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Shiloh National Military Park
Tennessee

Shiloh National Military Park

Administrative History



Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Division

Southeast Region

Shiloh National Military Park

Administrative History

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About the front cover: View of the battlefield, January 27, 2011.

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Shiloh National Military Park

Administrative History

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Foreword

I am pleased to make available this administrative history report for Shiloh National Military Park, a place that preserves the scenes of some of the fiercest fighting in the Western theater of the Civil War.

On April 6 and 7, 1862, Union and Confederate troops fought at Shiloh, Tennessee, and by May 30, 1862, United States forces had advanced on and seized control of the strategic Confederate railway junction at Corinth, Mississippi. In October 1862, forces again clashed over this strategic location. All told, over 350,000 men fought at Shiloh and Corinth, resulting in almost 36,000 people killed, wounded, and missing.

Shiloh is one of the oldest national military parks established by Congress. The main battlefield was set aside as a park on December 27, 1894, and the Corinth Unit was added on September 22, 2000. The existing commemorative landscape reflects the contributions of both Union and Confederate Civil War veterans to mark the fields of battle to honor the shared sacrifice and courage of all those present. The administrative history of the park is extensive, dating from the earliest moments of the park's establishment, and this report provides broad documentation concerning the establishment, development, and ongoing management of the park. This document focuses primarily on the administration of Shiloh National Military Park since 1954, when Park Historian Charles E. Shedd, Jr., completed the first Administrative History for the park.

Many individuals contributed to the successful completion of this work. The staff of Shiloh NMP contributed immensely to the body of information gathered about the park. Chief Ranger and Park Historian Stacy Allen, with over a quarter-century of experience at Shiloh, provided great insight in the development of this document, as did former long-time Superintendent Woody Harrell. In addition, several individuals with long-standing associations with the park contributed their time to participate in an extensive personal interview effort designed to supplement the information afforded in archival records. Their recollections are included in an appendix to the administrative history. I also want to acknowledge the leadership of Dr. Turkiya Lowe from the Southeast Regional Office, and the enthusiastic work of Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., principal coordinator Deborah Slaton, and Liz Sargent of Liz Sargent HLA, for their efforts in producing this report.

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Introduction



FIGURE 1. South entrance station at the park, July 11, 1935. (Source: National Archives)

Scope and Purpose of the Study

Shiloh National Military Park, frequently described as the most secluded and best-preserved battlefield in the United States, was established on December 27, 1894 ". . . that the armies of the southwest which served in the civil war, like their comrades of the eastern armies at Gettysburg and those of the central west at Chickamauga, may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought." Along with Antietam, Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and Vicksburg, Shiloh was one of five Civil War battlefields recognized during the 1890s by the U.S. Congress as worthy of federal protection due to their association with an important national historic event. The War Department oversaw development of the battlefields as protected reservations of land where the events of the battle were recorded on the ground using tablets, markers, and monuments placed with accuracy with the assistance of battle veterans. These national military parks were to afford opportunities for military history research and the training of military officers in battle tactics. Veterans also held reunions and memorial events at the parks. Over time, the national military parks were increasingly visited by a wide cross section of the public, fascinated by the events of the Civil War. Although the national military parks

were a popular attraction for visitors of all types, the primary mission of the War Department in managing historic military sites was not public education and interpretation.

In 1933, administration of Shiloh National Military Park was transferred from the U.S. War Department to the National Park Service by Executive Order. The focus of park administration evolved after 1933 to afford access to and an understanding of the historic events of the battle to all visitors as part of the National Park Service's new role in managing historic sites as national parks.

The purpose of this study is to document and place into context the management of this significant site in American history by the National Park Service. The history of National Park Service management and administration is examined within the context of the ability of the park to meet its unique mission and staff to achieve measurable goals and objectives as reflected by laws and regulations, and governed by agency policy and planning. Because the history of National Park Service administration of the park is documented in part by the 1954 study by Charles Shedd titled *A History of Shiloh National Military Park Tennessee*, this study focuses primarily on the period of 1954 to 2010. Due to park oversight and management of Shiloh National Cemetery, which was not addressed in the earlier study, this document also considers the administrative history of this resource in addition to the battlefield.

More specifically, this Administrative History of Shiloh National Military Park places the current information into context by summarizing park administration during the War Department era, and compares this with National Park Service administration prior to 1954. For the focus period, the administrative history describes the major events and activities that have influenced the character and operation of the park, organizing the information along two principal lines of investigation: chronologically and thematically. Two chapters address park management in a chronological fashion—the Mission 66 Era, 1956–1966, and Evolving Management Strategies, 1966–2010—while making reference to park goals, initiatives, and practices, which are addressed in more detail in a series of thematic chapters. The thematic chapters address topics that include establishment and management of Shiloh National Cemetery and the Corinth Unit, interpretation, archeology, partner organizations, and relationships with other government entities. Appendices contain key park legislation, personnel rosters, visitation statistics, a timeline, and the results of an extensive oral history component conducted as part of this study that serve as a reference.

