cooperative agreement with Ohio State University, Dr. William S. Dancy performed inventory and evaluation work that continued into 1996. Ruby led park personnel in similar activities at Spruce Hill Works, part of a special resource study mandated by Public Law

⁹⁶David K. Orr, "Arlington Mallery's Mixed Legacy," found in Archeo-Pyrogenics Journal, published by the Archeo-Pyrogenics Society, Columbus, Ohio, Vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1992), Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁹⁷Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; William Gibson to J. Louis Bauer, letter, 26 July 1990, A3615; and Ranger Robert Petersen to Dr. Duane Aston, letter, 29 October 1990, D18. One such organization is the New England Antiquities Research Association.

⁹⁸Superintendent's Report for 1993.

102-294 to determine the suitability and feasibility of adding it to the national historical park. With the assistance of outside researchers, Ruby directed geophysical surveys at High Bank and Hopeton.

To spearhead interest in the Hopewell culture, Midwest Archeological Center in the mid-1990s launched a newsletter entitled "Hopewell Archeology: The Newsletter of Hopewell Archeology in the Ohio Valley." Designed to attract widespread professional attention in the field, the newsletter also effectively consolidated into a single format news of recent site preservation developments, research conducted, and published material pertaining to the Hopewell.⁹⁹

In the summer of 1996, Archeologist Ruby undertook investigations at Hopeton Earthworks, utilizing staff and students from Milton Hershey School in Hershey, Pennsylvania. Assisting with the special field school were Forest Frost and Karen Archey of Midwest Archeological Center. This effort concentrated on excavating in the northwest corner of the large square earthwork. Using radiocarbon dating, three construction periods were noted, the earliest commencing circa A.D. 20. The crew also uncovered prairie soils beneath the earthworks giving additional clues as to natural conditions during the Hopewellian era. During the same season, NPS also surveyed sixty-five acres along the high terrace west of the earthworks and found assorted small sites of prehistoric and historic occupations. They employed remote sensing technology to find, using the Squier and Davis map, an almost undistinguishable circle and ditch enclosure near the southeast corner of the large Hopeton square. Throughout the field season, interpreters delighted in presenting public bus tours, evening programs, and special talks for the Archaeological Society of Ohio and other groups.

The 1996 archeological season yielded completed fieldwork at Spruce Hill Works for the congressionally-mandated special resource study. Results determined that "1) the site retains a high degree of overall integrity despite some localized areas of disturbance; 2) portions of the 'stone wall,' especially the gateways, are human-made and represent a monumental investment of human labor in construction; 3) Woodland period ceramics and Hopewellian stone tools were found in direct association with one of the gateway features, strongly supporting the conclusion that the site was built by Hopewellian peoples between ca. A.D. 1 and A.D. 400; and 4) several locations in reaching temperatures in excess of 1100 degrees Celsius. However, their cultural affiliation remains open to question."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

¹⁰⁰Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

Evaluation of resources within and around 1992 designated boundaries is ongoing with adjustments expected at Hopewell Mound Group and Seip Earthworks.

** Planning

During the first few years of operating the MISSION 66-era visitor center/museum building, it became readily apparent that the facility lacked sufficient space to accomplish any of its intended missions well. To address this as well as boundary expansion issues and other programmatic needs, Superintendent Riddle secured the services of regional master plans divisional chief Donald W. Humphrey, who drafted a chapter of a new master plan in September 1964. A year later, a team from the Northeast Regional Office came to Chillicothe during the third week of September 1965 and completed a draft document.¹⁰¹ The Mound City Group master plan underwent policy review in the Washington Office on February 18, 1966, during which time officials approved it, minus one critical change. Reviewers determined that the proposed construction of an archeological storage and workshop addition to the visitor center could more properly be done by the Southeast Archeological Center at Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia.¹⁰²

Dismayed by the Washington-level veto, Regional Director Lemuel Garrison responded with three observations. First, he relayed the "great local disappointment" that the 1920-21 artifacts still remained in Columbus, and that locals would be very upset should the National Park Service send artifacts outside Ohio. Second, there were few items from the ongoing 1960s excavations available to send to Ocmulgee because Ohio Historical Society technicians continued to study them for purposes of writing final reports. Third, Garrison stated, Superintendent Coleman and the Ohio Historical Society planned to continue annual excavations and perform earthwork restorations over the next decade and those artifacts would be needed. In essence, Garrison contended that the status quo should suffice, adding "it appears that the only practical solution, pro tem, is to utilize for workshop facilities the second floor of the utility building, as previously, when archeological work is current, and maintain the collection in the hands of the

¹⁰¹Riddle to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 12 October 1964, September 1964 report; and Coleman to Lee, 13 October 1965, September 1965 report. Team members included Bernie Grace, Dave Kimball, and Ben Connavo.

¹⁰²Master Plan, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio (Philadelphia: Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 1966); and Washington Office Branch of Master Plan Drawings Chief Edward S. Peetz to Lee, 21 February 1966, RG 79, NARA/FRC, Kansas City. Because this represented the only change and to save the expense of reprinting the master plan, Peetz asked "all offices make necessary notations on their present copy to echo the [revision.]"

historical society except for the limited collection which is now housed for local reference in museum storage cabinets in the superintendent's office."¹⁰³

In response to Garrison's observations, another Washington Office policy review of the draft master plan took place on May 12, 1966, but headquarters officials refused to reverse themselves, arguing that adequate storage and workshop space already existed at Southeast Archeological Center. Once artifacts were catalogued, photographed, and recorded, they should be sent "to Ocmulgee from where any needed items can be recalled quickly." They noted that the utility building had adequate space and refused to authorize new construction.¹⁰⁴

The unpopular decision soon garnered critics from within the Washington Office itself. Archeologist [?] Willcox declared:

This unfortunate decision will reduce both the interpretive and research capabilities of the park. Museum collections provide more than specimens for permanent exhibits. The collections are useful for varied day-to-day operations, e.g., revolving and special exhibits, touch items for tours, off-site talks, and for comparative studies. I hope this decision will be reconsidered, in due course, and reversed.

Of greater concern, however, is the possibility this philosophy will be extended to other parks and other collections. Such moves are simply not in the best interests of public edification and enjoyment.

Finally, Willcox mused, "Will Mound City be permitted to retain a representative study collection?"¹⁰⁵ Concurring with his colleague, Northeast Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter called the master plan curtailment "unrealistic and not in the best interest of the Service." The artifact room above the garages in the utility building was too far away from the visitor center and lacked fire suppression, temperature, and humidity control systems. Cotter informed Regional Director Garrison that the archeological storage and workshop space needs were "incidental to making more adequate interpretive facilities," including an

¹⁰³Ibid., Garrison to Peetz, 10 March 1966.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., Washington Office Division of New Area Studies and Master Planning Chief Raymond L. Freeman to Garrison, 1 June 1966. Freeman noted "Resource Studies staff" concurred with the decision.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., Washington Office Archeologist [?] Willcox, handwritten note attached to photocopy of 1 June 1966 Freeman to Garrison memorandum.

audio-visual area. He termed the visitor center "extremely inadequate," and related seeing a dozen people in attendance for an evening program held in the foyer area squeezed together in discomfort. Daytime programs were out of the question. The park simply needed more interior visitor services space, Cotter concluded.¹⁰⁶

Such was not to be during the 1960s as the nation's fiscal spending trends focused on social programs and the escalating Vietnam War. Mound City Group National Monument saw itself saddled with an unsatisfactory master plan that did not serve its needs, and did not give it any future direction or vision. As far as Philadelphia and Chillicothe park managers were concerned, the 1966 master plan proved worthless, and they began cultivating efforts to schedule a new master plan. The magnanimous William Birdsell, superintendent of the Ohio National Park Service Group, lobbied hard to obtain a new master plan for general development and land acquisition. In 1972, Birdsell secured Northeast Regional Office support to include Mound City Group's planning effort to commence in fiscal 1973, but it fell victim to the servicewide planning and development backlog and the demands of Bicentennial commemoration projects.¹⁰⁷

Undaunted by the reprogramming efforts and unwilling to concede defeat, in February 1973, Birdsell pressed to have Denver Service Center Planner Rich Giamberdine assigned to head a small planning team that came to the park in early March to commence initial scoping efforts. Birdsell expressed his elation in "getting the horse back in front of the cart" to spur developments to relate the "full story" of Hopewell culture. He wrote, "To date we have interpreted only one phase of this culture by preserving a 'graveyard' and telling a story of death. We are now planning to expand this area to preserve and interpret the full environmental story of the Hopewell Indians, which will bring the prehistory to life."¹⁰⁸ In late July 1973, Birdsell requested Philadelphia's support to authorize an amendment to the 1966 master plan. It appeared to Birdsell to be the only way to get an updated development plan and proceed with land acquisition. Birdsell already had the endorsement of the governor, Congressman William H. Harsha, and Senator Robert Taft. Unfortunately, he lamented, "It appears that everyone is anxious

¹⁰⁶Ibid., Cotter to Garrison, 14 September 1966.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., Birdsell to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 13 November 1972; and Brooks to Associate Director, Administration, J. Leonard Norwood, 14 December 1973, D18.

¹⁰⁸Birdsell to Brooks, 16 February 1973, D18.

to proceed except the National Park Service."¹⁰⁹ More pressing regional and national priorities, however, frustrated Birdsell's endeavor, and with his transfer in 1975, planning efforts fizzled.

Shifting regional boundaries in 1974 placed Ohio's parks under the purview of the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska. Omaha officials held different attitudes concerning parks in its new Great Lakes states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Many of the areas were newly-authorized national parks and lakeshores of tremendous acreage that demanded immediate planning for visitor services developments. Mound City Group National Monument's needs were dwarfed if not altogether obscured by these larger, more recent parks. Omaha officials also rationalized delaying scheduling for a general management plan (GMP; preferred nomenclature for the old master plan format) until the acquisition status of Hopeton Earthworks National Historic Landmark became apparent.

While Hopeton still remained in doubt, Superintendent Ken Apschnikat lobbied hard to schedule a new-start GMP in fiscal 1987, and his effort succeeded when Mound City Group appeared on the bottom of the Midwest Region's list. Director William Penn Mott took a personal interest in promoting the park's development. Mott recommended a three-phase approach: a scoping meeting, accomplish the basic studies, and perform the GMP. A critical baseline study, the Hopeton Sites Study, already neared completion in mid-1987 (see chapter 12). The GMP scoping meeting took place May 5, in Columbus, hosted by State Historic Preservation Officer W. Ray Luce at the Ohio Historical Center. Another meeting at the park resulted in the decision not to proceed until Hopeton could be acquired. Acting Regional Director William W. Schenk approved a conditional GMP task directive on May 17, 1988. Because the acquisition program did not progress as planned, Director William Penn Mott, Jr., cancelled the Mound City Group GMP in November 1988, and reprogrammed that funding for the Calumet National Historic Landmark feasibility study.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹Birdsell to Brooks, 31 July 1973, L14 Federal Land Acquisition.

¹¹⁰Midwest Planning and Environmental Quality Chief David N. Given to Ranger Jerry B. Chilton, telephone conversation, 7 August 1986, D18; Superintendent Ken Apschnikat, minutes of 6 January 1987 meeting in Omaha, 13 January 1987, D2215; Apschnikat form letter to Columbus GMP scoping meeting, 26 March 1987, D18; Given to Midwest Cultural Resources Management Chief F. A. Ketterson, Jr., 2 April 1987, D18; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; Deputy Regional Director Schenk to Acting Manager, Denver Service Center, Robert J. Shelley, 26 January 1988, D18; and Schenk to Regional Director Don Castleberry, 1 December 1988, D18. Calumet became part of Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan.

Fortune changed in the 1990s, as did the park itself, necessitating a new GMP to replace the perpetually inadequate 1965 master plan. The 1992 legislation expanding the park and changing its name spurred the GMP effort. A new general management plan reflecting all five authorized units of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park commenced in June 1994 when the planning team first assembled for an information-gathering workshop. Led by Denver Service Center team captain Marilyn Habgood, the GMP team began conceiving vision statements for the park's future development by consulting with subject matter experts and the park's community partners.¹¹¹ A special meeting took place in Oklahoma where planners shared and gathered ideas with tribes who formerly inhabited the area of southern Ohio.

The first GMP public newsletter went out in November 1994 soliciting comment on draft narratives of purpose, significance, and vision statements. During Hopewell Week also in November 1994, came the first GMP public meeting. In January 1995, another workshop in Chillicothe fine-tuned various alternatives, and another consultation with the same Oklahoma-based tribes took place in April. The second GMP newsletter in May 1995 released the draft alternatives for public comment. In October 1995, the team met with park staff to outline needed special resource studies, the draft GMP, and resolve outstanding issues. GMP reviews and editing consumed 1996, and Midwest Regional Director William Schenk approved the final plan on April 8, 1997.¹¹²

The 1997 GMP, replacing the inadequate 1965 master plan prepared in the aftermath of niggardly MISSION 66 development, did not remotely resemble its predecessor. Presenting a clear vision of NPS actions for the next ten to fifteen years, the GMP spelled out a realistic, albeit ambitious, blueprint for Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. Three units were proposed for public enjoyment, Mound City Group, Hopewell Mound Group, and Seip Earthworks, while Hopeton Earthworks and High Bank Works are to receive limited access, largely reserved for research and preservation. Highlights of the plan featured acquisition and visitor enhancement of the new sites as well as hosting an

¹¹¹Other GMP team members were Project Manager Jon Holbrook, Socioeconomist Rich Lichtkoppler, Outdoor Recreation Planner Mary McVeigh, Archeologist Diane Rhodes, Landscape Architect Susan Scherner, and Interpretive Planner Sam Vaughn. Park staff team members were Superintendent John Neal, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Bob Burgoon, Archeologist Bret J. Ruby, Maintenance Worker Supervisor Jon Casson, and Administrative Officer Bonnie M. Murray. See General Management Plan, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, Ohio (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1997), 48.

¹¹²Ibid.; and Superintendent's Report for 1994-95. Tribes consulted were: Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, Eastern Delaware Tribe, Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, Loyal Shawnee Tribe, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, Western Delaware Tribe, and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

"international center for the interpretation, study, and preservation of the Hopewell culture."¹¹³ Also recognizing a long-held dream, the GMP called for expanding the existing Mound City Group visitor center, or building a new facility to accommodate more exhibits, house the library research center, and include a museum curation/collections facility.¹¹⁴

The GMP encapsulated the park's purpose as follows:

Preserve, protect, and interpret the remnants of a group of once extensive archeological resources that might be lost if not protected, including mounds and earthworks, artifacts, the archeological context, the cultural landscape, and ethnographic information.

Promote cultural resource stewardship and understanding of the importance of the resources to present and future generations.

Promote, coordinate, conduct, and synthesize anthropological research that focuses on the major questions about the Hopewell culture.

Educate the public about the Hopewell peoples' daily lives, contributions, perceived values, and dealings with other peoples and the environment around them.

Understand past societies and foster an appreciation of past, present, and future societies.¹¹⁵

Concerning the park's significance, the 1997 GMP states:

It is the only federal area that preserves, protects, and interprets remnants of the Hopewell culture, a culture (including various regional settlement patterns, rituals, and trade routes) that was distinctive and widespread for over 700 years.

The park and the related sites represent some of the most elaborate of the Hopewell culture, evidenced by the large tripartite geometric enclosures that are unique to the Scioto River area, as well as the biggest and densest concentrations of Hopewellian earthworks in the country.

¹¹³GMP 1997, 1.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 2.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 4.

Park units were among the first places in North America where the practice of scientific archeology was used and described in scientific publications.

The park contains the type-site for the culture; that is, the site where the Hopewell culture was first defined by archeologists.

It contains Hopewell resources, including nonmound resources, with tremendous potential for directed research and further investigation to answer many questions about the Hopewell culture.

It preserves some of the general physical environment in which the Hopewell people lived, worked, and played.

It preserves some of the most spectacular Hopewellian achievements--the biggest conjoined mound (Hopewell Mound Group); largest concentration of mounds within an enclosure (Mound City Group); and one of two known extant octagonal structures (High Bank Works)--and a substantial collection of artifacts.

The parks provides potential for new knowledge about the Hopewell peoples and their relationship with the environment and other peoples, which will be valuable to researchers in the future.¹¹⁶

The GMP's vision for the park declared:

The park educates the public about the daily lives, contributions, perceived values, and interactions of the Hopewell peoples with other peoples and the environment around them.

The significant sites in the park and related sites are protected and preserved by various means, and the local community feels a sense of stewardship for these and other sites.

The different characteristics of the sites guide how the sites are used, whether for visitor use, interpretation, limited visitor use, research, or preservation.

The park cooperates with others for stewardship, research, management, interpretation, transportation, and facility development for such sites within and outside the park boundaries.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 4-5.

Intrusions have been removed and potential new intrusions or impacts are actively resisted by the park and partners.

The park conducts and serves as a focus for research on Hopewell culture, attracting scholars from around the world.

The visitor leaves the park and related sites with a greater knowledge about the Hopewell culture, an understanding of the relationship between the sites, an admiration of the Hopewell accomplishments, and a cognizance of the need to preserve them.

Artifacts are available for study, education, and display.

The visitor has the opportunity to experience different sites in a variety of ways and their interest is stimulated in seeing other associated sites.¹¹⁷

Following an enumeration of primary interpretive themes, the GMP briefly summarizes a series of issues and concerns, chief among which are fiscal levels found to be "lacking."¹¹⁸ The document envisions "cooperation with and funding from nonfederal sources will be essential to the success of this plan."¹¹⁹ A primary goal is for Hopewell Culture National Historical Park serving as the center for research on the culture in cooperation with its partners. Additional resource managers will be required to help guide the research program as well as to monitor long-term effects to resources. The GMP identifies a cultural landscape report as a vital document needed to guide the course of future developments at all park units. Non-roadway access to the dispersed areas may also soon come in the form of pedestrian and bike trails and canoe access points along the Scioto River and Paint Creek drainages, with a long-term vision for a pedestrian bridge spanning the river thereby connecting Mound City Group with Hopeton Earthworks.¹²⁰

Mound City Group unit will continue to serve as park headquarters and the focal point of visitor information with increased emphasis on the Hopewell's daily lives. The visitor center will either be modified or new structures added to handle

¹¹⁷Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁸Quotation on page 9, Ibid., 6 and 8.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 17.

¹²⁰Ibid., 20-21 and 23-26.

expanded exhibit, research, and curatorial space. For curation and interpretation, an additional 5,000 square feet will be needed, while 1,600 square feet for exhibits and other public areas are forecast. Increased parking demands may result in a long-term lease to place parking on prison land to the south of the legislated boundary. At the Hopewell Mound Group unit, boundaries need to be increased to encompass known resources and facilitate access. Development may include a twenty-car lot, visitor contact station with restrooms, a trail with waysides, and an overlook. The GMP suggests outlining the earthworks with a "nonpermanent material" on the ground to increase their visibility.¹²¹ At the Hopeton Earthworks unit, preservation of the resource as well as salvaging habitation sites in advance of gravel company operations are the principal activities forecast for this area. Limited public access may include special guided tours, small parking lot, primitive picnic area, and a site overlook.¹²² At Seip Earthworks, the GMP calls for acquiring land to the west and east of the Ohio Historical Society's existing tract. Its location on U.S. Route 50 makes it a primary site for interpretation, second only to Mound City Group. Should onsite visitor services development prove infeasible, the GMP provides for a cooperative effort with the Ohio Historical Society or the Ohio Department of Natural Resources in the nearby town of Bainbridge. Relocation of Dill Road to the proposed eastern boundary and restoration of the earthworks is also a long-term goal. A viewing platform, demonstration gardens, interpretive waysides, and boundary fencing and screening is recommended there. At High Bank Works unit, the earthworks are the best preserved of all five and their potential for research relegates this area for special guided tours and archeology field schools. Only temporary facilities are suggested at High Bank Works.

Acquisition of park units will follow a formula that favors land within legislated boundaries first. Those tracts within the boundaries that have ownerships that might be severed or made inaccessible by federal acquisition will be given secondary consideration. Third, adjacent areas with significant resources or important viewsheds will be acquired. And lastly, areas needed for facility development will be added. The GMP commits NPS to seeking alternative methods such as easements, local planning, and trusts to protect significant related areas with technical assistance available to those kindred interests. Short-term research easements may also be pursued, and partnerships once again are encouraged to augment NPS operations.¹²³

¹²¹Ibid., 30-33.

¹²²Ibid., 10-11 and 34-35.

¹²³Ibid., 36-41.

** A Special Emphasis: Energy Conservation

An area of park operations in which Mound City Group National Monument excelled beyond most other parks is in the area of energy conservation. This initiative became a national priority in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 and the subsequent oil embargo imposed on Israel's supporters, including the United States. The energy crisis prompted executive branch agencies to formulate energy conservation programs. Nothing emerged out of discussions to close small park areas like Mound City Group to lower energy usage, but stringent measures were immediately adopted, including a directive that all vehicles be driven under fifty miles per hour, thermostats set at sixty-eight degrees, desk lamps replaced overhead lights, continuous restroom lights and exhaust fans were disconnected, and lobby and exhibit lighting turned on only when visitors were present.¹²⁴

When national preoccupation with energy conservation waned following the oil embargo's termination, Mound City Group National Monument's dedication to the effort intensified under the direction of an enthusiastic Fred Fagergren. In 1977, a wood-burning stove in the visitor center's lobby reduced fuel oil consumption for the furnace and electricity for its air circulation fan. The traditional Christmas tree appeared without electrical lights. The superintendent's government-furnished quarters underwent retrofitting for energy efficiency. Additional insulation in the attic and walls, wood stove, new storm doors and windows, and better-insulated siding helped show savings parkwide on utility bills to the tune of twenty-five percent on electricity and forty-five percent for fuel oil. Noncritical use of vehicles by employees in favor of using bicycles also cut gasoline purchases. In 1980, the superintendent's residence received a solar water heater installed on the roof. In 1981, the visitor center received a ground water heat pump and an improved, double-walled stove equipped with a blower to improve heating efficiency even more.¹²⁵

While energy conservation appeared as the primary, laudable goal, increasingly stringent or flat budgets during the last quarter of the twentieth century made such frugality not merely desirable, but mandatory.

¹²⁴Acting Superintendent Robert F. Holmes to Brooks, 15 November 1973, D50; and "National Park Sites Conserving Energy," Chillicothe Gazette (15 December 1973).

¹²⁵Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; energy committee report, 17 December 1977, staff meeting minutes; Fagergren to Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning, 6 April 1979, A70; Energy Committee Report, 12 August 1980, staff meeting minutes; Fagergren to Dunning, 29 August 1980, A7021; and Superintendent's Report for 1981.

Chapter Five

Relations with the Community

Since the creation of Mound City Group National Monument, the people of Chillicothe, Ross County, and southern Ohio have demonstrated a strong proprietary interest in this small park area. For those keenly aware of the significance of the place, it represents a source of local pride that a key remnant of the Hopewell culture once flourished there. Likewise, those unaware of its significance have taken a similar pride in the site's anomalous landscape and beauty. More popularly referred to simply as "Mound City," local citizens in the late twentieth century considered Mound City Group National Monument an attribute to the region's tourism-enhanced, post-industrial economy.

From the onset of National Park Service administration, the national monument has taken its role as a member of the community seriously. Cognizant of its contribution to the area's economic viability as well as its mission to help enlighten young and old alike, managers have excelled at cultivating positive public relations. With its small staff and budget, park development and operations have benefitted from community partnerships to fulfill its congressional mandate, including those with other federal, state, and local agencies.

****Veterans Administration**

One of the closest management relationships Mound City Group National Monument has actively cultivated for five decades is with the Veterans Administration (VA). The VA hospital inherited a large segment of Chillicothe's federal reservation following the World War I-era demise of Camp Sherman. As early as January 1947, Superintendent Clyde King reported the first fire caused by the VA's incinerator building: "The Veteran's Hospital has an incinerator at the northeast corner of this area, just over the boundary. When [the] wind is out of the north or northeast it is not unusual for entire newspapers to come out of the smokestack and ignite while sailing through the air. One of these started a fire which was extinguished before it got beyond the negligible stage."¹ VA administrators were amenable to relinquishing the incinerator and the surrounding 10.5-acre tract. Congressional approval of the land transfer came on April 3, 1952, along with

¹Clyde King to Director Newton B. Drury, 2 February 1947, January 1947 report. A March 4, 1948, fire burned .003 of an acre and "gave the Custodian an opportunity to demonstrate to the maintenance man the use of the backpack can." See King to Drury, 2 April 1948, March 1948 report.

an easement for the VA to continue using the incinerator and its access road until an alternative refuse disposal system became available. In the meantime, landscaping, reforestation, and restoration of a Hopewellian borrow pit by the National Park Service could commence on the new tract as funding permitted.

In the late 1950s as part of MISSION 66-related master planning efforts, Northeast Regional Office personnel focused their attention to solving issues related to Mound City Group, in concert with planned development. Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer visited in June 1957 to meet with VA officials and discuss not only incinerator and road easements, but the VA's Baltimore and Ohio (B & O) railroad spur line and right-of-way that bisected the national monument itself. Discussions with Dr. H. H. Botts, VA hospital manager, revealed his frustration at not securing funding to move the incinerator building to another location. He welcomed National Park Service efforts at the Washington level to urge VA managers to fund the project. As for the railroad spur, Botts agreed that it should be relocated outside the national monument, but that the National Park Service would have to pay for it. The spur gave the VA a contracting advantage in bids for supplies traveling via rail, and especially for coal to fuel its central heating system. For annual maintenance, Botts estimated the spur required about four thousand dollars and carried 244 railcars.²

While an ultimate solution to the B & O Railroad spurline intrusion would have to wait, progress came swiftly on the incinerator. In 1959, the VA commenced its own landfill operation and stopped using its incinerator. In late September, the VA authorized NPS to close the paved access road from State Highway 104, and in January 1960, this same road along the original north boundary was obliterated. In July 1960, the VA declared the building surplus to its needs, and on August 24, authorized demolition. Clyde King lost no time in ridding his park of the eyesore. By the end of September, a contractor razed the building and restored the site to natural conditions.³

²King to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 1 May 1952, April 1952 report; King to Wirth, 2 July 1957, June 1957 report; and Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch to Wirth, 12 July 1957, L1417, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Northeast Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter referred to as RG79, FRC/NARA, Philadelphia).

³King to Wirth, 1 September 1959, August 1959 report; 1 October 1959, September 1959 report; 2 August 1960, July 1960 report; 2 September 1960, August 1960 report; and 1 October 1960, September 1960 report; King to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 15 July 1960, Buildings, Incinerator, Utility file; and VA Assistant Administrator for Construction Whitney Ashbridge to Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, letter, 24 August 1960, Buildings, Incinerator, Utility File.



Figure 51: Veteran's Administration incinerator within Mound City Group National Monument's boundary. (NPS/1956)

War Department funds paid for the 1920s construction of a spur from the B & O's mainline in Chillicothe north across the Federal Reformatory, Mound City Group National Monument, and terminating at the VA hospital. B & O operated the spur under a revocable permit. As National Park Service officials explained the need to have the intrusion removed in time for the visitor center's dedication, particularly a siding of the spur that cut across the Mound City Group enclosure itself, a sympathetic VA expressed its need to continue use. Superintendent John C. W. Riddle convened a meeting in his office on June 14, 1963, to discuss the issue with the VA, Federal Reformatory, Ohio Highway Department, and the B & O Railroad and laid the groundwork for eliminating the spur. In April 1965, two hundred feet of rails were detached from the siding of the B & O spur that bisected the mound enclosure. VA maintenance workers completed the cleanup of railroad ties the following month, filled in the cuts, and landscaped the grounds to the park's satisfaction.⁴

Final removal of the entire railroad spur through Mound City Group took another six years. In 1970, the VA began installing a gas-fired boiler to replace its coal-powered heating plant, thereby obviating use of the spur. VA hospital director Benjamin S. Wells requested that Superintendent George F. Schesventer put the National Park Service's request for the spur's removal in writing for the benefit of Wells' national managers. In his letter, Schesventer argued that a significant burial discovered under the tracks could not be removed. Because the railbed remained, funds could not be programmed to continue research and interpretive development. Finally, rising visitation increased chances for an accident and subsequent tort claims against both agencies as long as the hazard remained.⁵

Schesventer's effort succeeded. On June 16, 1970, Wells informed Schesventer that the VA would not require use of the B & O spur after September when the new boiler plant went on-line. Conditional to the line's removal was the VA's need to dispose of a crane and coal car already declared surplus. Problems with the conversion from coal to gas and surplus of the equipment caused a one-year delay. During the summer of 1971, the B & O spur permit was revoked, and the VA and National Park Service worked cooperatively to remove the tracks and railbed within their

⁴Fred Fagergren, Jr., to Midwest Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 7 December 1976, W38 Legislation; VA Assistant Administrator for Construction Whitney Ashbridge to Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, letter, 24 August 1960, Building, Incinerator, Utility file; Riddle to Wirth, 13 May 1963, April 1963 report and 11 July 1963, June 1963 report; and Riddle to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., 11 May 1965, April 1965 report and 4 June 1965, May 1965 report.

⁵Schesventer to Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison, 25 February 1970, L24; and Schesventer to Dr. Benjamin S. Wells, letter, 25 February 1970, L24.



Figure 52: Baltimore and Ohio Railroad spur line bisecting Mound City Group earthworks. (NPS/late 1960s)

respective boundaries, and to revegetate the scar. Because the Chillicothe Correctional Institute required use of the spur from the B & O mainline, its part remained intact.⁶

Monument staff became adept at steering away from park visitors those mentally unbalanced patients who occasionally wandered away from the VA hospital's neuro-psychiatric facility. Visitors reported one man in November 1962 wandering the mounds wearing a gun. Rangers found upon investigation the man wearing a toy pistol placed in a shoulder holster. In August 1968, a patient found his way to the maintenance utility building where he was given a soft drink and a cigarette, and to further mollify him, the superintendent's four-year-old son, Carl Schesventer, entertained him until VA orderlies arrived. Such patients were usually easy to identify because they were dressed in white clothing. Some met tragic deaths by attempting to swim the Scioto River. On February 19, 1984, one VA patient drowned on the monument's eastern boundary. On May 7 the same year, another patient was discovered floating downstream only semi-conscious. In 1989, yet another psychiatric patient cut his own throat while on park property, but his suicide was thwarted by VA police officers.⁷

Water and sewage treatment services for all government installations on Chillicothe's federal reservation were supplied by facilities at the Federal Reformatory. In the fall of 1966, this free service ended as the facility converted to a central water softener plant with metered service. National Park Service usage was set at 200,000 gallons per month and, based on total output, the charge came to \$20 per month, plus a sewage treatment fee. The change came just prior to the state's conversion of the prison into the Chillicothe Correctional Institution (CCI) in December 1966. Managers negotiated a contractual agreement between CCI and Mound City Group National Monument during 1967.⁸

⁶Schesventer to Garrison, 24 June 1970, L24; Acting Superintendent J. Vernon Acton to Regional Director Henry G. Schmidt, 8 March 1971, L24; Benjamin S. Wells to Regional Medical Director, Region 4, Veterans Administration, 1 April 1971, L1427 Surplus Real Property; General Superintendent William Birdsell to Schmidt, 8 June 1971, S4219; Superintendent Fred Fagergren, Jr., to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 7 December 1976, W38 Legislation. Because the area was federal land, legal recording of the railroad right of way was never accomplished and did not have to be extinguished.

⁷Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 14 March 1986; Riddle to Wirth, 11 December 1962, November 1962 report; Schesventer incident report, 2 August 1968; and Superintendent's Reports for 1984 and 1989.

⁸Riddle to Hartzog, 11 May 1965, April 1965 report; Coleman to Hartzog, 10 November 1966, October 1966 report and 13 January 1967, December 1966 report; and Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Hartzog, 10 May 1968, Management Appraisal Report conducted 4-8 March 1968, A5427 Management

Securing an independent water supply became of prime importance in the early 1980s and prompted both agencies to find a common solution. Both the VA and national monument's water supply system was dependent on the Federal Reformatory and its successor, Ohio-owned and operated CCI. When the federal penitentiary transferred to the state, the VA agreed to find its own water supply, but continued to use CCI's sewage system. Increased water demands from the second prison built across State Highway 104 mandated not only the VA, but Mound City Group National Monument to look for new water sources. One option was to get water from the Ross County Water Company, but the utility lacked funds to build new lines to reach these potential customers. Preliminary park plans called for drilling a well at the maintenance area and establishing the monument's own system, complete with a small treatment plant. Another viable solution called for the two agencies to work together to solve the water dilemma. Because of the prohibitively high cost for obtaining water from the local utility company, VA engineers advocated drilling their own wells, using the existing VA water treatment plant, and permitting the national monument to tap into the VA system utilizing existing lines for a nominal fee. Ken Apschnikat recommended deferring a decision until VA planning progressed further.⁹

In the meantime, Apschnikat arranged to secure sewage and water for fire protection lines and irrigation purposes only from CCI. Agency managers agreed to maintain the \$240 annual fee established in 1974 as a baseline sewage charge figure. In 1986, the monument installed a meter and shutoff valve on the CCI water line entering the maintenance shop.¹⁰

Test drilling for water on VA land proved unsuccessful. Hydrologists determined the aquifer from which CCI drew its water existed between the east side of State Highway 104 and the Scioto River, within the national monument. In April 1985, the VA began pressing the National Park Service for permission to drill test wells within park boundaries. Omaha officials determined that

Appraisal 1963-1975, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

⁹Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Apschnikat to Dunning, 2 November 1981, D5039.

¹⁰Superintendent Arthur Tate, Jr., Chillicothe Correctional Institute, Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, to Apschnikat, letter, 17 October 1985, D5039; Apschnikat to Tate, letter, 10 December 1985, D5039; and Superintendent's Report for 1985. In 1989, the park constructed a new sewer line from the visitor center to hook into the main sewer line to CCI. See Superintendent's Report for 1989.

Superintendent Apschnikat possessed the authority to allow ingress to the VA, but urged the conditions be spelled out in advance, including following the advice of Midwest Archeological Center in Lincoln, Nebraska, in order to stay away from significant, subsurface cultural resources. Initially, Midwest Regional Office cultural resources specialists pressed the VA to conduct section 106 compliance review under the National Historic Preservation Act, and stipulated keeping drilling, well lines, and all construction activity within the abandoned railroad bed corridor. The land upon which the wells were to be drilled would be leased, not transferred, to the VA. Upon closer examination, Omaha officials quickly withdrew approval and asked Apschnikat to approach the VA with new concerns.¹¹

In mid-June 1985, Apschnikat informed his counterpart that the tract in question, added to the national monument in 1982 because of a Hopewellian habitation site, possessed automatic National Register of Historic Places designation as a component of Mound City Group National Monument. The amount of ground disturbance required to drill a number of wells and to lay water and utility lines once potable water was found could have long-term impacts on significant archeological resources. Apschnikat urged the VA to exhaust all other alternatives, including adjacent state land, before considering National Park Service property.¹²

Three months later, VA officials were back with the same request. CCI refused to consider such a proposal, citing its own agricultural and facility expansion needs. The VA proposed moving the test drilling to the heavily disturbed gravel pit area in the monument's northeast corner where there were no known resources. Section 106 compliance, accomplished through the Midwest Regional Office, resulted in a "no effect" determination. A special use permit issued in January 1986, authorized VA drilling in the old gravel pit. By mid-February, drillers found a sufficient water supply and the VA requested an interagency agreement be negotiated to allow installation of production wells and water distribution systems. Negotiating the agreement took most of 1986 to achieve, with the National Park Service unwilling to grant an easement. Protection stipulations that would normally be written into an easement were incorporated into the

¹¹VA Medical Center Director Garlond E. Evers to Apschnikat, letter, 4 April 1985, A44; Apschnikat to Midwest Regional Director Charles Odegaard, 9 April 1985, A44; Acting Regional Director Randall R. Pope to Apschnikat, 3 May 1985; Acting Regional Director David Shonk to Apschnikat, 7 June 1985; and Odegaard to Apschnikat, 14 June 1985.

¹²Apschnikat to Evers, letter, 18 June 1985, A44.

final interagency agreement signed in November 1986.¹³

A primary component of the interagency agreement, for the VA to extend use of its facilities and certain privileges to National Park Service employees in exchange for obtaining one hundred thousand gallons of water per day, was estimated to save the small park's budget up to three thousand dollars annually. The 1986 agreement only formalized a practice that was already in place. In fact, the close association and special relationship dated to the days of Clyde King who found he could always rely on the VA to loan equipment or provide a critical service. In 1964, the VA began providing exams and licensing Mound City Group employees with government drivers' licenses when the first park assigned vehicle arrived. VA firemen and equipment responded to park fire alarms and drills, and staged cooperative fire prevention activities on monument grounds. In 1979, the VA's gymnasium became available to park employees two mornings each week. In 1983, permanent park employees were invited to join the VA's credit union. A year later, the monument issued a special use permit and joined the VA in staging what became an annual disaster drill on monument land. In 1986, the VA installed a special crystal on its radio system permitting expanded monitoring and radio communication with National Park Service law enforcement rangers, a service that became especially vital during emergencies and after park operating hours.¹⁴

Within the first year of the agreement, the monument received the loan of heavy equipment, locksmith services, road striping, welding services, hazardous tree removals, access to training programs, and VA employee association membership. In 1988, VA police joined park rangers in investigating an attempted burglary at the visitor center. The aforementioned services continued, but also included film processing, vehicle and

¹³Evers to Apschnikat, letter, 3 October 1985, A44; Apschnikat to Odegaard, 8 October 1985; Acting Regional Director Harold E. Thompson to State Historic Preservation Officer W. Ray Luce, letter, 30 October 1985; Luce to Thompson, letter, 21 November 1985; Ralph O. Canady for the Regional Solicitor to Odegaard, 8 January 1986 [Note: legal authority to contract with VA for drilling and acquiring water comes from 16 USC section 1a-2(e)]; Apschnikat to Evers, letter, 7 January 1986; Evers to Apschnikat, letter, 14 February 1986; Odegaard to Apschnikat, 11 September 1986; Odegaard to Apschnikat, 23 September 1986, D5039; and Superintendent's Report for 1986. At the same time, VA negotiated with state officials to replace the old sewage treatment plant at CCI. VA agreed to fund its prorated share of construction costs in return for a discounted use rate. Flow calculations put it at thirteen percent of plant capacity, or \$761,391. See "Facts Concerning the Sewage Plant Project," Chillicothe/Ross Advertiser (7 January 1987).

¹⁴Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; John C. W. Riddle to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., 10 September 1964, August 1964; James Coleman to Hartzog, 12 August 1966, July 1966 report; and Superintendent's Report for 1979, 1983, 1984, and 1986.

equipment repair, metal shop services, and grounds and landscaping support. In 1989, the VA surveyed and produced drawings for a new sewer line, provided a dethatching unit for the lawn areas, took air samples to test for asbestos, and repaired the visitor center's door. In 1990, VA surveyors worked at the Hopeton unit to establish and re-establish park boundary markers. Coordination between the two agencies remains remarkably intimate.¹⁵

****Prisoners as Neighbors**

Mound City Group National Monument enjoyed equally close relations with the Chillicothe Federal Reformatory, administered by the Department of Justice, from the post-World War II era until December 1, 1966, when the facility transferred to state control and subsequent ownership. As with VA psychiatric patients, the monument experienced unexpected visits from escaped federal convicts causing periods of extreme excitement and anxiety at the otherwise quiet, pastoral area. The maintenance utility building and superintendent's residence were within sight of the federal prison's lookout towers. Located immediately to the south, guards with binoculars and high-powered rifles could easily survey much of the national monument. One of Custodian Clyde B. King's first meetings with the warden concerned National Park Service plans to reforest the park, and whether changing the area's common grassland and cultivated farm field landscape might meet with the Federal Reformatory's opposition. While not expressing any objection to the plan, the warden noted that there were other forested areas nearby, especially along the Scioto, and that escapees always tended to head for the nearest woodland for cover. As the park grew more forested to reflect its prehistoric Hopewellian landscape, it might become a primary initial destination point for escaped prisoners.¹⁶

As long as the prison remained a next-door neighbor, park managers perpetually feared that visitors, employees, or family members might be taken hostage, killed, or have their vehicles hijacked. The apprehension began on September 2, 1952, when a riot at the institution drew heavy traffic and a crowd of spectators outside the prison entrance on State Highway 104. Bureau of Prisons personnel put down the uprising without experiencing any escapes. On December 15, 1962, on a Saturday

¹⁵Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; and Superintendent's Report for 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990. Construction of the water wells cost the VA a half-million dollars and became operational in August 1988.

¹⁶King to Region One Director Thomas J. Allen, 16 February 1947.

morning, three inmates staged a break-out from the main compound. Two men were apprehended at the park's boundary fence, while the third sprinted to the mound enclosure area before two guards collared him.¹⁷

The 1963 incident prompted John C. W. Riddle to purchase a pistol for protection against desperate escaped convicts. Because the park lacked commissioned law enforcement rangers and no one else on staff had firearms training, the gun and its ammunition remained safely tucked away in the superintendent's combination safe. The break-out also prompted a Bureau of Prisons employee to appear in the visitor center lobby to conduct a special briefing on safety and security measures for Mound City Group employees to observe while working in the shadows of the Federal Reformatory. The recommendations came in handy as another escape by three prisoners came during the late afternoon of February 25, 1965. One prisoner was shot and killed upon crossing the open farm field and reaching Mound City Group land. Another man simultaneously halted at the fence, having been shot in the lower abdomen. The third convict darted behind the utility and residence buildings, then sprinted for the west bank of the Scioto where a dozen guards recaptured him.¹⁸

Numerous escape attempts characterized the mid-1960s when the federal prison downsized in anticipation of its transfer to state control. On May 3, 1965, a group of inmates commandeered a private contractor's pickup truck to punch through the main gate only to become involved in a head-on collision with a Federal Reformatory truck approaching from the outside. Inmates hijacked yet another prison-owned truck and sped west away from Mound City with prison guards in hot pursuit. Park employees watched the activity from the visitor center's office area, relieved that the danger did not involve them. On the evening of July 26, two inmates walked unobserved away from a grass-cutting crew, only to be recaptured the following day in Circleville, Ohio. Thirteen months later, on August 26, 1966, four prisoners tried to climb the rear fence as guards fired their automatic weapons. Three immediately surrendered, but the fourth scaled the barrier and ran to the wooded area along Mound City Group's riverfront. The

¹⁷King to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 1 October 1952, September 1952 report; Riddle to Wirth, 7 January 1963, December 1962 report; and "Reformatory Trio Fails in Escape Try," Chillicothe Gazette (15 December 1962). An employee of the Federal Reformatory tried to commit suicide by drowning, but lost his nerve and presented himself wet and trembling at the superintendent's residence. See King to Wirth, 3 March 1959, February 1959 report.

¹⁸Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986; Riddle to Wirth, 10 June 1963, May 1963 report; and Riddle to Hartzog, 12 March 1965, February 1965 report.

escapee was apprehended the next day in Chillicothe.¹⁹

While Mound City Group's water and sewage needs were initially controlled by the prison, so, too, did its electricity come from the same source. This dependency became acutely apparent at 5:20 in the evening of January 19, 1951, when the park's electrical current stopped flowing. Utility workers at the Federal Reformatory traced the problem to the underground high tension lines. Six days later, they determined that not only had a previous splice deteriorated, but the line had shorted out at three other known points. Buried four feet beneath grade, any repairs would be temporary on the decaying line. The prison lacked the funds to repair the line, and advised Clyde King to negotiate with the local power company to provide electricity. The Columbus and Southern Ohio Electric Company constructed a quarter-mile line from State Highway 104 along the park's south boundary to the utility building and residence. After one month living and operating without electricity, the new lines were activated on February 19, 1951, and the park began purchasing its power from the local utility company.²⁰

While the area's three federal agencies cooperated on fire protection, the Federal Reformatory exercised exclusive maintenance of Mound City Group National Monument's pre-MISSION 66 road system. This constituted Portsmouth Road, the common boundary road. Under an informal agreement, the prison maintained the gravel surface and park maintenance workers mowed the roadside. In 1957, the National Park Service surveyed and installed boundary markers in the area. In mid-1964, the prison's warden told Superintendent John C. W. Riddle that Portsmouth Road was superfluous to the prison's needs as it had built its own periphery road for patrols and it lacked funding to provide upkeep on Portsmouth Road. Henceforth, maintenance of the rough road, perennially dusty or muddy, was Mound City Group's responsibility.²¹

Close relations continued with state prison managers of CCI. State prison patrols continued the practice of including the visitor center loop road on their routine patrols, particularly during the evening and nighttime hours. Park rangers began using CCI's indoor firearms range in 1977, and attended training

¹⁹Riddle to Hartzog, 4 June 1965, May 1965 report; and Coleman to Hartzog, 12 August 1965, July 1965 report, and 8 September 1966, August 1966 report.

²⁰King to Director Arthur B. Demaray, 1 February 1951, January 1951 report, and 1 March 1951, February 1951 report.

²¹Riddle to Wirth, 7 January 1963, December 1962 report; and Riddle to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 22 July 1964, D22.

sessions there.²²

Escape attempts continued under CCI management and prompted General Superintendent Bill Birdsell to issue emergency procedures in the event of a prison break. The official park policy read as follows:

1. As a preventive measure, employees will remove keys from all vehicles left unattended. This includes Government vehicles as well as personal vehicles.
2. Upon notification of an attempted escape, or the suspicion of one, the person notified will inform the park staff. Staff members are to be alerted in this order: General Superintendent, Interpretive Specialist, Administrative Assistant, and Maintenance man. A telephone call will be made to the quarters (774-1356) to notify the occupants there to lock all doors and to take cover. A similar call will then be made to the Interpretation-Maintenance Office to alert all employees on duty in that building to take cover in the basement office.
3. The responsible employee on duty in the Visitor Center will warn all visitors and employees on duty to stay inside the Visitor Center building. Immediate contact will be made with visitors on the grounds, through personal contact and/or the use of the megaphone, directing them to return inside the Visitor Center in an orderly manner and without running.
4. In the event of gunfire from the towers, visitors and employees must be cautioned against exposing themselves or attracting gunfire while running for shelter. During gunfire, employees and visitors on the grounds are to take immediate cover on the north side of the nearest mound or earthwork, until conditions are such that it will be safe for them to be brought inside the Visitor Center.
5. When all visitors and employees in the area are safely within the Visitor Center, all outside doors will be locked. An employee will stand by in the lobby to allow entry to uniformed law enforcement personnel or late arriving visitors.
6. The responsible employee in the Visitor Center will call CCI to notify prison security of the situation at [Mound City Group], and to request notification when the situation is under control.
7. Visitors and employees will not be allowed to leave the

²²Coleman to Hartzog, 7 February 1967, January 1967 report; and Superintendent's Report for 1977. To maintain firearms certification, rangers also used the Chillicothe firearms range along with local agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Visitor Center until word is received from CCI authorities that the area is safe. When notification to this effect is received from a CCI official, the Interpretation-Maintenance Office and the quarters will be notified by telephone.

8. Under no circumstances will National Park Service employees attempt to apprehend, or assist in the apprehension of, escaped prisoners. Our responsibility rests solely in the protection of visitors and employees. The apprehension of escaped prisoners is the responsibility of trained law enforcement officers, and this will be handled under CCI direction. To repeat, the safety of park visitors and employees takes precedent over all other responsibilities.²³

The policy remained in effect during a December 1979 attempted escape which CCI guards thwarted a fleeing inmate a mere thirty feet from the monument's south boundary. The cooperative relationship between CCI and Mound City Group became formalized in a memorandum of agreement signed in August 1983. The agencies pledged cooperation in the event of prison breaks, and in exchange for continued CCI patrols in the park, the monument permitted its grounds to be used for observation posts and staging areas in the event of a prison riot or breakout.²⁴

On August 27, 1982, the Department of Justice transferred all of its 1,200-acre holdings in Chillicothe's federal reservation area to CCI for \$8.4 million. Ohio corrections officials announced beginning of construction in 1983 of the proposed "CCI 2" to ease the state's overcrowded prisons. Located across State Highway 104 from "CCI 1" and Mound City Group National Monument, the new facility was conceived to replace the Columbus Correctional Facility, itself under court-order to close by the end of 1983. In mid-October 1982, CCI Superintendent Ted Engle and employees of the state's contractor, George S. Voinovich, Inc., of Cleveland, met with Ken Apschnikat to discuss the project and its impact on the national monument. The group devised a screening plan along State Highway 104 opposite Mound City Group National Monument within the two-hundred-foot buffer specified in the land transfer deed. While the extant treeline and powerline would remain, new vegetation

²³Birdsell to all employees, 18 April 1973, A7615.

²⁴Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1979; and Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the National Park Service and Chillicothe Correctional Institute, August 1983 (MU6514-3-001). The MOU recognized the wooded park entrance area adjacent to prison land as "the closest logical spot for someone to either wait at night to pick up a prison escapee or to leave a vehicle for him." CCI agree to patrol Mound City Group to contact "late-night visitors," whether they be the "lost, curious, vandals, burglars, partiers, or drug dealers." By frequent patrols, the agencies hoped to "negate potential avenues of escape."

introduced to fill screening gaps had to be compatible with the powerline's height and not interfere with the highway right of way.²⁵

A change in the Columbus Statehouse, budget cutbacks, and a redesign exercise combined to delay groundbreaking for CCI 2 until 1984. During construction, Mound City Group experienced severe littering, boundary encroachments, noise, and blowing dust. The single-building style of prison, favored in the post-World War II era, gave way to the 1980s predilection for multiple buildings. CCI 2 became two, five-hundred-bed residential structures united by a common services and classroom area. The \$52 million facility, completed in the spring of 1985, also included a minimum-security honor dormitory accommodating 250 inmates. Unlike CCI 1, it had no guard towers, only "security devices" on the perimeter and two fences crowned with razor-ribbon wire. Alarms were also installed in the elaborate fencing along with twenty-four-hour perimeter patrolling. The official ribbon-cutting ceremony for the "Ross Correctional Institution" came on March 27, 1987.²⁶

Close cooperation and coordination between prison and park officials characterized the 1980s. CCI workers removed the monument's abandoned underground oil tank using a CCI-owned front-end loader in July 1982. CCI also removed the old telephone poles and lines along the south boundary in 1983. Also in 1983, the park issued a special use permit to CCI to continue farming alfalfa on 35.5 acres of newly-acquired monument land known as "the North Field." The following year, CCI agreed to the local electric company removing overhead electric lines north of Portsmouth Road onto CCI land. In 1989, Superintendent William Gibson negotiated and signed a memorandum of understanding with Ross Correctional Institute based on the similar agreement with CCI covering emergencies, patrols, and alarm responses. Gibson amended the original agreement with CCI to include agricultural uses on the North Field in exchange for

²⁵"Prison Site Officially Turned Over to State," Chillicothe Gazette (27 August 1982); and minutes of meeting, Ken Apschnikat with Ted Engle and Voinovich, Inc., 17 November 1982, L14 Federal Land Acquisition (2). Omaha officials recommended that the maples specified in the landscape screening plan for CCI 2 be of the hardwood variety. Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning noted that the state "made an excellent effort to provide appropriate and attractive screening for the new prison facility" and that it constituted a "compliment [to] the monument." See Dunning to Apschnikat, 25 April 1983, L14 Federal Land Acquisition (2).

²⁶"New Chillicothe Prison First in State Program," (13 July 1983) and CCI-2 Honor Dorm Under Construction," (23 February 1984) Chillicothe Gazette; and Superintendent's Report for 1984. CCI 1 deactivated its guard towers in 1984.

the visitor center's connection to CCI's sewage disposal plant.²⁷

Recognizing the abysmal quality of the park's well water, negotiations in 1993 yielded progress in agreement to connect with one of the prison's water system. A 1994 memorandum of understanding with Ross Correctional Institution granted it the privilege of haying 130 acres at Hopeton Earthworks in exchange for Mound City Group connecting to its water system.²⁸ This arrangement was cancelled in 1998.

****Ohio State Agencies and Other Management Partners**

Along with the Ohio Historical Society and state prison authorities, Mound City Group managers have also cultivated close relations with the Ohio Highway Department. When highway workers installed new road signs in the Chillicothe area during the summer of 1948, Clyde King inquired why Mound City Group National Monument directional signs were not also positioned in light of new signs for the VA and Federal Reformatory. King requested from the highway division engineer four signs and received assurances that the signs would be manufactured. After the onset of the Korean War, King learned that while the signs were made, installing them would be delayed because of the national steel shortage. In the meantime, in March 1951, the highway department graded the road from the highway to the utility building, but budget and manpower prevented any regrading in 1952. Following the Korean War, King again contacted the Ohio Highway Department concerning proper directional signage, stressing the increasing numbers of tourists who relied upon state highway maps and local signs to find the monument. King learned that while the original order had been cancelled, a new order would be executed. Finally, in March 1954, six signs at three different points were installed directing visitors to Mound City Group National Monument.²⁹

²⁷Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1982, 1983, 1984, and 1989; and Gibson to Regional Director Don Castleberry, 25 April 1989, transmitting Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and Ross Correctional Institute, A44 Cooperative Agreements with Federal, State, Local Government.

²⁸Superintendent's Report for 1993, 1994-95, and 1995-96. Renewal of the agreement with RCI came in July 1996. As in past years, it included haying forty acres at Mound City Group as well as sewage disposal and after-hour security patrols.

²⁹King to Director Newton Drury, 1 August 1948/July 1948 report, 1 November 1950/October 1950 report, and 1 March 1951/February 1951 report; King to Director Conrad Wirth, 2 June 1952/May 1952 report, 3 November 1953/October 1953 report, and 1 April 1954/March 1954 report. Ohio Highway Department agreed to replace all signage for federal institutions in the Scioto valley in the summer of 1963. For Mound City Group, this meant directional signage at

State highway crews painted a yellow centerline stripe at no charge from the visitor parking lot to the park entrance in 1964. Upon Superintendent James Coleman's request for increased motorist safety, the highway department also painted a solid yellow stripe indicating a no-passing zone on State Highway 104 approaching the monument's entranceway.³⁰

In 1984, to commemorate State Highway 104 as "Camp Sherman Memorial Highway," the department installed a special marker just inside the entrance gate. The redesignated Ohio Department of Transportation worked cooperatively with park and local groups to reestablish the tree-lined historic Camp Sherman-era landscape by replacing the highway's canopy of silver maples. Saddened by abrupt removal of decayed, damaged, and diseased trees, the community coalition launched the tree-planting project in 1990.³¹

With impetus from the park's active safety committee, concern over road safety developed during the superintendency of Ken Apschnikat. The monument suggested a number of measures to improve motoring conditions in the area. To alleviate a growing number of visitor complaints, Apschnikat requested the department in 1985 install monument directional signs at the junction of U.S. Highway 23 and 35 to the northeast of Chillicothe. Because of the monument's comparatively low visitation figures, state engineers refused to honor the request.³²

Issues related to parks, recreation, and tourism in the Chillicothe area usually involve participation and professional input from NPS. These issues, closely related to the park's mission, necessitated forming partnership relations between all levels of government. Mound City Group lent its support to local and state efforts to develop Mount Logan State Park in the mid-

State Route U.S. 35 and State Route 104 as well as State Route 104 and State Route U.S. 22. The signs were in place in early 1965. See Riddle to Wirth, 11 July 1963, June 1963 report; and Riddle to Hartzog, 12 February 1965, January 1965 report.

³⁰Riddle to Hartzog, 14 July 1964, June 1964 report; and Coleman to Hartzog, 5 October 1966, September 1966 report.

³¹William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1982, 1989, and 1990.

³²Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Apschnikat to District 9 Deputy Director Marshall P. Baum, Ohio Department of Transportation, letter, 19 July 1983, A76. The safety suggestions were as follows: "1) lowering the speed limit along this section of SR 104 to at least 45 MPH; 2) posting signs warning drivers of turning vehicles, slow moving traffic, and/or a congested area; 3) eliminating or shortening the passing zones between the VA entrances and the Camp Sherman Memorial Park area; and 4) installing caution lights and signs at strategic points along the road to warn drivers of a hazardous area." Also, see Apschnikat to Baum, letter, 29 August 1985, D66.

1960s. During the 1965 visitor season, the first exchange of evening interpretive campfire programs occurred between the area's state parks and Mound City Group. Superintendent John C. W. Riddle served as an instructor at the Ohio Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks and Recreation's annual Regional Interpretive Training Program at Pike Lake State Park in April 1965. Natural and cultural resource preservation were primary agenda items the following year as Superintendent James Coleman attended meetings of the South Central Ohio Preservation Society, serving Ross, Vinton, Pike, and Jackson counties.³³

Perhaps the most vexing issue confronting Mound City Group managers entailed how to accommodate or deflect requests for use of monument grounds for special recreational events. Many activities simply did not lend themselves to the monument's mission of preserving and interpreting the Hopewell culture. Like the persistent local demand to have picnicking facilities, this and other recreational uses emerged from decades of local visitor use that the public fully expected to continue. Each year came requests to hold Easter egg hunts. While this innocent activity used to take place atop the mounds themselves, following park development in the early 1960s, the groups of young children searching for colored eggs and candies were accommodated on the mowed lawns of the visitor center. In 1966, James Coleman directed it be moved away from areas of heavy visitor use and the Chillicothe Child Guidance Club was the first to hold its annual egg-hunt on the lawn behind the superintendent's residence.³⁴

Because the growing area needed more recreational space, Coleman participated in the August 1966 formation of a tourism promotion group attended by representatives of the Optimist Club, Chamber of Commerce, Adena State Memorial, Ross County Historical Society, Mead Paper Company, Ross County Automobile Club, and the Ohio Historical Society. Eugene Rigney of the Ross County Historical Society made it clear to the attendees of the key role Mound City Group National Monument played in the area's tourism economy. Rigney set forth his agenda for what the National Park Service should accomplish, including building a "Treasury Room" to display Mound City Group artifacts held at the Ohio Historical Society Museum, acquire land to construct a memorial to Camp Sherman, and rebuild the old picnic shelter. Rigney related his nagging fear that the monument could one day be turned over to the state, a move that he strongly opposed.

³³Riddle to Hartzog, 12 February 1965/January 1965 report and 14 April 1965, March 1965 report; and Coleman to Hartzog, 8 September 1966/August 1966 report and 5 October 1966/September 1966 report.

³⁴Coleman to Hartzog, 4 March 1966/February 1966 report and 12 May 1966/April 1966 report.

While Coleman could only refer local park proponents to the monument's master plan, the dilemma for providing nearby green space for egg-hunts, picnicking, and other recreational activities again presented itself during Bill Birdsell's tenure. Deflecting the activity to a more appropriate off-site area, Birdsell eagerly committed National Park Service technical assistance to the planning and development of Ross County's Camp Sherman Memorial Park. Philadelphia Park Planner Barry Bohnet visited the area in October 1973 to draft a plan for the new county park. Birdsell served as a member of the Camp Sherman Memorial Committee and focused all chronic efforts at siting World War I memorials and picnic shelter houses to this new park located on State Highway 104 between Chillicothe and the national monument. The county park also featured remnants of the defunct Ohio and Erie Canal.³⁵

In order to explain fluctuations in visitation patterns, John C. W. Riddle asked the U.S. Weather Bureau in October 1962 to install a weather station at Mound City Group National Monument for daily monitoring by park staff. Regional weather reporting came from Columbus, with only precipitation recording in Chillicothe. While the U.S. Weather Bureau rejected the request for an official weather station, it did install a rain gauge in an area north of the visitor center. On February 15, 1963, Mound City Group began recording daily precipitation statistics for the U.S. Weather Bureau.³⁶

In 1972, Mound City Group employees were monitoring another new gauge mounted atop a high concrete tower on Chillicothe's Riverside Street. Considerable risk was involved in reading the gauge as one had to climb a metal catwalk to the tower's midpoint, then take a iron ladder to the tower's pinnacle. Because of the danger in winter due to snow and ice conditions, two employees had to be dispatched to ensure safety procedures. By the mid to late 1970s, the National Park Service regularly provided daily weather statistics from a monument-based class B weather station to three local radio stations, a cable television company, the Chillicothe Gazette, and an area factory. By the early 1980s, Mound City Group employees were monitoring a precipitation and water-level gauge on the Scioto River for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. An equipment

³⁵Coleman to Hartzog, 8 September 1966, August 1966 report; Birdsell to Mid-Atlantic Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 7 February 1974, L34; and Ohio National Park Service Group staff meeting minutes, 22 December 1974.

³⁶Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch to Riddle, 8 October 1962, N42; Riddle to U.S. Weather Bureau, Washington, D.C., letter, 15 October 1962, N42; Riddle to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 7 January 1963/December 1962 report and 12 March 1963/February 1963 report. Riddle referred to the device as "our cooperative station" with the "Ohio State Division of Forestry, Chillicothe," suggesting the area's previous gauge may have been relocated to the monument.

update of the class B weather station came in early 1985 when the National Weather Service installed an electronic temperature reading unit in the visitor center office area, replacing the alcohol and mercury thermometers. The device eliminated the daily excursion to the weather station to gather data, effectively saving twelve to fifteen man-hours annually.³⁷

****The State Coordinator Program**

As the National Park System experienced its most expansive growth during the 1960s, Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., debated how best to inculcate the agency's mission and core values into the American mindset. In the political realm, Hartzog believed that political contacts should be made not only at the regional office level, but at the park superintendent level as well. Park managers were encouraged to meet with local, state, and national political leaders and educate them about National Park Service programs and goals. To this end, Hartzog ordered a nationwide initiative that he called the "State Coordinator Program." Upon the recommendation of his regional directors, Hartzog appointed a National Park Service superintendent in each state to be his "eyes and ears" and requested monthly reports be submitted to him.

On October 23, 1967, Hartzog appointed George Schesventer as Ohio State Coordinator, and explained the importance of his new post as follows: "The importance of this vital assignment is to develop a better public understanding of National Park Service objectives and policies and to improve liaison and coordination between the Service and the various government and non-government agencies and organizations as well as influential individuals within the state. Our accent should be on a program that will lead to an improved attitude of cooperation and mutual understanding our respective interests." Hartzog instructed Schesventer to meet with the governor and top state officials as well as contact members of the congressional delegation, and arrange meetings with them both locally and in the nation's capital. Emphasizing his intense interest in the nationwide initiative, Director Hartzog called the assignment an "extremely important and sensitive responsibility."³⁸

Ohio's state coordinator duties conducted out of Mound City

³⁷Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Safety Committee meeting minutes, 11 October 1972, A7619; Superintendent's Report for 1978, 1980, 1981, 1984, and 1985; and Apschnikat to Odegaard, 29 March 1985, A64 Management Efficiency.

³⁸Hartzog to Schesventer, 23 October 1967, L7019 State Coordinator Monthly Reports.

Group National Monument went so well that it contributed to the management decision to form the Ohio National Park Service Group based in Chillicothe. General Superintendent Bill Birdsell took the state coordinator duties to heart and perfected it to an art form, using his gregarious personality to engender public and political goodwill towards the agency. Birdsell devoted the majority of his time to the program and became the most visible National Park Service official in Ohio. Upon the shift in regional boundaries in 1974, Birdsell literally became the Midwest Regional Office's "keyman" for Ohio as the Omaha office had never before had a system of established contacts in the state. Birdsell's power and influence as general superintendent and state coordinator grew exponentially, garnering for Mound City Group increased attention. His success netted him the job as first superintendent at Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, the first sizeable national park area established in Ohio in late 1974. Birdsell took his state coordinator's designation with him to the Cleveland area, but following his fatal heart attack in 1980, the duties reverted back to Mound City Group National Monument.³⁹

Mound City Group superintendents performed important tasks beyond their park's boundaries even in the absence of the state coordinator's role. James Coleman spent several months in the spring of 1966 preparing the history section of the Ohio River Basin Comprehensive Survey, a cooperative planning effort ordered by Congress between the Department of the Interior and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.⁴⁰

Another important planning effort involved the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center at Wilberforce, Ohio. The concept for a facility to house the premier interpretive display of the Negro experience in the United States began in the 1960s and centered on Wilberforce, a southern Ohio town with seven stations on the Underground Railroad and home to two historically black colleges: Wilberforce and Central State universities. In 1972, the Ohio legislature authorized a planning council to assist the Ohio Historical Society in developing an operations plan for such a center. In 1976, Congress authorized the National Park Service to conduct a suitability and feasibility study that began the following year with Superintendent Fred Fagergren serving on the six-member team. In mid-1979, Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior

³⁹Birdsell to Midwest Regional Director J. Leonard Volz, 28 June 1974, L7019; and Ron Cockrell, A Green Shrouded Miracle: The Administrative History of Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, Ohio (Omaha: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), 192-93.

⁴⁰Coleman to Hartzog, 13 April 1966/March 1966 report and 12 May 1966/April 1966 report.

Richard J. Myshak recommended against national museums outside the Smithsonian Institution with its existing National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C. Nonetheless, members of the Ohio congressional delegation submitted bills calling for the establishment of "Wilberforce National Historic Site" in the 95th Congress with the Col. Charles Young house, a national historic landmark, the centerpiece of the proposed park. By the end of the session, however, this provision was deleted from the omnibus parks bill, and only called for National Park Service technical assistance to a national commission established to study the federal government's role in developing the Wilberforce center.⁴¹

Ohio's plan for developing the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center came in three phases, and eventually included archives, libraries, and art galleries. It envisioned Wilberforce as the national center for African-American studies and research. With a cumulative pricetag set at well over \$25 million, ground-breaking for the first phase came in January 1983, and future construction phases became dependent on the success of private fund-raising.

Ken Apschnikat represented the National Park Service at the facility's dedication on April 16, 1988, and reported on the numerous calls he heard for federal funds to continue operations. In 1991, those efforts at gaining federal funding took the form of H.R. 1960, which called for federal construction and operating dollars. The National Park Service opposed the action, citing duplication of the Smithsonian's mission and maintaining out of self-interest that the center remain non-federal. Midwest Region officials feared that connecting the Wilberforce facility to the National Park Service's budget would siphon off considerable resources and adversely impact the national park system. With the federal deficit and calls to balance the budget in the early 1990s, the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center found itself existing on donations and static state funding, unable to expand its collections, and without a training center. Federal operating funds were not forthcoming.⁴²

⁴¹"Park Service," Chillicothe Gazette (28 April 1978); Myshak to Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Morris K. Udall, letter, 22 June 1979 (the Act of October 17, 1976, calling for the study was Public Law 94-578, 90 Stat.2447); and "Ground to be Broken for Afro-American Center," Columbus Dispatch (21 November 1982).

⁴²Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; "Ground Broken for Afro-American Center," Columbus Dispatch (21 November 1982); Superintendent's Report for 1988; "Grand Opening, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center" brochure, 15-17 April 1988, L58; Don H. Castleberry to Assistant Director, Legislative and Congressional Affairs, George K. Rasley, 3 September 1991, L58; and "Black Museum Growth Stunted Financially," Columbus Dispatch (16 December 1991).

State coordinator responsibilities also meant participating in regional and local organizations. In 1980, Mound City Group National Monument joined the Chillicothe-Ross County Chamber of Commerce and park managers began attending regular meetings to promote community cooperation. Fred Fagergren also joined the newly-formed Southern Ohio Travel and Tourism group to promote regional attractions and events through a membership of thirty-five organizations. In 1982, Ken Apschnikat was named to the chamber's Visitors and Convention Bureau and served in a number of capacities including its board of trustees, ensuring that the national monument figured prominently in local promotional publications.⁴³

Apschnikat revived the high profile status of the state coordinator's program role and began including it in his annual reports in 1982 in which he noted thirteen separate actions. In 1984, he joined the Ohio Parks and Recreation Association in order to interact on a professional basis with state parks professionals. Before leaving the area, he observed: "The state coordinator duties are not extremely demanding due to low key activities for the NPS in Ohio. The greatest amount of involvement comes in trying to promote the NPS image and parks in the state. Because the five parks are not extremely well known the challenge comes in promoting these lesser-known parks."⁴⁴

One of the means to promote awareness of Mound City Group came in the form of media relations. During the 1980s, numerous radio stations and independent film companies came to the park as did the Educational Television Association of Metropolitan Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, and Wilberforce television stations, "Odyssey" of Public Broadcasting System, National Geographic Society, and British Broadcasting Corporation. Rapport with local media outlets remained exemplary with only

⁴³Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1980, 1982, and 1987; "Tourism Group Being Formed," Chillicothe Gazette (18 February 1980); "Convention Members Named," Chillicothe Gazette (6 July 1983); and Ken Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987." The Ross Chillicothe Convention and Visitors Bureau formed in 1983. Apschnikat served on the board of the chamber of commerce and chaired its Recreation Development Committee as well as helped form the Area Attractions Committee, which later dissolved and merged with the Ross Chillicothe Convention and Visitors Bureau. When Mound City Group was inadvertently omitted from the cultural and recreation section of the chamber's "Community Profile" packet, Apschnikat pointed out that "not every county is fortunate to have a National Park within its boundary" and stated his intention to elevate the community's awareness of the park at every opportunity. See Apschnikat to Chillicothe-Ross Chamber of Commerce President John N. Gunning, Jr., letter, 8 June 1984, A38.

⁴⁴Quotation in Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1982 and 1984.

rare occurrences of misinformation or biased reporting. In 1990, the monument established close relations to a local cable television station interested in broadcasting the monument's interpretive programs and messages for increased community outreach.⁴⁵

In an admirable partnership to provide child care in the Chillicothe community, Mound City Group National Monument joined with four other organizations to form the Interagency Employees Child Care Task Force in 1987. Apschnikat joined with the Veterans Administration Medical Center, Chillicothe Correctional Institute, Ross Correctional Institution, and Union-Scioto School District to obtain grants to provide reliable, affordable child care services close to the workplace. The five agencies represented 2,400 employees, and in late 1987 the task force began searching for a suitable facility to begin services. The Interagency Child Care Center opened its doors in building 212 at the VA Medical Center and by 1989 accommodated 130 children and employed eleven full-time and five substitute employees. Its success made the rural day-care facility a model for Ohio. Because of his involvement in this local effort, Ken Apschnikat received an appointment to serve on the National Park Service's Youth Educational Programming and Day Care Task Force in 1988. The group developed a range of recommendations to help address agency child care issues.⁴⁶

Plans that began in the 1970s for bicycle and hiking trails in the area gained impetus in 1980 when the chamber of commerce called for the acquisition of land adjacent to Yoctangee Park to provide trail linkage from Mound City Group National Monument through Yoctangee Park to connect with the flood levee biking and hiking path near North Bridge Street. The VA Hospital simultaneously expressed interest in joining the trail network. The effort gained further notice because of the Federal Highway Administration's Bicycle Grant program making federal funding available to state and local governments to construct bikeways.⁴⁷

The initiative mushroomed in the late 1980s as a "rails-to-trails" project formed to utilize abandoned railroad rights of ways in three counties. Superintendent Bill Gibson took the lead in advocating the program because many of the Hopewell sites

⁴⁵Ibid.; Superintendent's Report for 1990; and review of K3417 file, "Radio and Television Activities."

⁴⁶Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; "Public Employees May Share Child Care," Chillicothe Gazette (2 October 1987); "Child Care Center Could be Funded," Chillicothe Gazette (31 May 1989); and Superintendent's Report for 1988.

⁴⁷"Chamber of Commerce Advocates Purchase of Additional Parklands," Chillicothe Gazette (10 September 1980), K3415.

under consideration for addition to the federal park passed near or through them. Gibson's strategy was that the trails network would help link together the noncontiguous sites as well as help engender support for their preservation. Gibson worked to patch together a tri-county rails-to-trails project encompassing Ross, Highland, and Fayette counties. Gibson received the assistance of Outdoor Recreation Planner Paul Labovitz, a Midwest Regional Office employee duty-stationed at Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area. In September 1990, the not-for-profit citizens group incorporated under Ohio law as "Tri-County Triangle Trail, Inc." The following year with the benefit of public input the group announced plans for a fifty-two-mile recreational trail along abandoned railway lines linking Chillicothe, Frankfort, Greenfield, and Washington Courthouse. As press attention escalated so, too, did grassroots membership and increased public involvement.⁴⁸

Bill Gibson also laid the groundwork to form a "Friends of Mound City Group" by hosting a formation meeting on January 25, 1990. Like Ken Apschnikat's previous effort involving American Indians, initial enthusiasm did not result in perpetuating a park friends group.⁴⁹

Gibson continued the community involvement of his predecessors. In 1990, he accepted an invitation from the Archaeological Conservancy to serve on its Ohio Advisory Committee. Using his position on a regional waste management advisory board, Gibson spurred recycling efforts at Mound City Group National Monument and received high visitor participation rates as well as favorable comments. He also became a founding charter member of the Federal Executive Association of Southeast Ohio, a body formed to further interagency cooperation and coordination.⁵⁰

An initiative that began with a phone call to Omaha in 1989 eventually lead to substantial involvement by the state coordinator, introduction of legislation, and authorization of a new unit of the national park system. In the spring of 1989, Gerald Sharkey, president of Aviation Trail, Inc., in Dayton called Midwest Regional Director Don Castleberry to explain his group's efforts at preserving remnants of historic properties

⁴⁸William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1989 and 1991; and Gibson to Castleberry, 14 February 1990 and 6 October 1990, L7019 State Coordinator Reports.

⁴⁹William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Gibson to Castleberry, 14 February 1990, L7019.

⁵⁰William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Gibson to Castleberry, 6 June 1990 and 5 March 1990, L7019; and Superintendent's Report for 1989, 1990, and 1991.

related to native sons Wilbur and Orville Wright. In response to Sharkey's request for a National Park Service assessment of the Wright-associated properties, Castleberry dispatched Historian Ron Cockrell to Dayton. Cockrell met with Sharkey and local historian Mary Ann Johnson, and inspected the wide range of properties on May 1 and 2, 1989. Impressed by what he saw, Cockrell recommended a national historic landmark survey be conducted along with preparation of individual nominations. The work took place during the summer of 1989, led by Regional Historian Jill York O'Bright, Historian David Richardson, and Historical Architect Bill Harlow. Seven nominations were prepared and considered for national historic landmark status.

Concurrent with the Omaha-led effort, Bill Gibson became involved and began serving on Dayton's 2003 Fund Committee, a group assisting Aviation Trail but focusing on celebrating the centennial of flight on December 17, 2003. From Mound City Group, Gibson helped coordinate a management alternatives study conducted by the Denver Service Center. The study, financed by private funds through the 2003 Fund Committee, came as a result of a request by Congressman Tony P. Hall of Dayton. Completed in early 1991, the National Park Service urged authorization of an affiliated area with limited federal funds and technical assistance but managed by local or state interests. Nonetheless, the Ohio congressional delegation introduced draft legislation calling for establishment of Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park. In 1992, congressional hearings and political machinations led to passage and presidential approval for the new park.⁵¹

In a replay of the same circumstances which saw Bill Birdsell leave Chillicothe for a newly-established park assignment in 1975, Bill Gibson, rewarded for his hard work as state coordinator and the Midwest Regional Office's Dayton keyman, in April 1993 became the first superintendent of Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park.⁵²

Over the course of six decades, National Park Service willingness to acknowledge and appreciate public interest in its management of Mound City Group National Monument, and now Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, changed dramatically since Clyde King's superintendency. Through the late 1940s and

⁵¹William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Cockrell to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, David N. Given, 10 May 1989, H34 Wright Brothers; O'Bright, Richardson, and Harlow to Given, 26 June 1989, H34; Superintendent's Report for 1989, 1991, and 1992; Congressman Tony P. Hall to Director James M. Ridenour, letter, 19 October 1989; Gibson to Castleberry, 6 June 1991, H34; and "House OKs National Park Honoring Wright Brothers," Columbus Dispatch (5 March 1992).

⁵²William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993.

1950s, King operated at will, issuing press releases that usually were printed verbatim whenever King wished to announce what he deemed to be newsworthy events. His failure fully to communicate MISSION 66 policy and facility development with the community guaranteed the unpleasant, but predictable, public backlash. King realized his public relations blunder only when it was too late, and his superintendency ended under an unfortunate cloud. Subsequent managers learned from King's mistake, and did well performing their jobs inclusively and in concert with the community and area agencies. When public input into federal planning efforts became law under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, park managers received training in how to conduct public information meetings and incorporate that input in agency planning efforts. The special skill became a key job requirement. At Mound City Group, superintendents increased their effectiveness and simultaneously enhanced the park's visibility and profile by participating in community organizations. Contemporary managers, Ken Apschikat, William Gibson, and Johnny Neal, have excelled in soliciting, evaluating, and implementing public concerns.



Figure 53: Museum exhibit showing artistic interpretation of Hopewellian burial ceremony. Mural painting by Louis Glanzman. (NPS/ca. 1970s)

Chapter Six

Exhibiting the Hopewell Culture

Apart from the earthworks, objects retrieved by archeological investigations are the principal physical remnants of the Hopewell culture and serve as important means of teaching the public about the prehistoric past. Much human effort and financial resources have been expended to obtain, procure, and preserve Hopewellian artifacts. For the Squier and Davis collection lost to Great Britain during the Civil War, efforts to return it to the United States have waxed and waned since its purchase by William Blackmore. While a loan of some of the objects did occur, collective American hopes for the collection's repatriation have dimmed considerably at the end of the twentieth century.

** Attempts to Retrieve Squier and Davis' Collection

The earliest public information describing the array of artifacts excavated by E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis from the Mound City Group in 1846 came in the form of a scholarly 1848 publication initiating the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge" series called Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. While the narrative did not fully detail the extent of the Mound City Group collection, it did indicate that the Hopewellian artifacts were numerous and of great detail and scientific interest to the nascent field of archeology. Edwin H. Davis ended up with the bulk of the artifacts following his professional split from Ephraim Squier, and Davis continued high-profile activities in prehistoric antiquities.

Unsuccessful in his efforts to sell the 1300-piece Mound City Group collection to the Smithsonian Institution or the New York Historical Society, Davis prepared a catalog featuring his cumulative collections and placed them up for sale on the open market. The catalog included not only Ohio antiquities, but those from his excavations in Peru, Central America, and Denmark as well. Davis preferred having the collection remain in the United States, but no American institution came forward to make a serious monetary offer.

In 1864, Davis sold the antiquities for \$10,000 to William Blackmore, founder of the Blackmore Museum in Salisbury, England. In 1931, the Mound City Group or "Davis" collection changed hands again, sold to the British Museum, while the Peruvian and Central American artifacts went to Cambridge University and the Denmark specimens remained at the Salisbury-South Wiltshire Museum

(formerly the Blackmore Museum).¹

Both Henry C. Shetrone and Erwin C. Zepp of the Ohio Historical Society viewed the artifacts in England, with Shetrone obtaining several casts of effigy pipes in the late 1930s. University of Michigan scholar James B. Griffin studied the collection in 1954, but his observations were never published. With development of the Mound City Group National Monument during the National Park Service's MISSION 66 program, the agency expressed its own desire to study the Davis collection, and to compare it with artifacts unearthed in annual excavations beginning in 1963.

A partner in those excavations, the Ohio Historical Society in 1965 sent Curator of Archeology Raymond Baby and staff archeologist Martha Potter to the British Museum where they spent twenty days studying the Mound City Group collection, meticulously measuring and drawing each artifact. Less than two dozen effigy pipes were actually on public display while the other cache of pipes were wrapped in their seven original cloth bags stored in ten wooden boxes in a locked basement room. They discovered fragments comprising two pots, and assorted other artifacts with their accompanying provenance data. Baby and Potter were able to determine that the 1847 account only partially described the collection's actual extent.²

In 1958, Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter recommended the National Park Service actively pursue seeking the return of the Mound City Group collection from the British Museum. Cotter believed the agency had a "good chance" working through the secretary of the Interior and the Department of State to obtain the artifacts. Cotter did not mention the terms, be it goodwill or financial recompense, to negotiate for such a "return." Because the museum complex had been dropped from the MISSION 66 program at the time of Cotter's recommendation, the agency took

¹Transcript of conversation, Raymond Baby, Martha Potter, and George Schesvener, 19 September 1968, found in "Interpretive Operations Plan, Resources Information," no date. Terry A. Barnhart, "The Journalist and The Physician: Inquiry Into the Career Association of Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis, Pioneer American Archaeologists," unpublished Master's thesis, Miami University, 1980, pp. 71-74. A British Museum publication, Flint Chips, featured an 1890 article by E. F. Stephen detailing twenty-nine carved effigy pipes from the Mound City Group. See Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter to Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin, no date [circa 1958], Mound City Archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

²Ibid. According to Naomi L. Hunt, she saw the handwritten version of the Baby/Potter survey from the British Museum in February 1986 when Hunt accompanied Park Ranger John Mangimeli to visit Potter at the Ohio Historical Society. No copy existed in National Park Service files.

no official action.³

In 1959, the Dayton Art Institute sought a "temporary return" of the prehistoric art pieces. On July 7, 1959, Institute Director Thomas C. Colt requested the assistance of Secretary of State Christian W. Herter to expedite the loan request for a special exhibit planned on the Hopewell and Adena cultures. The Eisenhower administration apparently did not take substantive action on the Dayton request.⁴

The 1965 England trip of Raymond Baby and Martha Potter sparked a renewed interest in seeking the return of the Squier and Davis collection. Baby reported that most of the items were uncleared and unrestored. He found three provenance ledgers and the 1864 sale memorandum of agreement on file at the Salisbury facility. While in England, Baby understood from Adrian Digby, British Museum Head Keeper of the Ethnographic Section, that a six-month loan could be arranged. Surprisingly, British Museum officials denied Baby's formal request to clean, record, photograph, and display the materials at the Ohio State Museum. The news prompted Acting Mid-Atlantic Regional Director George A. Palmer to request help from the Washington Office, stating,

Due to the fact that there are only a few artifacts from the several pre-National Park Service excavations at Mound City Group presently on display or otherwise available at the area, we suggest that the Service make a definite effort to initiate formal action presumably through the State Department, to obtain the Squire [sic] and Davis artifacts from Mound City for the National Park Service, preferably as a permanent acquisition for study and display purposes. Such an acquisition, we believe, is more than warranted by the historical importance, as well as the scientific significance of the Squire [sic] and Davis collection.⁵

³Cotter to Tobin, no date [circa 1958], Mound City Archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files. In an attached note to the memo, Dr. Murray Nelligan, an historic preservation specialist, instructed Cotter "Suggest you initiate action to so recover" to which Cotter responded on 25 November 1958, "No use doing anything until the museum building is in the program again."

⁴Associated Press newsclipping published in unspecified newspaper [Columbus Dispatch?], "Old Chillicothe Art Loan Asked" (7 July 1959), Ross County Historical Society Archives. An inquiry at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, yielded no correspondence on this subject in the Christian W. Herter Papers.

⁵Quotation from Palmer to Hartzog, 24 November 1965, H2215; see also Cotter to Mound City Group File, 22 November 1965, Mound City Archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

Headquarters officials focused their hopes on the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, and its interest in the collection because of volume one of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge" series. During the summer of 1966, Smithsonian employees visited London and during the course of their work, urged British Museum officials to enter into a loan agreement along the lines proposed by Raymond Baby. The Smithsonian's effort appeared to be only half-hearted as Anthropologist Richard B. Woodbury explained in early 1967:

I have explored at considerable length the possibility of the Smithsonian attempting to arrange a loan from the British Museum of the Hopewell pipe fragments that Ray Baby examined when he was there. The reaction I have from all sides is extremely negative. This is based on the principle that it is risky for the Smithsonian to become a third party in research activities that do not directly involve the work of one of its staff members. In this case we would have to undertake full responsibility for any work done with the Hopewell material, yet it would be only feasible for it to be done by Baby in Columbus rather than here. Our unwillingness to become involved does not stem from any lack of confidence in Baby or lack of interest in the research he contemplates with the material.

Woodbury told the National Park Service that Baby should pursue a grant to visit the British Museum and perform the study in England.⁶ Chief Archeologist John M. Corbett, in conveying the bad news, admitted, "for the time being there does not seem to be much hope for getting the material back."⁷

The matter languished until General Superintendent Bill Birdsell revived it in 1973. A visit to Chillicothe by International Affairs Specialist Fred M. Packard initiated the concept of swapping other artifacts for the Mound City Group collection. Packard related an inquiry from the British Museum seeking American Southwest materials possessed by the National Park Service. Packard learned from Chief Curator Harold L. Peterson that headquarters officials were planning on asking the British Museum for their cooperation in making reproductions of their Mound City Group holdings. With the rise of American Indian cultural and political activism, however, Peterson added

⁶Quotation from Chairman, Smithsonian Institution Office of Anthropology, Richard B. Woodbury, to Dr. John M. Corbett, letter, 16 January 1967; and see also Acting Chief Archeologist Zorro A. Bradley to Superintendent James W. Coleman, Jr., 22 July 1966, Mound City Archeology through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files.

⁷Ibid., Corbett to Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison, 21 March 1968, H22.

the following, "My only mental reservations about the display of the original objects at Mound City lie in the uncertainty the more militant members of the American Indian Movement might take towards such an exhibit. As you know, there have been some fairly strong statements about the propriety of displaying objects of religious significance or objects related to burials. To the best of my knowledge, none of this has really crystalized into a policy as yet, but there is just a possibility that these very valuable objects might be safer in England than they would be here."⁸

Hopes for a permanent swap with the British Museum per Packard's suggestion dimmed in late 1973 when Chief Historian Harry W. Pfanz opined that the Antiquities Act of 1906 prohibited the sale or trade of cultural resources obtained from federal lands. Non-federally obtained objects from private collections could still be arranged for a trade, but even the legality of that proved problematic. Any exchange would have to be made on a negotiated loan basis, and no formal request from the National Park Service had yet been submitted to the British Museum.⁹ A few weeks later, Packard appealed to John Cripps, chairman of the Countryside Commission for England and Wales, about a loan or reproduction of British-held Mound City Group artifacts. Encouraged in learning about the renewed effort, Raymond Baby again offered the services of the Ohio Historical Society, noting that Mound City Group National Monument lacked the facilities and staff to perform the cleaning and restoration work. Baby offered to go to London at his own expense to assist in packing the artifacts for shipment. Unfortunately, news from England proved yet again negative.¹⁰

Fred J. Fagergren tried again in 1976. Fagergren set a personal goal of trying to arrange a return of the artifacts as part of the nation's bicentennial celebration. This effort he directed through the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center, the agency's central organ for museum and interpretive programs. Fagergren urged coordination again through the Washington Office's division of international affairs and to

⁸Quotation from Peterson to Packard, 1 August 1973, correspondence obtained by Naomi L. Hunt from the Ohio Historical Society; and Acting Park Manager Robert F. Holmes to Ohio Group General Superintendent Bill Birdsell, 9 July 1973, D62.

⁹Handwritten note, Pfanz to Birdsell, undated [circa late November 1973].

¹⁰Packard to Cripps, letter, 11 December 1973; and Baby to Packard, letter, 21 December 1973, both obtained by Hunt from Ohio Historical Society files. Hunt also uncovered a December 28, 1973, handwritten note from John Welfinden on British Museum stationery to John Cripps stating, "If museums all round the world started sending everything back to where it came from there would eventually not be much point in having museums."

emphasize the British Museum's desire for Southwestern materials. He also recommended joining forces with the Ohio Historical Society, which had its own loan effort underway.¹¹

Harpers Ferry Center Manager Marc Sagan requested National Park Service Director Gary E. Everhardt contact the new director of the British Museum, Sir John Pope-Hennessy. Sagan affirmed "It would be nice to have the whole collection, but we do not need it. In fact, if we obtained it, some would probably have to be stored in the Ohio Historical Society. If we could obtain a few representative pieces, they should be sufficient for exhibit purposes. Failing that, good casts of the originals would be a help."¹²

In mid-May 1976, the National Park Service made its first direct, high-level appeal for the Davis collection. The text of Acting Director Raymond L. Freeman's letter follows:

A century ago The British Museum showed the perspicacity to acquire the collection of Hopewell Culture artifacts excavated in Ohio by Squier and Davis. This was at a time when no institution in this country either recognized their significance or had the funds to obtain them.

The National Park Service is now designing a museum to interpret the site where these objects were found, and we wonder if it would be possible to work out an exchange for some of these artifacts or, failing that, to obtain reproductions of them. Some years ago, just before you became Director of The British Museum, we explored this possibility with some of the staff, and they indicated an interest in acquiring some artifacts from the Indian cultures of the American Southwest. We might be able to offer some such artifacts now if such an exchange is still of interest to you.

We would like to assure you that we do not subscribe to the current popular attitude that such artifacts ought by right to be returned to the place of their origin. After all, if it were not for the foresight of The British Museum and of some Continental European museums, these objects would have been lost completely. The same is true of Classical and Near

¹¹Fagergren to Harpers Ferry Center Chief, Branch of Reference Services, David Wallace, 23 January 1976, D62.

¹²Sagan to Assistant Director, Development, Raymond L. Freeman, 7 April 1976, D6223.

Eastern antiquities. Younger nations owe such great institutions a debt of gratitude for saving these objects. At the same time, however, we hope that you can appreciate the difficulty we face in interpreting a culture with no important artifacts whatsoever. It is because of this that we herewith broach the possible exchange, or of obtaining some casts from the originals.¹³

The response from England came in the form of a verbal exchange between the British Museum director and Harold Peterson of Everhardt's staff. Sir John Pope-Hennessy cited the British Museums Act of 1963 and subsequent British law for preventing the trade or return of artifacts. Underlying the director's concern was the fear that if one collection is returned or exchanged to its country of origin, other nations would then clamor for analogous deals. The Englishman did agree to have high quality reproductions made.¹⁴

Fagregren refused to accept the undocumented "no" for an answer. In September 1979, he asked Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning for approval to reopen formal discussions "to investigate the possibility of a permanent exchange of artifacts, or an exchange based upon long-term loans." Fagregren urged the Washington Office's international affairs office to work through the State Department to secure the indefinite loans or exchanges. Fagregren asserted that recent American visitors to the British Museum reported seeing few if any Mound City Group artifacts. Some pieces did emerge every few years as part of a rotating display, but much of the collection remained in storage.¹⁵

The Midwest Regional Office concurred with Fagregren's position that the matter deserved to be elevated to government-to-government negotiation, but saw "very little hope for our ultimate success." The Omaha office believed that British law had not changed in regard to repatriating antiquities, and pointed out that neither the United States nor Great Britain had ratified the UNESCO convention in 1970 dealing with return of archeological materials. In the hope that different attitudes might prevail in light of new management of the British Museum,

¹³Freeman to Sir John Pope-Hennessy, letter, 14 May 1976, D6223.

¹⁴Memorandum to the Files, telephone conversation, Benjamin Miller, Harpers Ferry Center, to Fagregren, 1 September 1976; and Midwest Region Briefing Statement: "Squier and Davis collection, British Museum," no date [circa late 1970s], History Division Files, Washington Office. The briefing statement recommends "Formally request a loan from the British Museum in language that will cause no embarrassment. Expect that the British Museum will, on record, demur."

¹⁵Fagregren to Dunning, 11 September 1979, D62.

the request to re-open the issue went forward to the Washington Office.¹⁶

Washington officials decided against elevating the negotiation to the State Department, and instead Deputy Director Ira J. Hutchison directly requested a loan of the Davis collection in November 1979. Keeper of the British Museum's Ethnography Department M. D. McLeod immediately asked for "more detailed information about which items you wish to borrow, where these are to be exhibited, under what security and conservation conditions and for what length of time." Awaiting the receipt of such information in order to process the request, McLeod sent a copy of the museum's loan regulations and stated that all requests had to be approved by the board of trustees.¹⁷

Fagergren responded to McLeod's questions in general, and to his superiors expressed disappointment that a loan, rather than acquisition, was the only avenue being pursued. Fagergren's frustration also produced a letter from park files suggesting that some of the collection may have been lost or stolen, and that the museum could only have replicas. The issue seemed to contradict the professional findings of Raymond Baby and Martha Potter who viewed and studied the collection in 1965. On the surface, it appeared to be sour grapes on behalf of Fagergren, and introduction of the issue only served to cloud the difficult matter even further.¹⁸

Press coverage of the attempt to secure a long-term loan in mid-1980 revealed Fagergren's optimism that a deal could be struck with the British Museum. Fagergren expressed the belief that the collection could return to Mound City Group National Monument "for a few months," although he would like to have it for scientific study for five to ten years. British Museum

¹⁶Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Fagergren, 6 October 1979, D6223.