The information contained in this study details essential historical facts and highlights past policy issues, events, and management decisions in order to address the need of park managers to understand, within a framework of historical context, issues relating to the development and management of the natural and cultural resources they are charged with protecting and help current and future park managers in making important decisions for the park. Recordation of the management activities that have occurred at the park over time was based on sources available in National Park Service and Shiloh National Military Park records, such as superintendents' monthly, quarterly, and annual reports; cultural and natural resource analysis, investigations, inventories, and plans; planning documents; correspondence; newspaper and magazine articles; city and county records; photographs; and more than fifteen personal interviews conducted with those most familiar with park operations, including former superintendents, administrative staff, and leadership among partner organizations and agencies.

Based on the express needs identified by the National Park Service in a project scope of work, the Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History places emphasis on a series of specific topics and issues, which are listed below. The narrative conveys how succeeding superintendents and managers of the park addressed these topics and issues, as it has been possible to glean from documentary records and through personal interviews. Decisions made and actions taken by superintendents are cited using

relevant documents that record those decisions and actions.

1. **Legislative history**: In addition to the legislative history documented in Shedd's 1954 account, this Administrative History briefly considers the following issues identified by the National Park Service as germane to the discussion:

    - When did the idea to commemorate the Battle of Shiloh arise?
    - Who promoted the commemorative efforts?
    - What were the roles of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, the State of Tennessee as well as the federal government, and the veterans of the Battle of Shiloh?
    - Which legislators spearheaded the effort to establish the park?
    - What legislation was introduced in Congress regarding commemoration of the battle?

    Legislation affecting the park after 1954 is the focus of more detailed documentation herein. In particular, the Administrative History addresses the relatively recent establishment and management of the Corinth Unit, authorized in 1996. The narrative considers the following issues identified by the National Park Service, citing bills and acts whenever possible:

    - When did the idea to commemorate the Siege and Battle of Corinth arise?
    - Who promoted the commemorative efforts?
    - What factors influenced the decision to create a unit of Shiloh National Military Park in Corinth?
    - What subsequent legislation was introduced/passed relating to the Corinth Unit?

2. **National Cemetery**: The narrative specifically considers the following issues identified by the National Park Service:

    - What led to the establishment of the national cemetery at Shiloh in 1866?
    - What were the issues and challenges faced by the War Department in managing the cemetery prior to its transfer to NPS jurisdiction?
    - What were the major changes to management of the cemetery after the transfer of the cemetery to the National Park Service in 1933?

3. **Shiloh Indian Mounds**: The Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History also considers several issues relating to the Shiloh Indian Mounds as identified by the National Park Service:

    - Why were the Indian mounds included in the boundary of the military park?
    - Were any special provisions made for their management in the legislation?
    - How has their presence within the park boundary affected management decisions?
    - What have been the major management decisions affecting the mounds?

4. **Interpretation**: One of the focus areas to be addressed in the Administrative History as indicated by the National Park Service in the project scope of work is Interpretation. The narrative specifically considers the following topics relating to interpretation identified by the National Park Service:

    - How has the interpretive focus changed at park units over time?

- What interpretive media, such as museum exhibits, waysides (outdoor interpretive panels containing text and graphics that are mounted on posts for visitors to read), literature, audio-visual devices, and living history exhibits, have been considered and adopted over the years?

5. **Infrastructure**: The National Park Service indicated an interest in documenting the following infrastructure issues in the Administrative History:

   - How have the roads, trails, and visitor contact buildings at park units evolved over time?

6. **Cultural resource preservation**: Cultural resource preservation topics identified by the National Park Service to be addressed by the Administrative History include:

   - Briefly describe the known historic structures and archeological sites within park units. What studies have been done on them to date?

   - How has the park protected and managed these resources over the years?

   - Decisions, actions, and changes in approach should be dated and sourced.

7. **Natural resource preservation**: Natural resource preservation topics identified by the National Park Service to be addressed in the study include:

   - Briefly describe the natural resources at Shiloh, including all units, and consider what the challenges have been.

   - How have approaches changed? (Note dated and sourced decisions, actions, and changes in approach.)

8. **Surrounding land use**: Finally, the National Park Service identified two topics relating to surrounding land use to be addressed by the study:

   - What is the history of land development surrounding park units?

   - How has development surrounding the Shiloh battlefield and the Corinth unit affected resource protection and the ability to convey the historic scene of the Battle of Shiloh and the Siege and Battle of Corinth?

Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Work was conducted on behalf of this project by consultants engaged by the National Park Service through an Indefinite Delivery Indefinite Quantity contract. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates served as the prime consultant responsible for the preparation of the Administrative History. The study follows the guidance afforded in a statement of work developed by the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service and the guidelines for preparing such studies outlined in *National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide*.[1]

Work on the project commenced during a start-up meeting conducted at the park in January 2011. Participating in the meeting were park staff, including Superintendent Woody Harrell, Chief Park Ranger Stacy Allen, Supervisory Park Ranger Ashley Berry, and Interpretive Ranger Joe Davis, as well as Regional Historian and COTR Bethany Serafine. The consultant team was composed of Deborah Slaton, Project Manager and Historian, Liz Sargent, Project Historical Landscape Architect, and Tim Penich, Project Architect. In addition to meeting to discuss goals and

1. National Park Service, *National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004).

procedures for the project, the team toured the park and visited the park archives. The team then continued with on-site research at the park archives, collecting copies of pertinent files and documents, and field investigations of the park landscape.