¹⁷Quotation from McLeod to Hutchison, letter, 3 December 1979; Official Application Form and Conditions for Loans to Exhibitions from the British Museum, Loans Abroad; and Assistant Director, Cultural Resources, F. R. Holland, Jr., to Dunning, 26 December 1979, H2017.

¹⁸Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Associate Director, Management and Operations, Daniel J. Tobin, Jr., 21 February 1980, H2017; and Fagergren to Dunning, 30 January 1980. Pope stated, "We believe that this allegation must be taken seriously and that any further correspondence with the British Museum must include an inquiry into this matter." Region One Archeologist J. C. Harrington wrote the letter in question [circa 1950] to Clyde King stating, "Actually, there is not a great deal in it. As Dr. Shetrone told me once, the effigy pipes are mostly fragments. It has also come to light that many of the better pieces are casts, the originals having been removed by some clever person in the past and casts substituted. Even the few partially whole pipes are not in too good condition."

officials were querying Fagergren on the monument's security and environmental conditions for the Davis collection. Press reports also revealed that the Ohio Historical Society's two attempts to secure a loan had both failed.¹⁹

British Museum curators determined the Mound City Group National Monument facilities did not pass muster, and rejected Fagergren's loan application. In late September 1982, Midwest Regional Curator John E. Hunter ventured to London to examine the Davis collection and discuss the potential loan directly.²⁰

National Park Service efforts to obtain a loan failed, but the Ohio Historical Society succeeded in 1986 when 26 items were delivered in Columbus by British Museum Curator for North American Collections Jonathan King. Martha Potter Otto changed tactics in the spring of 1983 and asked for a one-year loan of a select portion of the Davis collection to be displayed in a new prehistoric Indian exhibit. It represented the first time since E. H. Davis moved to New York in 1850 that the Hopewellian artifacts had returned to Ohio. Otto affirmed that the society had not forsaken its aim of recovering the entire collection, stating, "That's always something we have in the back of our minds."²¹

Prior to the exhibit opening, Dr. Mark J. Lynott, Midwest regional archeologist, accompanied James Brown, professor of anthropology at Northwestern University, to conduct a comparative study of Mound City Group artifacts with Davis collection pieces. Brown was under contract with the National Park Service to evaluate all Mound City Group-originated artifacts. Part of Brown's work uncovered correspondence and tracings in the E. H. Davis papers collection at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Brown obtained the materials on microfilm, and recommended professional reproduction of the sketches of never-before-seen illustrations.

Most importantly, Brown found a large-scale map of the Mound

¹⁹"Hopewell Clues with a British Accent," Columbus Dispatch Sunday Magazine, no date [circa May 1980]. Martha Potter Otto, head of the archeology department, said that loss of the Davis and other collections resulted in the formation of the society two decades following the 1864 sale. Dr. Otto particularly wished to compare the Davis items to the "Tremper pipes" excavated in the Tremper Mound Group in Scioto County, north of Portsmouth, in 1914 and 1915.

²⁰Keeper M. D. McLeod to Hunter, letter, 3 August 1982. McLeod indicated that none of the material was on display, rather it remained in storage at a facility a few miles away from the museum accessible by bus.

²¹"Ohio Relics Back Home, For A While," Columbus Dispatch (5 December 1986); and Ken Apschikat interview, 19 August 1993.

City Group earthworks, including a section excluded from the 1847-published map. Another sketch showed the central three mounds standing in an open woodlot, demonstrating the vegetation that existed prior to cultivation. A third tracing depicted two pot rim sherds used in 1847 to recreate two pots for the subsequent Smithsonian publication. It suggested that upon excavation in 1846, none of the Mound City Group pots were discovered whole.²²

While NPS has failed to secure the return of any British-held Mound City Group artifacts, the position of the foreign museum and government finally became known. As long as federal museum facilities in Chillicothe remain substandard, even a loan of these unique artifacts cannot occur.

**** Ohio and the 1920-21 Mound City Group Collection**

During the first two decades of National Park Service administration of Mound City Group National Monument, the agency remained content to have the 1920-21 artifacts excavated by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society from the Chillicothe monument remain in the Columbus society's possession and care. As Superintendent Clyde King wrote in 1957, "The entire Mound City collection is now at Ohio State Museum where all but a few of the 10,000 artifacts are in storage. Except for a limited number of display objects [here], it is appropriate that the bulk of the Mound City Group collection be retained for study purposes at Ohio State Museum."²³

As the monument underwent development and the visitor center and museum complex began operating, the National Park Service's attitude on this topic underwent a fundamental transformation. A management study prepared by the George A. Palmer of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office in 1968 noted the on-going contractual relationship whereby artifacts excavated from Mound City Group in the 1960s were cleaned and provenanced by Ohio Historical Society staff, professional reports prepared, and the items returned to the National Park Service for cataloging. Palmer's report

²²Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1986 [Ken Apschnikat attended the exhibit's official opening.]; and Brown to Lynott, letter, 15 June 1983. The drawings, while not showing the earthwall gateways and depicting a more square configuration, confirmed the positioning of a suspected twenty-fourth mound. Brown also began speculating as to the whereabouts of the original documents. An 1850s letter indicated that Davis planned another publication and hired an artist to illustrate the proposed book.

²³Preliminary draft by Clyde B. King, "Museum Prospectus, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio," October 1957. Quote is handwritten in the bottom margin of page 17.

acknowledged a "gnawing administrative problem" dating to 1946, concerning the artifacts excavated by the Ohio Historical Society in 1920-21. The Ross County Historical Society, ever mindful of the loss of the Squier and Davis collection, resented removal of those artifacts to Columbus and continued to dispute the proprietorship and display of the 1920-21 items. Palmer cited the 1946 letter from the Department of War ruling that the excavated material remained federal property, a finding not officially shared with the historical society. Before the agency made any attempt to reclaim the collection, Palmer declared the National Park Service "must determine if we can preserve them as well as Ohio Historical Society and if recovered would they be retained at Mound City or Ocmulgee [Southeast] Archeological Center." To remove them from Columbus would engender "strained relations" as would moving them outside Ohio create difficulties with local citizens.²⁴

In response to Palmer's management report, John Cotter, chief of archeological research at the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, recommended retrieving the 1920-21 artifacts. Cotter declared,

The National Park Service is the one and only legitimate owner and caretaker of the remarkable Mound City Group archeological collection housed at Ohio State Museum. By continuing to neglect its right and duty to establish ownership and curatorship of these artifacts, the Service is prolonging a dereliction which it cannot justify except on the premise that Ohio State Museum and the Ohio Historical Society represent responsible and competent scientific agencies and that the new Ohio State Museum building now under construction may provide admirable facilities for display[. This] does not establish legal ownership of the artifacts or prevent the Service from providing adequate display and safety for them at Mound City Group.²⁵

No follow up on the issue occurred during the late 1960s. The next decade saw not only two changes in superintendents, but the regional boundary shift brought new central office managers in Omaha completely oblivious of the issue. The changes resulted

²⁴Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., 5 May 1968 transmittal of "Mound City Group National Monument Management Appraisal Report, March 4-8, 1968," A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

²⁵Ibid., Cotter to Chief, Division of Archeology Ernest A. Connolly, 28 May 1968.



Figure 54: Copper hands were but some of an assortment of Hopewellian artifacts on display in the visitor center's small museum. (NPS/July 1981)

in a quick loss of the proverbial "institutional memory" because agency managers literally forgot about the legal basis upon which they asserted ownership of the 1920-21 artifacts.

The ownership question rekindled in 1976 as a fundamental reworking of the visitor center exhibits by Harpers Ferry Center included some of the 1920-21 artifacts, some of which were on display in Columbus. In response to a meeting with Fred J. Fagergren and F. A. Calabrese, chief of the Midwest Archeological Center, during which the new exhibit requirements were discussed, Martha Potter Otto wrote, "we need to consider carefully the items requested from our collections that were recovered by Mills and Shetrone. Certain artifacts can probably be loaned without any problem, however, items such as the duck pot that are a critical part of our exhibits may be a more difficult matter."²⁶

The dispute centered around eight one-of-a-kind artifacts the Columbus-based society had on public display. It understandably did not wish to relinquish them to Mound City Group National Monument. After consulting advisors in Omaha and Lincoln, Fagergren sent an August 1976 letter officially requesting the return of the items prior to their installation in the new exhibits, projected to begin on October 1. While not directly addressing the issue of ownership, Fagergren's presentation suggested just that. He expressed the hope that the society had adequate time to produce replicas, thanked it for storing and caring for the items, and requested notification of a mutually satisfactory transfer date.²⁷

Stunned Columbus officials did not immediately respond to Fagergren's request nor did they wish to discuss relinquishing the disputed artifacts. The October 1 deadline came and went with no resolution of the matter in sight. A late February 1977 search of the park's "dead files" brought about the rediscovery of the April 19, 1946, letter from Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson to Interior Secretary Oscar L. Chapman addressing the issue of federal ownership of the 1920-21 excavated items. Fagergren quickly presented the society with the letter and Columbus officials, not wishing to engage in a potentially nasty public battle, particularly with vocal and influential Chillicotheans, agreed to the proposed transfer of requested items to Harpers Ferry Center for installation in the new

²⁶Otto to Calabrese, letter, 15 June 1976. Otto reviewed the proposed exhibit plan and questioned its focus on the mortuary practices of Hopewell culture.

²⁷Record of telephone call, Fagergren to Archeologist Adrienne Anderson, 10 August 1976; and Fagergren to Ohio Historical Society Director Thomas H. Smith, letter, 11 August 1976, Mound City Group Archeology 1974-82, Midwest Archeological Center files.

exhibits.²⁸

Concerning items not on display, it soon became clear that inadequate recordkeeping created the illusion of duplicate artifacts. The confusion cleared when curators determined that items documented as in storage at Columbus had in fact been delivered to Mound City Group National Monument in previous years. It resulted in a detailed study of all Mound City Group artifacts, both at the monument and in Ohio's capital city.

The evaluation brought about an onsite inspection of Ohio Historical Society curatorial storage areas. What Superintendent Fagergren saw shocked and disabused him of the preconceived notion that the Columbus facilities were superior to the national monument's. Such was not the case. He reported that "Most of the copper artifacts have been severely damaged by oxidation and 'copper disease.'" He notified the Midwest Regional Office of his intention to transfer the entire 1920-21 collection to the monument as soon as possible. He asked that a professional assessment be conducted of the artifacts to determine which specimens needed immediate preservation treatment by Harpers Ferry Center prior to their return to Chillicothe. In requesting all deliberate speed, Fagergren grimly concluded, "I am afraid that much of a once-very-valuable collection has been severely damaged through neglect and improper care."²⁹

Midwest Regional Curator John Hunter arrived in Columbus in late October 1977, and with park staff assistance from Bonnie Meyer [Murray], made an assessment of the condition of Mound City Group artifacts. Hunter concurred in Fagergren's decision not to leave the collection at the Ohio Historical Society. On November 1, 1978, Fagergren presented Martha Potter Otto with a list of all artifacts believed to be in the society's possession and asked that they be brought to one location for delivery by January 15, 1979. National Park Service staff accomplished wrapping and packaging the materials on January 17, and much of 1979 was devoted to cataloging, storing, and arranging for preservation treatment by Harpers Ferry Center. A preliminary inventory indicated missing items believed to be still in

²⁸Fagergren to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 4 March 1977, D15; Superintendent's Report for 1976 and 1977; and Patterson to Chapman, letter, 19 April 1946, Mound City Archeology file through 1973, Midwest Archeological Center files. See further discussion of the 1946 letter in Chapter Two.

²⁹Quotations from Fagergren to Beal, 12 October 1977, D62; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; and Fagergren to Otto, letter, 3 February 1977.

Columbus.³⁰

The extent of the missing items became clear in early 1980 when park curators opened the last cabinet of artifacts. Following the long process of inventorying the artifacts, Fagergren contacted Martha Porter Otto and sent a list, noting that some artifacts remained on display and needed to be picked up. While the society again searched its holdings and failed to produce the items, it was not until James A. Brown's inventory conducted under contract in the early 1980s that a clear picture emerged. In 1983, Brown informed the Midwest Archeological Center that "quite a few items Mills reported were never accessioned by the Ohio State Museum. There are some big gaps in the collection the NPS has of the 1920s dig."³¹

By the end of the 1970s, most of the Mound City Group artifacts from the 1920-21 excavations had been returned to Chillicothe. While local citizens and supporters cheered the transfer, most remained unaware of the condition and extent of the collection. For the first time, Mound City Group National Monument found itself in charge of a substantial array of primary site-originated artifacts, but struggled to determine its exact parameters and preservation needs.

**** Mound City Group Visitor Center**

Mound City Group's MISSION 66 visitor center opened in 1960 as a simple one-story brick and stone veneer building of 3,100 square feet. The museum component represented an enclosed L-shaped corridor containing exhibits attached to a fieldstone wall with the other wall comprised of large glass windows affording visitors simultaneous viewing of exhibits and the exterior mound area while passing through the museum. Unfortunately, the designer was only told the structure was for "an Indian area," and not specifically for the sometimes harsh weather extremes of Ohio. The designer, thinking of the more moderate Southwest, intended the museum to be open-air and subsequently changed the outer L-shaped walls around the inner patio to consist of single-paned glass. The hastily prepared, ill-advised design placed the building's principal air circulation outlets in the museum area

³⁰Fagergren to Otto, letter, 1 November 1978, D62 [The one-year delay may have resulted in time to prepare a comprehensive list.]; Fagergren to Harpers Ferry Center Chief, Division of Museum Services, Arthur Allen, 1 November 1978, D62; Minutes of Mound City Group staff meeting, 11 November 1977 and 13 February 1979; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1979.

³¹Quotation from Brown to Regional Archeologist Mark J. Lynott, letter, 15 June 1983, Hopewell Culture Annual Archeological File, 1983, Midwest Archeological Center files; and Fagergren to Otto, letter, 27 March 1980, D62.



Figure 55: The 1961 MISSION 66 visitor center proved inadequate to National Park Service interpretive and curatorial needs. (NPS/Bonnie Murray, October 1980)

and featured circular, roof-mounted air ducts with deflectors. The configuration proved woefully energy-inefficient and could not provide a stable environment for the artifacts.³²

The extensive excavations of 1963 and 1964 made the 1960 exhibits obsolete and prompted calls for their revision and replacement. Suggestions for changing the "Shrine Ceremony" and "Cremating the Dead" exhibits came in 1965 to reflect the new archeologically-produced knowledge.³³ Monument staff also were concerned about making the exhibits more appealing by adding new artifacts and interpretive data. They emphasized eliminating the monotonous two-dimensional characteristics of the displays by adding angles and elevated surfaces to the cases.

In October 1965, Superintendent James W. Coleman, Jr., called for replacement of all Mound City Group exhibits. He reported problems with peeling paint and faded colors in addition to outdated information. On October 7, Washington Office Curator Vera B. Craig examined the park's museum operations and concurred in an "overall revamping" of exhibits. She also attributed the increasingly apparent deterioration and fading problem to the intensity of ultraviolet light passing through the glass walls. As a stopgap measure, Craig recommended installing light-colored sheer curtains on traverse rods so as to be easily opened and closed for operating hours. In addition to the fading and blotchy coloring of exhibit panels, she noted fluctuating humidity conditions were contributing to "flaking" of painted surfaces.³⁴

Rehabilitation work on three exhibits commenced in May 1967. Prior to their shipment to the Eastern Museum Laboratory in Washington, D.C., the panels were photographed and the prints were enlarged for temporary visitor use. Six separate exhibit case revisions underwent review in 1967, and brought about a decision to include the issue in a parkwide interpretive prospectus exercise. In the meantime, exhibit case reflection

³²Fagergren, 10-238 funding request to retrofit museum with storm windows, 29 August 1980, D2219.

³³Superintendent John C. W. Riddle to Northeast Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 8 April 1965; and Archeologist Richard D. Faust to Lee, 13 May 1965. Revisions included existence of roofed charnal houses and ceremonial processes of cremations.

³⁴Riddle to Hartzog, 4 June 1965, May 1965 report; and Coleman to Lee, 8 October 1965, and Washington Office Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, Ralph H. Lewis, to Lee, 9 December 1965, D6215 1965-1972, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

and deterioration problems grew worse.³⁵ In 1969, Superintendent George Schesventer considered removing the two exhibits, "Why Did They Leave?" and "Other Outstanding Mounds" because of extreme deterioration. In the former, he commented on use of a bow and arrow to depict enemies as a "glaring error." Schesventer declared, "It is an anachronism inasmuch as the bow and arrow was not in use then. Having it associated with the Hopewell Culture would be like portraying the Minutemen using machine guns at Lexington and Concord. The proper weapon to be shown in use in this panel should be either a spear or an atlatl and dart."³⁶

A 1971 proposal to install smokey gray plexiglas panels to reduce the exhibit glare and deterioration problem was ultimately rejected by Harpers Ferry Center because of unacceptable adverse visual and esthetics concerns.³⁷

Ongoing planning to upgrade exhibits in 1972 yielded an interpretive painting for the burial exhibit "Cremating the Dead" by an Ohio Historical Society museum artist in close consultation with Martha Potter Otto. Birdsell, wishing to "avoid undue provocation in these sensitive times" and no doubt recalling the occupation of National Park Service-operated Alcatraz Island by American Indian Movement members, decided to remove the few human bones included in the exhibit design plan. In early 1973, Harpers Ferry Center exhibit specialists Ike Ingram and Ben Miller visited and commenced planning and designing new Mound City Group exhibits. In the interim, Birdsell decided to purchase diaphanous draperies for the museum area in hopes of retarding ultraviolet light damage.³⁸

Again the National Park Service's reorganization of 1973-1974 intervened to skew Mound City Group National Monument

³⁵Coleman to Hartzog, 13 June 1967, May 1967 report; and Regional Naturalist Earl W. Estes to Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison, 12 July 1968, D6215 1965-1972, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

³⁶Schesventer to Garrison, 13 May 1969, D62 Exhibits--General. The Northeast Region programmed for the museum rehabilitation in fiscal year 1970, placing Mound City Group second highest in priority order. Funding was not forthcoming. See Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Hartzog, 29 May 1969.

³⁷Harpers Ferry Center Chief, Branch of Exhibit Production to General Superintendent William C. Birdsell, 18 June 1971; and Harpers Ferry Center Chief, Division of Museums, Russell J. Hendrickson, to Birdsell, 9 July 1971, D6215 1965-1972, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

³⁸Quotation from Regional Director Chester L. Brooks to Director, Harpers Ferry Center, William C. Everhardt, 1 May 1973, D6215; Birdsell to Harpers Ferry Center Chief, Branch of Exhibits Russell J. Hendrickson, 24 August 1972, D6215; Birdsell to Everhardt, 29 January 1973, D62; Birdsell to Rondo Antel Fabric Corporation, letter, 15 March 1973, D52.



Figure 56: A conceptual model of a Hopewell house appeared in the visitor center prior to a 1978 comprehensive exhibit redesign. (NPS/Richard Frear, April 1972)

planning efforts. The exhibit concept plans completed in September 1973 remained in limbo until mid-1975 when Harpers Ferry Center queried Omaha officials about it. A search of the transferred Philadelphia files revealed nothing about the planning document. A turnover in Chillicothe park staff also contributed to the delay. An expedited review, however, yielded dissatisfaction with the product and the Midwest Regional Office organized a spring conference with park and Harpers Ferry Center staff to discuss it. The consensus of 1973 had clearly evaporated with substantial changes in content and design proposed. Of particular concern was the "extent to which the plan deals with the funerary and mound building aspects of the Hopewellian culture." Midwest Regional Chief Interpreter Jim Schaack negotiated a redesign of the lobby, inclusion of a security system, reconsideration of exhibit 12 dealing with cremated remains, and revisions to exhibits 15 and 18 to include nonfunerary aspects.³⁹

Funding for the new exhibits, anticipated during the interim period between fiscal years 1976 and 1977,⁴⁰ evaporated due to a "clerical error" at Harpers Ferry Center. An upset Fred J. Fagergren denounced the communications gap and asked for priority consideration in the Midwest Region's fiscal 1978 exhibitry requests over Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebraska, and Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa. In the meantime, Mound City Group staff scrambled to assemble temporary rotating exhibits to augment the static, deteriorating displays covering secondary subjects like historic canals, wildflowers, archeological methods, and birds.⁴¹

In 1977, museum rehabilitation included lobby installation of a central visitor information and sales desk, a sales rack, temporary exhibit case, and an introductory interpretive panel, all paid by Eastern National Park and Monument Association funds. Fagergren, spurred to action by a 1976 burglary, began working with the regional office to design a security system, something that proved problematic in the absence of designs for the new

³⁹Quotation for Harpers Ferry Center Acting Chief, Division of Exhibits, Robert G. Johnsson to Beal, 13 February 1976, D6215; Hendrickson to Beal, 17 July 1975, D6215; and Beal to Hendrickson, 5 August 1975.

⁴⁰The United States Government changed its fiscal years which prior to 1976 had always commenced on July 1. This change resulted in an "Interim Fiscal Period" from July 1 to September 30, 1976. On October 1, 1976, fiscal year 1977 began and henceforth all fiscal years commence on October 1.

⁴¹Superintendent's Report for 1975 and 1976; Mound City Group staff meeting minutes for 9 December 1975; and Fagergren to Beal, 27 September 1976, D62. The monument already purchased \$5,000 in new audiovisual equipment, and secured a pledge from Eastern National Park and Monument Association for \$4,000 to construct a new information desk and sales area display rack.



Figure 57: Glare from the glass-wall separating the museum and courtyard proved not only annoying for visitors, but ultraviolet rays damaged sensitive prehistoric objects. (NPS/ca. late 1960s)

exhibits. Installation of those exhibits came in July 1978, with work finally completed in early 1979. The rehabilitation work met with universally positive public acclaim. Work on an eight-minute interpretive video "The Hopewell Indians" concluded in February 1979, thus ending a decade-long effort to upgrade the museum exhibits.⁴²

The monument addressed the long-fought problem with glare, fading, and fluctuating temperature and humidity caused by the glass-paned walls in 1981 by converting to a thermopane system. Dual panes and seals were installed on the thirty-six windows covering 636 square feet. Problems with moisture being retained between the glass resulted in the contractor honoring its guarantee and replacing more than three-quarters of the panes the following year. Water intrusion through the flat metal roof, an ongoing problem, stained a museum mural in 1982, resulting in the mural's replacement in 1983 by Harpers Ferry Center. A groundwater heat pump system installed in 1982 brought numerous operational problems and uncomfortable conditions leading to three prolonged closures exacerbated by spotty service, improper installation, and warranty problems. Replacement of the visitor center observation deck in early 1983 included placement of heated mats to thaw ice and snow as well as benches for sitting, thereby enhancing visitor safety and comfort.⁴³

An overflow parking lot using "turfstone" on a stabilized turf area came in 1981 and provided expanded capacity whenever needed during peak visitation periods or special events. Workers also constructed handicapped parking spaces and walkway accesses for the visitor center lot.⁴⁴

Moving an exhibit case in August 1986 to allow an archeologist to study some earpools resulted in the unfortunate breaking of two copper artifacts. Two Harpers Ferry Center exhibit specialists made an emergency trip to rehabilitate the jostled exhibit, and the two copper pieces, a human torso headdress and a falcon, were taken back to West Virginia,

⁴²Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Fagergren, 27 October 1977, D6215; Superintendent's Report for 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979; Mound City Group staff meeting minutes, 18 August 1978, A4031 Jan. 1978-Dec. 1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; and "Mound City Adds Exhibits," Chillicothe Gazette (23 February 1979). The 1976 break-in resulted in new floodlights to light up the building's exterior.

⁴³Fagergren, 10-238 funding request for museum retrofit with storm windows, 29 August 1980, D2219; and Superintendent's Report for 1981, 1982, and 1983.

⁴⁴Superintendent's Report for 1981.

repaired, and replaced in April 1987.⁴⁵

Another attempted break-in during April 1988 saw a brick hurled through the window of the audiovisual room to gain access. Sounding of the security alarms frightened off the intruder. Five days later, another forced entry proved unsuccessful yielding severed wiring to a roof-mounted siren and abortive prying on an enclosure containing another siren. Ken Apschnikat, noting newspaper advertisements offering substantial monetary payments for artifacts and recent looting and burglarizing at a state-operated site, acted immediately to ensure heightened security at Mound City Group.⁴⁶

Weary of reacting to perennial leaking of the flat visitor center roof and enduring water damage to interior museum and office areas, a reroofing project in 1992 included a visually dramatic solution to the problem. A metal pitched roof installed in the spring of 1992 not only easily drained away precipitation, but altered the appearance of the nondescript MISSION 66 structure, particularly with the metal's shiny bright-red coloring which complimented the existing brick.⁴⁷

With the transformation into Hopewell Culture National Historical Park came remodeling and redesign of the inadequate visitor center. At long last, an auditorium accommodating fifty people permitted viewing of an award-winning orientation film. Expanded exhibit and sales areas also improved visitor enjoyment. The 1997 general management plan calls for additional construction to provide additional space for the educational and curatorial demands of a growing park. The 1997 general management plan recognized the need to provide a comprehensive interpretation of Hopewellian life, less focused on mortuary behavior. The vintage 1978 exhibits were designed prior to the first modern synthesis of Hopewell archeology the following year. The deficient exhibits were designed poorly with respect to artifact safety as well.

**** Exterior Exhibits**

Following construction of the visitor center museum building in 1960, it soon became apparent that visitors required

⁴⁵Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1986 and 1987; and Report of Accident/Incident, Form DI-134, Chief of Interpretation and Resources Management Jerry Chilton, 20 June 1986, A7623.

⁴⁶Physical Security Coordinator John E. Hunter to files, 29 April 1988, A7623 Accidents, Injuries, Death.

⁴⁷Superintendent's Report for 1991.



Figure 58: A button-activated audio program assisted visitor understanding while surveying Mound City Group on the visitor center observation deck. (NPS/Sprague Photography, ca. 1965)



Figure 59: "The Mound City Necropolis" wayside exhibit.
(NPS/Sprague Photography, ca. 1965)

interpretive signage in the outdoor areas of significant cultural and natural resource interest. The April 1963 installation of "The Mound City Necropolis" wayside exhibit immediately attracted visitor attention and appreciation. Placed just inside the entrance to the west wall of the mound enclosure, it helped orient visitors to the prehistoric topography surrounding them.⁴⁸

An interpretive audio program atop the observation deck during after-hours saw its first use in August 1965. In its first weeks of service, park employees noticed that its principal usage came in the early morning hours instead of in the late evening as anticipated. Upgrading audio messages to meet sound and quality standards came in 1973 through the efforts of Mound City Group Interpretive Specialist Robert F. Holmes working with the Harpers Ferry Center.⁴⁹

A sign plan contained within an interpretive prospectus completed in the mid-1970s determined that the self-guided trail mapped out in the park's brochure was not adequate in interpreting key features to visitors. With the necropolis wayside moved outside the mound enclosure closer to the visitor center, the only other sign depicting the charnel house outdoor exhibit was temporary and did not meet standards. In 1976, six cast aluminum panels were developed: "Mound of the Pipes," "Death Mask Mound," "Scioto River," "Camp Sherman," "Charnal House Exhibit," and "Ohio & Erie Canal Stone." All six were installed in April 1977, and the mound area signs were placed close to the ground, abutting the slope of individual mounds. Others were mounted to metal stanchions. Maintenance workers mounted the panel on the Scioto River trail atop a stone pedestal specially constructed for the purpose in 1975.

The signs dramatically improved the self-guided visitor experience in the mound area as well as Scioto River trail. Fifty small metal photographic and text signs were installed throughout the area identifying native plants and relating how American Indians and white settlers used them in their daily lives.

According to the interpretive prospectus, intentions for the charnal house exhibit included full-scale reconstruction of such a prehistoric structure on either Mound 10 or Mound 15. However, National Park Service policy regarding any reconstruction changed in the 1970s in response to criticism that past efforts contained inaccuracies or were blatantly false. Official policy included

⁴⁸John C. W. Riddle to Director Conrad Wirth, 13 May 1963, April 1963 report.

⁴⁹James Coleman to Hartzog, 8 September 1965, August 1965 report; and Birdsell to Everhardt, 30 January 1973, K18.



Figure 60: Charnel house exhibit. (NPS/ca. 1970s)



Figure 61: "Pipe Mound" wayside exhibit. (NPS/ca. 1970s)

rigorous criteria which had to be met prior to funding a reconstruction. Because archeologists could only speculate as to the above grade configuration of a charnal house, plans for the reconstruction were cancelled in 1976. Instead, the charnal house pattern post molds were highlighted on the ground. In turn, this became a maintenance dilemma attracting weeds and debris. In response, in 1985 a local Boy Scouts of America troop spread sand in the charnal house exhibit area as well as in front of other interpretive wayside signs.⁵⁰

By far the most visible exhibit within the Mound City Group enclosure was the mica grave at Mound 13. Begun in 1963 with Accelerated Public Works Program funding, the Ohio Historical Society designed and built the in-place exhibit as a component of its contractual partnership with the National Park Service to perform archeological excavations and restorations at Mound City Group National Monument. Archeologists chose Mound 13 for this intensive interpretive treatment because of the quality and quantity of its cultural resources. Its documentation by discoverer William C. Mills in 1920 proved to be another contributing factor in Mound 13's selection. The exhibit's purpose was to portray a group of Hopewell burials as they were discovered inside the prehistoric mound, including original cremated remains, four-by-six-inch mica sheets, replicas of copper head-dresses, and mica "mirrors" associated with two of the four burials.

Cy Webster of the Ohio Historical Society directed the mica grave construction, a concrete foundation with concrete block walls and a copper roof. The exhibit included a push button-activated audiotape recording, two ventilation fans, two florescent lights, and two floodlights. Construction work ended in October 1964, but because the exhibit window faced west, direct sunlight made the exhibit impossible to see. Substantial glare and reflection problems on the temporary glass panel necessitated a quick design change to incorporate a redwood baffle erected two feet in front of the exhibit. Accomplished the following month, the feature helped reduce the visibility problem and had the added attraction of identifying it for visitors by featuring "Mica Grave" in solid brass lettering accompanied by a Hopewell depiction of a falcon. Installation of permanent "Herculite" glass came on April 20, 1965, effectively completing the exhibit.⁵¹

⁵⁰Superintendent's Report for 1976, 1977, and 1985; 10-238 funding request for interpretive panels, 25 June 1976, D2215; and untitled report on status of interpretive prospectus objectives, 1976, A6419 1976-1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁵¹Mica Grave (Building 9) file; Lee to Hartzog, 12 June 1964, D6215; and Riddle to Hartzog, 13 November 1964/October 1964 report, 10 December 1964/November 1964 report, and 11 May 1965/April 1965 report.



Figure 62: Construction of the Mica Grave exhibit. (NPS/October 1964)



Figure 63: The Mica Grave, directly behind the visitor center, attracted visitors inside the Mound City Group enclosure wall via a connecting concrete walkway. (NPS/early 1970s)

Although the modern structure constituted an unmistakable intrusion on the prehistoric scene, its immediate popularity with visitors ameliorated those concerns. Despite its design flaws, the Ohio Historical Society expressed pride in the exhibit. On September 28, 1965, Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes visited Mound City Group National Monument with an entourage of twenty-five other dignitaries. His stop was one of several on a tour of historic, natural, and recreation areas in his "Wonderful World of Ohio" campaign designed to increase tourism. Superintendent James Coleman accompanied Governor Rhodes through the visitor center and then out to the mound enclosure with the first stop being the mica grave exhibit. Told that the Ohio Historical Society designed and built it, Governor Rhodes turned and told society director Daniel Porter that the exhibit "looks like a Jackson County crapper!"⁵²

Hopes for favorable publicity for the new exhibit were dashed by the governor's remarks, and initiated park efforts to lessen the visual intrusion. On August 25, 1966, Ohio Historical Society workmen returned to place removable covers over the entrance to the exhibit, connecting the baffle to the building to reduce the glare problem further. Five days later in hopes of making it less intrusive, park maintenance painted the concrete blocks green. Coleman reported, "Everyone seems to agree that the appearance of the exhibit is much improved."⁵³

In May 1979, severe deterioration in the form of leaking concrete walls and water accumulating within the mica grave exhibit threatened the burials and artifacts themselves. Within one week of reporting the emergency situation, the Midwest Regional Office provided funding and park maintenance workers removed the mound from around the building to expose its foundation and footings for cleaning, sealing, and installation of drain tiles. Taking advantage of the ground disturbance, park employees re-interred a partial skeleton previously donated to the monument. They subsequently restored Mound 13 to its correct configuration.⁵⁴

Destruction of the redwood baffle in 1980 by vandals brought

⁵²Presumably, the governor was referring to outhouses he had seen in his native county. Coleman to Hartzog, 13 October 1965, September 1965 report; and Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986. As part of a servicewide "Quality Design Campaign," Bill Birdsell submitted the mica grave exhibit as a classic example of "bad design" and asked for assistance. Birdsell to Beal, 6 March 1975, D3415 (1975), RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁵³Coleman to Hartzog, 8 September 1966, August 1966 report.

⁵⁴Fagergren to Dunning, 23 May 1979, D24 (Jan. 1976-Dec. 1979), RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; and Superintendent's Report for 1979.

about its replacement with pine boards backed by plywood for added strength. By the late 1980s, the overall condition of the exhibit required rehabilitation to meet standards. Park maintenance treated the exterior in 1990, making it handicapped accessible, reduced glare, helped precipitation runoff, and replaced the sidewalk. In early 1991, Harpers Ferry Center via a contractor accomplished the interior exhibit rehabilitation. A freak lightning strike on May 18, 1991, damaged electrical outlets and melted wiring, but harmed nothing else.⁵⁵

Until 1996, the mica grave was the most popular exterior exhibit at Mound City Group. With the previous removal of cremations, consultation with American Indians found the intrusive structure objectionable. NPS promptly removed all exhibit items and began planning alternative means of treating the mica grave using other media.⁵⁶

**** Curatorial Services**

As the National Park Service gained visibility and stature in the Chillicothe area, amateur archeologists began contacting Superintendent Clyde B. King with offers to donate parts or the entirety of their personal collections. The first offer came in September 1953 when Harold Steel presented King with his late father, Samuel Steel's, collection obtained from local mounds and farm fields. King accepted the relics for study, identification through State Archeologist Raymond S. Baby, and potential display. Those items of no association or use would be returned, with the remainder accessioned into the park's collection. The news brought about a swift response from the Richmond regional office clearly restating agency policy. While accepting prehistoric Ohio relics unrelated to the Hopewell for such plainly-identified exhibits was acceptable, Assistant Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin stated, "Only those objects which can definitely be identified and are suitable for future museum use or for study purposes should be accepted. If this is done they should be cataloged carefully so that there is no possible chance of their becoming associated with Mound City at a later date." Tobin warned that "If the specimens cannot be identified they should not be accepted. As a rule, unless the locality where a specimen was found, its association in situ, and the conditions of the findings are known exactly, it is usually worthless for

⁵⁵Mica Grave (Building 9) file; Superintendent's Report for 1990 and 1991; Safety Committee meeting minutes, 3 June 1991, A7619; 10-238 funding request to rehabilitate Mound 13/Mica Grave, 27 March 1985, D2215; and Ken Apschikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987." The brass falcon and exhibit lettering were also painted black to deter theft.

⁵⁶Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

exhibition or study." The result proved to be the acceptance of a scant twenty-five objects.⁵⁷

Negotiations with other potential donors followed the same formula. A substantial Ross County collection donated to the monument came on June 29, 1964, with acceptance of the Biszantz collection. It numbered over one thousand pieces and included artifacts removed from the Hopewell Group and two surrounding farms.⁵⁸

Park Archeologist Lee Hanson began the first inventory of Mound City Group's museum collections in April 1965. Hanson worked to process and store the material, estimated to be at 10,000 pieces, in the following three stages: 1). Inventory all previously cataloged material to determine condition and location; 2). Accession all remaining specimens; and 3). Catalog all accessioned material including cleaning and preservation work. The first two stages were completed within two months, and by the end of 1965, all specimens excluding materials from the 1963-65 excavations were cataloged. Because those items remained for study and reporting purposes at the Ohio Historical Society, they could not be processed. Hanson's cataloged collection stood at slightly over 4,000 pieces.⁵⁹

Three years later, the total surpassed 10,000 specimens through continued donations, purchases, indefinite loans, and ongoing excavations. Artifacts from the Ohio Historical Society's early 1960s excavations began arriving for curation and storage space became stretched to the limit, with more excavations anticipated. Initially, museum storage cabinets occupied the small, increasingly cramped visitor center office. Master plan provisions called for curatorial storage and laboratory space in connection with expanded audiovisual areas, but funding to expand the visitor center was not forthcoming. Dr. John Cotter, chief of archeological research in the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, proved to be the most vocal critic of Mound City Group facilities. Addressing the inadequacy of the structure for interpretive services, Cotter declared:

[It was] designed as a semi-enclosed walk-through panel

⁵⁷Quotation from Tobin to King, 11 September 1953, History file; King to Regional Director Elbert Cox, 5 September 1953; and King to Wirth, 2 March 1954, February 1954 report.

⁵⁸Riddle to Harzog, 14 July 1964/June 1964 report and 4 June 1965/May 1965 report.

⁵⁹Riddle to Harzog, 11 May 1965/April 1965 report and 4 June 1965/May 1965 report; and Coleman to Harzog, 5 January 1966/December 1965 report and 8 February 1966/January 1966 report.

display corridor with rest rooms and a tiny indoor lobby, plus small office space. As such, it has never functioned as a museum facility. This has been a continuing bitter disappointment to the Ross County and Chillicothe residents as well as to many visitors who learn of the remarkable collections secured in the archeological investigations of the 1920's and 1960's. The fact is, the Visitor Center is badly deficient as an interpretive facility which should measure up to modern NPS standards in general and the needs of this area in particular. There is no auditorium, no AV facilities, no storage space, no shelter for large groups which will be increasing in number, especially with the accessibility of the area to adjacent new superhighway facilities.

A staunch Mound City Group advocate, Cotter called for a collection and research policy with emphasis on museum displays and curatorial services. Cotter concluded stating, "It has taken the National Park Service many years to arrive at the conclusion that Mound City Group is worthy of inclusion in the System as nationally important. It may not yet be realized by the Service that Mound City Group is a major archeological resource in the Nation and the best-developed remaining site of the great Hopewell culture manifestation of American prehistory."⁶⁰ Although the park had its own informal collection policies, programmed funds for a formal collection management plan did not materialize until 1984.⁶¹

Escalated national defense spending, mushrooming of the national park system, and other planning priorities stalled the visitor center expansion project. In 1977, the monument's "space crunch," always a problem, became critical. Superintendent Fagergren noted the cramped visitor center office space, 139 square feet, accommodated six employees during winter (twenty-three square feet per person) and nine employees during summer (15.4 square feet per employee). The maintenance shop featured an office for the maintenance work leader and maintenance worker. Three Youth Conservation Corps employees had a small area in

⁶⁰Quotations from Cotter to Chief, Division of Archeology, Philadelphia Service Center, (?), 289 May 1968, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; Coleman to Lee, 1 October 1965, D6215; Archeologist Nicholas F. Veloz, Jr., to Garrison, 30 October 1967, History file; and Schesventer to Garrison, 12 March 1968.

⁶¹10-238 funding request for collection management plan, 20 April 1984, D2215. The first of its kind for the monument, the product, also called a collection preservation guide, would also address artifacts on display and establish policies for researchers studying the collections. In the interim, Park Technician John Mangimeli prepared a status of collections report for internal use.

connection with a classroom for YCC enrollees during the summer. Library space, artifact storage, and interpretive work space were also jammed into the building. The crowded conditions necessitated expansion of the visitor center to include an audiovisual room and auditorium as well as a research laboratory and collection storage area. Fagergren tagged it as the monument's top project, and hoped for funding within two years.⁶²

Unfortunately, it received a low national priority for funding. Projections were that a visitor center expansion would be "many years" in the future. No longer willing to rely on storage accommodations at the Ohio Historical Society, Fagergren wanted all Mound City Group artifacts kept according to professional standards at the monument. In August 1980, Fagergren adopted a new strategy. He proposed modifying the existing artifact storage area in the maintenance building's basement to accommodate curatorial services. He suggested enclosing one end of the basement with a special curatorial room complete with environmental stabilization systems.⁶³

Anticipation of potentially large private collections being donated to Mound City Group prompted a 1990 effort to expand the collections storage area in the maintenance building's basement. Artifacts were moved into new storage cabinets and separated with archival materials. Curators also cataloged the collection using the Automated National Cataloging System for the first time. Mitigation of elevated radon levels in 1991 allowed for the expansion and rehabilitation of the basement area to proceed. The work brought about a tripling of storage capacity, including use of a track and carriage system for museum storage cases. Curatorial services also benefitted by adjacent office and workshop areas in 1991.⁶⁴

In 1980, the first collections inventory undertaken since the 1960s revealed missing artifacts and confusion regarding past recordkeeping methods. Artifacts unearthed during Ohio Historical Society excavations were processed and cataloged using state methods. Returned to Mound City Group in the mid-1970s, the material did not immediately receive National Park Service

⁶²Fagergren to Beal, development/study package proposal, 13 June 1977, D22; Superintendent's Report for 1977 and 1978; and Dunning to Denver Service Center Manager Denis P. Galvin, revised 10-238 for visitor center expansion, 21 June 1979, D2215. The package deleted the auditorium, but included 2,000 square feet of curatorial work space and storage.

⁶³10-238 funding request to modify shop basement for artifact storage room, 29 August 1980, D2219. In 1981, park maintenance workers built a masonry wall and installed a security door in anticipation of future funding to complete the curatorial room. See Superintendent's Report for 1981.

⁶⁴Superintendent's Report for 1990 and 1991.

catalog numbers on individual pieces. The Ohio Historical Society material, received in boxes and sacks, did not remain safely inside marked containers and the separation resulted in loss of their requisite numbering system. The situation became especially acute following the 1980 inventory when objects packaged and organized according to catalog numbers were loaned for study purposes and subsequently returned packaged and organized according to type. The absence of professionally trained cultural resource managers, specifically an archeologist and/or a museum curator, contributed to the deterioration of the Mound City Group collection.

This confusion, the result of different archeological curation methods of the Midwest Archeological Center, brought about two additional comprehensive inventories in 1984 and 1987. The latter effort took more than two months and yielded 33,069 objects covering 104 accessions. A board of survey conducted in 1988 resulted in eighty-four missing artifacts removed from the inventory. In 1991, Park Ranger Robert Petersen began an item by item review to develop a list of controlled property, with miscellaneous items accessioned and cataloged at the end of the multiple-year effort. By the mid-1990s, the park finally had professional accountability for its collections.⁶⁵

One of the most extensive private collections in Ross County first came under consideration for donation in January 1990. Robert Harness informed Superintendent Bill Gibson of his intention to will his significant Hopewellian collection from the Liberty Works to Mound City Group National Monument via negotiation of an appropriate codicil. A draft agreement reviewed in late 1991 brought a prompt ruling that language prohibiting repatriation or any other restriction could not be accepted under National Park Service policies. Robert Harness, wanting professional care of the Harness collection and making it available for research purposes, did not want it broken up, removed from Ross County, or subjected to repatriation challenges. A compromise came in the formation of the Harness Collection Trust. In exchange for a signed deed of gift form pledging unconditional donation for unrestricted usage, the trust was devised to dissolve eight years after the formal donation. According to Gibson, "As the Trust comes into being and manages the collection, we can look forward to exploring alternative

⁶⁵Odegaard to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, F. A. Calabrese, and Apschnikat, 7 March 1985, H20; Apschnikat to Regional Director Don H. Castleberry, 30 September 1987, H2017 Acquisition, Gifts, Loans, and Inventories; Apschnikat to Castleberry, 14 April 1988, S7421 Report of Survey; and Gibson to Regional Director William Schenk, 8 April 1991. The brouhaha between the monument and the Midwest Archeological Center, exacerbated by a suggestion from Lincoln that the artifacts could best be managed there, brought a command from Regional Director Charles Odegaard to stop sniping and work together to solve the dilemma.

language to that presented in the draft agreement. Surely people with good intentions can come to agreement on a safe, secure and permanent home for this outstanding collection."⁶⁶

Future plans recognize expansion of collections and increased burdens relating to the curatorial program. The 1997 general management plan calls for removing the museum storage area from the basement of the Resource Management Building, what once served the park's maintenance and utilities functions. Subject to flooding and fire, the curatorial storage will be relocated to a new facility or placed within an expanded addition to the visitor center.

**** Native Americans and the Human Remains Issue**

The tumultuous 1960s and early 1970s saw a fundamental shift in American social and cultural institutions to reflect changing public attitudes concerning class, race, and gender. One aspect of this period of social upheaval, initiated by the Civil Rights Movement for African Americans, concerned native Americans and the formation of various American Indian rights groups. As Indians asserted their constitutional rights and discussed past injustices, all aspects of white-red relations were reexamined. During the 1978 "Longest Walk" across the United States, Indian rights activists called attention to museums along the route that displayed Indian bones and grave goods, denouncing the practices, and calling for repatriation and reburials. It brought the Indians' conflict with the professional anthropology and archeology community into the public arena for bitter debate.

Changing federal perceptions yielded congressional action. In 1978, the Native American Religious Freedom Act (Public Law 95-341) brought an operational and administrative review throughout the national park system for potential conflicts with the new law's intent. The Mound City Group review identified the two exhibits of authentic cremated remains as well as the partial human remains represented in the park's collections. Fred J. Fagergren noted that because no native group claimed ties with any of the Eastern Woodland Moundbuilders, including the Hopewell, there existed the "possibility that Native American groups in general might object to these procedures as being offensive to their religious practices."⁶⁷

⁶⁶Quotation from Gibson to Alva McGraw, letter, 17 January 1992, H2017 Acquisition, Gifts, Loans, and Inventories; William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Gibson to Castleberry, 14 February 1990, L7019 State Coordinator; and Gibson to Castleberry, 8 September 1991, H2017.

⁶⁷Quotation from Fagergren to Dunning, 12 December 1978, A6423; and "Indians Battling 'Arrogance,'" Chillicothe Gazette (6 February 1986).