Remote research was later conducted through review of the reports and studies available electronically from the National Park Service Denver Service Center Technical Information Center and the University of Virginia library system, which serves as a government repository. Research trips were also planned or conducted to review the collections held at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Center branch in Philadelphia, and the National Archives in Atlanta, Georgia. Correspondence with archives in Philadelphia and Atlanta did not yield useful information; these archives were periodically closed and the team found that material was unavailable. Research online and by correspondence was also conducted with National Park Service collections and the NPS Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, Florida.

The consultant team supplemented the research materials collected at the park and several repositories by conducting several personal interviews with individuals familiar with the park and its operations, as identified and confirmed by Shiloh National Military Park personnel. The interviews included former superintendents and administrative staff of Shiloh National Military Park, as well as individuals involved in agencies and organizations that regularly interface with the park. Interviews were conducted by telephone, by travel to Washington, D.C., and during follow-up trips to the park in April 2015. Transcripts of the interviews are included as an appendix to this report, and were provided to the National Park Service for their records.

Role of Previous Park Administrative History

The Shiloh Administrative History focuses on documenting the history of the park and its administration since 1954. In order to understand park administration prior to 1954, the project team relied on the previously cited study: *A History of Shiloh National Military Park Tennessee* by Charles Shedd. While this document provides a narrative understanding of park operations over a sixty year period, and details the transition from War Department administration to National Park Service management, it does not address some of the issues that the National Park Service suggests are important to consider in this study. For example, the Shedd history does not address the history of the Shiloh National Cemetery, which is currently administered as part of Shiloh National Military Park.

Additionally, the Shedd narrative does not necessarily conform to current federal guidance for national park administrative histories as outlined in the 2004 publication *National Park Service, Administrative History: A Guide*. This document suggests an approach and process for developing park administrative histories that was not available in 1954. While the park history prepared in 1954 provides a useful overview of park establishment and management between 1894 and 1954, agency roles and responsibilities have grown dramatically since 1954 due to several federal policies, including the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. This study is intended to meet the evolving and current needs of the National Park Service and park managers. The 2004 guide to preparing Administrative Histories notes the following:

> The National Park Service has a fundamental responsibility for preserving and interpreting many of the Nation's most valued cultural and natural resources. Yet it also has a responsibility to preserve and analyze its own history. The Service has an obligation to maintain a thorough, accurate record of its policies, decisions, and activities in part because these things reflect how America

> chooses to preserve and present important remnants of its cultural and natural history. Administrative histories are a critical element if the Service is to record and preserve its own history. Current policies and decisions cannot be formulated properly without reference to past experience.
>
> Preserving and interpreting historic places and features has long been a primary mission of the National Park Service. The Service employs a number of historians in its park, regional, and support offices to conduct research on its historic properties and communicate their significance to the public. Much of the historical work has been concerned with park resources and the people and events that historical parks represent and commemorate.
>
> However, Service managers and staff increasingly seek to learn more about their own parks as parks and the people responsible for them. This interest also encompasses Park Service programs and activities that transcend individual parks and extend beyond the National Park System. By learning more about problems their predecessors faced, managers at all levels can be better informed about contemporary issues and bring greater awareness to their policy and program decisions.
>
> Administrative histories are the most effective way to convey this knowledge. They relate how particular parks and functions of the Service originated and how they evolved. Although many are of wider interest, their primary audience is Park Service personnel. In this context, "administrative history" is used broadly to cover movements leading to park establishment, legislative background, and other contributing developments beyond administration in the strict sense. Service leaders recognize the utility of these histories. They are one of several baseline studies that the Service requires for each park unit under one of its policy directives—director's order 28, *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines*.
>
> What follows is an updated compilation of NPS administrative history guidance, sources, and related titles. Its purpose is to aid the preparation of those histories.[2]

Also of interest to note is information conveyed during a personal interview with Chief Historian Emeritus Edwin Bearss for this study. Mr. Bearss relates that the Administrative History program was ended soon after publication of Shedd's 1954 history of Shiloh. Based on his belief that these documents are an important foundational component of park planning tools, Mr. Bearss reinstated the program during his tenure as Chief Historian in the 1980s. Mr. Bearss expressed his enthusiastic support for the preparation of an Administrative History for Shiloh National Military Park. Mr. Bearss began his career with the National Park Service at Shiloh, and it was through contact with Mr. Shedd that Mr. Bearss learned about the deep connection between military terrain and battlefield events by walking the hallowed ground of Shiloh National Military Park in 1955.