Nonetheless, the ongoing debate prompted a change in the monument's interpretive program. In June 1978, the park accepted a local donation of an assortment of human bones of no known association for use in interpretive programs. The remains were not accessioned into the permanent collection. After using the bones in several programs, park interpreters concluded their use was inappropriate, and decided to rebury them. Encompassed in a polyethelene bag and sealed in a plastic bucket with a galvanized dated metal tag, the interpreters buried the package in Mound 13 on December 4, 1979. Adjacent to the mica grave exhibit, the burial is marked on the exhibit's blueprint.⁶⁸

In 1979, the Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA, Public Law 96-95) stated that archeological resources found on public and Indian lands were part of America's heritage and were therefore protected from unauthorized taking. Archeological resources of more than one hundred years of age could also include graves and skeletal remains. ARPA guidelines were first promulgated in 1984, developed by an interagency task force and subject to public review and comment. American Indians led the call for new regulations to separate human remains from generic archeological resources covered by ARPA, to promote repatriation and reburial.

The debate raged on in the middle and late 1980s. Mound City Group managers pointed out that most of the human remains at the monument were in the form of cremated ashes. Press accounts noted that the museum's cremation display was designed by an American Indian who intentionally placed the ashes at ground level in order that visitors who viewed them would respectfully have to bow their heads while standing in front of the exhibit. An alert in late 1986 to the monument warned of a potential visit by a registered lobbyist for the National Congress of American Indians gathering data for congressional hearings on proposed repatriation legislation.⁶⁹

A management review of Mound City Group practices evaluated the issue of displaying cremated remains of five individuals, one in the museum and four at the mica grave exhibit. While recognizing the sensitivity of the issue, the monument had not received any protest from individuals or groups. Ken Apschnikat speculated that the reason stemmed from "the cremations themselves not resembling human remains and because no known

⁶⁸Park Ranger Theresa Nichols to the files, 5 December 1979, H20 Collection Management and Preservation.

⁶⁹Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Jerry L. Rogers to Representative Christopher Shays, letter, 6 February 1990, H2215; "Mound City Remains Stay in Ross County Park," Chillicothe Gazette (6 February 1986); and Regional Curator John E. Hunter to Charles Odegaard, 29 December 1986, D6215 Human Remains.

contemporary tribe can trace their ancestral line to the Hopewell." Apschnikat acknowledged the potential for future complaints, noted the existence of human remains in the stored museum collection, and pledged to "continue to treat these human remains and objects with reverence and dignity."⁷⁰

Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management H. Reed Johnson conducted an indepth analysis in 1989. Noting the extinction of the Hopewell culture and no proven ancestral link to historic American Indian cultures, Johnson asserted that artifacts and remains were displayed in a "respectful manner." Johnson noted that "While the exhibits contain partially cremated remains consisting of bone fragments, they are displayed 'in context,' that is, they are depictions of the actual cremations and burials as they were performed by the Hopewell." He recommended that removal or modifications to these exhibits could be done as part of the next programmed rehabilitation of museum exhibits, which should also include consultation with Indian groups during planning and design. Unidentified bones in the collection required study to determine human or animal origins. Future excavations uncovering human remains would involve reinterment as soon as possible following exhumation.⁷¹

Park plans to alter the exhibits ceased in early 1990 following a review by Associate Director for Cultural Resources Jerry L. Rogers. Rogers' review came in anticipation of passage of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. The last skeletal remains on display in the national park system were removed from Mesa Verde National Park in 1987 following a request by American Indian groups. Rogers, concerned that human remains were still on display at Mound City Group National Monument three years after this incident, called for their immediate removal. Superintendent Bill Gibson ordered his staff in February 1990 to comply, requesting clean sand appear in the cremation pit bottoms.⁷²

A concurrent review of the collection for human remains yielded inhumation of forty-two individuals and cremations of thirty-seven individuals, totalling seventy-nine representatives associated with the Hopewell culture. Unidentified remains of

⁷⁰Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Paper, 1987."

⁷¹William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Johnson to Gibson, 30 March 1989, H20 Collection Management and Preservation.

⁷²William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; Rogers to Shays, letter, 6 February 1990, H2215; Regional Curator John E. Hunter to Gibson, 25 January 1990, D6215 Human Remains; Superintendent's Report for 1990; and Mound City Group staff meeting minutes, 12 February 1990, A4031 Meetings.

questionable origins included ten inhumations and five cremations believed to be associated with either the Hopewell or possibly the later Intrusive Mound Culture. Asked to identify Indian groups for regulatory consultation purposes, H. Reed Johnson identified the Shawnee tribe of Oklahoma as the "closest officially recognized leaders" of the southern Ohio region. Their geographical dislocation made consultation "somewhat difficult."⁷³

Completing the NAGPRA-mandated inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects in park collections, Dr. Paul S. Sciulli of Ohio State University performed the work via a cooperative agreement between the Midwest Archeological Center and the Ohio State University Research Foundation. The effort provided information on the age, sex, and cultural affiliation of human remains and related burial items, and park curators updated in excess of five hundred records for more than 18,000 items. About three thousand documents were also catalogued.⁷⁴

Consultations with American Indian groups required under NAGPRA began in July 1994, when representatives of the Joint Shawnee Council on Repatriation visited Mound City Group. Council members are volunteers from three federally recognized tribes comprising the Shawnee Nation. Subsequent consultations took place in March 1995, when Council representatives again came to the park, and in April 1995, when NPS officials traveled to Oklahoma. The joint effort laid the groundwork for a July 5, 1996 memorandum of agreement for treatment and disposition of past or future American Indian remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony found within park lands. The successful federal-tribal consultations prompted Hopewell Culture staff to host an April 1995 NAGPRA workshop attended by NPS employees, the Joint Shawnee Council, and members of the Ohio Museums Association.⁷⁵

Thanks to NAGPRA's establishing a federal commitment to consult American Indians, in 1996, NPS responded to expressed concerns over its interpretation of Hopewell burial practices, and removed the mica grave exhibit. Through consultation, agreement was reached that more appropriate ways of conveying mica grave information using different media could be accomplished. Such native input also helped enrich an

⁷³Gibson to Castleberry, 29 January 1990, D6215 Human Remains; and Johnson to Gibson, 14 December 1990, D6215.

⁷⁴Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

⁷⁵Ibid.; and Superintendent's Report for 1995-96. The workshop and other accomplishments netted the park in April 1996 the Ohio Museum Association's Service Award.

interpretive prospectus revision, thereby for the first time reflecting American Indian perspectives in Hopewell Culture interpretation.⁷⁶

Lack of sustained funding and making do with substandard facilities have hampered NPS efforts in Chillicothe to present the Hopewell culture on the same scale and quality as Southwestern prehistoric cultures are presented in collective NPS units of the American Southwest. With its transformation into a national historical park in the early 1990s, expanded staff and facility needs will likely continue to be key issues through the initial decades of the twenty-first century.

⁷⁶Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

Chapter Seven

Maintenance of Mounds and Park Infrastructure

** Grounds Maintenance

Mowing the extensive turf areas of Mound City Group National Monument constituted the primary time-consuming maintenance task during Superintendent Clyde B. King's initial era of National Park Service administration. Using borrowed equipment from the Veteran's Administration hospital and the state for the 1946 growing season, the monument's first mowing tractor arrived in February 1947 and was immediately pressed into service removing dead and diseased elm trees. Maintenance man James Sampson spanned this state-federal period of the 1940s, ensuring a smooth transition at Mound City Group. Following Sampson's transfer to Dayton, Adena State Memorial employee J. Vernon "Vern" Acton filled the position, entering on duty in September 1948, and continuing service for more than three decades.

Vern Acton paid special attention and care to the mound area, recalling "It was hard to maintain the mounds in those days. The kids made paths on them and, when it rained, the water washed out gullies which we had to patch." Grounds maintenance proved to be an arduous task, performed in typical Midwestern weather extremes. Acton later reflected, "When I started out, mowing was a continuous undertaking in the growing season. At that time, all the park site was mowed. We did the mounds with a sickle bar and trimmed the tops with a mowing scythe. The picnic area [and remaining areas were] done with a riding mower."¹

One of the earliest park management goals envisioned reducing the time and expense of this maintenance burden through a reforestation program. The primary means to achieve this goal involved converting the once-cultivated, open landscape to its former, pre-contact, forested composition. Many held that a forested appearance naturally characterized the Scioto River Valley and would be more accurate to Hopewellian times, or at the very least, reflect the 1840s period of Squier and Davis' excavations.

Toward this end, the first professional National Park Service inspection of the monument's landscape came on October 24, 1946, when two foresters from the Region One Office met onsite with plant pathologist Roger Swingle of the Bureau of

¹Quotations from "Changes Seen in 30 Years at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (27 January 1979); also Custodian Clyde B. King to Director Newton Drury, 2 March 1947, February 1947 report; and J. Vernon Acton interview with Naomi L. Hunt, 3 March 1985, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Plant Industry. The team recommendations included conducting heavy feeding of existing maples and prune those affected by wilt. Because many trees were crowded and in poor condition, the group advised developing a tree replacement plan.²

The first planting plan for the monument came in October 1947 for the superintendent's residence area. Designed primarily to beautify that part of the grounds, its contemporary design appropriate to a private home also served to differentiate it from the remainder of the monument.³

Public interest in the monument's landscape program afforded King an opportunity to explain the philosophy behind the "planting scheme." During the July 1948 picnic of "Mr. and Mrs. Garden Club of Chillicothe," King dismissed the possibility of large formal plantings of exotics, but explained three objectives as follows: "this area should present to the people as a whole a section of Ross County; that the presentation, except for residence area, should present that picture only; and that developments are limited to those with lowest maintenance costs."⁴

King's principal emphasis within the planting program was to erect natural screening, particularly around the mound enclosure, to obscure unsightly modern intrusions in adjacent areas. The sooner these natural barriers took root, the better, and to this end, Clyde King began making his management goals a reality. Impatient at the lack of funding for screen plantings, he began gathering seeds of native species during personal drives to view the fall colors through the countryside. On November 1, 1950, King wrote: "Using black locust stakes for markers I have been planting groups of seeds by species around these stakes. They are placed informally over the area to be planted. This planting has been limited to native species and in it the species either absent or in limited numbers have been stressed. Even persimmons have been included." King acknowledged three objectives: "To plant the area, to provide a number of species, and to provide food for various birds and forest animals. Incidentally, I have added over 20 native species to the planting already in the area."⁵

²Acting Custodian William W. Luckett to Drury, 3 November 1946, October 1946 report.

³King to Drury, 1 November 1947, October 1947 report. A search of park archives failed to produce a written document containing this early planting plan.

⁴King to Drury, 1 August 1948, July 1948 report.

⁵King to Drury, 1 November 1950, October 1950 report.



Figure 64: Superintendent James W. Coleman, Jr., presented jack-of-all-trades maintenance worker J. Vernon Acton with a special service award. (NPS/Lee Hanson, Jr., April 1967)

Mother Nature proved to be an uncooperative partner in King's zeal for healthy trees. As early as June 1948, he reported infestations of locust leaf minor turning entire trees brown and defoliating them. Those trees were automatically removed as were elms infested with phloem necrosis, or Dutch Elm Disease. An aggressive removal and burning of diseased elms began in September 1949 in a vain effort to halt further spread of the malady.⁶

In addition to insects, harsh weather conditions also wreaked havoc. Severe summer heat and drought in 1951 brought emergency conditions to southern Ohio, killing most of the seedlings King had planted. Undaunted, he pledged to continue his efforts. Two years later, the same conditions devastated another crop of young spring-planted trees. Climatic conditions in North America brought a return of dust bowl-like conditions reminiscent of the 1930s. While concentrated in the Great Plains, this climatic misery also impacted the larger Midwest and became known as the "Filthy Fifties."

King's spring 1954 inventory of seedlings revealed forty-one still alive. That same season he proudly announced planting of one hundred more trees by his fifteen-year-old son as a scouting project and expressed hope that this might complete the planting project. Unfortunately, another severe summer drought browned much of the grass and again killed the young trees. Only a few were saved by hand-watering. In late 1955, King secured the services of an entire scout troop to plant trees. A return to normal rainfall patterns in 1958 brought King's relieved report in July that "The entire area is really green and trees planted this spring are doing very well. Too, it is probable that certain parts of the area will begin to reforest with silver maple, sugar maple, green and white ash, sycamore, and cottonwood."⁷

The few trees allowed to grow within the mound enclosure area required care and occasional removal. In October 1953, two large Hackberry trees were removed from one of the mounds. Anticipating construction of the visitor center, Maintenance

⁶King to Drury, 1 July 1948/June 1948 report, 1 July 1949/June 1949 report, and 1 September 1949/August 1949 report. In addition to fighting European Elm Bark Beetles, removal programs for fall webworm, tent caterpillar, and bagworms were conducted.

⁷Quotation from Wirth to Drury, 1 August 1958, July 1958 report; also King to Director Arthur Demaray, 1 September 1951, August 1951 report; King to Drury, 1 September 1953/August 1953 report, 1 May 1954/April 1954 report, 2 August 1954/July 1954 report, and 1 November 1955/October 1955 report; Donald E. Worster, Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 226-29; and R. Douglas Hurt, The Dust Bowl: An Agricultural and Social History (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981), 153-56.

Acton began clearing away trees and other "accumulated growth" in the northeast corner of the mounds. King directed the work in order to open the area and make it visible from the proposed museum building. The concentrated vegetation had been encouraged to grow in order to screen out the Veterans Administration's incinerator and access road. Recommendations from Philadelphia brought the advice to wait until the visitor center neared completion before removing the screening. In 1959, a declining White Mulberry, which protruded from the earthworks enclosure wall, required a tractor to pull out each of its six trunks.⁸

Abandonment of the access road to the incinerator brought about the obliteration of that intrusive linear feature in 1960 by seeding and mulching the former roadbed. Allowed to grow tall with only infrequent mowing, the treatment disguised its former appearance so well that foot and vehicle trespass to access that part of the monument virtually ceased within a few months.⁹

Yet more reforestation took place in 1963 through the Accelerated Public Works program, particularly in the visitor center vicinity. When larvae and flat-headed worms infesting these trees turned out to be flat-headed apple tree borers, spraying with a DDT-solution occurred in the summer of 1966. By 1969, with passage of strict environmental laws, pesticide use changed to a Malathion spray, and instead of aerial application, individual trees and shrubs were treated.¹⁰ Malathion proved ineffective against a Japanese Beetle infestation in 1972. A special application of Methoxychlor ended this defoliation of ornamental trees.¹¹

A 1963 report peripherally treating the grounds pledged no changes to the monument's extensive grass- and tree-growing

⁸King to Wirth, 3 November 1953/October 1953 report, 2 December 1958/November 1958 report, and 1 July 1960/June 1960 report; and Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to King, no date [circa December 1958].

⁹King to Wirth, 1 July 1960, June 1960 report.

¹⁰Coleman to Hartzog, 10 November 1966, October 1966 report; and Schesventer, "Summary Report on New Or Substantially Changed Projects or Programs Using Pesticides, 18 April 1969. Schesventer described the reforestation goal as follows: "to 'reforest' and encourage existing trees and shrubs to grow on all 3 sides of the mound enclosure wall so as to screen out the intrusive view of the prison on the south and farm activities to the north as well as to achieve a wooded environment at the river boundary."

¹¹Birdsell to [title?] Barney Kolb, 3 August 1972, Y18.

regimen.¹²

The MISSION 66 developments of the late 1950s and early 1960s at Mound City Group National Monument substantially burdened its maintenance staff. As late as 1967, Vern Acton remained the only permanent maintenanceman, assisted by only one additional seasonal worker. Designed plantings and intensive turf maintenance around the visitor center required increased attention, and plans to increase the monument's size by adding adjacent surplus federal land promised to overwhelm the park's capabilities. Northeast Region horticulturalist David L. Moffitt recommended the staff be increased by another seasonal position, stating, "Until the extensive plantings in the visitor center area reach maturity and require less maintenance, this area will have a difficult time keeping up with the workload." In response to safety concerns at the residence caused by escaped mental patients hiding in the overgrown shrubbery, Moffitt suggested extensive trimming to eliminate potential hiding places for both psychiatric patients and prison inmates.

In addition to recommending an annual fertilization program, Moffitt proposed a unique means of reducing labor costs in the park's mowing operations. Moffitt suggested using a growth retardant on one-half of the mound area, particularly on those mounds hardest to mow, in order to judge the product's effectiveness.¹³ Actual testing with a growth retardant came in late 1973, and yielded inconclusive results. Applied with the same results in 1974, the experiment ended and previous maintenance practices resumed.¹⁴

Keeping the grass maintained within the mound enclosure proved time-consuming, labor-intensive, and a safety concern. Park Archeologist Lee Hanson later recalled that Maintenanceman

¹²John L. Cotter, Historic Structures and Grounds Report, Part I on Mound City Group National Monument, Chillicothe, Ohio (Philadelphia: Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 1963). Prepared by the regional archeologist, its only landscape-related narrative reads: "It is proposed to keep the landscaping, that is, the planting of grass and trees, within [the] enclosure in the present mode following the archeological investigations. The archeological field work is not intended to disrupt in any way the net aspect of the present landscape except for the authentication of earthwork contours and locations."

¹³Moffitt to Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison, 25 August 1967, A2623.

¹⁴Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Birdsell to Superintendent Dixon B. Freeland, Fredricksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, 27 February 1974, D32; and Birdsell to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 8 March 1973, Y46. Produced by U.S. Borax and Chemical Corporation, "Maintain CF125" promised to eliminate or reduce mowing, control broadleaf weeds, retard growth, inhibit grass heading, and improve turf appearance.

Acton had a "tractor with a gang mower and a sickle bar.... The tractor had a counterweight on one side and he used to make a run at the mounds, even the high one in the center, and, using centrifugal force, mow a swath up over one side of the mound. He would keep circling in this manner at top speed until the mound was mowed. To my knowledge, he never turned the tractor over."¹⁵ Presenting the mounds to visitors with a green, uniformly-mowed, and typically park-like appearance could not only be dangerous, but was a spectacle to behold. By the late 1960s, the aforementioned daredevil antics were discontinued in favor of hand-powered mowers on steep slopes.¹⁶

Ohio State University's Ross County Cooperative Extension Service evaluated the monument's groundcover of Kentucky bluegrass mixed with creeping red fescue in 1965. In dry spells during the summertime, the turf typically turned pale green to yellow indicating poor root development. Soil experts recommended a sustained treatment of 10-6-4 fertilizer for turf vitality and growth during spring and summer, with aeration in compacted areas exacerbated by heavy foot traffic. Such annual treatments first began in May 1965 and concentrated in the mound and visitor center areas.¹⁷

Perceived inattention or lack of punctual grounds maintenance could yield angry public complaints. By 1969, park interpreters succeeded in changing the golf course-like appearance of the mounds. No longer mowing the entire earthworks, a few of the larger mounds were left in higher grass and occasionally trimmed using a sickle bar mower. Paths of short grass helped to direct visitors from one interpretive stop to another through the mound enclosure. When the entire area appeared overgrown on Independence Day 1969 because of broken mowing equipment, a contrite George F. Schesventer explained the situation to Philadelphia superiors in anticipation of a promised visitor complaint to Interior Secretary Walter Hickel.¹⁸

¹⁵Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986.

¹⁶Birdsell to Environmental Maintenance Specialist [?], 4 August 1971, D32 Mound City 1965-72, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

¹⁷Riddle to Lee, 16 February 1965, and Acting Assistant Regional Director, Operations, Wilbur L. Savage, to Riddle, no date [circa March 1965], both found in D32 Mound City 1965-72, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; Riddle to Hartzog, 4 June 1965, May 1965 report; and Coleman to Hartzog, 13 October 1965, September 1965 report. Using a donated, but defective, fertilizer spreader, the device spread the mixture unevenly. Following several days of heavy rain, the grounds had an embarrassingly uniform streaked pattern.

¹⁸Schesventer to Garrison, 9 July 1969, A36.



Figure 65: On steep-sloped earthworks, special care was required while using heavy mowing equipment. Phillip Egan used a tractor with a safety roll-bar. (NPS/July 1988)

Leaving the grass to grow long in problem maintenance areas changed with each new superintendent adding to or subtracting from such areas. A 1976 operations evaluation identified grass mowing as the single maintenance activity requiring the most man-hours. The report called for re-evaluating mowing techniques and a "landscape planting plan" from the regional landscape architect to provide windbreaks, shade, and screening. Turf issues for the Mound City Group earthworks were subsequently deferred for resolution in the park's resources management plan developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s.¹⁹ (For a discussion on reestablishing a prehistoric landscape, see Chapter 9).

The Omaha-developed landscape plan slowly emerged by 1980, but went beyond what was needed and had to be scaled back. The monument supported planting large trees for screening, and recommended more be placed to block views and audible intrusions of State Highway 104 from the mounds. The park review of the plan rejected proposed extensive planting of small species of viburnum and dogwood around the visitor center, a design that negated the goal of presenting a more natural scene and easing the maintenance workload.²⁰ Four years later, a contractor implemented the planting plan, which also included installing trees for screening along Portsmouth Road and near the park residence. Maintenance allowed the quarter's front yard to revert to natural conditions with plantings in the northeast corner added for additional screening for the mounds.²¹

Two modern intrusions were removed from the mound area in 1983. Maintenance workers relocated a bench intended for weary visitors to a spot near the handicapped parking area. They also moved a trash receptacle to the interpretive trail.²²

Agricultural land added north of the monument required little effort for park maintenance upkeep. In 1987, the thirty-

¹⁹Hugh P. Beattie and Thomas L. Weeks, Operations Evaluation Report, Mound City Group National Monument, February 1976 (Omaha: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1976), A5427; and Superintendent's Report for 1979. Vern Acton noted that Superintendent Bill Birdsell was a "perfectionist" and his insistence on manicured grounds only added to the maintenance workload burden. See Acton interview transcript by Naomi L. Hunt, 3 March 1985, Chillicothe, Ohio.

²⁰Fagergren to Dunning, review of drawing 353/80006, 14 May 1980, D32. Fagergren requested screening for the visitor center's large air-conditioning units in full view of the small picnic lunch area as well as plantings to obviate snow fences along the sidewalks.

²¹Superintendent's Report for 1984; and Ken Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987."

²²Superintendent's Report for 1983. Records do not detail when these items were first introduced to the prehistoric earthworks area.



Figure 66: Maintenance of turf grasses concentrated not only in the mound area, but the expansive visitor center lawn fronting on Highway 104. (NPS/John C. W. Riddle, September 1962)

five-acre field came under the historic property leasing program, leased to Harold Sanford to continue caring for the alfalfa crop cultivated there through 1988. Lease income went toward sowing native grasses in order to protect subsurface archeological resources. Subsequent annual income from the haying crop under the program went toward maintaining the grasses, fence, treeline maintenance, and perimeter mowing.²³

When turf grasses continued to fail in 1988 along two connector trails from the earthwall's southeast side leading to the Scioto River trail, workers laid down a base of heavy mulch. As heavy foot traffic continued to erode dirt and grass atop the river trail steps, concrete pads were installed there as well as at each interpretive sign. The stone deck at the Scioto audio station also gave way to concrete for safety and aesthetic reasons. Putting practice into written guidelines, the following year saw preparation of separate management plans for turf, earthworks, and integrated pest control.²⁴

Mound City Group participated in 1990 along with community groups and businesses to launch a three-year tree-planting program. As many as three hundred trees were planted along State Route 104, also known as "Camp Sherman Memorial Highway," at 100-foot intervals for four miles between U.S. Highway 35 and State Route 207. Local prison inmates planted sugar maples and ash trees in conjunction with Earth Day and the Department of the Interior's "Take Pride in America" campaign. Superintendent Bill Gibson played a pivotal role in the effort, calling attention to environmental issues and community pride in restoring the scenic roadway setting reminiscent of the World War I Camp Sherman era.²⁵

Growing archeological evidence that Hopewellian geometric earthworks were sited in pre-existing native prairie openings led to efforts to restore significant areas of native prairie beginning in 1997.

**** Maintenance Challenges**

Following passage of the Clean Air Act and other environmental legislation, the monument discontinued its practice of open-air burning to dispose of garbage and refuse in 1965. By

²³Superintendent's Report for 1987; and Apschnikat, "Management Briefing Paper, 1987."

²⁴Superintendent's Reports for 1988 and 1989.

²⁵William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and "Trees to Line 104 Once Again," Chillicothe Gazette (1 May 1990).

contracting for periodic removal by a local refuse collector, it effectively reduced the constant threat of fire on monument lands.²⁶ As recycling programs gained popularity and landfill space began becoming scarce, monument employees voluntarily began an aluminum recycling program among the staff. With a state-mandated twenty-five percent reduction in solid waste for landfills set for 1992, Maintenance Worker Foreman Jon Casson began planning in late 1989 to launch a voluntary recycling program to include the public by installing containers to recycle aluminum, plastic, and glass. To the delight of park staff, the four-slotted recycling containers became a regular stop for school groups with teachers using the opportunity to discuss recycling and the environment.²⁷

Ensuring water quality standards became a maintenance task in the early 1970s when the monument began purchasing its water from the state-leased Chillicothe Correctional Institute. Although the state as part of its lease obligations began monitoring the Camp Sherman-era well water source, the National Park Service acted to ensure public safety at the monument by taking monthly samples alternately from the visitor center, residence, and maintenance building and forwarded them to the Ohio Department of Health. Typically free from bacteriological agents, the water itself proved to be of poor quality with high concentrations of iron, sulphur, alum, and other minerals. Water used in the residence had to be run through an iron filter and a conditioning unit, but even then it remained unsuitable for cooking and drinking. Maintenance workers had to obtain bottled water from Chillicothe's municipal supply and transport it to the residence and visitor center for consumptive uses. The neighboring Veteran's Administration medical center built its own million-dollar treatment plant in hopes of improving water quality.

By the late 1970s, upgrading of Mound City Group's aging water system included a new iron filter, chlorinator, and replacement of the piping system. With increased usage, the Chillicothe Correctional Institute began experiencing difficulty in sustaining stable pressure. Low pressure invited bacterial contamination, while high pressure burst valves and other parts along the aging system.²⁸ Addressing the water problem came in a

²⁶Riddle to Hartzog, 12 February 1965/January 1965 report and 12 March 1965/February 1965 report.

²⁷Gibson to Castleberry, 21 November 1989, and Gibson to Deputy Regional Director William W. Schenk, 24 October 1990, both in D50 Service and Utilities.

²⁸Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993; Birdsell to Brooks, 20 March 1973, L54; and Fagergren, package 103 visitor center expansion, 16 May 1979, D2215 Water Resource Proposal.

cooperative partnership with the Veterans Administration during the 1980s (see Chapter 5). By the mid-1990s, NPS connected to the Ross Correctional Institute's water system.

A 1976 operations evaluation lauded the park's maintenance division as "exceptional" and noted that "Even in the off season all facilities almost sparkle." The staff played a key role in presenting a professional, top-quality park operation to the visiting public, thereby achieving and maintaining high agency standards. To provide equal accommodation to all visitors, maintenance staff ensured parkwide handicapped accessibility by modifying restrooms and all doorways. They also constructed a specially-designated handicapped parking area close to the visitor center entrance and installed a wheelchair-friendly picnic table in the outdoor luncheon area.²⁹

The very existence of an in-house maintenance function at Mound City Group National Monument, like at other parks throughout the national park system, came into question during the end of President Ronald Reagan's first term. Heralded by the anti-big government Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and its Circular A-76, each park undertook an A-76 review of all grounds maintenance and custodial services in 1984 to ascertain the most cost-effective means to perform "commercial or industrial activities." Following A-76 guidelines, agencies were mandated to determine the cost-effectiveness of performing these functions using federal employees or through contracts with the private sector.

At Mound City Group, the dreaded A-76 review began on March 20, 1984, following notification to three potentially affected employees and in close consultation with the Midwest Regional Office. In submitting his management study to Regional Director Charles H. Odegaard, Superintendent Apschnikat asked that his park be exempted from A-76 requirements. Apschnikat declared, "small parks like Mound City need a continuing uniformed in-house maintenance presence that is qualified, versatile, able to adapt quickly to emergency conditions or changing priorities, sensitive to cultural and natural resource concerns, and able to meet and deal with people." With the potential loss of his skilled workers, Apschnikat feared much flexibility would be lost. He believed the most efficient and cost-effective means remained with an in-house maintenance force. Loss of that capability would result in an inability to fulfill the monument's mission.³⁰

²⁹Quotation from Beattie and Weeks, Operation Evaluation Report, 1976; and "Accessibility Increased at Park," Chillicothe Gazette (14 January 1983).

³⁰Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1984; and Apschnikat to Maintenance Division employees Phillip Egan, David Dere, and Doug Wolfe, 13 March 1984,

Thanks to two years of intensive lobbying by the National Parks and Conservation Association and other groups, the deleterious impacts of OMB Circular A-76 were mitigated through an amendment attached to a Senate bill revising the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969. Signed into law on October 4, 1984, the legislation exempted the National Park Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and Bureau of Land Management in local unit operations involving ten full-time equivalencies (FTE) or less. Congress called on the agencies to implement a maintenance management system (MMS), first called for by a June 1, 1984 General Accounting Office report. MMS, involving computerized calculations for a diverse array of work functions, was intended to streamline and improve federal maintenance operations. The data collected in 1984 helped serve as baseline data for the monument's MMS, in operation in 1989. Ultimately, the exercise did help increase the effectiveness and efficiency of Mound City Group's already superior maintenance workforce.³¹

A May 1979 inspection of the visitor center's ceiling by the Ohio Department of Health revealed the presence of 3.18 percent chrysotile asbestos by weight. Although the inspectors found the ceiling to be in good condition and therefore not presenting an immediate health hazard, their report recommended that the maintenance staff monitor the acoustic plaster ceiling closely. As the material aged, they warned the binding capacity within the plaster would begin to lose its cohesiveness and fail, causing a dangerous release of air-borne asbestos fibers. By maintaining a coating of quality paint to the ceiling, the cancer-causing fibers would be held in place and not pose any threat to employees or visitors.³²

Ill at ease because of the potential health threat, Ken Apschnikat engaged the services of a Columbus architectural and engineering firm in 1982 to develop alternative strategies regarding the asbestos problem. Apschnikat's discomfort centered on the building's flat metal roof that had a history of leaks. Penetrating water seemingly could not be stopped, and it posed a constant threat after each rainfall of causing the asbestos-laden plaster ceiling's collapse. While the 1979 state inspection involved only one room, three other rooms needed to be tested. On March 17, 1983, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) conducted a health hazard evaluation by

and Apschnikat to Odegaard, 29 May 1984, both in S7215 OMB Circular A-76.

³¹Superintendent's Report for 1984; and National Park and Conservation Association open letter to National Park Service superintendents, 30 October 1984, S7215 OMB Circular A-76.

³²David E. Kos, Ohio Department of Health, to Fred Fagergren, letter, 3 July 1979, A76.



Figure 66: The monument's only quarters building, home to all but one Mound City Group National Monument superintendent, presented maintenance workers with a wide range of problems, including high radon gas levels. (NPS/Fred Fagergren, June 1977)

collecting samples of ceiling plaster and tap water. Results of the NIOSH industrial hygiene survey found asbestos air concentrations ranging from 0.01 to 0.02 fibers per cubic centimeter over an eight-hour period. While NIOSH's recommended criteria level came at 0.1, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's (OSHA) high threshold standard came at 2.0. No hazardous traces were found in the tap water, and three of four bulk samples contained chrysotile asbestos ranging from two to sixty percent. In essence, the NIOSH report found no immediate health hazard existed.³³

While committed to maintaining a good painted surface to ensure the ceiling's continued integrity and mandating sustained monitoring, the Midwest Regional Office advised that any sudden release of fibers be immediately reported to the region's safety officer. Further, it recommended the park program for funding to remove and dispose of the hazardous material and install a new ceiling. Almost a decade passed before a two-inch May 1992 rainfall resulted in numerous leaks that allowed water to saturate sizeable areas of the ceiling. While it did not fail, and maintenance workers warily monitored it during the drying out period, emergency testing revealed no hazardous levels of asbestos. The event nonetheless expedited plans to eradicate the problem permanently, accomplished as part of the roof replacement and visitor center renovation effort of the early 1990s.³⁴

Another potentially hazardous health condition emerged in the mid- to late 1980s. On December 3, 1986, Associate Director for Park Operations Stanley T. Albright called on all regional consultants from the U.S. Public Health Service to coordinate a nationwide testing program for radon gas in employee and concessioner housing. Radon commonly seeped into buildings through subsurface cracks and tended to concentrate in ever-higher levels until properly ventilated. Medical experts warned that sustained exposure to elevated radon levels could result in lung cancer in humans. The National Park Service contracted with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)'s laboratory in Montgomery, Alabama, to evaluate samples from park housing. Mound City Group's single test canister arrived in late January 1987. Park maintenance collected the air sample from the superintendent's residence and forwarded the canister to the EPA.

³³Superintendent's Report for 1982; Apschnikat to NIOSH, letter, 31 January 1983, A76; NIOSH Industrial Hygienist Raymond L. Ruhe to Apschnikat, letter, 24 March 1983, A76; and Ruhe, NIOSH Report (HETA 83-134), no date [March 1983], A76.

³⁴Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Apschnikat, 28 July 1983, A76; and Mound City Group Safety Committee meeting minutes, 12 May 1992, A7619.

Test results on March 2, 1987, revealed the residence not only exceeded the maximum contaminant levels for radon, but it had the dubious honor of being ranked at the highest exposure level in the ten-state Midwest Region: 39.3 picoCuries per liter (pCi/l). The measurement constituted nearly ten times the safe benchmark reading of 4.0 pCi/l. Follow up testing for the residence's first floor and basement, as well as the maintenance building's basement brought an even higher radon reading of 46.5 pCi/l in the residence's basement and 11.5 pCi/l in the first-floor bedroom. Readings in the maintenance building's basement came in at 24.0 and 25.5 pCi/l.

In May 1987, Ken Apschnikat requested emergency assistance from Omaha to mitigate the radon gas problem. Apschnikat's initial discussions with U.S. Public Health Consultant Bert Mitchell revealed no funding or properly trained personnel to plan and implement a mitigation and monitoring program. In the meantime, the Apschnikat family's use of the basement ceased except for the laundry area.³⁵

In late August 1987, Radon Remediation Consultant Thomas L. Sinclair, an employee of Effigy Mounds National Monument in Iowa, arrived at Mound City Group for an inspection accompanied by U.S. Public Health Service Consultant Bert Mitchell. Sinclair recommended all "hot spots" be sealed, including floor drains and cracks, wall cracks, and utility openings where subterranean gas could penetrate. If these and other measures did not work, Sinclair recommended demolishing the house and its foundation, and replacing them with a specially-designed subslab with proper ventilation and drainage systems. Another option would be to cease the structure's use as a quarters and convert it to administrative and storage purposes. Human use of the building would then be on a more limited basis.³⁶

Actual radon mitigation work came in late August 1988 following Ken Apschnikat's transfer to Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia. Vacating the structure permitted its conversion from a residence to use as a park headquarters and administrative office building. Effigy Mounds maintenance worker Timothy Mason performed the mitigation measures in the two affected areas and radon levels declined dramatically to within safe levels at the new headquarters. Radon levels in the maintenance building's basement, however, continued at unhealthy

³⁵Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Bert Mitchell draft memorandum, undated [circa December 1986] for Midwest Region superintendents, D50; Mitchell to Odegaard, 22 December 1986, D50; Mitchell to Apschnikat, 20 January and 30 April 1987, D50; and Apschnikat to Odegaard, 29 May 1987, D50.

³⁶Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; and Sinclair to Apschnikat, 4 December 1987, D32.

readings, resulting in its discontinued use as a routine work area.³⁷ Radon monitoring remains a frequent activity.

Extensive road rehabilitation took place in the 1980s and 1990s. To eliminate a safety hazard for employees by having two roads entering State Highway 104 within a few yards of one another, a connector road in 1983 linked Portsmouth Road with the visitor center entrance road. In 1991, a deceleration lane to enter the park from State Highway 104, paving the formerly gravel base of Portsmouth Road, repaving all remaining roads and lots, and adding a parking lot for the administrative headquarters building were accomplished. Workers also eradicated the former outlet of Portsmouth Road onto State Route 104. For the first time, park roads met National Park Service standards.³⁸

** History of the Physical Plant

The small MISSION 66-era visitor center and museum building became the monument's key visitor services point following its 1960 opening. To accent the modern complex, a new stone entrance gate and sign replaced the original configuration in October 1961. One of the earliest "glitches" concerning the new construction concerned its septic tank in that it proved to be too close to the ground's surface. This resulted in turf failure and planting bushes to screen visitor's views of the bare spot from the observation deck.³⁹

Water seeping along the edges of the visitor center's skylights came in September 1962. While the building's original contractor made those repairs, no one anticipated that the flat-designed roof would continue to leak so badly throughout its lifetime. Two years later, Superintendent Riddle reported that leaks over the restroom areas had to be patched and the "Other Outstanding Mounds" exhibit required leak-related repairs. Laborers replaced the fifteen-year old roof in 1975 and new skylights were also installed, but leaks persisted. Park maintenance continued to perform roof-patching chores each season. Exasperated by delays working through the Denver Service Center to discover the sources of water leaks, Superintendent Fagergren cancelled the assistance request by stating that his

³⁷Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1988; and Mitchell to Regional Director Don H. Castleberry, 7 January 1988, D32.

³⁸Superintendent's Reports for 1983, 1990, and 1991; and Gibson to CCI Warden Terry Morris, letter, 20 February 1991, S7219 Construction Contracts (Roads).

³⁹King to Wirth, 2 November 1961/October 1961 report and Riddle to Wirth, 7 November 1962/October 1962 report.

own staff plugged the suspected entry points.⁴⁰

So stingy on space was the visitor center that it lacked sufficient storage areas for maintenance supplies and small equipment. In 1963, maintenance workers erected for such a purpose a small metal building measuring both six-foot, eight-inches wide and long by eight-feet high at the visitor center's northwest corner. Regularly supplied hot water did not arrive until mid-1971 when workers installed a small hot water heater in the utility space between the two restrooms. An incredulous Bill Birdsell exclaimed upon the new addition, "Having hot water available for building maintenance is very helpful, and at least we are not having to heat scrub water in the office coffee-pot!"⁴¹

In October 1977, the Denver Service Center prepared a task directive for expansion of the visitor center as part of the Bicentennial Land Heritage Program. The expansion accommodated an additional 2,900 square feet of space as follows:

artifact basement storage and library	400 square feet
auditorium	1,200 square feet
interpretive workspace	150 square feet
office space (six interpreters)	440 square feet
stairs, mechanical, circulation	700 square feet

According to the directive, construction drawings were to be generated in 1979.⁴²

Appropriations for the expansion failed to materialize and construction planning documents were not prepared. In the vain hope that dropping the auditorium from the request might move the project up to a higher priority for funding, Fagergren believed that slashing the cost might make the project a reality. While the January 1970 Interpretive Prospectus had first recommended an auditorium, Fagergren deemed a late 1970s video presentation in the museum as sufficient and stressed more basic needs as essential. Fagergren's first concern was to provide a stable

⁴⁰Riddle to Wirth, 10 October 1962, September 1962; Riddle to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 5 June 1964; Riddle to Hartzog, 14 July 1964, June 1964 report; Superintendent's Report for 1975; and Fagergren to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 6 April 1978, D24 Jan. 1976-Dec. 1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁴¹J. Vernon Acton, Form 10-768 Individual Building Data, for Building 5, 4 October 1974 (prepared to document installation of a steel door); and Birdsell to Environmental Maintenance Specialist [?], 4 August 1971, D32 Mound City 1965-72, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁴²Associate Manager, Denver Service Center, Donald L. Bressler to Regional Director Beal, 7 October 1977, including Visitor Center Expansion Package 103.

environment for the archeological collection. His second consideration envisioned providing an external area for interpretive events during inclement weather by using the patio, the spot for the proposed auditorium, as a covered veranda. His third basic need involved having adequate administrative work space for park staff.⁴³

Funding for the necessary additions did not arise. A critical over-crowding of the administrative office area came in May 1979. A new floorplan for the compact twelve- by twenty-four-foot office called for new furniture to accommodate five permanent and three seasonal employees. Funding from the retiring maintenance leader's lapsed position in the fall of 1979 allowed the purchase of space-efficient furniture, but office conditions remained cramped in the visitor center for the next nine years.⁴⁴

Visitation continued to grow and increasing numbers of heavy vehicles such as school buses and large touring coaches needed to be accommodated, but overflow parking resulted in unsightly ruts and damage to the lawn. No one wished to expand the already sizeable lot. A compromise solution involved converting a 3,000 square foot grassy area to serve as an overflow lot. The informal area received stability for parking purposes by installing a pattern of "turfstones" in 1981.⁴⁵

After years of applying patching material to fix the sieve-like visitor center roof, the National Park Service awarded a roof replacement contract in 1984 to Rebel Roofing Company of Colonial Beach, Virginia. It represented the building's third and last flat roof. Contractor delays resulted in one time extension and work began on July 30 during the middle of the heavy visitation season and concluded five weeks later. Not satisfied with the quality of work, particularly after a new leak developed, Omaha contracting officials granted another contract extension until the end of November. When attempts to find and stop the leak failed, the agency declared Rebel Roofing in default on December 24.⁴⁶

The defaulted roof contract yielded negotiations locally for a new contractor to conduct repairs. On March 25, 1985,

⁴³Fagergren to Dunning, 17 May 1979, D22.

⁴⁴Mound City Group staff meeting minutes, 15 May 1979 and 12 September 1979, A4031 Mound City Jan. 1978-Dec. 1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

⁴⁵Fagergren, 10-238 funding request for improved parking area, no date [circa 1980], D2219; and Superintendent's Report for 1981.

⁴⁶Ken Apschikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Superintendent's Report for 1984.



Figure 67: The flat visitor center's roof perpetually leaked, despite repeated attempts to repair it. Extensive interior water damage and disturbance of an asbestos ceiling necessitated a radical redesign. (NPS/September 1984)

Alexander Roofing Company of Chillicothe removed roofing material over the suspected leak, exposing damage over a 214 square foot area. Repairs were finished the following day.⁴⁷

The same month that the defaulted roof contract occurred, the monument learned more bad news. After consulting with the Ross County engineer, Ken Apschnikat reported severe splitting at the base of the four outside steel beams supporting the visitor observation deck. While there was no immediate danger of structural failure because there was no evidence of bowing or bulging at any weak points and the four inside supports were undamaged, the condition called for a solution. Apschnikat hoped that it would also contribute to halting the water intrusion problem.

As early as August 1981, the park had requested funding to replace the aging concrete and steel observation deck. Freezing and thawing contributed to the concrete slab's deterioration and the steel I-beams began rusting as water penetrated through hairline cracks. In order to prevent pieces of the rusted metal ceiling falling on visitors walking beneath the deck, maintenance workers began applying temporary patches to prevent the hazard. Such efforts did nothing to halt rusting caused by trapped moisture between the concrete slab and metal ceiling. In 1983, a contractor replaced the concrete deck, made necessary repairs, and installed heated floor mats to eliminate freezing and thawing.⁴⁸

Roof woes resumed on February 1, 1988, when heavy rains pooled water on the visitor center roof's northeast corner, causing extensive water damage to the interior walls, ceiling, and floor coverings. Damage concentrated in the superintendent's office south to the outer administrative office. It raised new fears of catastrophic ceiling failures and releasing deadly asbestos fibers into the work areas. Emergency repair work included installing a rubber membrane over the building's

⁴⁷Superintendent's Report for 1985; memorandum of telephone call, Midwest Region Contract Specialist Gerald T. McClarnon to Administrative Technician Bonnie Murray, 26 December 1984; and Maintenance Foreman Jerrold Napier to Regional Director Charles H. Odegard, 30 April 1985, S7219 Construction Contracts. The original contractor failed to install roofing felt for waterproofing. Park maintenance suspected other developing leaks at various roof drains.

⁴⁸Minutes of meeting between Ken Apschnikat, Jerry Chilton, and Ross County engineer [?], 13 December 1984, D24 Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities Program; 10-238 funding request to replace observation deck, 18 September 1981, D2219; and Superintendent's Report for 1983.



Figure 68: The pitched, red metallic roof gave a dramatic facelift to the MISSION 66-era visitor center. (NPS/Rebecca Jones, fall 1996)

northeast corner.⁴⁹

The incident prompted calls for a radical redesign of the flat roof, but not before another pooling episode on April 1, 1990, in the same area brought water cascading down on the park's library. Moved from the maintenance utility building's basement following conversion of the residence to the new administrative offices, the library had returned to the newly spacious visitor center only to be met with a third of the shelved volumes suffering water damage. After air-drying the soggy books, park maintenance placed the entire archive in boxes and moved it for safekeeping to the administration building until permanent roof repairs were made.⁵⁰

In late 1990, a contract called for four alternative design concepts to retrofit the failed roof. Selecting the preferred design, the agency awarded the contract on October 7, 1991, for a raised metal seam roof to shed rain and snow to Brothers Construction Company of Columbus, Ohio. Difficulties in securing the required bonds delayed construction work until mid-1992, and all the while employees were using buckets and plastic tarps to prevent further interior damage until the work concluded later that year, including removal of the hazardous ceiling.⁵¹

Because the park budget could no longer endure the \$550 annual payment to the telephone company to maintain the public telephone booth adjacent to the visitor center parking lot, Bill Gibson requested it be removed on January 4, 1990. Local workers at the Veteran's medical center and prison employees used it to make personal phone calls, and only occasionally did non-local park visitors make use of it. Gibson reasoned the annual expense could not be justified, and visitors with legitimate calling needs would be permitted to use agency telephones inside the visitor center. When no action resulted, Gibson learned that the

⁴⁹Apschnikat to Castleberry, 12 February 1988, D24 Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities Program; and Superintendent's Report for 1988. Maintenance workers suspected the problem existed because the roof was never properly joined to the walls, creating low spots at roof drains and fresh air intakes.

⁵⁰Park Ranger Robert Petersen, 3 April 1990, report on visitor center roof leak of 1 April 1990, W34 Case Incident Reports 10-343 (1989-91); and Acting Superintendent Bonnie M. Murray to Castleberry, 6 April 1990, F34 Budget Execution. The library first left the visitor center to the interpretive and maintenance area office space in the shop's basement in 1972. See staff meeting minutes, 22 December 1972, A40.