Description of Shiloh National Military Park and Its Environmental and Cultural Context and Setting

Shiloh National Military Park is comprised of three units: the Shiloh Battlefield Unit, Shiloh National Cemetery, and Corinth Unit. The Shiloh Battlefield Unit. The authorized boundary of the park is approximately 6,975 acres, with 5,444.32 acres within the park as of 2015.[3] The Shiloh Battlefield Unit, with 6,025 acres authorized, includes 4,991.28 owned by the National Park Service, in Hardin County, Tennessee, approximately 6 miles southwest of Savannah, Tennessee. Shiloh National Cemetery is a small, walled precinct that falls within the larger battlefield landscape, and comprises 10.05 acres.[4]

2. National Park Service, *Administrative History Guide*, 3.
3. National Park Service Southeast Region Lands Office records for Shiloh National Military Park.
4. Ibid.

It is located along the Tennessee River near Pittsburg Landing. The Corinth Unit comprises approximately 950 acres authorized and 433.04 acres within the park.[5] It is located approximately 20 miles southwest of the Shiloh Battlefield Unit within Alcorn County and the City of Corinth, Mississippi. It is composed of several discontiguous parcels of land in and around the town of Corinth in northeast Mississippi. The Corinth Unit includes the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, a visitor orientation and interpretive resource. The park has also recently expanded to encompass land associated with the Davis Bridge Battlefield, which is located in Hardeman County, approximately 27 miles southwest of the park's administrative headquarters at the Shiloh Battlefield Unit.

The **Shiloh Battlefield Unit** forms an irregularly-shaped polygon bounded to the east by the Tennessee River. It is located within a rural area characterized by family farmsteads and modest industrial endeavors. The park landscape consists of gently undulating terrain cut by drainageways and larger stream corridors that empty into the Tennessee River. The majority of the Shiloh Battlefield Unit is still covered by forest as it was in 1862. Several historic fields are maintained either by mowing or through agricultural permits in order to preserve historic features of the battlefield's cultural landscape. Tennessee Highway 22 cuts through the park along its western edge. The highway is a contemporary public thoroughfare that visitors can use to access the park. Within the park, most of the roads follow historic routes dating to the battle era. Many of the roads have been updated to accommodate visitor and park use. Improvements were first made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the War Department as part of early national military park development. One of the principal routes used by visitors to enter the park is Pittsburg Landing Road, which leads to the park's developed core that occupies the bluff overlooking the Tennessee River. The developed core is composed of a visitor center, maintenance compound, park headquarters, bookstore, and the Shiloh National Cemetery. The park visitor center provides orientation for visitors to the park's history and offerings, and holds regular showings of the film "Shiloh: Fiery Trial." From the visitor center, visitors follow a 13-mile-long self-guided tour route that interprets the two-day battle. Hundreds of commemorative monuments and markers line the tour route (Figure 2). Several trails are accessible from parking areas located along the route.



FIGURE 2. Cannon at Shiloh National Military Park. (Source: All photographs by the authors, January 2011 and April 2015, unless otherwise noted.)

In addition to numerous historic fields, the park also maintains historic apple and peach orchards in locations where they were present in 1862 and the sole Civil War-era dwelling—the William Manse George Cabin. There are several burial trenches that serve as the final resting place for Confederate soldiers marked within the park. Also located within the park is an inholding that contains the site of the battle-era Shiloh Meeting House, the existence of which gave the battle its identity and name. Although unrelated to the battle, the park contains several prehistoric Indian mounds that are listed as a National Historic Landmark. Important natural resources are also present within Shiloh National Military Park, such as the 200 acres of virgin bottomland oak/hickory forest, rare within Tennessee, which edges Owl Creek and is carefully managed by park personnel.

5. Ibid.

Shiloh National Cemetery is the final resting place of more than 3,800 individuals, most of whom served in the Union army and died during the Civil War (Figure 3). In addition to Civil War soldiers, the cemetery includes the graves of deceased soldiers who served in the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Persian Gulf War. The cemetery extends over approximately ten acres at the western edge of the Tennessee River.



FIGURE 3. Shiloh National Cemetery, undated photograph. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

The cemetery is enclosed within a brick perimeter wall. A formal wrought iron gate marks the entrance into the cemetery from Pittsburg Landing Road. Visitors pass through the gate and travel a system of brick roads and paths that extend through seventeen burial plots identified by letters of the alphabet to a circular mound marked by a flagpole. Extending north and south from the central area, as well as along the northern boundary of the cemetery, are additional burial areas that contain the remains of specific regiments of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, and Wisconsin troops. A Superintendent Lodge and maintenance building are located within the cemetery wall. The cemetery is maintained in mown turf, but also features numerous shade and evergreen trees. Many of the grave markers are representative of national cemetery standards. There are also individual grave markers, and several monuments located within the cemetery. Plaques and cannon, as well as benches are also present (Figure 4).

The **Corinth Unit**, as noted above, is composed of fourteen discontiguous parcels totaling more than 800 acres located in and around the city of Corinth, Mississippi, that are associated with the siege, battle, and occupation of the region during the Civil War (Figure 5). The park unit contains evidence of the many miles of earthworks constructed by Union as well as Confederate forces to guard the approaches to the city from the north, south, east, and west, and the critically important rail line juncture. The earthworks, including rifle-pits, trenches, and artillery positions, are interpreted along walking and driving tours. Also available to visitors are the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center and the Contraband Camp interpretive trail site.



FIGURE 4. Shiloh National Cemetery.



FIGURE 5. Bronze figures and signage commemorating the Corinth Contraband Camp.

Davis Bridge Battlefield is located along the Hatchie River near the community of Pocahontaas near the Tennessee and Mississippi border. It is

the site of the October 5, 1862, Battle of Davis Bridge that followed the Battle of Corinth.

The efforts to preserve the site of the fight at Davis Bridge began in 1987 when the Davis Bridge Memorial Association purchased 5.6 acres on the west bank of the Hatchie River.[6] Over the next twenty-five years, the State of Tennessee, with the assistance of the Civil War Trust and the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund, worked to protect additional battelfield land on both banks of the river. Today 839 acres of the battlefield have been protected. The land is administered by the State of Tennessee as part of Big Hill Pond State Park and Shiloh National Military Park



FIGURE 6. Regional Map showing the location of Shiloh National Military Park and the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center. (Source: National Park Service)

6. The acreage of the Davis Bridge Tract is 5.6 acres, which is the area currently managed by the National Park Service at the site. National Park Service Southeast Region Lands Office records for Shiloh National Military Park.

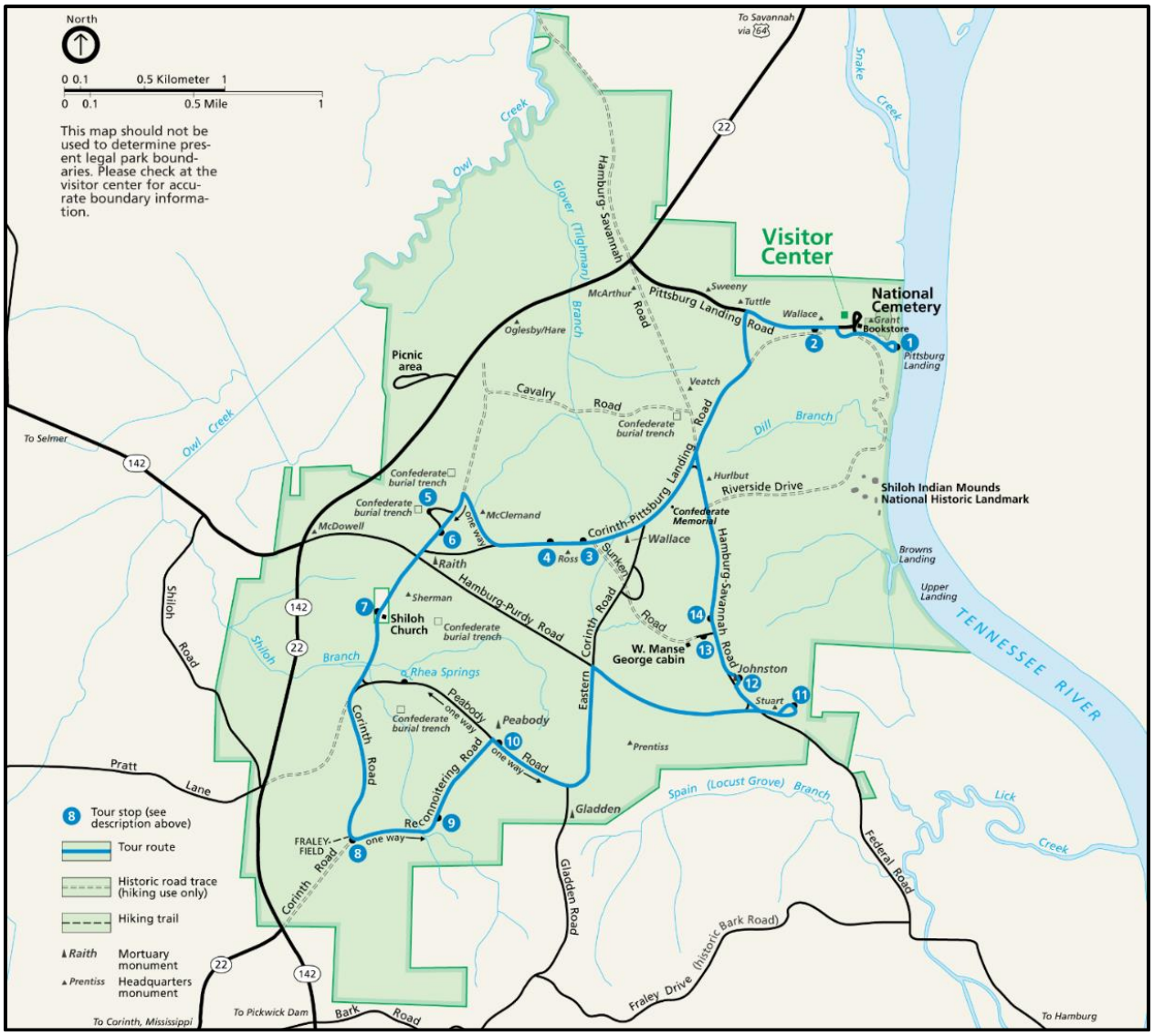


FIGURE 7. Map of Shiloh National Military Park. (Source: National Park Service)