⁵¹Superintendent's Report for 1990; Gibson to Castleberry, 10 October 1991 and McClarnon to Brothers Construction Company, letter, 26 November 1991, both no file code; "Construction Activity at Mound City Group," 10 March 1992, K3415 Press Releases; and Petersen, visitor center roof leak on 8 May 1992, prepared 10 May 1992, W34 Case Incident Reports 10-343 (1992).



Figure 69: The old maintenance utility building. (NPS/February 1989)



Figure 70: Modern maintenance building. (NPS/Rebecca Jones, spring 1996)

company released the monument from its payment obligation and wanted the telephone booth to remain in place until its removal in 1993.⁵²

Substantial remodeling and redesigning of the cramped visitor center began in the summer of 1994, resulting in its closure through November of that year. Addition of the long-awaited auditorium seating fifty people occurred as a component of visitor center redesign. Future development plans include further expansion or new construction of Hopewell Culture's principal visitor center.⁵³

The maintenance utility building has perhaps seen the most change throughout the park's history. It, too, suffered from poor design, possessing an over-bearing, two-story height that dominated the park's landscape and dwarfed the adjacent residence. From its inception, both state and federal managers recognized the building's undesirability and recommended its replacement. Discussions in early 1949 held in the Region One Office determined that the building could be altered more economically than building a new fireproof structure. Richmond planners developed a new floor plan as well as a scheme to eliminate the second floor, its six dormer windows, and lower the roof. They planned to replace the hinged swinging doors, impractical for Ohio's snowy winters, with lift-type garage doors.

A decade passed before MISSION 66 development funds were available to implement the 1949 plans. By 1959, the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center exhibited "considerable hesitation" in undertaking the extensive rehabilitation, preferring the new construction route, but Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin overruled the office of design and construction. Clyde King concurred that the rehabilitation was more practical, the second floor space was not needed for storage, and that a lower roofline would help screen the building from the prehistoric Mound City Group. The work occurred during the summer of 1959.⁵⁴

Few alterations to the maintenance building occurred during

⁵²Gibson to park staff, 4 January 1990, A46 Communications Systems; Gibson, memorandum of telephone call, 19 August 1992; and Superintendent's Report for 1993.

⁵³Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

⁵⁴King to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, 28 February 1949, and Allen to King, 1 September 1949, Utility Building (Building 2) File; King to Tobin, 28 April 1959, 12 June 1959, and 4 August 1959, Buildings, Incinerator, Utility File; and Tobin to Chief, Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Edward S. Zimmer, 5 May 1959, Utility Building (Building 2) File.

the 1960s and 1970s. In 1966, Maintenanceman Acton removed the inefficient coal-burning furnace for a contemporary model. In 1975, the building received a new roof. Both the utility maintenance building and the superintendent's residence were stained matching gray with white-painted trim to unify the complex. New gutters were also installed.⁵⁵

To increase facility development and accommodate the expanded national historical park, construction of a new 3,200 square foot maintenance building came in 1994, providing three work and storage areas, a multipurpose room, and office space. NPS placed the long-awaited facility immediately to the east of the former maintenance and utility building, which workers began converting to operational use by resource management specialists in what became called the Resource Management Building.⁵⁶

Since Clyde B. King's arrival on November 2, 1946, the residence served as required park quarters for the superintendent and his constant presence served to provide a degree of protection to the monument. A management inspection in 1961 recommended housing be provided to the park's archeologist. A similar inspection in 1962 noted the wisdom of including a second required housing proposal, but questioned its likelihood in light of the Kennedy administration's strict Bureau of the Budget and General Accounting Office fiscal views.⁵⁷

Keeping a good coat of paint on the 1930s park buildings proved problematic. Paint applied to the redwood kept blistering and peeling, causing endless maintenance attention. The white buildings were frequently unsightly. Bill Birdsell's 1972 request for vinyl siding met with Philadelphia's rejection in favor of chemical stripping and repainting. In 1974, the contractor who performed the work damaged the existing aluminum doors and windows as well as the surrounding vegetation, and replaced the structural items at no charge. The extensive paint job also failed, yielding charcoal gray steel siding four years later.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Civil Engineer Joseph J. Monkoski to Garrison, 8 August 1967; and Superintendent's Report for 1975.

⁵⁶Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

⁵⁷Regional Administrative Officer John J. Bachensky to Lee, Mound City Group Management Inspections, 26 July 1961 and 19 December 1962, A5427 Management Appraisal.

⁵⁸Monkoski to Garrison, 8 August 1967; Birdsell, 10-238 funding request to reside quarters and maintenance buildings, 20 January 1972; Superintendent's Report for 1975; and Fagergren to the files, minutes of pre-construction conference with Anglin Sales and Service Company, 4 May 1979, F74.

Birdsell's call for an air-conditioning system for the residence received sympathetic attention. The quarters suffered from humidity problems and became stifling during frequent air pollution blanketings by Chillicothe's paper manufacturing plant. Birdsell wrote, "We shudder to think of having to live through future summers here with mildewed furniture and clothing and to wake up at night because of the factory fumes. This, combined with the paint peeling off the walls and the house soggy with moisture, seems to us to justify proceeding with the installation."⁵⁹ Following the system's June 1973 installation, a grateful Bill Birdsell reported the humidity levels were finally under control, stating "This has made a big difference inside the house. The carpets are no longer buckled, the furniture is no longer 'sticky' and mildewing, the paint on the walls has stopped peeling, and even the basement is now dry and usable."⁶⁰

In the late 1980s, NPS converted the residence into the park's administration building, foreshadowing radical changes to the physical plant with the creation of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. In anticipation of new construction, utilities work in 1993 at Mound City Group included natural gas pipeline installation to connect all buildings and replace the existing, inefficient heating and air-conditioning system. The same ground disturbance also accommodated telephone line installation to upgrade the outdated system.⁶¹

Renovation of the administrative headquarters followed in 1995, providing adequate space for copying and fax machines, a mailing center, central files, and a paging system. Work on the same structure in 1996 included remodeling the front entryway into a reception area and contracting to replace the building's windows and siding. The park library, shuffled from building to building and at one point suffering water damage, emerged from its boxed-up slumber in storage when volunteers organized it in the remodeled Administration Building. The new library room also featured work space for researchers and park staff.⁶²

⁵⁹Birdsell to Northeast Region Environmental Maintenance Specialist [?], 7 February 1972, D3415.

⁶⁰Birdsell to Assistant Regional Director, Operations, Nathan B. Golub, 17 August 1973, D50.

⁶¹Superintendent's Report for 1993.

⁶²Superintendent's Report for 1994-95 and 1995-96.

** Temporary Work Programs

The first temporary employment program to benefit Mound City Group National Monument was the Kennedy-era Accelerated Public Works Program that the agency used to fund the Ohio Historical Society's excavating and reconstruction of mounds. Launched in the spring of 1963, program funds employed twenty men whose labor also included non-archeological projects. Workers erected a chestnut split rail boundary fence, installed a stone wall and path along the Scioto, and planted ninety-six large trees. Planning for the river trail included it in a larger nature use trail to interpret plants used by prehistoric Indians.⁶³

Congress authorized the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) as a component of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The temporary employment program for young people helped give them practical experience working for public lands administering agencies. Mound City Group National Monument eagerly used the nonresident employment program since 1967 to augment its maintenance and administrative staff with excellent results. The assistance, accomplished through the Ross County Community Action Office, made possible the completion of many projects that otherwise could not have been conducted with available staff. Use of NYC became especially important in the 1970s, when Manpower, Inc., workers were also used. Maintenance Leader J. Vernon Acton supervised the programs and employees. In 1975, 2,871 manhours augmented maintenance operations. In 1976, the monument also established a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) camp and the combined manhours surpassed 7,000 hours. That year, labor-intensive projects ranged from linking the mound enclosure trail to the river trail and creating an ethnobotanical trail system, removing the concrete steps at the Death Mask Mound, removing debris along the Scioto, and constructing a twelve- by thirty-eight-foot addition to the maintenance utility building. The young workers conducted additional projects in 1977, and were so successful at clearing up the maintenance backlog, that a YCC camp was deemed unnecessary for 1978.⁶⁴

In the late 1970s, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) created temporary employment opportunities to assist federal agencies. At Mound City Group, CETA workers, usually one or two at a time, continued to assist in either administrative or maintenance positions. In 1979, six CETA students worked thirty-

⁶³"Mound City Work Good for 20 Jobs," Chillicothe Gazette (17 April 1963); Riddle to Wirth, 13 May 1963/April 1963 report and 10 June 1963/May 1963 report; and Riddle to Hartzog, 9 June 1964, May 1964 report.

⁶⁴Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; staff meeting minutes, 8 May 1978, A4031 Jan. 1978-Dec. 1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; Superintendent's Report for 1975, 1976, 1977, and 1983; and Acting Superintendent Joan F. Crider to Beal, 1 October 1974.

two hours during the summer and eight hours per week during the school year for more than 1,000 manhours. The park continued to benefit from CETA labor until October 1983 when congressional appropriations for CETA stopped. For the first time in seven years, two YCC enrollees worked at the monument in 1984 for eight weeks. The park also received Federal Jobs Bill funding in 1983 to pay two local workers to augment maintenance operations.

Non-federal workers principally assisting the interpretive division came under the Volunteers In Parks (VIP) program. VIPs, individuals who volunteer their time and talents without pay, assisted with interpretive functions, and during the 1980s did not number more than a dozen in any given year.⁶⁵

Utilizing all available options to augment its small permanent staff resulted in a slow erosion of the park's full-time equivalency (FTE) levels. From September 1981 to November 1984, its FTE declined from 9.6 to 8.9. A concerned Ken Apschnikat noted, "We have taken advantage of these programs, as encouraged and directed, in order to save FTE. However, it appears we have 'cut our own throat' so to speak in order to meet program goals, objectives, and mandates and still stay within our allocation over the years." Fearing further attrition, he declared, "Frankly, I am very concerned that this will never end. Small parks like Mound City can't stand many more of these cuts before we'll be curtailing visitor services.... At the present time we are .1 away from reducing visitor services."⁶⁶

FTE relief in 1985 came through funding from the Private Industry Council for three participants in the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), a successor to CETA. Three YCC enrollees also helped with grounds and custodial care as well as a new rail fence along State Highway 104. In 1986, two SYEP participants were employed and no YCC workers. Neither program received funding for 1987, but the monument began using Ross County Court of Common Pleas Save-A-Child Program. Two youths performed maintenance duties as VIPs to earn community service hours.⁶⁷

Temporary labor assisted in demolishing a severe safety hazard, the Works Progress Administration-built dock, steps, and retaining wall. The badly deteriorated structures were first removed from the National Register of Historic Places in 1982, as

⁶⁵Superintendent's Reports for 1976, 1979, and 1984; and Apschnikat to Dunning, 30 September 1983, A64.

⁶⁶Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Apschnikat to Odegard, 30 November 1984, F34.

⁶⁷Superintendent's Report for 1985, 1986, and 1987.

were the Ohio and Erie Canal stones, none of which related to why the monument was enrolled on the National Register upon the list's creation in 1966. Fishing activities that routinely took place there were relocated to a gravel bar further up the Scioto, and extensive measures were taken to block the area from public access. Temporary workers helped install new concrete steps on the river trail in 1984, complete with handrails. In 1987, they placed an all-weather gravel tread upon the ethnobotanical trail in 1987, with wildflowers planted along the route.⁶⁸

With the emergence of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, volunteers contributed nearly five thousand hours in 1995. Maintenance augmented its workforce using the Green Thumb program and Summer Youth Employment Program to hire three workers. CCI prisoners assisted in both maintenance and interpretive projects. At Hopeton, the prisoners removed old fencing, raked and seeded the mounds and earthwalls, and removed debris from the storage area. At Mound City Group, a prison crew replaced the roof on the former maintenance building, remodeled the interior, and converted it into what became called the "Resource Management Building." The workers installed two concrete pads, an accessible ramp at the Administration Building, and helped convert the restroom there to accommodate the handicapped.⁶⁹

Volunteerism nearly topped the 6,000-hour mark in 1996, with prison labor for maintenance totally nearly 3,600 hours. Volunteers, a cadre of whom staffed the visitor center information desk, also continued to be responsible for the success of annual observances such as National Park Week and Archeology Day. A local scout group devoted two weeks posting boundary signs at Hopeton Earthworks, and various volunteers expended 364 hours assisting with excavations and cataloging duties.⁷⁰

Beginning in earnest in the 1960s, the assortment of temporary employment programs as well as volunteer efforts became essential in most areas of park administration, but none were more pivotal than in maintenance operations. Without access to supplementary labor, many important projects could not have been performed utilizing existing NPS manpower. As the twentieth century concludes, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park remained dependent upon such labor augmentation to meet increased maintenance needs for the expanded park.

⁶⁸Superintendent's Report for 1982, 1984, and 1987; Apschnikat to Dunning, 5 April 1982, D18; and Superintendent to files on riverdock demolition, 25 October 1982, H30.

⁶⁹Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

⁷⁰Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

Chapter Eight

Resource Management and Visitor Protection

The natural and cultural resource management functions and visitor protection program grew in a haphazard fashion during the pre-development era of Mound City Group National Monument. Until proper facilities were built and funding became available for professional positions, the monument operated as a "one man show" in the form of Clyde B. King. While King could depend on professional advice and assistance from the Region One Office in Richmond (1946-1955) and Northeast Regional Office in Philadelphia (1955-61), actual permanent staff positions for these program areas did not materialize until after King's departure and the MISSION 66 facility developments were in place and operating. Staff additions came only incrementally. Until the late 1960s, only an archeologist supplemented the permanent staff. The resource management and visitor protection (RM & VP) functions grew slowly, a secondary consideration to the more basic need for interpreters to help educate the visiting public concerning the prehistoric Hopewell culture. In essence, the interpretive program was preeminent in the small park's Division of Interpretation and Resource Management, which took form during the decade of the 1970s.

After Clyde King, most of the men who held the job of superintendent were in the park ranger series and possessed law enforcement certification, a skill that only rarely required active use during any calendar year. Surrounded by larger federal installations with capabilities and personnel in far superior numbers to the small National Park Service unit, national monument managers found having these federal neighbors proved invaluable whenever emergency services were required for visitor protection. Resource management issues were readily identified, but were seldom addressed unless one could no longer be ignored or threatened to impede park operations. For decades the park lacked any formal resource management plan. The first one addressing both cultural and natural resources appeared in 1982.¹

A 1968 management appraisal of Mound City Group's initial forays into resource management interpretation brought the recommendation to kill it. Citing tight budget and personnel ceilings, Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer advised the practice of holding late evening programs on the visitor center's patio be discontinued because they attracted only small groups of local residents. He doubted the time and expense of providing such a service could be justified, suggesting instead special open house events be held. Palmer believed other means

¹Superintendent's Report for 1982.

of engendering local support for the monument should be found.²

Park managers ignored Palmer's advice, opting not to cancel the special programs that addressed a variety of topics beyond the immediate Hopewell culture theme. The park possessed an array of resources, and managers felt the programs would help establish an appreciation for their promotion and protection. Such an attitude has prevailed to the present day.

**** Resource Management Concerns**

Following the visitor center's opening in 1960, damaged turf and shrubbery around the building appeared to be caused by burrowing gophers. Superintendent John C. W. Riddle invited two members of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's rodent and predator control unit based in Columbus to visit and advise on this damaged area as well as similar depredations within the mounds enclosure. On October 2, 1962, the experts determined that the omnipresent thirteen-lined ground squirrels were the chief culprits for turf damage, while mice were wreaking havoc on the new shrubbery. Recommended chemical deterrents included calcium cyanide for the ground squirrels and zinc phosphide-treated grain for prairie voles. The rodent control regimen received Washington Office approval, and the first treatments were applied in November 1962.³

Controlling the orchard mouse or prairie vole proved difficult. The vegetarian rodents constructed noticeable surface runways through the turf, and frequently availed themselves to tunnels abandoned by ground squirrels. They particularly were fond of seeds and roots and bark of young trees and shrubs, and used burlap from young plantings to construct nests. Monument workers applied zinc phosphide to poison feed grain that was then broadcast to the mounds and along edges of unmowed fields at a rate of six to ten pounds per acre. A January 1963 assessment deemed the poisoning an effective deterrent with reapplication used as conditions warranted.

²Acting Regional Director Palmer to Director Hartzog, 10 May 1968, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

³Lee to Wirth, 31 October 1962, N1427, and Assistant Director Jackson S. Price to Lee, 9 November 1962, N1427, both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service's Northeast Regional Office, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Philadelphia); and Riddle to Wirth, 7 November 1962, October 1962 report, and 11 December 1962, November 1962 report.



Figure 71: Park Guide Frances Spetnagel indicates a display on ground squirrels in the visitor center lobby. (NPS/early 1960s)

Most methods to control ground squirrels at Mound City Group failed. These included using a twenty-two caliber air gun and pumping in water to flood burrow entrances. Although the rodents produced only one litter per year, each litter typically varied from five to fourteen young. If left unchecked, the colony could become very destructive. Application of calcium cyanide using a foot pump duster involved inserting the device into burrow openings and pumping the poison gas into the dens in early spring and late fall, periods of light visitation. While leaving turf areas unsightly, the rodents constituted a real safety hazard as Riddle explained, "They become a nuisance in public use areas by burrowing holes and throwing up small mounds of gravel. This is a hazard to the visitor, as the ground or path that the visitor must walk over to visit the different points of interest become unstabilized and constantly pitted with holes and loose mounds of gravel. The mounds of loose gravel also create a hazard during the periods that the mound area must be mowed."⁴

Superintendent James Coleman made the best of the situation. An avid golfer, Coleman enjoyed practicing his putting upon the lawn of the superintendent's residence. Taking advantage of the ground squirrel holes for making put shots, Coleman sometimes was unable to retrieve his golf balls. After the poison gas regimen was ruled a failure at curbing the ground squirrel population, Coleman authorized purchase of a pellet gun. Concerned by the safety hazard, particularly to small children who enjoyed, despite NPS restrictions, running through the mound area, the staff declared war on the rodents. During one week in March 1966, forty-two ground squirrels were killed as they began emerging from hibernation. Coleman, Maintenance Leader J. Vernon Acton, and Archeologist Lee Hanson took turns using the gun. Hanson later recalled, "We... used to take turns shooting them when there were no visitors around. I thought highly of my marksmanship and did most of the shooting. I found that the ground squirrels had one flaw in their character which was curiosity. I took advantage of this and whenever one would dive into its hole, I would draw a bead on the hole and wait for it to stick its head up to see if I was still there. I got a lot of head shots. We tried to retrieve the carcasses but once in a while one would go down into its burrow and we couldn't reach it." Following a complaint from an irate visitor who viewed one

⁴Riddle, "Combined Long Range and Annual Wildlife Management Plans for Mound City Group National Monument," 5 March 1964, N16, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Philadelphia. The summer of 1963 treatment of cyanide dust involved 1,200 entrance holes over a ten-acre area. See Riddle to Wirth, 7 August 1963, July 1963 report.

of the poor deceased creatures, the monument put the gun away.⁵

The thirteen-lined ground squirrel issue, and to a lesser extent groundhog burrowing, remains to be solved. Permitting native grass to grow tall has changed the habitat and made it less desirable. Overall numbers of these rodents have decreased. Resource managers continue to seek alternatives to control or remove this exotic species that has few natural predators. New forms of poison gas approved by the Washington Office for rodent control were tried in 1991 by depositing gas cartridges into burrow openings.⁶ Such measures have helped keep the nuisance rodent population under control.

Jon Casson, the monument's integrated pest management (IPM) coordinator, prepared a draft IPM plan in 1990. Its primary feature included converting existing turf grasses to native grasses, a radical reversal of past management practices. The plan suggested the same treatment for the Hopeton Earthworks Unit, converting cultivated fields to a mixed native grass species. While the monument lacked sufficient human and fiscal resources to launch its own IPM program, it did engage in cooperating with the U.S. Forest Service to monitor for gypsy moths in the area. By 1990, Mound City Group had six traps installed with negative results. In 1991, it was one of four Midwest parks participating in a regional gypsy moth monitoring program. Chillicothe results were negative until the summer of 1996, when the first specimen appeared in one of seven traps set at Mound City Group. Migrating from northern Ohio, the gypsy moth began to infiltrate the Chillicothe area.⁷

Riverbank erosion became a key issue to be addressed as early as 1977, several years prior to the area of primary erosion being added to the monument. Thirty-five acres of a 52.7-acre

⁵Quotation from Lee Hanson to Naomi L. Hunt, letter, 15 March 1986; Coleman to Hartzog, 4 March 1966/February 1966 report and 13 April 1966/March 1966 report; and Staff Park Ranger Gordon Bruce to Garrison, trip report, no date [circa November 1967], A2623.

⁶Ken Apschnikat, 10-238 funding request for ground squirrel impact and mitigation study, 10 December 1982, D2215; and Associate Director, Natural Resources, F. Eugene Hester to Castleberry, 2 July 1991, N50 Pest and Weed Control.

⁷Superintendent's Report for 1981; Gibson to Castleberry, 26 April 1990, N50 Pest and Weed Control; U.S. Forest Service Biological Technician Rodney L. Whiteman, (Morgantown West Virginia Office) to Park Ranger Robert Petersen, letter, 10 September 1990, N22 Research Programs; U.S. Forest Service Biological Technician Karen D. Felton, to Midwest Region IPM Coordinator Steve Cinnamon, letter, 9 January 1992, N22 Research Programs; and Superintendent's Report for 1995-96. The other three parks were Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial (Indiana), Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area (Ohio), and Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (Indiana).

tract on the north boundary suffered intensive erosion. Over a fifty-year period, the bank had been worn away an estimated foot per year by the Scioto. The activity threatened to undermine a Hopewell habitation site, and posed an immediate safety hazard to agricultural workers. Park managers needed immediate studies to determine how best to halt the erosion along the large horseshoe river bend as well as learn how mitigative measures might impact private land across the river. That landowner, Bill Houser, had long before contacted the Federal Bureau of Prisons and Chillicothe Correctional Institute (CCI) over the federally-built levee that he contended caused accelerated erosion. Houser's suggestion of a flood channel across CCI land to alleviate potential flooding in north Chillicothe received swift rejection from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, but the opinion was not backed up by research. In early 1983, Ken Apschnikat formally requested the Corps' assistance in developing alternatives for riverbank stabilization.⁸

Erosion-control engineers arrived for an inspection in late March 1983, and it soon became apparent that offering technical assistance under section 55 of the Water Resources Development Act of 1974 might be problematic. Because the legislation lacked language authorizing Corps assistance to another federal agency, the needed assistance had to be postponed for two years in order for the National Park Service to program fiscal resources to reimburse the Corps of Engineers.⁹

Riverbank stabilization work resumed in 1985 with up to \$25,000 available for a design analysis of stabilization alternatives and cost estimates, but no full-scale plans and specifications. The Corps' August 1985 study found severe erosion along an eighty-five-foot section of the west bank where piping or surface water leaching off the cultivated field contributed to the accelerated riverbank erosion. To a much lesser extent, erosion caused by high-water events also claimed slough-off. The Corps recommended three courses of action with cost estimates all in excess of \$100,000. Because of lack of funds and no visitor use of the area, Superintendent Apschnikat

⁸Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Fred Fagergren, funding request 10-238 for riverbank stabilization study, 31 August 1977, D2215; Fagergren meeting with Bill Houser, meeting minutes 31 December 1980, A5431; and Apschnikat to Col. James H. Higman, Huntington District Engineer, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, letter, 3 March 1983, A5431. Apschnikat's request came under authority of the section 14, Emergency Streambank Protection Authority, of the Flood Control Act of 1946.

⁹Record of meeting between Apschnikat and Larry Workman, Bob Maslowski, and Charlie Riffe, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Huntington District, 21 March 1983, D2215; District Engineer John W. Devens to Apschnikat, letter, 6 May 1983, A5431; and Apschnikat to Devens, letter, 17 May 1983, A5431.

determined to monitor the area every two years and post signs warning people of the dropoff danger. In 1986, two seasonal engineers from the Midwest Regional Office established two monitoring points. These were replaced in 1990 with more accurate fixed datum points to assess the rate and degree of erosion pending construction funds to arrest the problem.¹⁰

Under provision of the Endangered Species Act of 1973, federal land managing agencies are required to identify all threatened and endangered plants and animals and their critical habitats. National Park Service policy also holds that species considered rare or unique to a park unit be identified and their distribution noted on maps. Federal managers are mandated to protect the species from development or other human-caused harm. While Clyde King prepared lists of plants and animals as early as 1947, no professional survey for threatened and endangered species had been conducted until Ken Apschnikat submitted a funding request in the early 1980s. Resource management experts believed any endangered species would likely exist along the relatively undisturbed Scioto River. In 1987, Apschnikat requested the Natural Areas and Preserves Division of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources to help identify threatened and endangered species that might exist at Mound City Group National Monument. The state findings determined no endangered or rare species within the monument, but four sensitive species known to be in the Chillicothe vicinity. A request for information to be added to a computerized database in 1991 brought the response of lack of staff and funds to compile information on park species.¹¹

As the small monument grew beyond the immediate Mound City Group in the early 1990s, it became necessary to expand resources management capabilities in Chillicothe. While still prone to seek expertise at the regional office or closer to home, the park clearly established its need for professional expertise to manage and preserve its increasing number of resources. This

¹⁰Apschnikat meeting with Huntington District's Planning and Engineering Division, 3 January 1985, A5431; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; Superintendent's Report for 1990; and Robert Petersen to Jon Casson and Reed Johnson, 11 December 1990, N22 Research Programs.

¹¹Apschnikat, 10-238 funding request for survey of plant species and update herbarium, 10 December 1982, D2215; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; and Chief, Natural Areas and Preserves, Ohio Department of Natural Resources Richard E. Moseley, Jr., to Midwest Regional Office Natural Resource Specialist Mike Van Stappen, letter, 13 January 1988, N16 Endangered Plants and Animals. The findings were as follows: Upstream: *Prenanthes crepidinea* (Nodding rattlesnake root)--Ohio threatened; and Downstream: *Rorippa sessifolia* (Sessile Yellow-cress), *Ichthyomyzon unicuspis* (Silvery Lamprey)--both Ohio threatened; and *Magnoniaias neros* (Common Washboard Mollusk)--endangered. Note to files, 24 May 1991, N16 Endangered Plants and Animals.

professionalization of the staff included for the first time in a quarter-century the addition of an archeologist.

A scoping session to prepare Hopewell Culture National Historical Park's first resource management plan came in November 1993. Hosted by Superintendent Neal and park staff, team specialists included, Associate Regional Director James Loach, Regional Museum Specialist Abby Sue Fisher, Regional Chief of Resource Management Steve Cinnamon, Regional Historian Ron Cockrell, Regional Historical Landscape Architect Mary V. Hughes, and Regional Archeologist Mark J. Lynott. Recognizing the evolving nature of the expanded park, another revision of the key document came in 1995.¹²

Natural resource management in 1995 saw a comprehensive inventory of plants within the five discontinuous units by the National Biological Survey. The agency hired Jennifer Course, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, to conduct the effort with assistance from volunteers. The team collected 438 species, and found two state-listed species.¹³

** Law Enforcement

Simplicity characterized law enforcement activities during Clyde King's superintendency, and he saw fit to solve his most vexing problems by posting a sign stating monument regulations. In May 1947, King reported, "Much of our trouble comes from three sources: picking flowers and damaging trees, the latter to get sticks for use in picnics; using the river bank as a shooting gallery; and driving cars off the roadways as well as operating bicycles on the mounds themselves." For more serious infractions, King sought close ties with the State Highway Patrol as well as the Ross County Sheriff.¹⁴

King typically found himself acting as a surrogate parent to rowdy and vandal-prone juveniles. In one instance, he had to inform a scoutmaster that the only reason four scouts did not light a fire on the floor of the picnic shelter was because the boys could not get the firewood to ignite. When another boy ignored King's warnings about riding his motor scooter over the earthworks, King's phone call to the boy's father resulted in

¹²Superintendent's Report for 1993, and 1994-95.

¹³Superintendent's Report for 1994-95. Spiranthes ovalis erostellata (Lesser Ladies Tresses), found at Mound City Group, is listed by Ohio as potentially threatened, while Eleocharis ovata (Blunt Spike Rush), found at Hopewell, is threatened. Report publication came in March 1996. See Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

¹⁴King to Newton Drury, 1 May 1947, April 1947 report.

never seeing the boy or the machine inside the park again. Sometimes King found himself warning adults to behave themselves. One group that used the picnic area every Sunday afternoon in the summer of 1953 became too loud and intoxicated for a public park. King warned them that another infraction would result in their expulsion, and he promised to have State Highway Patrolmen waiting to arrest them for drunk driving. The warning proved a sufficient deterrent.¹⁵

King's philosophy of always having a uniformed employee visible to the visiting public worked for more than fifteen years. During his tenure, there were no arrests made and vandalism constituted nothing more than carving initials into wooden picnic tables. King's remedy for miscreant carvings was to scour them out as soon as they were discovered in order to discourage other potential vandals. In March 1962, prior to his transfer, King proudly reported that his watchful method worked well, adding that "law violation was at a minimum here where it was almost impossible to hide from the employee on duty, the occupants of the residence, and the twenty-four-hour vigil of the watchtowers of the Federal Reformatory."¹⁶

On the eve of King's transfer, theft of two audio speakers from atop the visitor center proved an omen of future depredations. Even with the assistance of the local Federal Bureau of Investigation officers to help solve the theft of government property, increasing visitation and expanded park infrastructure foreshadowed more law enforcement incidents. In the absence of adding more staff, park managers had to rely on Clyde King's method as well as assistance from area federal, state, and local law enforcement officers.¹⁷

Indeed, the monument lacked any formal law enforcement program for another fifteen years. It was not until the late 1970s that a formal program emerged with the requirement that the chief of interpretation and resource management hold a law enforcement commission. It represented the first full-time staff member to hold such a commission beyond the superintendent. Beginning in 1980, law enforcement appeared as a permanent category in the superintendent's annual report.¹⁸

¹⁵King to Drury, 1 March 1959, February 1950 report; and King to Wirth, 1 October 1953, September 1953 report.

¹⁶King to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 18 March 1962.

¹⁷Acting Superintendent Richard D. Faust to Wirth, 6 April 1962, March 1962; and Riddle to Wirth, 12 March 1963, February 1963 report.

¹⁸Superintendent's Report for 1980. It included fourteen case incidents ranging from theft to vandalism to security alarm responses to drug possession.

What made the program possible was the resolution of the thorny issue of jurisdiction. Because the army paid local farmers for Scioto Valley farmland to form the Camp Sherman Reservation in the late 1910s and early 1920s, the federal reserve had exclusive jurisdiction and could rely on only federal law enforcement officers for assistance. The date used for federal acceptance of exclusive jurisdiction for the 67.50 acres of Mound City Group National Monument was December 2, 1919.¹⁹

In response to recommendations made by the Department of the Interior's Public Land Law Review Commission in 1971, Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., ordered a systemwide review of jurisdictional status and speedy retrocession of jurisdiction. For Mound City Group, the exercise rekindled interest in changing from exclusive to concurrent jurisdiction.²⁰ The change could not come soon enough for park managers unable to call upon local assistance and frustrated by lack of concern by the U.S. District Court in Columbus. The court refused to adopt a bail forfeiture or collateral system or even process misdemeanor cases. An exasperated Fred Fagergren, Jr., exerting constant pressure on Columbus court officials, exclaimed "[my] staff is placed in the position of being unable to take effective enforcement action itself and being unable to call for local assistance. While the enforcement problem in this area is negligible, we are remiss in not having a truly effective course of action short of arrest."²¹

Fagergren's concerted pressure on U.S. Attorney William Milligan prompted Milligan to present the dilemma to Chief District Judge Timothy Hogan in Cincinnati. Hogan convened a meeting of district judges to discuss the issue and the group, "with some misgivings" to assume the increased workload, agreed in August 1976 to establish a collateral forfeiture system for all federal non-military installations in the Southern District of Ohio. Referred to as the "ticket system" for minor offenses, Judge Hogan called upon each agency to submit a list of offenses and recommended fines for consideration. Omaha officials sent Interior's Twin Cities field solicitor Elmer T. Nitzschke to Cincinnati to assist the court in establishing the new system

¹⁹March 1982 response to Washington Office questionnaire, W30 Jurisdiction. Exclusive jurisdiction is defined as follows: "The Federal Government has received, by whatever method, all the authority of the State with no reservation made to the State except the right to serve civil and criminal process resulting from activities which occurred off the land involved."

²⁰Ibid.; and Special Assistant to the Director Jackson E. Price to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 23 September 1971, W30 Jurisdiction. Concurrent jurisdiction is where a "State reserves to itself the right to exercise jointly the powers granted to the Federal Government."

²¹Superintendent's Report for 1975.

that went into effect September 1, 1977.²²

Public Law 94-458, National Park System Improvement in Administration Act of 1976, directed the Secretary of the Interior to standardize disparate jurisdictional issues in the national park system, and to this end the Midwest Regional Office in 1977 sought to obtain concurrent jurisdiction for fourteen parks in six states. Only Mound City Group had exclusive jurisdiction and to retrocede jurisdiction to the state required both congressional and gubernatorial approval. Success finally arrived on November 15, 1982, when Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes signed the document accepting concurrent jurisdiction at Mound City Group National Monument. The action became official upon its recording in Ross County on January 13, 1983.²³

With the addition of two parcels of excess Department of Justice land in April 1983, the issue of jurisdiction again emerged for the newly-acquired 52.7 acres. Two years later, officials determined the status of the land to be concurrent jurisdiction. With the acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks, Park Service officials in 1987 again had to consider petitioning the state to change jurisdiction for the new additions.²⁴

Addition of Hopeton Earthworks also prompted the need for a park radio system for visitor and resource protection. In January 1981, Fagergren initiated steps with the Denver Service Center to get a radio frequency assigned to Mound City Group. Denver officials recommended sharing the same frequency used by Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in northeast Ohio to promote further cooperation between the two parks. Citing the

²²Fagergren to Milligan, letter, 8 January 1976 and 15 September 1976; Milligan to Fagergren, letter, 15 January 1976 and 27 August 1976; Hogan to Milligan and U.S. District Court Clerk John D. Lyter, letter, 13 August 1976; Fagergren to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, 26 January 1977; and Lyter to Fagergren, letter, 24 August 1977, all in W34 Law Enforcement Bond Forfeiture; and Hugh P. Beattie and Thomas L. Weeks, "Operations Evaluation Report, Mound City Group National Monument, February 1976," A5427 Jan. 1976-Dec. 1979.

²³Beal to Regional Solicitor, Denver [?], 27 May 1977; Regional Director J. L. Dunning to Governor Rhodes, letter, 29 April 1981; Rhodes to Dunning, letter, 25 May 1981; Director Russell E. Dickenson to Senator James McClure, Chairman, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, letter, no date [circa May 1981]; Dickenson to Rhodes, letter, 20 October 1982; and Rhodes, "Retrocession of Jurisdiction over Mound City Group National Monument," 15 November 1982, all in W30 Jurisdiction; and Superintendent's Report for 1981 and 1982.

²⁴Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Associate Director, Park Operations, Stanley T. Albright, 2 February 1984, W30 Jurisdiction; Superintendent's Report for 1985; and Acting Regional Director John Kawamoto to Apschikat, 29 October 1987, W30 Jurisdiction. Omaha officials expressed the desire to seek legislation eliminating the need to petition states each time boundaries changed to cede jurisdiction automatically.

lack of an effective communications system as a hinderance to efficient management and park operations, Ken Apschnikat listed a radio system in the park's management efficiency standards in 1983. He envisioned the system could be invaluable not only for park operations, but for partnership relations with surrounding agencies, including helping prison and hospital authorities search for escapees and patients, and responding after-hours to visitor center security alarms.²⁵

Approval of sharing Cuyahoga Valley's radio frequency came in the fall of 1983, but the equipment was not installed until early spring 1984. With local availability of LEADS service in January 1987, Ross County Sheriff Thomas L. Hamman extended the service as a courtesy to Mound City Group.²⁶

In February 1981, the monument prepared its first official policy on commissioned rangers bearing arms. Recognizing the historical reality of few law enforcement cases, officers were not to be routinely armed. Rangers were instead instructed to use their own discretion concerning arms when answering burglar alarms, transporting prisoners, engaging in hunting patrols, or any other instance when physical harm might threaten. Following park expansion in the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, managers recognized the need for at least one additional staff person with a law enforcement commission to address patrolling for Archeological Resources Protection Act violations, poaching, and illicit drug cultivation. The expanded park rendered the radio system nearly obsolete, with a repeater needed for Seip Earthworks and increasing occurrences of receiving Cuyahoga Valley's routine radio traffic.²⁷

Because the radio system did not always operate consistently from the new outlying park units, two cellular telephones were acquired in the fall of 1993. The special purchase obviated any disruption in communication during potential emergencies.²⁸

²⁵Fagergren to Dunning, 9 January 1981, and Apschnikat to Dunning, 5 July 1983, D5027.

²⁶Regional Radio Coordinator Ralph Dierks to Apschnikat, 30 September 1983, D5027; Apschnikat to Cuyahoga Valley Superintendent Lew Albert, 6 April 1984, D5027 (The radio base station, KPC 754, featured a thirty-watt transmitter, and rangers utilized five-watt handle-talkies); and Hamman to Apschnikat, Agreement for LEADS Service, 2 January 1987, W34 Law Enforcement.

²⁷J. B. Chilton, Defensive Equipment Policy, 9 February 1981, S38 Fuels; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987"; and Superintendent William Gibson to Regional Director Don H. Castleberry, 5 June 1991, W34 Law Enforcement. Gibson recommended an additional 1.75 FTE for law enforcement to establish parkwide coverage seven days per week.

²⁸Superintendent's Report for 1993.

Chapter Nine

Interpreting the Mound City Group

Interpretation or public education has enjoyed the bulk of fiscal and human resources at Mound City Group National Monument from the onset of the 1960s facility development era to the present. Within the Division of Interpretation and Resource Management, public education has historically overshadowed resources management. Seasonal staffing increases rival those for maintenance workers as the National Park Service seeks to educate the visiting public about the Hopewell culture, not only at the Mound City Group, but throughout Ross County, Southern Ohio, and the greater Midwest.

** The Interpretive Program

Superintendent Clyde B. King made it a point not only to be seen by visitors, but to contact them personally and endeavor to explain to them the significance of the mounds. In the summer of 1947, he reported contacting 1,262 out of 6,080 visitors in July. Outside of maintenance, King represented the only National Park Service employee trained to educate visitors. Like the consummate park ranger wearing the green and gray uniform, King took the responsibility to heart and made himself available at all times, including his days off. In the late fall, cold temperatures necessitated closing the unheated picnic shelter, but Clyde King still welcomed visitors who came to the residence to seek site information.¹

The first crude mimeographed informational leaflet produced in the Region One Office was replaced in March 1948 with a new supply prepared by Clyde King. As news of the interpretive exhibits on display in the shelterhouse museum spread, a gratified Superintendent King greeted more and more visitors coming to the park seeking information, not recreation. . Contacting almost half of the 1,200 visitors in November 1953, King noted that "It is not recognized by many that this is the only interpretive display in this section of country on this subject." In a not-too-veiled reference to the historical society in Columbus, he added, "By section, I refer to a broader field than even the state."²

¹King to Director Newton Drury, 2 August 1947/July 1947 report and 1 December 1947/November 1947 report.

²Quotation from King to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 2 April 1948, March 1948 report; and King to Drury, 1 December 1953, November 1953 report.

King endeavored to deliver accurate information, incorporating current data into displays and interpretive folders. In early 1954, King himself researched and wrote "Indians of the Scioto Valley" with an eye toward having the narrative history substitute for a traditional park historical handbook. King made the document available for loan to students and teachers, and felt that with the addition of photographs and illustrations, it could one day be converted into a park handbook. Its availability soon sparked a demand by local academics, particularly by spokespersons preparing for group tours to the area. Conferring with Richmond officials in late 1953, King decided that interpretive materials include a separate self-guided trail sheet oriented from a single beginning point, rather than a more traditional marked tour route. This decision was based on the premise that the "mounds are so much alike."³

With facility developments in the early 1960s, came the decision to include a marked path for self-guided tours through the mounds for visitors who purchased a tour booklet produced by Eastern National Parks and Monuments Association. In the spring of 1963, the tour path was rerouted through the earthworks with tour guideposts repainted to reflect a uniform color scheme. In assessing the park's infant interpretive program, Regional Administrative Officer John J. Bachensky reported in late 1962 during a management inspection that the Park Service needed to ensure uniform interpretive information be "reflected in everything presented to the public." Bachensky criticized the bronze wayside exhibit "The Mound City Necropolis" produced by the Washington Office's museum division for depicting twenty-three burial mounds, not the twenty-four shown in site literature and other exhibits.⁴

Northeast Regional Director Ronald F. Lee approved the first interpretive prospectus (IP) for Mound City Group in April 1963. The brief IP included three recommendations for future implementation. The first called for an official handbook, and

³Quotation from King to Wirth, 2 January 1954/December 1953 report; and 2 February 1954/January 1954 report, 1 April 1954/March 1954 report, and 2 March 1960/February 1960 report. King consulted the Ohio state archeologist to utilize scientific radio-carbon dating data. He updated the informational leaflet in February 1960 to reflect facility development, adjusting the map and figures, and presenting "a more challenging opening." See King to Wirth, 2 September 1960, August 1960 report.

⁴Quotation from Bachensky to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 19 December 1962, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; and Superintendent John C. W. Riddle to Lee, 10 June 1963, May 1963 report. Bachensky noted the topographical bronze wayside reflected the 1846 site map prepared by Squier and Davis. It sparked the necessity for archeologists to determine the validity of the twenty-fourth mound.

noted one was scheduled to be completed in fiscal year 1965. While this handbook did not materialize, neither did a similar effort performed under contract in the mid-1970s with the Ohio Historical Society. The second IP recommendation dealt with "the main drawback to interpretation at Mound City Group," namely that there was "no place within the visitor center to give an audio-visual lecture or address more than a dozen people who can crowd into the small space by the desk." The alternatives the IP considered included constructing an auditorium addition to seat one hundred visitors in the patio area, or placing a projection cabinet against the rear lobby wall for audio-visual presentations. The IP stressed the auditorium as the "best and most adequate service."

The third recommendation called for a campfire program away from the modern visitor center and earthworks in the forested area along the river. It envisioned evening programs centered around a campfire with vertical logs set in the earth for benches "to suggest the prepared floor surrounded by posts in a circle which lay at the base of each mound and indicated the ceremonials held by the Hopewell people." The IP pointed to the vale near the old picnic shelterhouse as a potential site for the campfire programs. For lack of funds, such a development never came to pass, although evening programs were held in close proximity to the visitor center and without campfires.

The 1963 prospectus concluded with the expressed wish for more research into the daily lives of the Hopewell. Such details would make the interpretive story more interesting and pertinent to visitors. The IP reflected the thinking of regional archeologists in Philadelphia as well as park archeologist Richard D. Faust. The document concluded with the following emphasized statement: "Until Mound City Group is adequately and extensively interpreted by 'livening up' the dramatic aspect of Hopewellian life by showing ON THE GROUND just what is known to have taken place AT THE MOUND SITES, and what was found in them, it will be difficult to keep the area from looking like a pleasant little green park, instead of a great prehistoric ceremonial center."⁵

The need for more information came to pass during the summer of 1963 as the Ohio Historical Society, under contract with the National Park Service, began a multiple-year excavation and mound

⁵"Interpretive Prospectus for Mound City Group National Monument," approved by Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 25 April 1963, park history file. August 1963 saw the first four Sunday evening campfire programs presented to a total of 158 visitors with themes of "Songs of the National Parks" and "Indians of Mound City." See Riddle to Wirth, 11 September 1963, August 1963 report. The handbook was to be prepared by Martha Potter Otto and paid for by Eastern National Parks and Monuments Association. When no draft report was submitted by the deadline, the contract was terminated. See Superintendent's Report for 1977.

restoration program. This program failed to address the need to explore non-mortuary aspects of Hopewellian life, and continued the myopic focus on mound exploration that characterized Ohio archeology since the early nineteenth century. Monument interpreters took full advantage of the educational opportunity the archeological work itself presented by erecting temporary displays in the mound area to explain what was happening. Overzealousness, however, also resulted in including a human skeleton unearthed in the southeast corner of the excavations. The remains were left on display as long as possible until the bones were collected and accessioned into the park collection. Temporary displays of photographs in the visitor center also served to whet the appetite of visitors who wished to see previous work of archeologists digging up artifacts and other burial features. June 1963 initiated guided tours conducted by uniformed interpreters through the museum and earthworks in forty-five-minute increments every afternoon.⁶

The monument's interpretive leaflet met professional standards of other developed parks for the first time in May 1964. The simple foldover format gave way to a twelve-page, six-fold information folder with sharp illustrations and more descriptive text. A new after-hours distribution box for interpretive folders installed the following month brought a brisk pattern of after-hours use. Operating hours were first expanded during the three peak summer months in June 1964 when the work schedules of one permanent interpreter and two seasonals were staggered to allow expanded operation from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m.⁷

During the tenure of General Superintendent William Birdsell, the interpretive program entered a new era. As mound excavation and restoration concluded, the need for a staff archeologist to oversee such contract work gave way to a more immediate need for professional interpretation. In January 1973, the Chillicothe Gazette proudly announced Robert F. Holmes entrance on duty as Mound City Group's first interpretive specialist in the monument's fifty-year history. Holmes began as chief of interpretation and resource management on January 7, 1973, charged with preparation of new programs, panels, and signs, public relations, research, school programs, special tours, and developing an environmental study program. Birdsell announced his pleasure at utilizing the archeological expertise of the Ohio Historical Society, but anticipated Holmes enhancing

⁶Riddle to Wirth, 11 July 1963/June 1963 report and 7 August 1963/July 1963 report.

⁷Riddle to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., 9 June 1964/May 1964 report and 14 July 1964/June 1964 report. An update of the folder to include the self-guided tour came two years later. See James Coleman to Hartzog, 7 June 1966, June 1966 report.