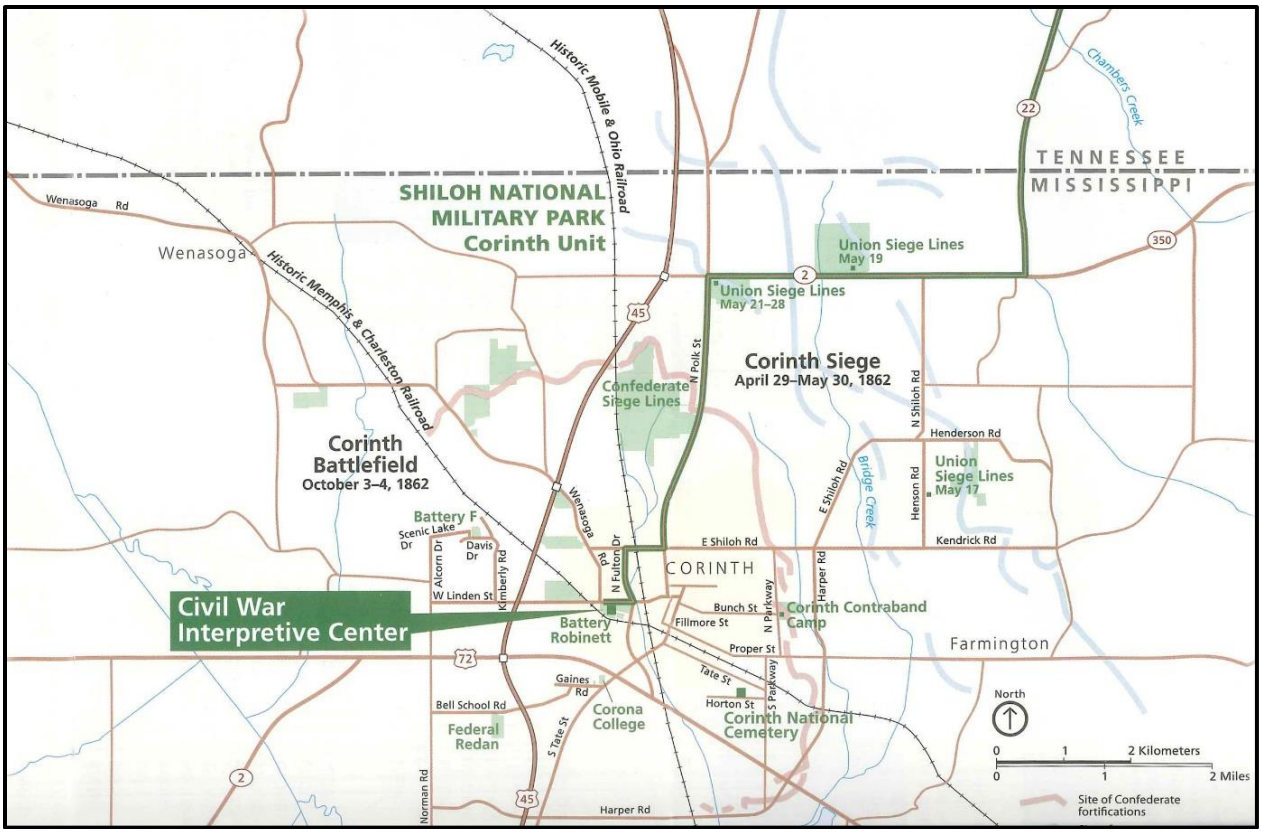


FIGURE 8. Map of Corinth Unit. (Source: National Park Service)

Overview History of Shiloh National Military Park to 1956



FIGURE 9. A reunion of soldiers that fought in the battles at Shiloh, 1895. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

The following overview history of Shiloh National Military Park through 1956 is adapted from the administrative history prepared in 1954 by Park Historian Charles E. Shedd, Jr., augmented by research conducted by the authors for the current study.[7] In 1954, Shedd wrote:

> In the 60 years since its establishment, Shiloh National Military Park has been the scene of vast change and progressive development. From an isolated rural wilderness, the park has

7. Charles E. Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park* (Shiloh, Tennessee: National Park Service, 1954).

> become a memorial to American valor, preserving the story of an epic chapter of the Nation's past.[8]

Throughout his narrative, Shedd (Figure 10) continually suggests the efforts made by the park to protect and preserve the hallowed ground of the battlefield, to maintain a clear understanding of the events that occurred on the site on April 6 and 7, 1862, and to afford visitor access to the battlefield landscape. Shedd's narrative details the profound transition in park administration that occurred following the transfer of the site from the War Department to the National Park Service in 1933, which resulted in a shift in management and the introduction of a public education mission, as well as other related responsibilities. This shift also required the park to better accommodate the public by establishing new facilities for safe access, interpretation, park personnel housing, utilities, and the like. The evolution of this effort is addressed in the next sections of this report, which consider park administration after the publication of Shedd's study.