**Figure 72: Ranger Jim Anderson presents a guided tour.
(NPS/July 1977)**

the interpretive story for visitors in not only the Hopewell culture, but sub-themes like Camp Sherman and the Ohio and Erie Canal as well.⁸

Professionalizing the interpretive program soon paid dividends. In 1976, a "teaching kit" about the Hopewell sent to schools through the mail proved widely popular. The slide program and written narrative also included photographs of artifacts, a replica smoking pipe, and a publication about the Hopewell. So successful was the teaching kit that the Ohio Historical Society duplicated the slide program and made it available to schools throughout the state. Utilizing United States Bicentennial funding for increased interpretive programs, Mound City Group sponsored traveling exhibits, a spring film festival, a play, and three summer concerts. A special exhibit of "Indian Pride on the Move" in July 1976, represented the first non-Washington, D.C., showing of this display of American Indian culture and history.⁹

In addressing the success of a primary management objective to "foster public understanding of Hopewell and Adena cultures," Superintendent Fred Fagergren, Jr., commented on the growing high morale and enthusiasm of his interpreters in 1977. The esprit de corps resulted in better interpretation and glowing visitor comments. Fagergren observed that in previous years, visitor contact from the small interpretive staff was small, but special weekend events and a commitment to expand educational outreach began to yield more than half of all visitors receiving personal attention. He attributed expansion of the trail system, improved signage, and revised museum exhibits as sparking an improved attitude among interpreters. Clearly, Holmes' hard work had begun to yield substantive dividends.¹⁰

An overnight "Camp In" for youths aged eleven to thirteen came in July 1979, chaperoned by Park Ranger Teresa Nichols and seasonal rangers Beverly Cooper and Steve Race. Limited to twenty children with advanced reservations required, the activity proved immensely popular. The year had special themes of "Year of the Visitor" and "Year of the Child" and programming changed to reflect these special emphases with more than a dozen other

⁸"Interpretive Specialist Goes to Work at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (26 January 1973).

⁹Superintendent's Report for 1976.

¹⁰Superintendent's Report for 1977.

special programs lead by rangers.¹¹

Interpretive ranger Teresa Nichols conducted sixteen oral history interviews in the spring of 1980 with individuals connected with Camp Sherman. The interviews were designed to be incorporated into a slide-tape program about the World War I army facility to be shown to visitors. Work soon began transcribing the interview sessions, with original recordings maintained at the Harpers Ferry Center. Interpreters also began accumulating quality photographs of the defunct installation. In 1982, seasonal Ruth Bartlett completed the program with technical assistance and narration done by volunteer Joe Murray of WBEX radio, husband of staff member Bonnie Murray. The same year Interpreter Murray wrote the first "Statement for Interpretation" for the monument, a document approved without revision.¹²

Native Americans began receiving special emphasis in 1987 when the park began its first "Native American Indian Day" on September 26. Paralleling Ohio's Native American Recognition Day, Mound City Group provided temporary exhibits and invited Indian volunteers for special talks. In connection with the National Park Service's seventy-fifth anniversary, the park sponsored the "Hopewell Spirit Art Contest," awarding prizes to the best renditions of Hopewell culture.¹³

The first interpretive newsletter debuted in November 1993, designed to keep the public informed about NPS plans and programs for Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. Interpreters assisted in developing a fifteen-minute orientation film called "Legacy of the Mound Builders." Filming took place in June 1993 by Camera I Productions of Seattle, in anticipation of the new auditorium programmed for construction. The park received a first place video award for the film in April 1996 from the Ohio Museum Association.¹⁴

Utilizing funding from the Mead Corporation, National Park Foundation, and the NPS's Parks as Classrooms program, park interpreters developed and distributed in 1996 more than 150 Hopewell Curriculum Guides to area educators. The 177-page guide

¹¹"Scioto Scene," Chillicothe Gazette (5 July 1979); and Superintendent's Report for 1979. The programs were: "Night Hikes, Wild Edibles Walk, Summer Flower Identification, Snakes Alive, Dusk Walk, Camp Sherman Program, Camp-Outs for Youth, Herbal Medicine Walk, Bird Walks, Tree Identification, Shrew Movie, Dawn Walk--Coffee With a Ranger, and Native American Legends."

¹²Superintendent's Report for 1980, 1981, and 1982.

¹³Superintendent's Report for 1987; and "Mound City Looking for Artwork for Celebration," Chillicothe Gazette (31 July 1991), A8215 Diamond Anniversary.

¹⁴Superintendent's Report for 1993, and 1995-96.

proved popular with elementary school teachers and nicely augmented a long-time outreach effort. A record 191 onsite school programs reached nearly five thousand individuals during the 1995-96 school year. The Junior Ranger program, launched earlier in the decade, continued to be popular, with more than 1,400 children earning a patch or badge in 1996.¹⁵ A greatly expanded series of "site bulletins" addressing a wide range of topics in depth was instituted since 1995, improving the quality of public information provided.

** Environmental Education

As part of the larger environmental movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the National Park Service endeavored to be in the vanguard of educating the American people on environmental issues. A partnership effort to spark public interest in environmental education, the Department of the Interior joined with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the National Education Association, and interested local educators to form the National Environmental Study Area (NESA) program. Interest to include Mound City Group National Monument in environmental education began with Superintendent George Schesventer, and culminated with opening an environmental study area (ESA) in May 1973. The Mound City Group ESA, like other such areas, provided an outdoor classroom or laboratory for use by educational institutions in the Chillicothe and Ross County area. To spur academic interest, Interpretive Specialist Robert Holmes hosted an environmental education workshop at the park in October 1973, and invited teachers, resource managers, and environmental specialists to discuss use of the ESA.

While the park provided the ESA opportunity, program development and use rested upon the initiative of local schools and agencies. Few local educators took advantage of it, expressing problems with lack of funding for transportation to access the ESA. Expansion of the nature trail in 1975 to include adjacent fields and woodlands was accomplished in an effort to encourage ESA use. Metalphoto signs were installed the following year that emphasized how native plants were used by American Indians. In the fall of 1975, the park purchased equipment and books in an attempt to revitalize the ESA program. With only two permanent interpreters on staff, calls to local high schools were made seeking interested students to volunteer to assist student groups that might use ESA study facilities. With less than an enthusiastic response, interpreters found that environmental education films were the most popular items requested by area

¹⁵Superintendent's Report 1995-96.

teachers, not physical park resources.¹⁶

Undaunted by lack of local response, interpreters pressed ahead with plans to include the entire monument as an officially designated NESAs, an effort that succeeded in 1978. Combined with special training, the designation committed the monument to lead a more aggressive campaign for an active NESAs. To counter local apathy, interpreters in 1977 held a conservation camp at a Chillicothe elementary school, imparting basic environmental concepts to 150 schoolchildren.

Aggressive recruitment of ESA users brought only a few more school groups with environmental education issues on their tour agendas. In 1983, the Ohio University at Chillicothe's ornithology class regularly used the park for field exercises. Ornithologists informed pleased park managers that Mound City Group should be "considered to be one of the outstanding birding areas in the country."¹⁷ When plant specimen collecting threatened to become a problem, Ken Apschnikat issued in the fall of 1987 an open letter to biology and general science teachers concerning collecting leaf or insect specimens for class projects. Informing them that any such collecting was illegal within a National Park Service area, Apschnikat wrote, "If every student assigned such a project removed leaves or insects from the park there would soon be nothing left for future enjoyment by others." Apschnikat requested their assistance in ending the objectionable practice.¹⁸ In the early 1990s, however, park policy changed to grant an exemption to allow collection of plant specimens by students for academic purposes.

**** Eastern National Park and Monument Association**

On November 4, 1960, Eastern National Park and Monument Association (ENP&MA) officially established a cooperative agency at Mound City Group National Monument. It received an Ohio vendor's license on July 7, 1961, to cover sales of books and souvenirs to visitors. A 1969 inspection by national cooperating

¹⁶Birdsell to Regional Director Chester Brooks, 15 February 1973, A8215 1968-1975, RG79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; Robert F. Holmes form letter for ESA, 17 September 1973, A98; "Mound City to Host Workshop on Environmental Education," Chillicothe Gazette (24 September 1973); Acting Superintendent Joan F. Crider, form letter to high schools, 12 September 1975, A98; and Superintendent's Report for 1975 and 1976.

¹⁷Quotation from Superintendent's Report for 1983; and Superintendent's Report for 1977 and 1978.

¹⁸Quotation from Apschnikat, form letter to area biology and general science teachers, 15 September 1987, A90 Permits; also Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; and Bonnie Murray interview, 26 August 1993.

association coordinator Edwin C. Alberts revealed "a sharp little association operation" conducted by agent Virginia Skaggs, secretary to the superintendent. Alberts advised remitting sales tax revenue to the state at six-month intervals. Alberts determined there was next to no chance for unfair competition charges being leveled as there were no other park concessioners and the nearest private enterprise was at least four miles away in Chillicothe. He noted, "This region is almost completely free of any tourism-oriented businesses, and no problems appear likely to arise in this field for many years."¹⁹

In June 1961, a thirty-five-cent, twenty-page illustrated trail pamphlet, "Art and Burials in Ancient Ohio: A Tour of the Mound City Necropolis" went on sale as new trail markers were installed. ENP&MA also developed the first park-related postcards to be sold. In September 1963, a slide show funded by ENP&MA became available for school groups unable to visit the park. Other single slides went on sale at the visitor center in 1964. Working with a Philadelphia manufacturer, a replica of the 1846-excavated human effigy platform pipe went on sale at the ENP&MA outlet and instantly became a popular item. In the fall of 1966, workers constructed the first ENP&MA counter, screen, and sales display rack in the visitor center lobby.²⁰

Poor bookkeeping and "incomplete and inaccurate" records prompted the decision in 1972 to contract for the temporary services of a professional bookkeeper as new sales items and increased visitation dramatically boosted annual sales. Particularly popular among visitors were the wide array of replica Hopewell effigy pipes that included the raven, bobcat, squirrel, quail, otter, duck hawk, human head, and wolf. These popular items helped boost sales eighteen percent in 1975.²¹

In 1976, Mound City Group began carrying catlinite pipes and

¹⁹Alberts to Regional Director Garrison, 16 July 1969, A42 Cooperating Associations. ENP&MA, in a September 11, 1956 letter to Clyde King, indicated willingness to establish a local association at that time. Lack of proper facility development, however, prevented it until late 1960.

²⁰King to Wirth, 1 July 1961, June 1961 report; Riddle to Wirth, 4 October 1963, September 1963 report; Riddle to Wirth, 9 June 1964, May 1964 report; Eastern National Park and Monument Association and Mound City Group National Monument, "Art and Burials in Ancient Ohio: A Tour of the Mound City Necropolis" (no date) [circa 1961]; and Coleman to Hartzog, 5 October 1966, September 1966 report.

²¹Birdsell to ENP&MA Business Manager Robert J. Smentek, letter, 2 August 1972, A42; Birdsell to Rhonda Ford, Franklin and Marshall College, letter, 18 August 1972, K1459; and Superintendent's Report for 1975. A \$1,000 ENP&MA donation in 1975 yielded 200,000 flyers depicting the Ohio Group of the National Park Service for distribution at the four parks, the Ohio Department of Natural Resources, and the Ohio Travel Bureau.

other articles made by the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association at Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota. The monument also requested that Pipestone craftsmen make quality replicas of Hopewell pipes out of Ohio pipestone to replace the poor clay replicas on exhibit. The Minnesota ENP&MA association agreed to make the reproductions without charge. A \$4,000 donation brought about construction of a new ENP&MA information and sales desk and two display racks in the visitor center lobby in 1977.²²

Maturation of the Mound City Group ENP&MA operation came in 1980 when the addition of quality publications and deleting substandard items precipitated a nineteen percent sales increase. For the first time ENP&MA hired its own part-time sale clerk to handle school groups and heavy weekend visitation during the 1980 summer season. The welcome action freed interpretive staff to devote its full energy to educational activities without being tied to the sales desk. ENP&MA donated funds helped purchase a telescope, astronomy materials, a geometric map of Ohio's prehistoric earthworks, and informational brochures of related sites, all of which assisted in improving visitor education programs. ENP&MA funds in 1981 helped publish a museum artifact and exhibit guide, made available during the 1982 season for visitors wanting to know more about specific artifacts.²³

Ken Apschnikat credited his cooperating association for providing "as much or more financial assistance presently as any local private sector group could" in relating to his Omaha superiors that the park lacked outside private sector involvement. Stressing the park's size, visitation levels, and local economic conditions, he reported "We cannot be optimistic that private sector involvement is a viable alternative for us. As a matter of fact the private sector is looking to us for assistance and help more often than we are looking to them." Citing Ross County's unemployment rate of twelve percent, Apschnikat acknowledged that local businesses and industry were all "fighting hard to avoid bankruptcy." Having the assistance of ENP&MA, therefore, proved to be a real blessing for Mound City Group.²⁴

While hiring a sales clerk for the busy 1980 season was beneficial, receiving the same luxury for subsequent seasons became nearly essential as sales and visitation increased. Citing budget and staff cutbacks in 1985, Apschnikat requested

²²Superintendent's Report for 1976 and 1977; and Fagergren to Pipestone National Monument Superintendent David Lane, 20 July 1976 and 11 February 1977, K14 and K18.

²³Superintendent's Report for 1980 and 1981.

²⁴Apschnikat to Dunning, 29 September 1982, A38.

the association hire a sales agent to work no more than eight hours per week over a six-week period. He admitted finding it "increasingly difficult to handle the Eastern National operation and the rest of our interpretive activities."²⁵

Sales continued to climb during the 1980s despite the national economic recession. Loss of popular out-of-print books concerning the Hopewell, particularly Martha Otto's "Ohio's Prehistoric Peoples," hindered interpretive efforts and kept sales from climbing further. Apschnikat observed in 1985 that "Our greatest need continues to be the lack of affordable sales items that deal with our primary theme. Efforts are being made to find publishers to reprint two publications that deal directly with the Hopewell Indians." With paper donated by The Mead Paper Company of Chillicothe, ENP&MA updated the 1975 brochure called "National Park Service Areas in Ohio," adding two affiliated areas, James A. Garfield National Historic Site in Mentor, and David Berger National Memorial in Cleveland, Ohio.²⁶

Despite a nine percent drop in visitation, ENP&MA sales increased almost twenty percent in 1990, and forty percent in 1991. In the latter year, the display area expanded as the once crowded visitor center saw most of its administrative operations relocate to the former residence building. ENP&MA added a third display rack using donated funds.²⁷

ENP&MA experienced its best year in Chillicothe in 1995 when its sales increased seventy-five percent in fiscal year 1995 over 1994 (\$64,500 from \$36,200). Impacted by construction activity in 1994, the visitor center remodeling yielded expanded sales areas and a fifty percent increase in sales items with a stock total of 230. The economic boom netted Hopewell Culture National Historical Park more than \$4,700 in donated funds allocated for three audio stations and new printed materials for the self-guided trail, educational brochures for interpretive programs, closed-captioned service for the video program, new interpretive signage within the visitor center, and new book shelves. The cooperative association paid for more than four hundred hours to employ a sales clerk.²⁸

²⁵Apschnikat to ENP&MA Administrator George J. Munnucci, Jr., letter, 13 March 1985, A42.

²⁶Quotation from Apschnikat to ENP&MA Executive Secretary [?], letter, 7 October 1985; and letter, 22 October 1984, A2621. Fiscal Year 1984 sales were \$15,750, and 1985 sales were \$16,322. Eastern National Park and Monument Association, "National Park Service Areas in Ohio," four-fold leaflet, 1985.

²⁷Superintendent's Report for 1990 and 1991.

²⁸Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

In 1997, the organization simplified its name. The corporate national cooperative association is now called Eastern National.

**** Interpretive Dilemma: The Prehistoric Landscape**

National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth approved the MISSION 66 Prospectus for Mound City Group National Monument on June 3, 1957, with the added provision for "restoration of ground cover to approach that of the historic period of the mounds."²⁹ Indeed, the goal to convert the grassy, heavily mowed landscape to more natural, aboriginal conditions had been a National Park Service goal for the national monument since the agency assumed management responsibility in 1946. It became a practical necessity from a management standpoint considering the manhours and equipment needed for mowing operations. With the lack of funds to achieve reforestation, Clyde King began planting seeds and transplanting young trees himself. Interpreters trying to relate the Mound City Group landscape to the time of Hopewell use, however, had the greatest difficulty convincing visitors to see beyond the green, evenly-cut turf, which clearly reflected the ideals of twentieth-century America, to a dim forested reality of centuries past. Turf management practices designed for golf course beauty had to be abandoned at Mound City Group. The goal became embedded in planning documents ranging from the 1965 master plan to interpretive prospectus to the archeological research management plan.

Landscaping around the 1960 visitor center was itself designed to place the new building in a forested setting to reflect what the larger restored scene would one day appear like. Yews were to be maintained as a "loose informal hedge-like trim to the building" and never pruned evenly with hedge shears. Other foundation plantings were to be kept in a similar, natural form. Certifying the completion of the project, Clyde King wrote, it "completes the first step toward the ultimate goal of restoring the area to woodland setting with the Mounds appearing within a partially cleared space surrounded by woods." King continued, "Steps should be taken immediately to bring reforestation of the area through the natural process of regeneration and as funds become available this process can be supplemented by the addition of certain basic forest hardwood seedlings of the proper associated species. Accordingly, it is recommended that all mowing operations cease in those areas proposed for future woodland, and since the park is located on highly fertile river basin land, it is anticipated that this

²⁹Wirth to Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin, 3 June 1957.



Figure 73: The golf-course turf management practices at Mound City Group sparked interpreters and park managers to contemplate the prehistoric Hopewellian landscape. (NPS/1974)



Figure 74: Aerial view of Mound City Group looking southeast, with reforestation having a noticeable impact on the landscape. (NPS/Brian Jones, Harpers Ferry Center, November 1978)

reforestation will proceed with surprising speed."³⁰

In anticipation of reforestation, the 1961 growing season saw a substantial curtailment or elimination of mowing in specific areas. Before the forest could appear, however, managers agreed that the park's boundary had to be fenced. Initial plans for a hurricane fence were changed in 1961 to provide for a low, post-cable type fence primarily to prevent automobiles from leaving the highway and creating informal roads through the park. Once reforestation occurred, however, the fencing could be removed. In late 1962, plans changed again to have the fencing be a post-rail type. Foresters recommended that 1,600 trees cover a forty-acre area. Accelerated Public Works Program workers began the planting and fencing task in April 1963. Severe drought conditions took a tremendous toll on the 1,600 seedlings, while ten percent of 168 transplanted older trees perished.³¹

Estimates for achieving reforestation were revised in 1970. Exhausting available funds, Mound City Group purchased one thousand seedlings in February 1970 from the Division of Forestry and Reclamation, Ohio Department of Natural Resources. Seedlings numbered 250--each of green ash, red gum, white oak, and tuliptree. To continue the program, five thousand more seedlings were required. The effort came in a piecemeal fashion. In 1975, as part of a scouting project, a local troop planted one thousand hardwood seedlings on an acre of former lawn north of the entrance. Maple whip stock from other forested areas were also introduced in this area.³²

This emphasis on reforestation was pursued without any scientific consideration of what the scene might have been two thousand years ago. Scholarship at the end of the twentieth century empasized natural prairie openings to a drastically modified environment, one of deforestation because of aboriginal agricultural practices. The emphasis reflected a pervasive

³⁰King, Form 10-174 Completion Report--Planting, Visitor Center, Parking Area, Mound City Group National Monument, Contract No. 14-10-052901803, \$4,474.15, William Reinhold, Landscape Contractor, Flat Rock, Michigan, found in Visitor Center (Building 5) File.

³¹Regional Administrative Officer John J. Bachensky to Lee, 26 July 1961 and 19 December 1962, A5427 Management Appraisal 1963-75, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; Riddle to Wirth, 13 May 1963, April 1963 report; and Riddle to Hartzog, 5 June 1964, May 1964 report.

³²George Schesventer to Garrison, 24 March 1970, F22; Purchase order to Ohio Department of Natural Resources, 17 February 1970; Superintendent's Report for 1975; and Birdsell to Boy Scouts of America, Chief Logan Council, Chillicothe, letter, 3 June 1975, Y18 Forestry and Range Construction on Maintenance. The purpose of this planting, accomplished May 24 and 31, 1975, was to recreate the "prehistoric appearance" and screen "modern visual intrusions."



Figure 75: Interpreters looked to Squier and Davis descriptions of trees and river gravel atop portions of the Mound City Group earthworks. A tree grows from a mound in the northeast corner. (NPS/circa 1975)

Euro-American myth that America was wilderness prior to white colonization.

More tree-planting took place in 1976 in areas east and west of the entrance road. More mature trees were taken from heavily wooded areas, and for the first time, archeologists monitored the ground disturbance for potential subsurface resources. The same year saw an operations evaluation team recommend a land use plan to realize once and for all the recreation of a "prehistoric scene." The idea originated by similar mounds maintenance issues at Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa, and the recognition that Mound City Group required similar technical assistance from regional landscape architects. Preliminary recommendations from Omaha essentially concurred that planting plans sanctioned in 1960 with the visitor center landscape and in the 1965 master plan be implemented. The monument invited public comment for comprehensive reforestation, which also included removing steps from Mound 7, the Death Mask Mound, obliterate all signs of former railroad grades, transferring the picnic area to a wooded area adjacent to the visitor center, and expand the trail system.³³

Interpreters envisioned more than just trees surrounding the Mound City Group earthworks enclosure to make the landscape more realistic. To reflect the conditions known to exist in 1846, one key goal of the interpretive prospectus called for covering "certain mounds with pebbles as when originally constructed by Hopewells." Superintendent Fred Fagergren, Jr., enthusiastically made this interpretive goal into his own management objective in 1976, only to be met with a Midwest Archeological Center request to delay implementation pending further research. Acknowledging the maintenance dilemma inherent to his idea, Fagergren proposed restoring the pebble and gravel coverings, from eight to twenty inches thick, to eight mounds as described by Squier and Davis in Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. Fagergren argued that "Restoration of the mounds to a gravel and pebble surface will more accurately reflect the realities these people faced in construction of these monuments to their dead. While the present turf-covered mounds might be easier to maintain, they are not accurate reconstructions nor can they be interpreted as such."³⁴

³³John Kawamoto interview, 21 December 1993; Phillip Egan interview, 25 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1976; Fagergren to Beal, 18 February 1976, 29 March 1976, and 2 April 1976, D18 Book 2, Jan. 1976-Dec. 1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City; and Barbara B. Kalfs, "Authentic Atmosphere Planned at Mound City," Chillicothe Gazette (7 April 1976).

³⁴Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Fagergren to Beal, 18 February 1977, H22. The mounds were numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 18. See also, Superintendent's Report for 1976 and 1977; and untitled report on status of Interpretive Prospectus objectives, 1976, A6419 1976-1979, RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City.

Fagergren's goal of restoring Mound City Group to historic 1846 conditions remained unfulfilled during his superintendency. It remained stalled because of a servicewide policy concerning reconstructions that mandated any physical changes to recapture elements from a previous era had to be based on a minimum of conjecture. Agency policy had matured since the 1960s when reconstruction efforts, including that at Mound City Group itself, could progress without intensive scrutiny by cultural specialists. Oftentimes the result of these ill-advised efforts produced scenes that strayed far from historical reality or authenticity. Under evolving historic preservation policies of the 1970s, radical changes to cultural resources such as reconstructions had to be based on substantial research and ultimately approved by the agency's director. In the absence of any concerted research into the actual characteristics of Mound City Group's Hopewellian appearance, management policy as determined by Washington, D.C., and implemented by regional Omaha agency officials required the status quo continue indefinitely.

Making the best of the situation, Fagergren issued a July 1980 policy directive instructing employees to help maintain the integrity of the historic scene in their everyday activities. In the "Historic Area" of the mounds enclosure, modern intrusions were to be kept to a minimum during primary visitation periods. Fagergren declared:

A substantial reduction in acreage being mowed has occurred compared to previous years, but not necessarily the smallest reduction possible. Policy calls for grass on the earthworks proper. The acreage within the wall is mowed in absence of research/data on the actual scene. Vistas are maintained for the Visitor Center from the highway and from the Visitor Center to earthworks. The extent of mowing mandates an intrusion by equipment. Mowing is not scheduled on weekends to remove the intrusion at least during that peak period. Research on the historic scene must occur; this data will affect and lessen the mowing practices....

Fagergren determined that other recreational uses could and should take place in these green, open vistas. He continued, stating:

The vista areas are the focal points for the other 'non-conforming recreational use.' Generally the earthworks do not experience this use. The large vistas are naturally inviting to an occasional frisbee, baseball or volleyball player. We strive to conform with policy by asking visitors to restrict these activities to the vista area west of the Visitor Center, and therefore out of the historic scene. The

picnic area is also out of sight in the trees and does not intrude on the scene.

In conclusion, he informed his staff, we "can do little to more closely conform with policy until research has occurred and data are available on the historic scene."³⁵

Programming for necessary research funds came about simultaneously with the new resource management plan in 1982. The proposed "prehistoric vegetation study" would include an archeological pollen study, analysis of faunal remains, charcoal analysis, and evaluation of soil samples taken from undisturbed areas. Observing that contemporary grass cover and forest succession conditions might or might not resemble the prehistoric period of Hopewell occupation, roughly 200 B.C. to 500 A.D., Ken Apschnikat stated, "All suppositions as to what vegetative conditions might have existed are scientifically unsupported hypotheses."³⁶

Three different hypotheses circulated in the mid-1980s concerning the prehistoric landscape. The first held that before the Hopewell occupation and construction of Mound City Group, a prairie or savanna naturally maintained by fire existed with a narrow band of floodplain forest along the Scioto River. Following Indian occupation and the lack of fire episodes, hardwood forest took over. The second hypothesis determined that hardwood forest existed during the moundbuilding era and the Hopewell removed and kept trees from growing within the mound earthwall enclosure itself. The final hypothesis differed from the second only in that the Hopewell removed trees merely to construct charnel houses, mounds, walls, borrow pits, and potential vista areas. Otherwise, the forest prevailed.³⁷

But even Apschnikat showed impatience at waiting for funding and initiated a new experiment by authorizing an expanded area in the northeast corner of the mounds be allowed to revegetate naturally during the 1986 growing season by removing it from regular mowing. He did so in order to demonstrate "the

³⁵Fagergren, park policy 80-4, "Maintaining the Integrity of our Historic Area," 24 July 1980, H30; and Superintendent's Report for 1979.

³⁶Quotation from Apschnikat, 10-238 funding request for prehistoric vegetation study, 10 December 1982, D2215; Apschnikat to Dunning, 7 October 1981, F30; and Apschnikat to Odegaard, 14 January 1986, D18, with attached resource management plan project statement, Midwest Archeological Center files. Susan Monk of Midwest Archeological Center based the 1984 faunal remains study on 5,887 specimens.

³⁷Resource Management Plan project statement MOCI-N6, Prehistoric Vegetation Study, January 1986.

appearance... during Squier and Davis' time."³⁸

Initial funding materialized in 1987 when a resource management specialist from Michigan's Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Dr. Walter Loope, began a literature search and interviews with archeologists to outline prehistoric vegetation compositions at both Mound City Group and Hopeton Earthworks. Resource managers recognized that based upon study results, contemporary maintenance practices could be reversed or lack of credible data could leave them with the status quo. In any case, Apschnikat believed his experiment in permitting tallgrass to exist next to manicured lawn simply gave visitors "another possible historic landscape for the mound area."³⁹

Nineteen-eighty-nine represented a watershed year concerning traditional turf management practices at Mound City Group. The previous growing season had featured a lingering drought that browned and weakened an already stressed turf. Conditions were further exacerbated by construction activity for the new prison across State Highway 104 when the former agricultural fields began being infested with noxious weeds, seeds of which blew with prevailing winds onto monument lands. The result brought an aggressive invasion of unsightly weeds that threatened to overtake mowed areas unless prevented by chemicals and other expensive, labor-intensive actions. With this bleak scenario, a change in top park management came in late 1988.

Superintendent William Gibson took three months to assess the situation before making his bold announcement for a radical change of course. In a March 1989 memorandum to his subordinate division chiefs, Gibson shared his impression of the park's earthworks landscape management practices and shared with them knowledge gained from a cultural landscape management seminar sponsored by the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta, Georgia. Gibson's attitudes were particularly influenced by an earthworks management manual developed in the Mid-Atlantic Region for Civil War-era landscapes. He suggested its approach be adopted as a model and operating guide. Because of funding limitations, the incorporation of an expanded Hopeton Earthworks, as well as proposals to add other Hopewell sites for NPS management, the time proved propitious for altering management practices at Mound City Group.

Recognizing that study results were still pending, Bill Gibson rejected outright the mowed appearance of the mounds. Gibson asserted:

³⁸Superintendent's Report for 1986.

³⁹Quotation from Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Briefing Paper, 1987;" and Superintendent's Report for 1987.

...this golf course appearance in no way represents the appearance created by the Hopewell moundbuilders. With the most probable landscaping of the mound builders era being dense river bottom woodland, interspaced with human created slash and burn open spaces and/or naturally occurring patches of prairie grassland, neither scene is represented by our modern day turf lawn maintenance. More probable would be vast expanses of uncut forest interspaced with small, patchy woodland openings, created by arduous cutting with stone tools, and maintained using fire to burn debris. Such openings, containing stumps and downed timber, would quickly be overgrown by invading growth of weeds, vines and woody sprouts. With no domesticated grazing animals available, and no mechanical means other than the wear of daily foot traffic to keep down the brush, fire remains as the most likely management tool available to the moundbuilders.⁴⁰

He concluded by ascertaining "the predictable result of such slash and burn land clearing, as well as that of naturally occurring patches of prairie grassland, is native tall grass ground cover." Gibson recommended the park's immediate resource management priority was to convert more turf to tall-grass native species and reduce the maintenance burden.⁴¹

Anticipating public inquiries or complaints as the grass continued to grow in early June 1989, Gibson prepared a briefing statement to help educate the public on the "Native Tall Grass Restoration" effort underway. Explaining the rationale behind the landscape changes, the statement acknowledged that turf maintenance efforts would only occur in core interpretive areas and walkways while the remaining open grounds would be encouraged to revert to native tall grass. Maintenance by controlled burning might be considered to either replace or complement periodic mowing. Change in habitat would also bring biological change and more diversity as native grass, wildflowers, and other native plants submerged bluegrass and common weeds. Thirteen-lined ground squirrels, discouraged by the tall grass, would go elsewhere, but groundhogs could increase. Field nesting birds like the bobolink would appear but so would hawk predators. Ticks and chiggers might discourage visitors from leaving mowed areas to explore the tall grass with the beneficial aspect of reduced foot traffic erosion, earthworks destruction, and enhanced archeological protection. Natural restoration would continue for two growing seasons, with the first cutting in the fall of 1990 accomplished with a tractor on flat areas and hand-

⁴⁰Gibson to Mound City Group Division Chiefs, 23 March 1989, K18.

⁴¹Ibid.



Figure 76: This aerial view plainly shows divergent turf management practices within the Mound City Group, from mowed to tallgrass areas. (NPS/July 3, 1994)

carried brush cutters on the raised earthworks.⁴²

The native bluestem restoration area encompassed approximately nine acres of previously maintained lawn area in the Mound City Group earthworks. Thanks to the efforts of a vigilant interpretive staff, visitor reaction to the radical change proved "favorable and supportive." An interpretive handout designed to educate the public concerning the project also helped prevent any adverse public reaction. Interpreters reported the new appearance helped ease the task of recapturing a pre-twentieth century era as well as incorporating coverage of native plants and wildlife into their daily visitor contacts.⁴³

With acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks in 1990, the tall grass restoration project shifted across the Scioto River. Previously cultivated areas were seeded with a mixture of switchgrass, Indian grass, and little bluestem, providing a quick, low maintenance cover to arrest erosion while at the same time rendering an "aesthetically pleasing" look. Problems at both areas in 1991 centered on an infestation of Canada thistle. With manual removal proving ineffective, managers selected periodic mowing as a means to check the pesky exotic.⁴⁴

A contract to provide the long-promised prehistoric vegetation study, while let in 1988, did not yield a final product until the spring of 1991. Preliminary data, however, became known as early as 1989 and served to validate the management actions taken by Bill Gibson. In July 1988, Dr. Ronald O. Kapp of Alma College, and Gordon G. Snyder of Schoolcraft College, both in Michigan, took a series of sedimentary core samples from area ponds. From these murky depths, the researchers discovered undisturbed sediment from which pollen analysis could determine area vegetation patterns over the course of centuries. Their final report determined that "the extent of open, non-forest vegetation was considerably greater prior to ca. 2000 B.C. than after." During the early stages of the Hopewell culture, the area experienced a

⁴²Gibson to Chief, Interpretation and Resource Management, Reed Johnson, 9 June 1989, K18; William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and attachment, "Briefing Paper, Native Tall Grass Restoration at Mound City Group National Monument as part of Earthworks Management Plan, Spring 1989."

⁴³Superintendent's Report for 1989. To strengthen the remaining lawn areas, maintenance workers overseeded with tall fescue and rye. See also, H. Reed Johnson, "Managing and Interpreting the Cultural Landscape at Mound City Group National Monument," Interpretation (Spring/Summer 1991).

⁴⁴Superintendent's Report for 1990 and 1991.

"transition from a more open to a more forested environment."⁴⁵

The report seemed to contradict efforts to restore an open, prairie-like environment. For the first time, park managers had scientific data to make landscape management decisions. The data put into question the tall grass restoration launched by Bill Gibson in 1989. Working behind the scenes to formulate long-term management strategies were H. Reed Johnson, chief of interpretation and resource management, and Steve Cinnamon, resource management specialist in Omaha.⁴⁶

Ironically, the goal of recreating a Hopewellian cultural landscape predated the birth of an aggressive cultural landscape program in established in the Midwest Region. With the arrival in Omaha of Regional Historical Landscape Architect Mary V. Hughes in January 1991, the changed cultural landscape at Mound City Group, the subject of heated debate for decades, was already taking firm root in the Chillicothe soil. With the ascendancy of historical landscapes within cultural resources management, the 1997 general management plan calls for a cultural landscape report to guide development within all five units of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park.

⁴⁵Quotations from "Palynological Studies Associated with the Mound City Group National Monument, Chillicothe, Ohio," completion report 13 April 1991, D18 Resources Management. Linda C. K. Shane, University of Minnesota, accompanied Snyder and Kapp as an author. See also Superintendent's Report for 1988, 1989, and 1991.

⁴⁶Gibson to Castleberry, 13 August 1991, A6437 Management Improvement Project, Maintenance Management System.

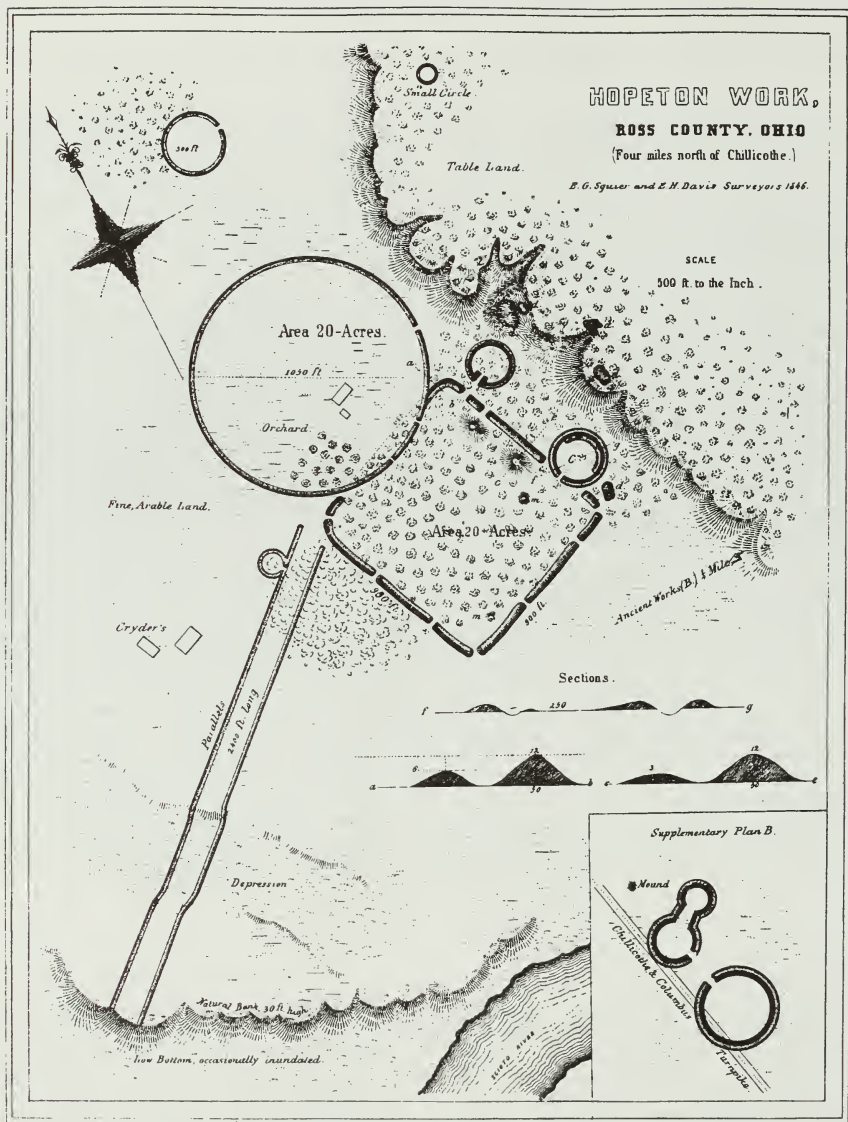


Figure 77: Squier and Davis' drawing of Hopeton Earthworks.
 ("Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley"/1848)

Chapter Ten

The Long Road to Hopeton

From the onset of National Park Service involvement at Mound City Group National Monument, managers and cultural experts lamented that the site under their care represented a macabre aspect of Hopewell culture, its peculiar graveyard and funerary aspects. "The City of the Dead" itself was surrounded in Ross County by other Hopewell-related earthworks containing clues that might shed more light upon this mysterious civilization, the greatest prehistoric culture of eastern North America. While a surprising number of these sites had survived centuries of Euro-American occupation, efforts to preserve them had largely been as a result of enlightened and sympathetic private landowners. As time passed and economic conditions changed, however, such private sector benevolence could not guarantee the preservation of remaining Hopewell sites in perpetuity. The public sector slowly came to this realization in the late twentieth century.

Clearly, if the National Park Service took its preservation mandate seriously, the Mound City Group could not be the sole Hopewellian site within the national park system. As serious planning efforts for Mound City Group began in the 1950s, this concept received much discussion, especially once MISSION 66 development for the Chillicothe monument became agency policy, forever renouncing notions of allowing Mound City Group to revert to state management and operation. From the late 1950s onward, the National Park Service committed itself to playing a key leadership role in understanding, educating, and preserving significant sites related to the Hopewell culture. The impetus for this preservation vision lay just across the Scioto River from Mound City Group National Monument at the Hopeton Earthworks.

** Significance of the Hopeton Earthworks

E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis first described "Hopeton Works" in 1846, stating the earthworks consisted of "a rectangle, with an attached circle, the latter extending into the former, instead of being connected with it in the usual manner. The rectangle measures nine hundred and fifty by nine hundred feet in diameter." Continuing the description, they wrote: "The walls of the rectangular work are... twelve feet high by fifty feet base, and are destitute of a ditch on either side. The wall of the great circle was never as high as that of the rectangle; yet, although it has been much reduced of late by the plough, it is

still about five feet in average height."¹ The accompanying lithograph depicts the site, spelled slightly different than the nearby settlement of Hopetown about four miles north of Chillicothe, sitting beneath the table land on "fine, arable land." Four small mounds and three small attached circular enclosures are depicted. Where the twenty-acre circle and equally large square conjoin, two, 2,400-foot-long parallel earthwalls proceed across the farmland toward the river, slicing through a natural depression, to an area marked "low bottom, occasionally inundated." The manmade feature, perhaps intended as a promenade, points to the south of Mound City Group on the opposite bank of the Scioto.²

While Superintendent Clyde King spoke often of the Hopeton Earthworks to anyone who would listen, his belief in the site's significance and its inherent interrelation with the national monument received validation when the Washington Office instructed Northeast Region officials on October 3, 1958, to assist in preparing site surveys for potential national historic landmarks (NHL). NHLs were recommended by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments for designation by the secretary of the interior. Known as the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, the NHL program was authorized by the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Once contextual themes were developed following World War II, concerted initial nationwide surveys began in the 1950s and concluded in the early 1960s. While outstanding sites could receive NHL status and remain in private ownership, others found to possess exceptional value to the nation's history were eligible for inclusion in the national park system.

Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter got the nod to prepare the "Hopeton Group" site survey. Philadelphia officials were eager "to formulate a definite opinion as to the nature and value" of the site, but believed from the start that Ohio should manage it and would "encourage them to obtain title to it."³ Cotter finished his survey and sent it to Washington in early 1959, when Regional Director Tobin informed Director Wirth that "It is our feeling that Hopeton Group is a portion of an

¹Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge Series, 1848).

²Ibid. Two buildings associated with the agrarian land is identified as "Cryder's." Within the circle are two more buildings. Leaving the circle and continuing inside to fill the square are trees marked on the lithograph as "orchard."

³Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch to Director Conrad L. Wirth, 29 October 1958, H2215.

archeological unit represented by Hopeton Group, Mound City Group, and the large adjacent circular earthwork now on the land of the Department of Justice which should be considered as closely related to the rectangular necropolis of Mound City Group. Therefore, full consideration should be given to the interpretation of all of these earthworks together."⁴

Relating the results to Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Director Erwin Zepp, Tobin stated, "We believe that at present too little is known of the actual cultural definition of this site to link it positively with Mound City Group. Nevertheless, in our opinion, the Hopeton Group represents one of the few presumably Hopewellian earthworks which still has a trace of circular and rectangular earthworks in conjunction, together with an associated causeway of parallel earth walls and earth mounds." He nominated the state society as the best agency to preserve the site, and should further study establish a definite association with Mound City Group, Tobin pledged to integrate interpretive programs at both sites.⁵

Philadelphia officials placed too much credence in Erwin Zepp's statements that the Hopeton Earthworks would be favorably considered for acquisition by the Ohio legislature. This belief pervaded state-federal discussions in the late 1950s and perhaps influenced a 1958-59 boundary study by Andrew Feil of the Northeast Region's National Parks Planning division to recommend against administratively declaring Hopeton to be within Mound City Group National Monument's boundaries. In the fall of 1960, National Park Service officials were stunned to learn that Zepp had not included Hopeton on the 1960 list of to-be-acquired sites, nor had he done so in previous years. In response, dramatically shifting its position, the Philadelphia office recommended Hopeton as one of two sites in the Northeast Region to be considered as potential national monuments.⁶

Zepp's duplicity prompted Regional Archeologist John Cotter to press ahead and make the case for Hopeton's national

⁴Tobin to Wirth, no date [circa January 1959], H2215.

⁵Tobin to Dr. Erwin Zepp, letter, 24 February 1959, H2215. Tobin indicated that Washington's Chief Archeologist, Dr. John Corbett, assisted Cotter in the Hopeton Group site survey.

⁶Regional Director Ronald F. Lee to Wirth, 2 September 1960, L58. Hopeton was second only to Nundawao Site, New York, traditional birthplace of the Iroquois, under National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings' archeological theme sites recommended for possible inclusion in the national park system. Two others failed to qualify because they were already state-owned: Cahokia Mound Site, Illinois, and Angel Site, Indiana. Feil's boundary study visit came in March 1959. See King to Wirth, 1 April 1959, March 1959 report.

significance. In the total absence of state action, Cotter declared "the Hopeton site can only be preserved through the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings recommendations."⁷ Cotter felt the two sites were strongly linked, and NPS management of an enlarged national monument was "logical and warranted for the complete interpretation of the story." Further, he concluded, "The statement of purpose and justification in the enabling legislation of Mound City Group can as well apply to Hopeton."⁸

In February 1961, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee brought events at Hopeton to Director Conrad Wirth's attention. The previous month, Lee agreed to consider amending Mound City Group's boundary survey report to include Hopeton. He reported news from Clyde King concerning a threat of residential subdivision within the earthworks itself. A sixty-eight-acre section called the McKell tract was subdivided by owner/developer Merrill Vaughn of Chillicothe and his agent, Donald H. Watt of Columbus. The immediate threat was one side of the twenty-acre square had one of its earthwalls leveled by a bulldozer. To help orchestrate public pressure to halt the destruction, the National Park Service notified Robert Garvey, National Trust for Historic Preservation director.⁹

While no additional ground disturbance occurred, the development action by a landowner unimpressed by prehistoric values prompted King to prepare information about the site to send to Columbus and Philadelphia in March 1961.¹⁰ In the fall of 1962, a meeting with Ohio Historical Society's Curator of Archeology Raymond S. Baby and Mound City Group Superintendent John C. W. Riddle and Archeologist Richard Faust took place in Columbus primarily to discuss contractual relations the following year for an Accelerated Public Works program. The men spent considerable time discussing Hopeton Earthworks and its need for preservation. The meeting laid the groundwork for a new spirit of cooperation between the two agencies, and Baby pledged to keep an eye on Hopeton for the state. A change in the society's site management leadership promised new hope for state acquisition

⁷Cotter to Regional Chief of Interpretation [?], 30 November 1960, H2215. Cotter learned from Raymond Baby of Zepp's lack of action. Cotter reported Baby said "Zepp gave no explanation" but added [Hopeton] "won't be pursued in the future."

⁸Ibid., 6 December 1960.

⁹Lee to Wirth, 23 February 1961, H2215.

¹⁰King to Wirth, 1 April 1961, March 1961 report. King wrote, "It is one of two areas remaining that could be restored without interference from a major highway or railroad, and the only one without modern developments within the area."

efforts.¹¹

Renewed NPS confidence in Ohio's acquisition of Hopeton lead to incorporating into the 1963 Mound City Group interpretive prospectus the assertion that "The State of Ohio plans legislation to acquire and develop Hopeton."¹² But even before the document's ink was dry, NPS officials knew state action would not be forthcoming. On March 12, 1963, Cotter learned from Raymond Baby that severe state budget cuts not only resulted in closing all state memorial parks, but ended plans for Hopeton until fiscal matters improved. Faced by this news, John C. W. Riddle continued to support NPS acquisition by revising Mound City Group's boundary. Cotter concurred, calling it "the only possibility of saving this site."¹³

Monument staff researched county deeds to determine Hopeton land ownership and prepared plat maps on each interest for Riddle's meeting in April 1964 with regional officials. Riddle reported an "interesting discussion" took place, and mused about "the possibilities, someday, of a direct tie in with Mound City."¹⁴ Riddle's lack of enthusiasm was probably related to the 1964 "Parks for America" publication, the last such NPS report anticipated for nationwide park planning before that function officially transferred within the Interior department to newly-created Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. In its treatment of Ohio, "Parks for America" noted "sites illustrating the prehistoric cultures that once flourished in Ohio have great educational value." Unfortunately for Hopeton Earthworks and other meritorious archeological sites, the agency's recommendation called for adding no prehistoric sites to the national park system.¹⁵

¹¹Riddle to Wirth, 7 November 1962, October 1962 report; and Lee to Wirth, 20 July 1962, L58. Lee reported one property owner, Barnhart, was "in sympathy with conservation," but that Faust would be "maintaining watch on the Hopeton site in case any unanticipated developments are attempted by any of the property holders."

¹²"Interpretive Prospectus for Mound City Group National Monument," approved by Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, 25 April 1963, "History" file.

¹³Quotation from Cotter, to Chief, Division of History and Archeology [?], 12 March 1963, Hopeton file.

¹⁴Quotation from Riddle to Hartzog, 12 May 1964, April 1964 report; and Ibid., 6 March 1964/February 1964 report and 7 April 1964/March 1964 report.

¹⁵Parks for America: A Survey of Park and Related Resources in the Fifty States, and a Preliminary Plan (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1964), found in State Archives, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

In July 1964, a public announcement from Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall's office included Hopeton Earthworks on a list of four Ohio national historic landmarks. Completing work by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings of archeological properties, Hopeton Earthworks joined Newark, Serpent Mound, and Fort Ancient National Historic Landmarks thus elevating these sites for preservation in the public mindset.¹⁶

Four years passed before any substantive state action transpired regarding Hopeton Earthworks NHL. On December 13, 1968, the Board of Advisors of the Ohio Historical Society considered a proposal by Raymond S. Baby to acquire 250 acres at Hopeton. While the board viewed Baby's pitch favorably, it viewed owners Vaughn and Barnhart as unwilling sellers by asking an inflated selling price. The board threw its support to acquiring Seip Mound as its first priority, but instructed the society's director to try acquiring Hopeton by "other means," including options to buy. Spurred by developments in Columbus, Superintendent George Schesventer advocated proceeding with more Hopewell-related research, concluding "Hopeton and Mound City may be miles apart in the bureaucratic sense, but they are almost as one in the story of the Hopewell Culture of the Scioto Valley." It was up to the Park Service, Schesventer believed, to make the case crystal clear.¹⁷

**** Park Expansion and Local Reaction**

The ambitious park expansion effort launched by Superintendent William C. Birdsell in the early 1970s had Hopeton Earthworks as the only tract nominated for acquisition not already federally owned. While Birdsell worked to secure state and local support for Hopeton's addition, he also used his political savvy to court congressional representatives and expressed optimism about having the national historic landmark included in the final legislative package. Gone were the days when the agency could merely administratively determine adjustments in park boundaries. During the 1960s and 1970s, Congress had clearly asserted its authority over the executive branch in such matters.¹⁸

¹⁶"Ohio has Four Landmarks on New Interior Dept. List," Columbus Dispatch (19 July 1964).

¹⁷Schesventer to Regional Director Lemuel Garrison, 20 December 1968, H34, Hopeton file. The inflated price was given as two to three thousand dollars more per acre than surrounding agricultural land prices.

¹⁸Birdsell to Regional Director Chester L. Brooks, 27 January 1972, D22. Birdsell did secure an offer to purchase or trade land from Maston M. Sansom, owner of more than forty-five acres adjacent to the Barnhart property at Hopeton. See Birdsell to files, 27 January 1973, L14 Hopeton Earthworks.

Bill Birdsell failed to see progress made on Hopeton Earthworks during his tenure other than the preparation of a formal National Register nomination, the primary purpose of which was to establish a firm boundary. Upon passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966 and creation of the National Register of Historic Places, cultural units of the national park system like Mound City Group and all NHLs, including Hopeton Earthworks, were automatically added to the national inventory of significant properties. Because Hopeton Earthworks NHL preceded the 1966 act, it lacked the required nomination form and an official boundary determination. When Fran Weiss, Washington Office archeologist, accompanied by Martha Otto of the Ohio Historical Society, arrived in August 1974 to walk the NHL and decide on a boundary, they stood on the Barnhart tract and peered over the fence at the Vaughn tract. The latter landowner flatly denied permission to access his property. Nonetheless, the National Register nomination form went forward on November 8, 1974.¹⁹

Archeological testing at Hopeton Earthworks to determine its significance and integrity took place in the summer of 1976 by David S. Brose, curator of archeology at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History and instructor at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. Brose's September 1976 report represented the first phase of a suitability/feasibility study undertaken by the Midwest Regional Office. Brose determined the site's national significance and integrity made it a worthy addition to the national park system.²⁰

The second phase to determine feasibility began in January 1977 with formation of the planning team. Primary members were team captain Allen Hagood and Park Planner Donald Clark, both of the Denver Service Center, and Superintendent Fred Fagergren. Technical experts were F. A. Calabrese, manager of Midwest Archeological Center, and Finis Rayburn, land appraiser at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana. Delays in Denver postponed team information-gathering and public meetings until late July 1977, and other service center projects intervened to

¹⁹Acting Chief, Historic Sites Survey, Benjamin Levy to M. D. Vaughn, letter, 8 August 1974, H3417, Washington History Division NHL Files, Hopeton Earthworks Ohio; Staff Archeologist Fran Weiss to files, boundary justification, 12 January 1976. The 1974 boundary included only known earthworks. Because none could be seen extending west from the bluff into the floodplain, that bottomland area was not included. Weiss wrote that if archeological evidence proved sufficient there, the NHL boundary should then be enlarged.

²⁰David S. Brose, "An Historical and Archaeological Evaluation of the Hopeton Works, Ross County, Ohio" (Cleveland, Ohio: under contract for the National Park Service, 1976); and Superintendent's Report for 1976.

push progress on Hopeton until later the following year.²¹

The delay proved costly. In October 1977, the Chillicothe Planning Commission approved a development plan for a one hundred-fifty-unit apartment complex south of Barnhart Road, adjacent to Ohio Highway 159 or North Bridge Street. Named "North River Place," the apartment complex, financed in part through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), was set for construction in spring 1978. Fagergren immediately informed both city and county planning commissions of the potential park development conflict, and found no zoning in effect to halt adverse developments, the city commission had merely ruled there were no housing code violations. Because planning was still underway and the agency's position remained "speculative and uncertain" without congressional action, Omaha regional experts determined NPS had no grounds to halt the development.²²

Bordering on "apologetic," this unfortunate attitude permeated the agency's regional and Washington-level decision-making, which resulted in reactive, not proactive, resource preservation. On matters archeological, NPS lacked political will or astuteness. Indeed, the Park Service failed to include its own Midwest Archeological Center as a full partner in the discussion concerning Hopeton and other Hopewellian sites. Testifying before Congress, NPS officials could not answer basic questions concerning the endangered resources, reflecting its ingrained bias and second-class treatment of all things archeological. At the regional level, communication became funneled through the Midwest Regional Office's public affairs officer, Bill Dean, who strangely enough also served as liaison to Washington Office legislative specialists. Dean placed tight restrictions on information exchanges, and at one point forbade professional interaction with the Archaeological Conservancy, a group he perceived as unwelcome interlopers, and not valued preservation partners. To his credit, Regional Archeologist Mark

²¹Denver Service Center Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, Donald A. Purse to Regional Director Merrill Beal, 24 January 1977 and 30 September 1977; Hagood to Fagergren, telephone call, 10 June 1977; "Hopeton Earthworks Study Team to Visit Chillicothe Next Week," NPS news release, 18 July 1977; "Meeting Thursday on Mound City Plan," Chillicothe Gazette (27 July 1977); and Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Purse, 25 October 1977, all in L14 Hopeton Earthworks.

²²Quotation from Acting Regional Director Randall J. Pope to Fagergren, 23 November 1977; Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; "City Approves Apartment Plan," Chillicothe Gazette (no date) [circa late October 1977]; Hagood to Fagergren, 28 October 1977; and Fagergren to Beal, 2 November 1977, all in L14 Hopeton Earthworks. Because the development was within Chillicothe's three-mile boundary jurisdiction, the city commission possessed housing code authority. Developers were "HRH Properties, Limited," consisting of Dennis Hartsough, John Roseboom, and Larry Hardin.

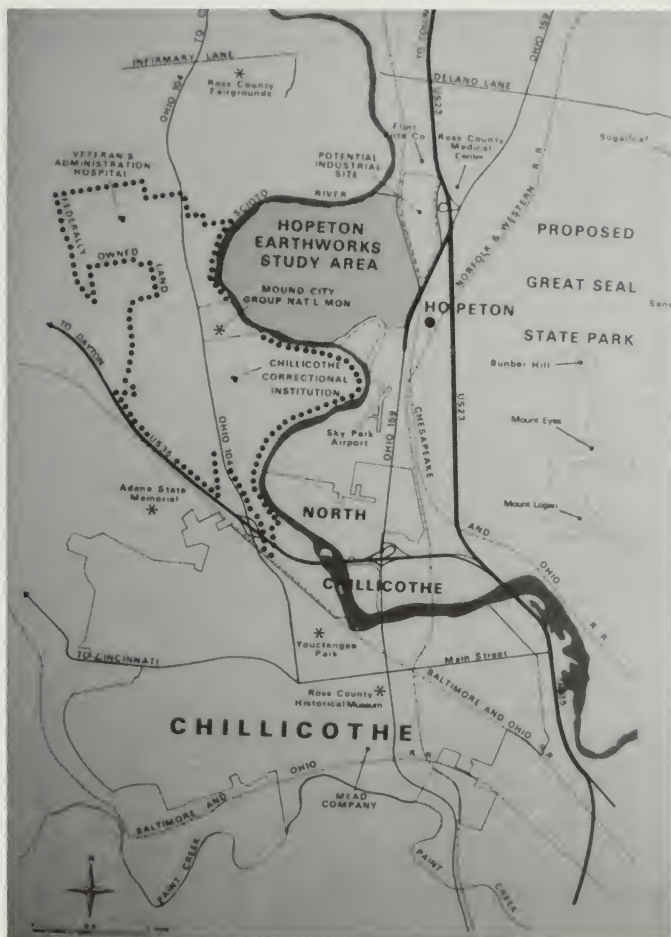


Figure 78: Map of the Hopeton study area from the 1978 feasibility report in relation to other Chillicothe sites. (NPS/1978)

J. Lynott ignored Dean's order. Lynott later recalled,

The Park Service's whole involvement in Hopeton was one of an apology. All the problems that we have out there today we have only ourselves to blame because we have never taken an assertive stance on preservation of that resource. It's a chronic problem that this organization has. I mean, in my opinion, we like to wave the flag that we're this great preservation agency; but the fact of the matter is, there is absolutely no courage on the part of any of our leadership to preserve something that's worthwhile.... It's been a view from management at the top: Washington and some of the former upper level managers at the Midwest Region. The commitment just has not been there to take the stance to preserve the resources in Ross County that should be preserved.²³

In the interim as planning efforts plodded ahead, the first academic conference ever held in Chillicothe concerning the Hopewell culture took place for four days in March 1978. Co-sponsored by Mound City Group National Monument, the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and the Mid-Continental Journal of Archeology, the gathering represented the first such conference since 1961 and produced a valuable synthesis on Hopewell archeology. More than forty professional papers were presented at the well-attended "Conference on Hopewellian Archeology." The NPS arranged an afternoon tour of area Hopewell sites, with much discussion concerning Hopeton Earthworks and the need to preserve such sites.²⁴

By late May 1978, Regional Director Beal approved final changes to "An Evaluation of the Feasibility of Adding Hopeton Earthworks to Mound City Group National Monument." It boldly stated that "Hopeton Earthworks and Mound City Group should be protected as a combined resource, administrated [sic] as a single unit of the National Park System. Should the combination of alternatives we recommend be approved and enacted, approximately 1,020 acres would be added to the System--477 acres in fee and 543 acres with a combined scenic and archeological easement."²⁵ Fagergren seized the opportunity to press for consideration of a name change for the expanded park, but offered no suggestion. He

²³Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994.

²⁴Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Superintendent's Report for 1978; and "Organizers Pleased with Hopewell Conference," Chillicothe Gazette (13 March 1978). Key speakers were David Brose, James B. Griffin, Martha Otto, and N'omi Greber.

²⁵Denver Service Center Associate Manager Donald L. Bressler to Beal, 20 June 1978, L14 Hopeton Earthworks.

also heralded the idea of establishing an archeological center similar to the Chaco Archeological Center to study the Eastern Woodland Indians. Finally, he urged expedited drafting of legislation for Interior department approval so that citizens could hear the federal government's position as soon as possible.²⁶

Fagergren's concern over public reaction proved well-founded as rumors about federal land acquisition plans swept Ross County. Even before official study results were known, special interest groups such as the Ross County Taxpayers Association, Ross County Farm Bureau, and East Side Civic Improvement Association passed resolutions opposing park expansion to include Hopeton and other prime industrial, commercial land. An informal group representing these opponents from the business community appeared before the Ross County Planning Commission in late June 1978 to urge that body to pass a similar resolution. Group leader, Larry Hardin, president of Hardin Real Estate and an investor in the stalled North River Place development, warned that the buffer surrounding the forty-acre Hopeton circle and square would be a thousand acres, putting a total of seven percent of Ross County in federal ownership. Hardin subsequently launched a petition drive objecting to the land being removed from tax rolls.²⁷

Rushing to stave-off an avalanche of public opposition, Fagergren released the sixty-six-page suitability-feasibility study for public review on July 7. Stressing that the government had taken no position and the final approval was up to Congress, the alternatives ranged from the status quo to full federal purchase of 1,020.39 acres. Briefing the Ross County Planning Commission on July 18, Fagergren noted Maston Samson, owner of forty-five acres, as the lone favorable landowner, and acknowledged the selfish interests of the growing opposition. He downplayed economic impacts to the county's tax base, citing 1977 figures crediting more than seven million dollars annually pumped into the county by heritage tourism. Adding Hopeton, Fagergren argued, would only increase tourism profits.²⁸

²⁶Fagergren to Beal, 24 May 1978, D18 Book 2 Jan. 1976-Dec. 1979, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter cited as RG 79, FRC/NARA, Kansas City).

²⁷"Group Opposes Federal Acquisition of County Land," (22 June 1978) and "Resident Seeks Support in Opposing Land Acquisition," (14 July 1978), Chillicothe Gazette.

²⁸"Newly Completed Study Explores Possibility of Preserving Hopeton Area within National Park System," NPS news release, 7 July 1978, L14 Hopeton Earthworks; and "Hopeton Earthworks Study Available," (12 July 1978) and "Residents Divided on Land Use for National Park," (22 July 1978), Chillicothe Gazette.

Congress had already acted on adverse impacts to local tax districts affected by federal land acquisition by passing Public Law 94-565, providing payments in lieu of taxes. In an effort to influence Congressman William H. Harsha, thought to be sympathetic with his anti-Hopeton constituents, NPS calculated 1976 valuations of the 1,020 acres at \$4,080. Thanks to Congress, Ross County would get the same amount for the first five years following federal acquisition plus an additional \$765 annually. After five years, the annual payment would remain at \$765. With increased tourism revenues, Ross County would experience no adverse economic impact by this tax base reduction.²⁹

Harsha's supportive nature as cultivated by Bill Birdsell in the early 1970s all but turned to hostility, thanks to miscommunication between the Washington and Midwest Regional Offices. Irrked when his June request for a copy of the suitability-feasibility report was denied in Washington because of that office's understanding that it would not be available until fall, Harsha was rebuffed again even as the report freely circulated in Chillicothe. In an indignant letter to Secretary Cecil B. Andrus, Harsha claimed "I believe the National Park Service deliberately misled me. This apparent effort on the part of the bureaucracy to deceive a member of Congress is outrageous." Explaining the blunder, Andrus said the study could not be considered complete until Interior's position had been determined sometime in the fall, and apologized for the inadvertent error.³⁰

With Carter administration approval, Interior's nod to include Hopeton Earthworks in the national park system finally came in February 1979. Previous suggestions to accomplish it by executive proclamation under authority of the 1906 Antiquities Act granting the president power to declare a national monument were laid to rest in favor of congressional action. Although approved for submission under section 8 of the General Authorities Act for 1978 and 1979, Interior's delay had spawned additional slowness in drafting legislation and pushing it through laborious reviews throughout 1979.³¹

²⁹Acting Associate Director Robert Stanton to Congressman Harsha, letter, 25 July 1978, L14 Hopeton Earthworks.

³⁰Harsha to Andrus, letter, 11 August 1978; "On Capitol Hill," The Plain Dealer (26 August 1978); and Andrus to Harsha, letter, 14 September 1978, all in L14 Hopeton Earthworks. Harsha was so incensed he had his letter published under the heading "Federal Bureaucracy" in the August 14 Congressional Record.

³¹Superintendent's Report for 1979; Assistant Interior Secretary Bob Herbst to Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Morris K. Udall, letter, 1 February 1979; Fagergren to Harsha, letter, 14 February 1979, L14 Hopeton Earthworks; and "Hopeton Site Approved for National Park,"

News of firm federal plans for Hopeton prompted the Ross County Planning Commission to request Congress not to permit land or easement purchases until planning and funding were available for park development. It requested further that the minimum land area be acquired and current tax values be used for compensation.³²

Commissioners made their statement based upon the knowledge that land values continued to climb. In December 1978, the commission gave final approval to developers HRH Properties, Ltd., for the 120-unit, \$3.7 million North River Place apartment complex. Word of grant approval confounded NPS officials. The Washington Office informed Ohio HUD officials that funding for North River Place constituted a "direct conflict with adding Hopeton Earthworks to the National Park System." Receiving no response from HUD, Fagergren later learned that HUD claimed to have received none of the previous NPS protest letters on the subject, and lacking any written objections, HUD decided to proceed with the loan application.³³

HUD did delay the project during 1978, requiring HRH to secure an archeological survey and then to supply the negative results to the state historic preservation office (SHPO) and the Keeper of the National Register, both of whom concurred that the tract lacked cultural resources. Intentionally deciding not to consult with NPS officials over the project, HUD proceeded through the section 106 consultation process, in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, receiving both SHPO and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's concurrence with a "no adverse effect" determination. Once the section 106 process concluded, HUD was free to proceed. Fagergren first learned in June 1979 of these developments as well as HUD's resolve not to change its mind, but to continue granting HRH time extensions to secure bonding for the HUD grant. A furious Fagergren found HUD officials had not bothered to read the NPS Hopeton study, believing that land lacking in cultural resources should not be of interest to NPS. When Fagergren pointed out the tract was ideal for his agency's own development

Chillicothe Gazette (19 February 1979). The newspaper reported Hardin's petition drive yielded 250 responses.

³²"Limitations Asked on Federal Park Plan," Chillicothe Gazette (21 March 1979).

³³Quotation from Acting Deputy Director Daniel J. Tobin, Jr., to HUD Deputy Director, Ohio Area Office, Sylvester Angel, letter, 4 May 1979; "Apartment Development Planned Near Hopetown," Chillicothe Gazette (20 December 1978); Fagergren to Assistant Director, Cooperative Planning, Bill W. Dean, telephone call, 1 June 1979; and Dean to Director, HUD Office of Regional Administration, Brenda Head, letter, 4 June 1979, all in L14 Hopeton Earthworks.

facilities for Hopeton, the explanation fell on deaf ears.³⁴

In a desperate effort to get the HUD grant terminated, Fred Fagergren attempted to reopen the section 106 process by contending NPS was omitted from the consultation and that adverse visual and audible effects to the adjacent Hopeton Earthworks NHL were not considered. His request for Omaha officials to reopen the case with the Advisory Council did precipitate news that the Council had determined that the low-rise nature of the buildings would have a minimal impact on the NHL. There was no precedent for reopening a completed section 106 case, but the Council said it would consult its solicitor should NPS decide to press the issue. To Fagergren's dismay, Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning decided against it.³⁵

On August 30, 1979, North River Place developers closed with HUD on its loan and were set to begin construction. The letter that Fagergren coaxed the Washington Office to prepare two months before for the interior secretary's signature was too late. Signed by Acting Secretary Robert L. Herbst to Acting HUD Secretary Jay Janis on September 9, the letter sought to prevent the two departments from working at "cross-purposes." It warned North River Place would "occupy the only available entrance for 100,000 visitors to Hopeton" and exappropriate the site for an NPS administrative facility. It warned that Interior faced the "unpleasant possibility" of condemning the HUD project.³⁶

Reporting on the North River Place groundbreaking ceremony in late September, a dejected Fred Fagergren refused to give up. Pressing Omaha officials do more, including pressing for condemnation, Fagergren asserted: "I am appalled that we were unable to deal with the bureaucracy and have some effect upon this project. I remain convinced that some effort should be made

³⁴Fagergren to HUD [title?] Ron Williams, 19 June 1979, L14. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act provides that when federal funds, permits, or licenses are used on properties possessing significant cultural resources, a review process designed to mitigate adverse effects must be undertaken prior to project approval in which the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is afforded an opportunity to comment. The review process included providing sufficient information and can result in substantial delays on such federal undertakings.

³⁵Fagergren to Park Planner Frosty Freeman, telephone call, 30 July 1979; Fagergren to Dunning, 9 August 1979; and Dunning to Fagergren, 23 August 1979, all in L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks.

³⁶Quotation from Herbst to Janis, letter, 7 September 1979 [Note: Drafted by Washington Office Legislative Affairs Specialist Art Eck on July 11, 1979, this pivotal letter took two months to clear channels.]; North River Place corporate lawyer John Talbott to Fagergren, telephone call, 30 August 1979, L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks; and MWRO Keyman Arthur Eck to Files, 4 September 1979, Washington Office History Division Files.

to work with the Advisory Council to have them at least place requirements upon the apartment developers to provide the screening, which will be necessary, on their acreage. The responsibility is with the Council to minimize impact on historic resources. The NPS should not bear the responsibility of screening for off-site projects which are Federally backed. To plant vegetation north of Barnhart Road as screening will be very difficult and extremely expensive."³⁷

Determined to put the matter back into perspective, Dunning stated no legislation had yet been introduced, and condemnation was "both premature and presumptive." With no acquired interests, screening requirements had no basis. Two events, however, soon changed Dunning's negative position. First, fall 1979 draft legislation to add Hopeton was introduced, then got incorporated into an omnibus parks bill. Second, Fagergren reported in mid-November 1979 that land east of Hopeton was under consideration for an industrial park development by Ross County Community Improvement Corporation. Encouraged by progress made on North River Place, developers were salivating to improve agricultural land to the east.³⁸

In a December 20, 1979, meeting at the HUD office in Columbus, Jimmie Dunning spoke bluntly. Concerned by HUD's failure to communicate honestly, he threatened the political reality of one government department condemning the project of another, an embarrassing prospect in an approaching presidential election year. Dunning presented three ways to reach common ground and avoid condemnation: realigning the apartment complex entrance from Highway 23, not Barnhart Road as designed; installing extensive vegetative screening; and to fence along the south edge of Barnhart Road to separate apartment dwellers from tourists. Should these modifications be made, NPS would then request that the development site be removed from the Hopeton acquisition. Dunning called for another meeting in early 1980 to discuss mitigation measures. Failure to satisfy NPS concerns, he warned, would bring certain litigation.³⁹

³⁷Fagergren to Dunning, 21 September 1979, L14; and "Apartment Project Launched," Chillicothe Gazette (24 September 1979).

³⁸Dunning to Fagergren, 26 September 1979, L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks; and Fagergren to Dunning, 14 November 1979, D18.

³⁹Fagergren to files, 21 December 1979; and Dunning to Director William J. Whalen, 26 December 1979, L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks. In attendance were Dunning, Fagergren, and Art Eck, all of NPS, and representing HUD were Sylvester Angel, area manager; Ron Williams and Larry Moore, project supervisors for North River Place; Eric Axelrod, environmental division; and John Yoakum and Edward Towner, appraisers. Barnhart Road subsequently became known as Hopeton Road.

** Threats Escalate, but Congress is Slow to Act

The promised mitigation meeting had ominous results. The developer failed to attend, contending instead with a construction site strike, and HUD reneged on earlier assurances it could leverage the developer to make changes. Fred Fagergren's suspicions that the earlier meeting had merely allowed HUD to claim it listened to NPS concerns proved accurate. He later learned that an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation stipulation to HUD was for that agency to consult with NPS on the project. Until it did, and reported back to the Council, section 106 compliance had not been completed, and HUD illegally proceeded with project approval. Surprisingly, a meeting with developers did take place a week later and representatives were amenable to making design changes.⁴⁰

A mid-February conference in Washington, D.C., on the apartment complex brought consensus that NPS could not afford to pursue condemnation with a tract price of \$1.8 million and improvements at \$3.5 million. NPS would instead work for maximum mitigation measures, and if those failed to materialize, language would then be inserted in the Hopeton legislation to provide funding for NPS to install mitigative features. The following day, Fagergren and Dunning met with Advisory Council officials to confirm that HUD failed to complete section 106 compliance and would be notified of their illegal action and urged to work closely with NPS on mitigation. Council staff members acknowledged that intense political pressure had been imposed on them to pass the apartment complex project through the section 106 process.⁴¹

Although no names were used, NPS knew the political pressure originated from Congressman William Harsha's office. Harsha staff members wanted NPS to compromise further so that the retiring congressman could support the Hopeton bill and tell constituents he helped reduce the total acreage. NPS officials asserted the agency had already compromised by its willingness to delete the apartment complex and pursue easements in lieu of fee purchases. NPS would compromise no further because a minimum

⁴⁰Fagergren to Dunning, 23 and 30 January 1980. Larry Moore delivered the new HUD position. Developers were uncertain about getting easements for entrance road realignment.

⁴¹Fagergren, summary of 12 February 1980 Washington Office meeting with Dunning, Eck, Special Assistant to the Director Dave Sherman, Chief Archeologist Doug Scovill, and Archeologist Diane Gelburd; Fagergren, summary of 13 February meeting with Dunning and Gelburd, and Advisory Council members Bob Utley and Charlene Dwin. Utley's letter to HUD Ohio Area Manager Sylvester Angel is dated 29 February 1980. HUD's responded it met its section 106 requirement by meeting with NPS. See Fagergren to Larry Moore, telephone call of 9 April 1980.

boundary for preservation purposes had already been defined.⁴²

Reducing the amount of farmland taken for Hopeton was precisely what Congressman Harsha intended to do. By May 1980, the House subcommittee added two new potential boundary packages for discussion, one consisting of 150 acres encompassing little beyond the earthworks themselves, the other a slightly larger tract at 320 acres. Fagergren opposed both, stating, "We would be taking the traditional Ohio approach and concentrating on the mounds and earthworks alone, ignoring the village, camp, and other type sites."⁴³ He favored no less than 450 acres. Harsha's persistent lobbying of the House subcommittee paid off and the 150-acre proposal prevailed with the strong backing of Congressman John Seiberling (Democrat-Ohio). The House of Representatives passed H.R. 3 304-102 on May 20.⁴⁴

Ohio Senator Howard Metzenbaum pledged to shepherd the measure through the Senate and he proved true to his word. By fall 1980, all NPS-related legislation got lumped together into an omnibus national parks bill that became known as the National Park and Recreation Act of 1980. President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 96-607 on December 28, 1980. Section 701 pertained to expansion of Mound City Group National Monument. For Hopeton Earthworks, a map called "Parcel X," drawn by Harsha's staff, served as the official boundary map. The 1980 law specified that no more than 150 acres could be bought in fee, and "Access to lands in the vicinity of the mounds by existing roadways shall in no way be encumbered by Federal acquisition or administration of the Monument." It also included a one million dollar ceiling for land acquisition and development, archeological studies not to exceed \$100,000, and two years to investigate adjacent land to determine their significance to the expanded national monument.⁴⁵

Progress in 1981 and 1982 on acquiring Hopeton Earthworks stalled with the ushering in of President Ronald Reagan's

⁴²Fagergren, summary of meeting with Eck, Gelburd, and Congressman Harsha's staff assistant Keith Reicher, 17 March 1980.

⁴³Quotation from Fagergren, comments on congressional options to Ross County Commissioners, 13 May 1980; and Fagergren to HUD, Larry Moore, letter, 12 May 1980.

⁴⁴"Senate Fight Expected on Proposed Park," (21 May 1980) and "Ross Countian About to Win Government Battle," (19 May 1980), Chillicothe Gazette. John Barnhart worked closely with Harsha's staff to exclude most of his 600-acre farm, leaving Merrill Vaughn as the principal landowner.

⁴⁵Quotation from section 701 of Public Law 96-607; photocopy of "Parcel X" map; Chief, Office of Legislation (?) to John Barnhart, letter, 6 January 1981, L58; Metzenbaum to Administrative Officer Joan F. Crider, telephone call of 25 June 1980, all in L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks; and "Mound City to Expand to 321 Acres," Chillicothe Gazette (30 December 1980), K3415.

administration. Secretary of the Interior James G. Watt, hostile to further national park system expansion, invoked a land acquisition moratorium and froze further allocations from the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Mound City Group management changed in April as Ken Apschnikat entered on duty as superintendent. Park Service energy expended on Hopeton during these years involved identifying road corridor alternatives to eliminate vehicular routes that bisected Hopeton Earthworks and producing an official 150-acre boundary map. Property owners threatened to stall negotiations for purchase, and take the fight to court, if need be. Conservation organizations like the National Parks and Conservation Association began criticizing James Watt for not proceeding with Hopeton's acquisition.⁴⁶

Lack of progress characterized 1983, too, as the Reagan-Watt land acquisition moratorium continued. In the face of growing criticism, Interior officials mandated that each NPS unit possessing non-federal land within congressionally-authorized boundaries must prepare "land protection plans" (LPP) to replace all existing land acquisition plans. LPPs were to consider the most fiscally-responsible methods for land protection compatible with the purposes for which Congress authorized each park. LPPs would provide landowners and other citizens with the reasoning behind federal intentions for fee simple or other land protection methods.

The massive paperwork exercise began for Mound City Group in March 1983, with a draft LPP produced late in the year. NPS inaction on assessing Hopewellian-related sites and reporting to Congress within two years evoked a critical letter from Ohio State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) W. Ray Luce. An inquiry from John Seiberling, House chairman of the Public Lands and National Parks subcommittee, brought the agency's reply that Congress had not authorized nor appropriated funds for such a new area study, and no funding requests would be made until the LPP was approved. By late 1983, however, the Midwest Regional Office determined it would proceed with the "Hopewell Sites Study."⁴⁷

⁴⁶Superintendent's Report for 1981 and 1982; "Boundary Proposal--Hopeton Earthworks," undated report [circa April 1981], L14; and "Ross County Farmers Call Federal Plan to Take Land Unjust," Columbus Citizen-Journal (2 January 1981), and "Attorney Fights to Preserve Prehistoric Site," Chillicothe Gazette (10 February 1982), both in K3415.

⁴⁷Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Superintendent's Report for 1983; "Land Plan in the Works," Chillicothe Gazette (18 March 1983); Luce to Congressman Bob McEwen, letter, 8 September 1983, A36; Seiberling to Director Russell Dickenson, letter, 23 September 1983, A36; and response by Randall J. Pope for Dickenson, draft letter, 6 October 1983. The LPP went on public review in mid-1984. It recommended acquiring Hopeton in fee. See "Mound Draft Plan Ready," Chillicothe Gazette (4 May 1984).

Phase one of the Hopewell Sites Study, an archeological evaluation with recommendations, was awarded under contract to John Blank of Cleveland State University. Blank's findings would serve as the basis of phase two, a feasibility evaluation for adding significant sites. NPS also authorized Blank to include evaluative work at Hopeton, using an emergency grant from the Ohio SHPO. As this effort commenced, news came that American Aggregates Corporation of Greenville, Ohio, commenced negotiations with Hopeton area landowners about sand and gravel mining operations. In June 1984, Ken Apschnikat learned that John Barnhart planned to join with Carmel G. (Bud) Tackett to form the Chief Cornstalk Sand and Gravel Company. Commencing in a gravel pit first used during the Depression, large areas of topsoil were peeled away and a bulldozer began excavating gravel as Barnhart pledged not to mine near the earthworks. By July, the company applied for a mining permit from the Ohio Department of Natural Resources. Apschnikat began working closely with the SHPO to get the permit denied. He found that no legal avenue existed to halt mining operations from impacting an NHL. Apschnikat nonetheless reported the activity for the 1984 "Threats to the Parks" report for Congress as well as having Hopeton included as a threatened NHL.⁴⁸

Ohio law provided that two hundred tons could be removed without a state permit. SHPO approval no longer was required for such permits, although SHPO staff could be involved in the process to protect the NHL. Estimates on gravel content were as high as a 188-year supply at 150 truckloads per day. By mid-July Apschnikat received the news he dreaded most: with no federal regulation or action in the area to prevent it, Ohio had no other choice but to grant the mining permit. While projected excavations were within the southern boundaries of the NHL, it did not infringe on the parsimonious 150-acres dictated by William Harsha. In the fall, Congressman Bob McEwen, Harsha's successor, inserted one million dollars for Hopeton acquisition in the House's Interior bill, but it failed to clear the Senate.⁴⁹

Dr. John E. Blank completed the first phase of the Hopewell

⁴⁸Superintendent's Report for 1984; Park Planner Dave Given to Associate Regional Director John Kawamoto, trip report, preparation of draft Hopewell Sites Study Task Directive, 1 February 1984; and Apschnikat to Dunning, 19 July 1984, A2623. Although National Parks and Conservation Association first began calling Hopeton a threatened NHL in the early 1980s, NPS first included it in the 1983 NHL Section 8 Report to Congress.

⁴⁹Apschnikat to Dunning, 19 July 1984; Apschnikat to Luce and Franco Ruffini, telephone call of 30 May 1984, A2623; Superintendent's report for 1984; and "Chief Cornstalk Sand and Gravel Now in Operation," The Advertiser (19 September 1984). Tests in 1981 determined the premium deposit "one of the best in the South-Central Ohio area."

Sites Study in July 1985, identifying more than one hundred sites in Ross County alone. Keeping citizens informed, Blank's study underwent public review. Well-known sites were determined to be significant over other lesser-known sites like villages. To obviate this bias, NPS circulated the report to the professional community and in late 1985, convened a special group hosted by the SHPO to make final site selections to be included in an environmental assessment. The professionals expressed concern that the limited area identified for purchase did not include all of its related archeological resources. Habitation sites on the terraces surrounding the earthworks needed to be preserved and were endangered by gravel quarrying. One expert reported seeing human skeletal remains and post holes in an area exposed by quarrying.⁵⁰

Efforts to secure the one-million-dollar Hopeton acquisition appropriation nearly succeeded in 1985. While McEwen again attached it to the House version, the Senate failed to adopt it. NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., lobbied heavily for the funding, and succeeded in getting a half-million-dollars introduced during the conference committee. The funding failed to be included in the bill's final passage at the Christmas recess. Thanks to Mott's personal interest, however, the director pledged to redouble his efforts for fiscal year 1987.⁵¹

Mott enlisted Howard Metzenbaum and the National Parks and Conservation Association in 1986 to champion Hopeton's acquisition appropriation in the Senate, and by fall, the five-year effort finally succeeded, the result of an exchange of favors between Metzenbaum and Senator James McClure (Republican-Idaho). Much of the year was spent conducting a boundary survey, but the Vaughn family's steadfast refusal to permit entry forced NPS to file a condemnation for right of entry lawsuit. By the end of the year, a draft environmental assessment included six sites for acquisition: Hopeton Earthworks (including additional land beyond 150 acres as well as the quarrying operation), High Banks Works, Hopewell Mound Group, Spruce Hill Works, Seip Earthworks, and Harness Group. For the fifth consecutive year, Hopeton NHL made the endangered landmark list, threatened both by

⁵⁰Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; Superintendent's Report for 1985; Given to Kawamoto, trip report 26 April 1985, D18; Blank, "Results of an Intensive Study of Hopewellian Culture in Ross County, Ohio and Publically Owned Hopewellian Sites in the Remainder of Southern Ohio" (Cleveland: contract with NPS, 1985); Deputy SHPO Franco Ruffini, open letter, 27 November 1985, D18; "Upcoming Meeting Set to Discuss Indian Mounds," Chillicothe Gazette (4 December 1985); Regional Archeologist Mark Lynott to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, F.A. Calabrese, trip report, 20 December 1985, A2623 Reports, Situations.

⁵¹Superintendent's Report for 1985; and Mott to Apschnikat, letter, 23 December 1985, L14 Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks.

agriculture and gravel quarrying. John Blank added a sense of increased urgency by declaring what remained at Hopeton might be gone in as little as five years. Blank, using aerial photography, satellite imaging, and computer projections, asserted that cultivation had rapidly decimated the earthworks and scant time remained before Hopeton disappeared. The year also proved significant with John Barnhart declaring bankruptcy, then filing an inverse condemnation lawsuit against the federal government, claiming it had restricted his full use and enjoyment of the disputed Hopeton tract.⁵²

Even with funding approved for acquisition, prospects for purchasing the 150-acres at Hopeton Earthworks were dim. In January 1987, the U.S. District Court in Columbus ordered the Vaughn family to permit NPS access for a boundary study. Work began on this the following month, and an official appraisal offer went to the Vaughns and Barnhart at summer's end. Both rejected it. As legal troubles already complicated the Barnhart acquisition, the Vaughn negotiation became more problematic upon the death of Gladys Vaughn and uncertain probate issues. In August 1987, phase two of the Hopewell Sites Study, the environmental assessment, went on public review, the results of which urged purchase of more Hopewellian sites.

At this time, the Archaeological Conservancy joined in full partnership with NPS as a key player in preserving significant sites. The Conservancy, led by president Mark Michel, owned ninety acres at Hopewell Mound Group, an interest in High Banks Works, and negotiations were underway to buy Spruce Hill Works. The Archaeological Conservancy and National Parks and Conservation Association stood in the wings, ready to push Congress to add the sites to an enlarged Mound City Group National Monument. Assessing the progress at year's end, Apschnikat recommended that any proposed legislation include a stipulation to rename the NPS unit Hopewell Culture National

⁵²Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993; Apschnikat, "Mound City Group National Monument Management Briefing Paper, 1987": Superintendent's Report for 1986; "Hopeton Earthworks 'Threatened' Again," (22 March 1986), "Gravel Operator Needs Money to Preserve Indian Culture," (7 April 1986), "Mound City on Funding List," (17 September 1986), "Earthworks Part of Bill," (23 October 1986), all in Chillicothe Gazette; and Midwest Region Chief of Land Acquisition Fred Meyer to Assistant Regional Solicitor, 9 July 1986 (regarding "Barnhart Cryder Farms, Ltd., et al vs. United States, Civil No. 354-861"), L1425. From the mid-1800s to the 1920s, horse-drawn plows caused an inch of erosion per decade. At the end of World War II, diesel-powered tractors brought an erosion rate of one-foot per decade. See "A Battle Over Indian Legacy: Park Service Fights to Save Earthworks," Akron Beacon Journal (7 July 1986).

Historical Park.⁵³

Acquisition negotiations continued through 1988 without positive results. In May 1988, Regional Director Don H. Castleberry transmitted the Hopewell Sites Study, mandated by the 1980 Public Law 96-607, to Director Mott. Castleberry recommended four sites be authorized for immediate inclusion with Mound City Group: 224 more acres at Hopeton, High Banks Works, Hopewell Mound Group, and Seip Earthworks. Castleberry deferred inclusion of Spruce Hill Works because of questions raised concerning its Hopewellian origins, and Harness Group was not recommended because of loss of integrity. He called for acquisition, donation, or exchange authority as well as cooperative management flexibility. The Omaha director urged further boundary studies of the four sites to determine that all significant resources were included as well as authority to make minor boundary adjustments up to ten percent of the park unit's total acreage. Castleberry also endorsed the monument's name change and sufficient appropriations, including deleting the parsimonious \$100,000 development and research ceiling for Hopeton imposed by Public Law 96-607. Director William Penn Mott, Jr., endorsed the Midwest Regional Office's recommendation in July 1988.⁵⁴

Settlement on the Barnhart tract of 57.87 acres came in late 1988 with a sheriff's sale of the bankrupt property. NPS purchased the Hopeton-related parcel under authority of the 1980 legislation, and was dismayed when another sand and gravel operation acquired the remaining Barnhart interests, including portions within the NHL boundaries. The Hopeton Unit of Mound City Group National Monument became official with the deed filing on January 8, 1990. Under NPS ownership were the southeast corner of the square earthwork wall, and the southwest ends of the parallel walls. Negotiations with the Vaughns continued even as NPS helped draft legislation incorporating the Hopewell Sites Study recommendations. The Archaeological Conservancy pressed NPS to include Cedar Banks and Spruce Hill, once testing proved

⁵³Superintendent's Report for 1987; Order of Judge Joseph P. Kinneary, United States District Court, Southern Ohio District, Eastern Division in Case No. C-2-86-0779 USA v. 87.68 acres of land, more or less, situate in Ross County, State of Ohio, and Gladys C. Vaughn, et al., and Unknown Owners," granted 20 January 1987, W32 Civil Litigation/Court Procedures; Apschnikat, open letter, 12 August 1987, D18; "Environmental Assessment, Hopewell Sites Study, Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio" (Chillicothe, Ohio: NPS, 1987); "Mound City Hopes to Manage More Mounds," (19 August 1987), Chillicothe Gazette; Acting Regional Director William Schenk to Director Mott, 13 August 1987, L7617; and Apschnikat to Castleberry, 18 November 1987, D18. Apschnikat based the name change to emulate the example set by Chaco Culture National Historical Park. See Ken Apschnikat interview, 19 August 1993.

⁵⁴Castleberry to Mott, 3 May 1988, L7619; and Given to Kawamoto, trip report 12 July 1988, D18.



Figure 79: View of Hopeton Earthworks looking west. (NPS/
February 1980)

the latter's authenticity, in the legislative package. Superintendent William Gibson took the recommendation under advisement, seeking input from the Hopewell Sites Study's seventeen original advisors.⁵⁵

After a decade of hard work and enduring public skepticism and muted opposition concerning its efforts, the National Park Service's vision of an expanded park became more clear in the public mindset. With the passage of Ronald Reagan's administration to that of George Bush, less dominant and arbitrary policymakers held reign within Interior and expansion of the national park system, while not resuming its earlier frenetic pace, continued with better coordination and far less acrimony. Political support in Congress, bolstered by growing unanimity within the Ohio delegation, flowered as NPS presented convincing data to support its position. While those involved in the Mound City Group National Monument expansion effort experienced considerable frustration during the contentious 1980s, the decade served as a necessary catalyst, permitting Congress to perform an amazing metamorphosis in Ross County, Ohio.

**** Transformation: Hopewell Culture National Historical Park**

While political momentum grew, threats to Hopeton Earthworks NHL continued unabated as the 1990s dawned. Cultivation continued on the disputed Vaughn tract with a condemnation trial set for late summer. Shelly Gravel Company, successor to the bankrupt Chief Cornstalk operation, set up a crusher plant in May 1990 and began excavating within the NHL's western edge. Superintendent William Gibson reported amicable relations with Tim Evans, president of the Thornville, Ohio-based company, and his willingness to avoid known mounds and earthworks inside the NHL boundary. Shelly Gravel, operating under the name Chillicothe Sand and Gravel Company, permitted announced NPS visits onto its property to view operations. One such December visit came as a result of a complaint received at Ohio Historical Society concerning a human burial exposed in one of the gravel pits. An NPS inspection found the area obliterated with no sighting of human bones. Quarrying operations there consumed

⁵⁵Superintendent's Report for 1989; Gibson to Castleberry, 5 September 1989, D18; Michel to Gibson, letter, 7 August 1989, A22; and Gibson, letter to Hopewell Sites Study advisors, 6 September 1989, D18. In addition to the real estate, NPS paid more than twice that amount to settle the inverse condemnation lawsuit for a total cost of \$289,270. See Chief, Midwest Land Resources, Fred Meyer to Gibson, 25 January 1990, D18.

about eighty square meters of ground per year.⁵⁶

James Ridenour became the third National Park Service director to visit Mound City Group in its history. On his way home to Indiana, Ridenour stopped on June 14, 1990, to view Hopeton and familiarize himself with the area and its issues. While not expressing strong support, Ridenour did nothing to impede or promote progress on Hopeton and the expanded park bill.⁵⁷

Acquisition of Hopeton's remaining 92.13 acres of the authorized 150 came in late September 1990. In a condemnation trial in U.S. District Court with defendants Merrill and Lawrence Vaughn, a federal jury awarded the Vaughns compensation at less than three percent over the government's final offer. NPS took immediate possession of the land, along with the right of access along a farm road.⁵⁸

Prompted by lobbying from the Archaeological Conservancy, Ohio Historical Society, Ohio Archaeological Council, and the Chillicothe-Ross Chamber of Commerce, Howard Metzenbaum announced his intention in September 1990 to sponsor legislation expanding Mound City Group National Monument. Metzenbaum cited his concern for encroaching developments threatening the areas NPS identified for acquisition. One such site, the Hopewell Mound Group, received increased security when the Archaeological Conservancy purchased the railroad right of way adjacent to Anderson Station Road. The purchase blocked potential residential development and preserved Hopewell Mound Group's integrity.⁵⁹

With persistent claims that human bones were being exhumed in the topsoil overburden, a January 9, 1991, onsite meeting at the quarry site took place with Superintendent Gibson, Ohio

⁵⁶Gibson to Castleberry, 6 June 1990, L7019 State Coordinator; Gibson to Evans, letter, 25 April 1990, H34 Ohio NHLs; and Park Ranger Robert Peterson to Gibson, 17 December 1990, H30.