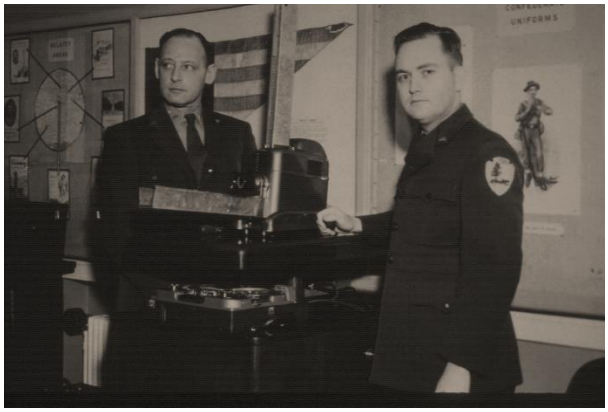


FIGURE 10. Superintendent Ira B. Lykes and Historian Charles Shedd with a park slide projector in a 1950s exhibit. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

The Region prior to the Civil War

Refer to the Archeological Resources and Investigations chapter of this report for a summary of the occupation of the Shiloh region in prehistoric and early historic times, and the archeological investigations conducted since establishment of the military park.

In prehistoric times, the region surrounding what would become the battleground of Shiloh was the home of a farming society. The occupants of these villages built wattle-and-daub structure, often surrounded by wooden palisades, on the steep bluffs above the Tennessee River approximately 800 years ago. Archeological investigations have suggested that the palisade at Shiloh was of short-lived duration, perhaps no more than two decades. Thus, the Shiloh village was not protected by a palisade for the majority of the time that it was occupied. Although the presence of these early inhabitants is evident today in the numerous mounds found along the river valley, they left no written record of their lives.[9]

Within the period of recorded history, the region of West Tennessee around Shiloh was occupied or claimed primarily by the Chickasaw. This region was rich with fish and game, and the Chickasaw's claim was at times disputed by neighboring, more warlike tribes. There is no record that these tribes ever established settlements for any length of time around the older Shiloh villages, and the Chickasaw culture, which had its roots in Northern Mississippi, did not establish itself permanently on the banks of the Tennessee.

Many years after other tribes had ceded their lands to the Euro-Americans, the Chickasaw retained their rights to the virgin wilderness between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. It was not until 1818, under the pressure of advancing settlement,

8. Ibid., 61.
9. The Shiloh Indians Mounds, a Woodland-era site, has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

that the native claimants surrendered their rights to the lands that included the future site of Shiloh Park.

Early Settlement and the Colonial Period

The first non-native visitor to travel through the region between the Tennessee and the Mississippi Rivers was Hernando De Soto, who was commissioned by Charles V of Spain to explore and colonize the territory known to the Spanish as Florida. De Soto and his troops traveled northward from Tampa Bay in 1539, and eventually reached as far west as Oklahoma. They likely entered the area that is now Tennessee on at least one occasion.[10] In 1566–1567, small Spanish expeditions reached parts of Tennessee visited earlier by De Soto. However, these expeditions explored only the eastern portion of the territory on the slopes of the southern Appalachians.

In the late seventeenth century, more than a century after De Soto's explorations, English traders from the Atlantic seaboard and French explorers from the upper Mississippi and Canada entered the region. The English traded with the Cherokee towns on the Little Tennessee River, in the southeastern corner of the territory. One of these towns, Tenase, gave its name to the territory that stretched westward from the Appalachians to the Mississippi.[11]

In 1673, French fur trader Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette visited an Indian camp that was probably located near the present site of Reelfoot Lake in the northwest corner of the state. Nine years later, the French explorer Robert de la Salle and his party erected Fort Prudhomme on the Chickasaw Bluffs overlooking the Mississippi in what would become West Tennessee.

As Shedd notes:

> Separated from the Atlantic coast by mountain barriers and trackless forests, remote from the Gulf of Mexico, with no direct access to the sea, that portion of west Tennessee which today encompasses Shiloh Park was bypassed in early exploration and settlement by white men in the southern half of North America.[12]

The first European known to have passed within sight of the river bluffs at Shiloh was Jean Couture, a coureur de bois ("runner of the woods")—one of the independent French-Canadian woodsmen who traveled in the interior of North America, engaging in fur trade with the Indians. Sometime before 1696, Couture traveled along the Tennessee River from its mouth on the Ohio to its upper reaches in East Tennessee.[13]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, traders from Virginia and the Carolinas entered Tennessee in increasing numbers but none, as far as is known, penetrated the region west of the Tennessee River. Some early settlers migrating to the Cumberland region near Nashville traveled from East Tennessee through the region, likely passing the bluffs at Shiloh. However, the hostility of the native inhabitants toward Euro-American settlers discouraged any attempt at contact with the tribes encountered along the route. As late as 1797, a map of Tennessee showed only one settlement at Memphis between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, although the country east of the Tennessee River supported numerous settlements and roads.[14]

In examining the early exploration and settlement of this region, Shedd notes:

> The vast and portentous struggle for empire which marked the history of North America prior to 1783 passed unnoticed in the

10. Cartter Patten, *A Tennessee Chronicle* (Chattanooga, 1953), 16.
11. Patten, 9.
12. Shedd, 4.
13. Donald Davidson, *The Tennessee: The Old River, Frontier to Secession* (New York, New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1946), I, 66.
14. n.a., *Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796–1946* (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Historical Commission and Tennessee Historical Society, 1946), I, 9.