⁵⁷William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993.

⁵⁸Gibson to Castleberry, 6 October 1990, L7019 State Coordinator; Mound City Group squad meeting minutes, 2 October 1990, A4031 Meetings; Superintendent's Report for 1990; and Jane Schmucker, "National Park Planned: Mound City to Pay \$258,000 for Hopewell Land," Chillicothe Gazette (24 September 1990). On September 20, the jury set the price at \$258,249, and the Vaughns were permitted to harvest existing crops.

⁵⁹Metzenbaum to Interior Secretary Manual Lujan, letter, 11 September 1990, H30; President, Chillicothe-Ross Chamber of Commerce, James L. Doersam, to Congressman Bob McEwen, letter, 16 February 1990, D18; Gibson to Castleberry, 6 November 1990, L7019; and Mound City Group squad meeting minutes, 2 October 1990, A4031.

Deputy SHPO Franco Ruffini, and Regional Archeologist Mark J. Lynott. They were accompanied by Oliver Collins, member of the Tallige Cherokee Nation and a representative of the Ohio Traditional Indian Rights Council. Unlike the December inspection, pieces of human bone and lithic debris were discovered and given to Oliver Collins for ceremonial reinterment elsewhere. The meeting also produced the startling revelation that spring 1991 quarrying would take place twenty feet away from the NPS boundary. Should quarrying be allowed to progress unchecked, Regional Archeologist Lynott observed that NPS' 150 acres "will be a remnant pedestal surrounded by quarry waste."

Lynott recommended invoking section 9 of the Mining in the National Parks Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-429), with its provisions of notifying Congress and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation of mining threats to national historic landmarks. He also called on NPS to work with the Ohio SHPO to acquire emergency funds for a research program to salvage areas in advance of quarrying to recover archeological information before it could be obliterated. Concurring with Lynott's findings, Midwest Archeological Center manager F. A. Calabrese informed Regional Director Don Castleberry "It is imperative that the Service immediately respond to this threat... [because] a significant part of the NHL will be destroyed in 1991."⁶⁰

Notifying congressional representatives and the Shelly Company of the adverse effect caused by mining, the non-confrontational NPS action and persistent calls for cooperation resulted in such a positive atmosphere that the local newspaper hailed the development. Congressman Bob McEwen pledged his utmost to effect a "reasonable and equitable settlement." A coalition of national conservation organizations stepped up efforts to convince Congress and the Bush administration to use Land and Water Conservation Fund money to purchase the entire Hopeton Earthworks NHL.⁶¹

On March 21, 1991, Howard Metzenbaum, member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, introduced S. 749, to transform Mound City Group National Monument into Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. The legislation incorporated

⁶⁰Quotations from Lynott, Hopeton Earthworks Status Report, undated [circa January 1991]; Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994; and Calabrese to Castleberry, 17 January 1991, H30.

⁶¹Mid-Atlantic Regional Director James W. Coleman, Jr., to President, The Shelly Company, Don E. Mill, letter, 8 February 1991, H30; McEwen to Coleman, letter, 22 February 1991, and Coleman to McEwen, letter, 2 April 1991, H30; "Working Together to Preserve Hopewells," editorial (18 February 1991) and Lou Moliterno, "Parks Might Want More Private Land After Find," (15 February 1991), both in Chillicothe Gazette; and "Coalition Asks U.S. to Buy Historic Hopewell Land," The Plain Dealer (10 February 1991).

recommendations of the Hopewell Sites Study, calling for adding 224 more acres to complete Hopeton Earthworks NHL, High Banks Works (190 acres), Hopewell Mound Group (180 acres), and Seip Earthworks (168 acres). Metzenbaum's bill called for further evaluative studies for possible addition of Spruce Hill, Harness Site, and Cedar Banks, as well as "other areas significant to Hopewellian culture." He informed his colleagues of the need for swift action.⁶²

Perpetuating the cooperative spirit, a public and private sector meeting in late March 1991 with representatives from NPS, Metzenbaum's office, Ohio Historical Society, and Chillicothe Sand and Gravel reached agreement on salvaging Hopeton artifacts. Volunteer archeologists, working in advance of bulldozers, began finding hearths used for baking food or pottery and other Hopewellian objects.⁶³

As gravel quarrying proceeded at full speed, Congressman Bob McEwen introduced a companion House bill to Metzenbaum's S. 749 designated H.R. 2328 on May 14, 1991. A week later, Senate subcommittee hearings began with the most convincing testimony delivered by Mark Michel, president of the Archaeological Conservancy. Michel urged preserving as much as possible of "Prehistoric America's Golden Age," and recommended additional acreage to preserve Hopewell Mound Group and Seip Earthworks, to avoid future Hopeton-like adverse developments.⁶⁴

On July 11, 1991, property estimates for the Hopewell sites developed by the Midwest Regional Office lands division in cooperation with the Trust for Public Land were presented to Congress. Advised of the three-million-dollar pricetag for the combined 762 acres, neither Senate nor House subcommittees took

⁶²Metzenbaum to Director James M. Ridenour, letter, 9 April 1991; Gibson to Director, National Museum of American History, Roger Kennedy, letter, 4 and 17 January 1991, D18 and H30; "Congress to See Mound City Expansion Pitch," Chillicothe Gazette (23 March 1991); Eastern Regional Director, Archaeological Conservancy, Sylvia Ball, to Members of the Ohio Advisory Committee, 11 April 1991; "S. 749, A Bill to Rename and Expand the Boundaries of the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio" and remarks of Senator Howard Metzenbaum, The Congressional Record--Senate (21 March 1991), S.4013-14; and Briefing Statement Prepared for Secretary Lujan, 27 March 1991.

⁶³Mound City Group staff meeting minutes, 26 March 1991, A4031 Meetings; and Lou Moliterno, "Meeting Prompts Optimism: All Sides Looking to Save Indian Remains," Chillicothe Gazette (5 April 1991).

⁶⁴"H.R. 2328, To Rename and Expand the Boundaries of the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio," 102d Congress, 1st Session, 14 May 1991; Gibson to Castleberry, 11 July 1991, L7019 State Coordinator; and Michel testimony, 21 May 1991, before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate. Michel also spoke for National Parks and Conservation Association and Society for American Archaeology.

any action before their end-of-summer recess. Chances for early acquisition of one site, the High Banks Works, improved in late July when its owners sold a one-year option to the Archaeological Conservancy. Celebrating all of these positive developments, including the NPS's diamond anniversary, Mound City Group hosted a ceremony dedicating the Hopeton NHL with a plaque and Hopeton Unit's addition to the monument on August 25, complete with a bus tour to the site.⁶⁵

On September 23, the Senate unanimously passed S. 749, and on November 19, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands first held hearings on it. Superintendent William Gibson sat with Director James M. Ridenour as he testified for the Bush administration in favor of both bills. Ridenour informed the subcommittee that the gravel company's self-imposed moratorium on excavating next to the earthworks in the same area where human remains were uncovered had ended in late October. Ridenour stated, "The mined area has been expanded and topsoil is now being stripped off heretofore undisturbed areas that likely may contain additional remains of the Hopewell people and their culture. Without the protection offered by S. 749 the gravel company will destroy the remaining 60% of the Landmark that they currently own."⁶⁶

Weighing in on the quarrying threat and supporting full federal acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks NHL, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation issued a special report per section 9a of Mining in the National Parks Act of 1976. Visiting the site on September 5, the Council made formal recommendations to Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan on November 4. Supporting the bills before Congress, the Council recommended salvage archeology in advance of short-term topsoil stripping, called on NPS to conduct a professional NHL boundary survey, and urged preservation of all historic resources at the site.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Gibson to Castleberry, 7 August 1991, L7019 State Coordinator; Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior J. F. Spengole to Chairman, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Senator J. Bennett Johnston, letter, 27 August 1991; "Major Hopewell Earthworks to be Acquired," The Archaeological Conservancy Newsletter (Summer 1991); Superintendent's Report for 1991; and 25 August 1991 invitation, A8215 Diamond Anniversary.

⁶⁶Quotation from Ridenour statement to Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on S. 749 and H.R. 2328, 19 November 1991; Congressional Record--Senate, 23 September 1991, S13471; Legislative Affairs Specialist Gerald Tays to Files, 19 November 1991; and Gibson to Castleberry, 12 November 1991, L7019 State Coordinator. Excavators needed eighty tons for a project and promised future pit expansion would be to the north and northwest, not east toward the earthworks.

⁶⁷Chairman, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, John F. W. Rogers, to Secretary Lujan, letter, 4 November 1991; Report of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation on the Threat of Surface Mining to Hopeton

While the House subcommittee approved H.R. 2328 in early December, it did not mark up the bill until March 19, 1992. On March 25, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee approved it with a voice vote and sent it to the full House of Representatives for consideration. First scheduled for a vote on April 7, H.R. 2328 was pulled from the schedule upon Congressman Bob McEwen's request when he discovered he could not attend. Following the Easter recess, the House took up and passed the measure on May 12.⁶⁸

The final step on the long, tortuous road to add all of Hopeton Earthworks NHL and other related Hopewell culture sites to the national park system came on May 27, 1992. President George Bush signed Public Law 102-294 authorizing Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. Upon Bush's signature, Mound City Group National Monument ceased to exist as a distinct administrative entity. Mound City Group became a unit, like the previously-added 150 acres of Hopeton Earthworks, of the larger national historical park. Hopewell Mound Group, Seip Earthworks, High Banks Works, and additional Hopeton acreage were authorized for acquisition, but the act did not include appropriations to carry out its provisions. Thanks to lobbying by the Archaeological Conservancy's Mark Michel, the act called for further study and consideration for adding Cedar Bank, Spruce Hill, and the Harness Site (Liberty Works). Interest by a southern Indiana congressman resulted in the Mann Site of that state being added to the study list.⁶⁹

Elation over the president's signature creating the expanded national historical park, soon became tempered by political

Earthworks National Historic Landmark, Chillicothe, Ohio, In Accordance with 9(a) of the Mining in the National Parks Act of 1976 (October 1991); Superintendent's Report for 1991; and Gibson to Castleberry, 12 November 1991, L7019 State Coordinator. Historic resources might range from early Anglo-European settlement to troop movements and encampments of General Sherman during the Civil War. See also Mark J. Lynott interview, 20 January 1994. Lynott stated both the Council and SHPO refused to invoke section 106 review on the Ohio Department of Transportation, which used federal funds to purchase much of Ross County's gravel, including that mined at Hopeton Earthworks NHL.

⁶⁸Mound City Group squad meeting, 6 December 1991, 27 March 1992, and 21 April 1992, A4031 Meetings; "Mound City Bill Expected to Pass Easily," Chillicothe Gazette (26 March 1992); Congressional Record--House 13 March 1992, D270 and 2 April 1992 [page?]; and Gibson to Castleberry, 11 May 1992, L7019 State Coordinator. A concern voiced by Congressman Bruce Vento that the similarity in names might bring confusion, NPS responded that public education would negate any perceived similarity between Hopewell Culture National Historical Park and Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site. See Gibson to Castleberry, 11 February and 10 March 1992, L7019 State Coordinator.

⁶⁹William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993; and Gibson to Castleberry, 15 June 1992, L7019, State Coordinator.



Figure 80: At top of this aerial view is Hopeton Earthworks with the immediately adjacent Chillicothe Sand and Gravel Company. (NPS/1993)

reality, expressed best by Superintendent Bill Gibson: "My real concern was the funding issue, which I knew was the crux of the matter; the mere legislation would be insufficient. In fact, Director Ridenour at one point commented that 'the sites are not preserved because they're not funded,' even though the legislation existed. He had had the experience--and I gained it through this process--to know that having a law on the books that set aside an area is not the same as acquiring and managing it.... I didn't appreciate it at that time because the immediate goal was to get that legislation, and it was wonderful.... [It] turned out you can't do much until you do the acquisition."⁷⁰

Gravel operations continued during the 1992, and land acquisition negotiations with the gravel company were conducted by the Trust for Public Land. By December, an impasse developed over price. The company's demand for more than \$30 million did not come close to the estimates provided to Congress. Trust for Public Land negotiators withdrew, turning the matter back to NPS for resolution. In early January 1993, Superintendent Gibson reported renewed, aggressive quarrying at Hopeton. Heavy equipment moved eastward, toward the NPS boundary. Gibson requested that Omaha officials seek condemnation authority and emergency reprogramming of acquisition funds to halt the gravel quarrying within Hopewell Culture National Historical Park's authorized boundaries.⁷¹

On February 23, 1993, Acting Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management, and Budget Brad Leonard notified Congress of Interior's intention to file a declaration of taking. The emergency condemnation covered 211.40 acres owned by the Chillicothe Sand and Gravel Company. Leonard argued the measure was the only way to stop the quarrying, estimating that "Approximately 60-70 acres within the park have been stripped and we have no assurance that the destruction will cease." To reimburse the gravel company, up to \$1.5 million were reprogrammed from Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia, to cover the costs.⁷²

Quarrying at Hopeton during 1993 continued to accelerate as acquisition negotiations intensified. Of the 201 proposed acres, sixty-seven were destroyed by mining, and NPS determined not to purchase those acres, but concentrate on the remaining 134 acres.

⁷⁰William Gibson interview, 24 August 1993.

⁷¹Ibid.; and Gibson to Castleberry, 7 January 1993, H34.

⁷²Leonard to Chairman, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies, Committee on Appropriations, Senator Robert C. Byrd, letter, 23 February 1993, L1425. Identical letters were sent to Congressman Sidney R. Yates, chairman, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies, and Senator J. Bennett Johnston, chairman, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

In the failure of negotiations, the declaration of taking action continued.⁷³

Without undergoing legal proceedings in U.S. District Court, settlement came in 1995 as result of the declaration of taking initiative on 134 acres at Hopeton Earthworks. An arbitrator successfully negotiated agreement between NPS and Chillicothe Sand and Gravel Company. Eight acres in agricultural easement also were negotiated for Hopeton, and good progress was made on the Hopewell Mound Group acquisition with the Archaeological Conservancy that same year.⁷⁴ In 1996, surveys of three parcels of land totalling ninety-three acres took place to the west and south of Hopewell Mound Group's proposed boundary. Late in the year, surveying along the north boundary began.⁷⁵

Planning for the future of Hopewell Culture National Historical Park includes additional land acquisition, development, and increased staff depending on congressional appropriations. Surely no preservation battle will be as grueling, time-consuming, and resource-degrading as the one fought over Hopeton Earthworks. NPS remains vigilant, having put the public on notice that other significant Hopewellian sites merit concern and preservation.

The National Park Service is programming for and building the fundamental infrastructure needed for an expanded national historical park, utilizing its historic Ross County base at the former Mound City Group National Monument. Facilities reconfiguration of the 1990s, conducted throughout the Mound City Group unit, proved not only excitingly disruptive to NPS staff, but reinforced the concept that times had indeed changed. Working at the Mound City Group unit headquarters was nothing like what it had been in decades past, and certainly the "City of the Dead" during the mid-1990s had found new life, challenge, and excitement. And that is how it should be, as present and future Americans strive to understand the Hopewell culture, by walking amidst ancient monuments.

⁷³Superintendent's Report for 1993.

⁷⁴Superintendent's Report for 1994-95.

⁷⁵Superintendent's Report for 1995-96.

APPENDIX A:

**LIST OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL
CONNECTED WITH MOUND CITY GROUP NATIONAL MONUMENT/
HOPEWELL CULTURE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK¹**

President Warren G. Harding signed an executive order declaring Mound City Group National Monument on March 2, 1923. Because the monument came from land within Chillicothe's federal reservation containing Camp Sherman, it came under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War. The War Department immediately assigned administration via a revocable agreement to the Ohio Historical Society. Federal jurisdiction of the monument changed on August 10, 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt assigned prehistoric and historical monuments to the National Park Service via the Secretary of the Interior. The bureau terminated the state's onsite involvement as of July 24, 1946. Mound City Group National Monument thereafter received onsite National Park Service administration, continuing through its redesignation on May 27, 1992, as Hopewell Culture National Historical Park.

Mound City Group's superintendent also administered William Howard Taft National Historic Site from December 2, 1969 through December 3, 1970, and subsequently served as general superintendent of the Ohio National Park Service Group (including Mound City Group NM, William Howard Taft NHS, and Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial) from March 7, 1971 through July 15, 1975, at which point the Ohio NPS Group was abolished. In the mid to late 1990s, managers of Hopewell Culture NHP, William Howard Taft NHS, and Dayton Aviation Heritage NHP discussed sharing personnel, services, and other resources in a loosely-formed cooperative effort to be called "Southern Ohio Group."

President of the United States

Warren G. Harding:	1921-1923
Calvin Coolidge:	1923-1929
Herbert C. Hoover:	1929-1933
Franklin D. Roosevelt:	1933-1945
Harry S. Truman:	1945-1953
Dwight D. Eisenhower:	1953-1961
John F. Kennedy:	1961-1963
Lyndon B. Johnson:	1963-1969
Richard M. Nixon:	1969-1974
Gerald R. Ford:	1974-1977

¹Information on secretaries of the interior and bureau management officials can be found in Danz, Harold P., compiler, Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), with updates from 1995 based on the author's personal observations.

Jimmy E. Carter:	1977-1981
Ronald W. Reagan:	1981-1989
George H. W. Bush:	1989-1993
William J. Clinton:	1993-

Secretary of War²

John W. Weeks, 1921-1925
 Dwight F. Davis, 1925-1929
 James W. Good, 1929
 Patrick J. Hurley, 1929-1933
 George H. Dern, 1933-1936
 Harry H. Woodring, 1936-1940
 Henry L. Stimson, 1940-1945
 Robert Porter Patterson, 1945-1947

Secretary of the Interior

Harold L. Ickes, March 4, 1933-February 15, 1946
 Julius A. Krug, March 18, 1946-November 30, 1949
 Oscar L. Chapman, December 1, 1949-January 20, 1953
 Douglas McKay, January 21, 1953-April 15, 1956
 Fred A. Seaton, June 8, 1956-January 20, 1961
 Stewart L. Udall, January 21, 1961-January 20, 1969
 Walter J. Hickel, January 21, 1969-November 25, 1970
 Rogers C. B. Morton, January 30, 1971-April 30, 1975
 Stanley K. Hathaway, June 13, 1975-October 9, 1975
 Thomas S. Kleppe, October 17, 1975-January 20, 1977
 Cecil D. Andrus, January 23, 1977-January 20, 1981
 James G. Watt, January 21, 1981-November 8, 1983
 William C. Clark, November 21, 1983-February 6, 1985
 Donald P. Hodel, February 7, 1985-January 20, 1989
 Manuel Lujan, Jr., February 3, 1989-January 20, 1993
 Bruce Babbitt, January 22, 1993-

Director, National Park Service

Arno B. Cammerer, August 10, 1933-August 9, 1940
 Newton Drury, August 20, 1940-March 31, 1951
 Arthur B. Demaray, April 1, 1951-December 8, 1951
 Conrad L. Wirth, December 9, 1951-January 7, 1964
 George B. Hartzog, Jr., January 8, 1964-December 31, 1972
 Ronald H. Walker, January 1, 1973-January 3, 1975
 Gary E. Everhardt, January 13, 1975-May 27, 1977
 William J. Whalen, July 5, 1977-May 13, 1980
 Russell E. Dickenson, May 15, 1980-March 3, 1985
 William Penn Mott, May 1, 1985-April 15, 1989
 James M. Ridenour, April 17, 1989-January 20, 1993
 Roger Kennedy, June 1, 1993-March 29, 1997
 Robert G. Stanton, August 4, 1997-

²Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session, Senate Document No. 100-34 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

Regional Director, National Park Service
Region One Office, Richmond, Virginia³

Thomas J. Allen, June 16, 1944-December 8, 1951
 Elbert Cox, December 9, 1951-July 14, 1955

Region Five/Northeast Regional Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania⁴

Daniel J. Tobin, July 15, 1955-December 31, 1959
 Ronald F. Lee, January 11, 1960-December 30, 1965
 Lemuel A. Garrison, January 2, 1966-July 11, 1970
 Henry G. Schmidt, July 12, 1970-August 22, 1971
 Chester L. Brooks, August 22, 1971-January 5, 1974

Midwest Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska⁵

J. Leonard Volz, January 6, 1974-December 1, 1975
 Merrill D. Beal, February 2, 1975-December 2, 1978
 Jimmie L. Dunning, December 3, 1978-July 17, 1983
 Randall R. Pope (Acting), July 18, 1983-December 31, 1983
 Charles H. Odegard, January 1, 1984-February 14, 1987
 Don H. Castleberry, February 15, 1987-May 1, 1994
 William W. Schenk, May 2, 1994-September 30, 1995

Field Director, National Park Service⁶

Midwest Field Office, Omaha, Nebraska

William W. Schenk, October 1, 1995-September 30, 1997

³With the regionalization of the National Park Service during the Great Depression, four regional offices were established. Ohio came under the purview of the Region One Office upon the establishment of the Richmond, Virginia, headquarters on August 7, 1937. In 1962, this region was redesignated "Southeast Region" and the headquarters relocated to Atlanta, Georgia, on January 9, 1972.

⁴The Region Five Office was established in 1955 and redesignated as "Northeast Regional Office" in 1962. Following the January 6, 1974 transfer of parks in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin, to the Midwest Regional Office, the Philadelphia headquarters became known as "Mid-Atlantic Regional Office."

⁵The Omaha regional office opened on August 1, 1937, as the Region Two Office, which became known in 1962 as the Midwest Regional Office. With the creation of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office in early 1974, Omaha officials transferred the western states of Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming to the new Denver, Colorado, office. Shifted to the Midwest Region from Philadelphia were Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

⁶The 1995 reorganization of the National Park Service saw the abolition of ten regional offices and the institution of seven "Field Areas," one of which was the Midwest Field Area with a "Field Director's Office" in Omaha incorporating ten states of the previous Midwest Region, and adding Arkansas, South Dakota, and North Dakota. The professional staff of the former Midwest Regional Office were subsequently divided according to geographical ecosystems to form two "system support offices." Ohio parks, along with those in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin were serviced by the Great Lakes System Support Office, which was itself directly accountable to the Midwest Field Director.

Regional Director, National Park Service⁷Midwest Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska

William W. Schenk, October 1, 1997-

Superintendent, Mound City Group National Monument

(Acting Custodian) William W. Luckett, July 24-September 24, 1946
 (Custodian/Supt.) Clyde B. King, November 2, 1946-March 31, 1962
 James C. W. ("Bill") Riddle, September 4, 1962-June 12, 1965
 James W. Coleman, Jr., July 18, 1965-July 2, 1967
 George F. Schesventer, July 30, 1967-March 6, 1971
 (General Supt.) William C. Birdsell, March 7, 1971-July 15, 1975
 Fred Fagergren, Jr., October 26, 1975-March 7, 1981
 Kenneth E. Apschnikat, April 19, 1981-August 13, 1988
 (Acting Supt.) Bonnie M. Murray, August 14, 1988-December 3, 1988
 William Gibson, December 4, 1988-May 26, 1992

Superintendent, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park

William Gibson, May 27, 1992-April 15, 1993
 Johnny D. Neal, June 27, 1993-

Other Mound City Group/Hopewell Culture Employees:Park Archeologist

1961-1965	Richard D. Faust
1965-1967	Lee H. Hanson, Jr.
1967-1970	Nicolas F. Veloz, Jr.
1970-1971	Benjamin Morris
1971-1972	Robert Costales
1995-1998	Bret J. Ruby (term)
1999-	Jennifer Pederson

Supervisory Park Ranger (Chief, Interpretation and Resource Management)

1972-1975	Robert Holmes
1975-1977	Michael S. Bitsko
1977-1987	Jerry B. Chilton
1987-1992	Harrie Reed Johnson
1992-	Robert C. Burgoon

Park Technician

1974-1982	Bonnie Meyer Murray
1983-1985	John A. Mangimeli

⁷The 1995 reorganization proved too confusing and the nomenclature returned to the more familiar designations. Midwest Field Area reverted to Midwest Region, and field director titles were similarly changed. System support offices co-located in Philadelphia, Atlanta, Denver, San Francisco, and Omaha, were shuffled back into single "Support Offices." Consequently, the Great Lakes and Great Plains system support offices became the "Midwest Support Office" at the onset of fiscal year 1998.

Park Ranger (title change from Park Technician)

1985-1986	John A. Mangimeli
1986-1988	Jean M. Schaeppi
1988-1995	Robert W. Petersen
1995-1999	Rebecca R. Jones
1999-	

Park Ranger Intake

1971-1975	George M. Kane
1977-1980	Theresa F. Nichols

Maintenance Foreman

1948-1979	J. Vernon Acton
1979-1987	Jerrold D. Napier
1988-1993	Jon H. Casson

Maintenance Worker Supervisor (title change)

1993-	Jon H. Casson
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Maintenance Worker (permanent appointment)

1969	Gerald Monroe
1971-1994	Phillip H. Egan
1981-	David W. Dere (VRA)
1994	Timothy A. Newberry (VRA)
1994-1997	James N. Sharps (VRA)
1997-1999	Charles A. Henry (reinstatement)

Maintenance Mechanic

1994-	Phillip H. Egan
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Laborer (Stay-in-School)

1982-1985	Douglas A. Wolfe
1986	Penny A. McGraw
1987	Lana K. Detty
1988-1989	Orville Brewster
1989-1990	Harry Pierce
1990-1992	Everett Lee Anderson
1992-1993	Quinton A. Perkins
1993-1994	Wendy J. Knisley
1998-	Stephen T. Johnson

Maintenance Worker/Laborer (Seasonal appointment)

1962-1971	Walter Fraley
1977-1978	Joseph D. Anglemyer
1979	Joseph D. Anglemyer, Terry L. Leach
1980	Terry L. Leach
1981	Terry Fry, Joseph D. Anglemyer, Ronald A. Watkins, David W. Dere
1982	Joseph D. Anglemyer
1983-1986	Joseph D. Anglemyer
1987	Emery Coker, Joseph D. Anglemyer, Ann Lupton, Jerry Isaac

1988	Joseph D. Anglemyer
1989	none
1990	none
1991	Peggy Ater
1992	Peggy Ater, Eldon Smith
1993	Timothy Newberry
1994-1995	Joseph Johnston
1996	Thomas Hagerty, Robert Alexander

Clerk-Stenographer

1946-1947	Louis Lundblad
1948	Betty Bateman

Secretary

1971-1976	Virginia Basye Skaggs
1979-1980	Shirley Keesee-Lambert
1981-1990	Lisa Stanton White
1990-	Laura L. Long

Clerk-Typist

1948-1962	Margaret Henry
1973 (Summer)	Barbara Green
1974 (Summer)	Barbara Green
1974-1975	Rhonda Hughes
1976-1977	Betty Wainscott
1977 (June)	Kristy Siberell
1977-1979	Shirley Keesee-Lambert

Administrative Aid

1962-1963	Sam Peck
1963-1967	Delmar Peterson

Administrative Clerk

1967-1969	Virginia Basye Skaggs
1969-1973	Joan F. Crider
1982-1983	Bonnie M. Murray

Administrative Technician

1973-1980	Joan F. Crider
1980-1982	Shirley Keesee-Lambert
1983-1993	Bonnie M. Murray

Administrative Support Specialist (title change)

1993-1994	Bonnie M. Murray
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Administrative Officer (title change)

1994-	Bonnie M. Murray
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Seasonal Interpreters

1952	Max Baughman
1953	Margaret Anderson
1956-1962	Richard Painter

1963 Richard Painter, Francis Spetnagel
 1964-1965 Richard Painter, Martin Peterson
 1966 Richard Painter, Martin Peterson, Joan Thelan
 1967 David Augsburg, Bill Weaver, Martin Peterson
 1968 Bob Ward, Martin Peterson, Bill Weaver, Martin Peterson
 1969 Linda Shreve, Susan Brady, Kathleen Allyn, Pamela Shoemaker
 1970 Pam Shoemaker, Pamela Gaston, Margie Pulliam, Pamela Ramsey
 1971 Pam Shoemaker, Pam Ramsey
 1972 Pam Ramsey, Joe Gothard, Sara Knox
 1973 Joe Gothard, Terry Allen, Marilyn Kellough
 1974 Janet Prine, Bob Kline, Joe Gothard
 1975 Joe Gothard, Bob Kline, Llyn Conrad, (Communications Specialist), Don Floyd
 1976 Joe Gothard, Carl Roth, Debbie Shoemaker
 1977 Jim Anderson, Katie Keim, Lynn Boydelatour
 1978 Jim Anderson, Lynn Boydelatour, Anita Picciano
 1979 Jim Anderson, Steve Race (Co-Op Ed), Beverly Cooper
 1980 Jim Anderson, Kathy Albers (Co-Op Ed), Lisa Kutschbach (Co-Op Ed)
 1981 Jim Anderson, Kathy Albers (Co-Op Ed), Ruth Bartlett
 1982 Jim Anderson, Brent Devitt, Ruth Bartlett
 1983 Jim Anderson, Dave Ziegler, Nita Waggoner, Ruth Bartlett
 1984 Jim Anderson, Jody Newton, Nita Waggoner
 1985 Jim Anderson, Gayle Stadt, Nita Waggoner
 1986 Jim Anderson, Gayle Stadt, Misty Jackson
 1987 Sheila Mays, Jim Anderson, Nita Waggoner, Gayle Stadt, Ken Yeso, Allen Burt
 1988 Sheila Mays, Paula Potts, John Short, Elizabeth Houserman, Claude Britt
 1989 Michael Hamilton, Mary Current, John Morrell, Elizabeth Houserman, Sharon Bogner, Claude Britt
 1990 Mary Current, Pamela Barnes, Elizabeth Houserman, Claude Britt
 1991 Mary Current, Pamela Barnes, Jody Newton, Claude Britt
 1992 Mary Current, Michael Hamilton, Claude Britt, Elizabeth Houserman
 1993 Mary Current, Michael Hamilton, Elizabeth Houserman, Paula Butcher, Jeanette Lamb
 1994-1995 Mary Current, Paula Butcher
 1996 Mary Current, Paula Butcher, Deborah Wood

Museum Aids

1994-1995 Deborah Wood, William Anderson

Archeology Technician

1995-1996	William E. Anderson (term)
1995-1998	Jennifer Pederson
1995-	Leslie Frazee, Scott Troy, Tori Saneda
1996-	Deborah Wood

Biological Technician

1996-	Constance Jones
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APPENDIX B:

ANNUAL VISITATION FIGURES

Opening of the Highway 35/50 Bypass in 1968 resulted in a dip in attendance with many complaints received concerning lack of directional signs. In late December 1969, Mound City Group reported its one-millionth visitor. [See "Mound City Visitor Total Crosses One-Million Mark," Chillicothe Gazette (27 February 1970)]. In the late 1970s, NPS instituted a different method of gathering and calculating visitation data, thereby explaining the apparent visitation drop. In recent years, adoption of an entrance fee explains declining or flattening of visitation figures.

1946:	9,039	1976:	66,600
1947:	32,322	1977:	84,100
1948:	35,470	1978:	70,487
1949:	41,604	1979:	51,915
1950:	44,484	1980:	57,539
1951:	44,181	1981:	60,528
1952:	44,683	1982:	44,051
1953:	49,771	1983:	43,339
1954:	55,000	1984:	42,420
1955:	53,000	1985:	39,632
1956:	44,500	1986:	43,172
1957:	43,400	1987:	46,172
1958:	41,600	1988:	42,952
1959:	43,000	1989:	42,123
1960:	29,000	1990:	38,509
1961:	31,800	1991:	42,322
1962:	30,700	1992:	41,402
1963:	43,800	1993:	33,832
1964:	45,800	1994:	37,042
1965:	56,000	1995:	38,836
1966:	unavailable	1996:	37,005
1967:	unavailable	1997:	34,660
1968:	54,300	1998:	
1969:	47,200	1999:	
1970:	70,000	2000:	
1971:	66,400	2001:	
1972:	84,191	2002:	
1973:	85,900	2003:	
1974:	82,800	2004:	
1975:	97,600	2005:	

APPENDIX C:

LEGISLATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 1653—Mar. 2, 1923—42 Stat. 2298]

WHEREAS, by section 9 of the Act of Congress approved August 9, 1921 (42 Stat. 147-150), the Director of the Veterans' Bureau, subject to the general direction of the President, was authorized to utilize, *inter alia*, existing facilities of the War Department in connection with the care, rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States;

AND WHEREAS, the President, at the request of the Director of the Veterans' Bureau and upon the recommendation of the Secretary of War, assigned to the Veterans' Bureau, for use in carrying out the provisions of the said Act of Congress, the United States Military Reservation known as Camp Sherman, in the State of Ohio;

AND WHEREAS, that part of the said Reservation upon which is situated the famous prehistoric group of mounds known as the "Mound City Group" is no longer required for the use of the Veterans' Bureau;

AND WHEREAS, by section 2 of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225), the President is authorized "in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected";

AND WHEREAS, the said "Mound City Group" of prehistoric mounds located within the Camp Sherman Military Reservation, Ohio, is an object of great historic and scientific interest and should be permanently preserved and protected from all depredations and from all changes that will to any extent mar or jeopardize their historic value;

NOW THEREFORE, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, under authority of the said Act of Congress of August 9, 1921, do hereby return to the custody and control of the War Department the lands upon which are located the "Mound City Group" of prehistoric mounds situated within the Camp Sherman Military Reservation at Chillicothe, Ohio, and under the authority of the said Act of June 8, 1906, do hereby reserve the lands so returned as a national monument site and declare and proclaim the said group of prehistoric mounds to be a national monument, the lands so returned to the War Department and reserved for said national monument site being more fully described as follows, viz:

All of Sections N and O, bounded on the north by East Liverpool Street, on the east by the Scioto River, on the west by Columbus Avenue, and on the south by Portsmouth Street, containing fifty-seven (57) acres, more or less.

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

DONE at the City of Washington this second day of March, in the year of
our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, and of
[SEAL] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-seventh.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President :

CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Secretary of State.

Public Law 102-294
102d Congress

An Act

To rename and expand the boundaries of the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio.

May 27, 1992
[S. 749]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. RENAMING.

16 USC 410uu.

The Mound City Group National Monument established by proclamation of the President (Proclamation No. 1653, 42 Stat. 2298) and expanded by section 701 of Public Law 96-607 (94 Stat. 3540), shall, on and after the date of enactment of this Act, be known as the "Hopewell Culture National Historical Park". Any reference to the Mound City Group National Monument in any law, regulation, map, document, record, or other paper of the United States shall be considered to be a reference to the Hopewell Culture National Historical Park.

SEC. 2. EXPANSION OF BOUNDARIES.

16 USC 410uu-1.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The boundaries of the Hopewell Culture National Historical Park (referred to as the "park") are revised to include the lands within the areas marked for inclusion in the monument as generally depicted on—

(1) the map entitled "Hopeton Earthworks" numbered 353-80025 and dated July 1987;

(2) the map entitled "High Banks Works" numbered 353-80027 and dated July 1987;

(3) the map entitled "Hopewell Mound Group" numbered 353-80029 and dated July 1987; and

(4) the map entitled "Seip Earthworks" numbered 353-80033 and dated July 1987.

(b) **PUBLIC INSPECTION OF MAPS.**—Each map described in subsection (a) shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

(c) **ADJUSTMENT OF BOUNDARIES.**—The Secretary of the Interior (referred to as the "Secretary") may, by notice in the Federal Register after receipt of public comment, make minor adjustments in the boundaries of areas added to the park by subsection (a) and other areas of the park: *Provided*, That any such minor boundary adjustments cumulatively shall not cause the total acreage of the park to increase more than 10 per centum above the existing acreage of Mound City Group National Monument, plus the acreage of the inclusions authorized under section 2(a).

(d) **ACQUISITION OF LANDS.**—(1) Subject to paragraph (2), the Secretary may acquire lands and interests in land within the areas added to the park by subsection (a) by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange.

106 STAT. 186

PUBLIC LAW 102-294—MAY 27, 1992

(2)(A) Lands and interests in land owned by the State of Ohio or a political subdivision thereof may be acquired only by donation or exchange.

(B) Lands and interests in land may be acquired by purchase at a price based on the fair market value thereof as determined by independent appraisal, consistent with the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 (42 U.S.C. 4601 et seq.).

16 USC 410uu-2. **SEC. 3. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.**

The Secretary may enter into a cooperative agreement with the Ohio Historical Society, the Archeological Conservancy, and other public and private entities for consultation and assistance in the interpretation and management of the park.

16 USC 410uu-3. **SEC. 4. STUDIES.**

(a) **AREAS ADDED BY THIS ACT.**—The Secretary shall conduct archeological studies of the areas added to the park by section 2(a) and adjacent areas to ensure that the boundaries of those areas encompass the lands that are needed to provide adequate protection of the significant archeological resources of those areas.

(b) **OTHER AREAS.**—The Secretary shall conduct archeological studies of the areas described as the “Spruce Hill Works”, the “Harness Group”, and the “Cedar Bank Works”, and may conduct archeological studies of other areas significant to Hopewellian culture, to evaluate the desirability of adding them to the park, and shall report to Congress on any such areas that are recommended for addition to the park.

16 USC 410uu-4. **SEC. 5. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary for the acquisition of lands and interests in land within the park, the conduct of archeological studies on lands within and adjacent to the park, and the development of facilities for interpretation of the park.

Approved May 27, 1992.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 749:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 102-483 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORTS: No. 102-108 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Vol. 137 (1991): Sept. 23, considered and passed Senate.

Vol. 138 (1992): May 12, considered and passed House.

APPENDIX D:

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

Date	Event
1796	Nathaniel Massie lays out Chillicothe
1798	William Davies purchases a 1300-tract area containing mounds but title soon passes to Massie
1812-14	Camp Bull operates in the area during the War of 1812
1832	George Shriver purchases tract containing mounds from Massie's heirs; farming intensifies
1846	Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis explore "Mound City"
1848	Squier and Davis publish <u>Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley</u> to initiate the Smithsonian's "Contributions to Knowledge" series
1850	Davis takes the Mound City artifact collection and leaves Chillicothe for New York.
1858	While attempting to sell the collection, Davis assigns it to the New York Historical Society for safe-keeping
1861-65	During Civil War, area is used as drill ground called Camp Logan
1864	Davis sells the collection to William Blackmore and it is removed to England
1867	Squier and Davis collection is exhibited at the Blackmore Museum in Salisbury
1888	Both Squier and Davis die in the spring
1890	Cyrus Thomas begins debunking the "Myth of the Moundbuilders"
1893	Chicago's Columbian Exposition features artifacts excavated from Capt. Mordecai C. Hopewell's farm.
1902	Archeologists begin adopting "Hopewell" nomenclature and William C. Mills of Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society defines "Hopewell culture" and "Adena culture"
1917-20	World War I cantonment "Camp Sherman" operates; first draftees arrive September 5, 1917. Albert Spetnagel et al convinces Army to accommodate mounds within camp's layout design
1920-21	OSA&HS William C. Mills and Henry C. Shetrone conduct field investigations at Mound City Group; findings spur preservation movement
1921	William C. Mills proposes "national park" for Mound City (July 29)
1923	President Warren G. Harding signs proclamation 1653 under the 1906 Antiquities Act designating "Mound City Group National Monument" (March 2)
1923	Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis executes revocable license with OSA&HS to operate Mound City Group NM
1925	State appropriates funds to demolish Camp Sherman structures and restore mounds roughly based on Squier

Date	Event
	and Davis' map; work continues through 1927
1929	"Mound City State Park" opens to visitors with stone gateway, picnic grounds, and observation platform atop Mound 7; residents hold a summer dedication ceremony
1933	State finance subcommittee visits Mound City in April to hear local demands for recreational park development
1934	CWA/FERA funding yields massive two-story maintenance/utility building and masonry comfort station
1937	WPA workers construct park residence with small administration room and 2,640 square foot picnic shelter house
1937	Mound City becomes administrative headquarters for OSA&HS' Seip Mound
1937	Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes approves Mound City's transfer to state ownership (March 6); local opposition mobilizes to block the transfer
1940	NPS Chief Historian Ronald F. Lee recommends Mound City Group be "dis-established" as a national monument
1942	Shelter house's kitchen room is remodeled into "Mound City Museum" (May 26)
1945	In the face of strong political pressure, Ohio Governor Frank Lausche calls for federal government to operate Mound City Group NM (August 1)
1946	Regional Archeologist J. C. Harrington accepts transfer from state for NPS; William W. Luckett serves as interim custodian (August 1); Custodian Clyde King enters on duty (November 2)
1950	W. F. Libby discovers radiocarbon dating; Ohio Hopewell are roughly categorized at 1500 to 2000 years ago
1954	Public learns of "Area Management Study" recommendation to disestablish Mound City Group NM (February); effort stalls because of Gov. Lausche's opposition
1956	NPS directorate excludes Mound City Group NM from MISSION 66 development program; Archeologist John Corbett argues for the park's retention in national park system (February)
1957	Mound City Group NM is added to MISSION 66 program; prospectus amended to provide bare-bones visitor center (November)
1959	Area residents fume at NPS plans to remove picnic shelter house; compromise reached to retain it for a few more years.
1959	Construction begins on visitor center (September 21)
1960	NPS razes abandoned VA incinerator building (September); Eastern National Park and Monument Association establishes cooperative association (November 4)
1961	Regional Archeologist John L. Cotter serves as keynote speaker at visitor center dedication

Date	Event
1962	Second superintendent, John C. W. ("Bill") Riddle arrives (September 7)
1963	Last remnants of shelter house removed (April 17); reforestation, boundary fencing, ethnobotanical trail, and earthworks restoration projects undertaken; a decade of archeological investigation and restoration commences under contract with Ohio Historical Society
1964	Olaf Prufer's work reenergizes Hopewellian studies; using the Hopewell, Joseph Caldwell defines "interaction spheres"
1965	Third superintendent, James W. Coleman, Jr., arrives (July 19); Mica grave exhibit completed
1966	Master plan assigns archeological storage and workshop space to Southeast Archeological Center, thus crippling visitor center expansion plans for three decades
1967	Fourth superintendent, George F. Schesventer, arrives (July 30)
1970	Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., declares establishment of the "Ohio National Park Service Group" (December 4)
1971	Fifth superintendent, William C. Birdsell, arrives (March 7); becomes first and last Ohio Group "general superintendent" with oversight of William Howard Taft NHS and Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial
1971	B & O Railroad spur line removed from monument land
1973	First interpretive specialist, Robert F. Holmes, arrives (January)
1975	Ohio NPS Group dissolves (July 1); sixth superintendent, Fred J. Fagergren, arrives (October 26)
1978	Suitability/feasibility study recommends addition of Hopeton Earthworks NHL to Mound City Group NM
1979	NPS helps organize the Chillicothe Conference and publishing of <u>Hopewell Archaeology</u> provides first modern synthesis for scholars
1979	Completion of exhibit upgrade in visitor center museum
1979	NPS demands return of 1920-21 Mound City Group-excavated collection from Ohio Historical Society; collection receives emergency conservation treatment at Harpers Ferry Center
1980	HUD ignores Interior/NPS and proceeds with North River Place complex construction adjacent to Hopeton
1980	Public Law 96-607 provided for acquisition of 150-acre Hopeton Earthworks NHL (December 28)
1981	Seventh superintendent, Kenneth Apschnikat, arrives (March 7)
1982	Mound City Group NM shows up on Interior Secretary James Watt's "hit list" for disestablishment
1983	Hopewell Sites Study begins

Date	Event
1984	Chief Cornstalk Sand and Gravel Company begins excavating gravel at Hopeton (June); NHL is listed as threatened.
1985	Hopeton Sites Study identifies almost one hundred significant Hopewellian sites; work begins within archeological circles to narrow list
1986	British Museum loans Ohio Historical Society 26 Squier and Davis collection artifacts for temporary display
1988	Regional Director Don Castleberry approves final Hopeton Sites Study; recommends inclusion of four sites
1988	Residence/quarters is rehabilitated into administrative headquarters (fall)
1988	Eighth superintendent, William Gibson, arrives (December 4)
1990	Acquisition of Hopeton Earthworks Unit completed (January 9) and Vaughn interests added (September); Shelly Gravel Company acquires bankrupt Cornstalk operations and sets up new Chillicothe Sand and Gravel Company crusher plant (May)
1990	Mound City Group NM becomes last park to remove human remains from public display; cremated ashes were replaced with clean sand
1991	Failed flat visitor center roof replaced by red metal pitched roof
1992	Public Law 102-294 makes Mound City Group a unit of a larger Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, including a larger Hopeton Earthworks, Hopewell Mound Group, Seip Earthworks, and High Bank Works (May 27)
1993	Ninth superintendent, John Neal, arrives (June 27)
1993	Chillicothe again hosts second Hopewell scholars conference; yields 1996 publication <u>A View from the Core</u>
1994	New maintenance building constructed; visitor center expansion includes 50-seat auditorium and more exhibit space
1995	Declaration of taking at Hopeton yields settlement agreement
1996	Mica grave exhibit removed and Mound 13 restored
1997	General management plan approved; provides blueprint for 10-15 year park development

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While a plethora of primary documentation exists in Chillicothe pertaining to Mound City Group National Monument, gaps in government files do occur in the 1960s, and more noticeably during the 1970s. The author subsequently searched for official correspondence exchanged between the national monument and its regional headquarters offices. Records of the Region Five/Northeast Regional Office and Midwest Regional Office proved invaluable. Repositories for those records are the federal records centers of the National Archives and Records Administration in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Kansas City, Missouri, respectively.

Future researchers will find the holdings of the Midwest Archeological Center to be invaluable in understanding how federal archeologists viewed the significance of Mound City Group within the context of Hopewell culture. Also, these records reflect concern over the course of each excavation there.

Because of time and fiscal constraints, only a select few oral history interviews were conducted. Historians will want to consult other administrators and professionals connected to Mound City Group and related Hopewell sites. For the same reasons, the author did not conduct a search of Washington Office records in the Washington, D.C., National Archives. Although Washington officials intervened a number of times in Mound City Group issues, regional and park files appeared to cover those instances surprisingly well.

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(formerly Mound City Group National Monument)
Chillicothe, Ohio

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

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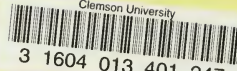
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