> unexplored wilderness between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. Yet, this pattern of conflict and colonization influenced to a great degree the ultimate destiny of the region, and paved the way for its final settlement by the white man.[15]

The territory of Tennessee had been claimed by Spain as part of Florida, by France as part of Louisiana, and by Great Britain as part of Virginia and North Carolina, although none of these sovereignties had attempted to enforce its claim. At the same time, the various Indian tribes in the area sought to control the hunting grounds of West Tennessee. With the Treaty of Paris that ended the French and Indian War in America (the Seven Years' War in Europe) in 1763, France relinquished its claim to Canada and the land east of the Mississippi River, and Spain abandoned its title to the region it called Florida. Great Britain, victorious in the conflict, retained its claims in North America, including the Tennessee territory.

In 1763, King George III of England, in an effort to stabilize relations with the Indians and regulate trade and settlement in the newly acquired region, issued a proclamation limiting purchase of lands or settlement beyond a line following the Appalachian Mountains.[16] Despite the Proclamation of 1763 and subsequent treaties with the Indians, migration into Tennessee began in the mid-1760s—although migration did not immediately reach the area around Shiloh. West Tennessee remained isolated from the conflict during the Revolutionary War, but after the Treaty of Paris in 1783 Euro-Americans began to settle in the land between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers.

The Post-Colonial Period

In the years following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the coastal states ceded their claims to the territory extending from their western borders toward the Mississippi. In 1790, the federal government created from this land "The Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio." The State of Tennessee, with boundaries consistent with those in existence today, was admitted to the Union in 1796 as the first state to be formed from the new territory. The principal area of settlement in the state at the time was in East Tennessee, adjacent to the borders of Virginia and the Carolinas. In Middle Tennessee, settlement lay along the Cumberland River, with Nashville at its center.

The Chickasaw of West Tennessee had a long tradition of friendship with the English-speaking colonists, and the State of Tennessee did not immediately press for an opening of their lands to white settlement. With increasing westward migration, the state legislature at last petitioned the federal government to remove this final obstacle to settlement of the entire state. In April 1818, Congress authorized the commissioners (who included Andrew Jackson) to negotiate with the Chickasaw for all of the land north of the Mississippi border, between the Tennessee, Mississippi, and the Ohio rivers, an area of 10,512 square miles.[17]

Euro-American settlement of the area around Shiloh began in the second decade of the nineteenth century, after the lands of West Tennessee were ceded.[18] In 1816, Joseph Hardin had led a surveying party into the region bounding the Tennessee River, opposite the present site of Shiloh. Two thousand acres of land were surveyed,

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15. Shedd, 6
16. Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Political and Social History* (New York, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952), 79.
17. Patten, 116.
18. Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor. "Treaty with the Chickasaw, 1818: the Great Chickasaw Cession, October 19, 1818, 7 Stat., 192, Proclamation, Jan. 7, 1819," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Volume 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904).

and in 1816, the first settlement was platted.[19] Settlers arrived from Middle Tennessee and then from older settlements in the Carolinas and Virginia; most were engaged in farming. In 1819, the area was organized as Hardin County, the first administrative district to be established from the Chickasaw lands ceded in the previous year. In 1816, the area that would become Hardin County had twenty-six inhabitants, and by 1840 the population of the county was more than 8,000, including 330 slaves.[20]

Most of early settlements were on the east side of the river, with the area to the west, and now within the boundaries of Shiloh National Military Park, first settled around 1828. In 1848, three brothers—Pittser, Thomas, and Riley Tucker—along with several others settled on 1,400 acres of high ground above the Tennessee River. A ferry landing was established on the river bank and a store or tavern opened by Pittser Tucker. The landing on the west bank of the river, also used as a tie-up point by river steamers that occasionally visited the area, became known as "Pittsburg Landing" after its proprietor. The first church on the plateau was the Union Church, thought to have been constructed around 1835. The Methodist Church was located approximately 1-1/2 miles southwest of Pittsburg Landing, near the intersection of Hamburg, Purdy, and Corinth roads.[21]

In the 1840s, the issue of slavery divided the congregation at Union Methodist Church. The pro-slavery congregants left and built a new church approximately 3 miles south of Union Church. The new church was officially known as the Shiloh Methodist Episcopal Church South.[22]

In 1851, John J. Ellis donated 10 acres of land to allow for the construction of a new church and school. That year, church trustees, J. J. Wolf, C. W. Morris, L. D. Gorgan, Joseph Burks, and W. A. Tucker, the brother of Pittser Tucker, began construction of a new log church building for the Shiloh Methodist Episcopal Church South.[23]

Although located on the Tennessee River, Hardin County, particularly that portion on the west side of the river, was relatively isolated from the rest of the state. River transport in the first half of the century was limited and uncertain. There were no railroads in the county and the early roads of the region were impassable in bad weather. Aside from the river, the principal connection with other areas of settlement was the stage road from Nashville, which traversed the eastern half of the county to Savannah, 9 river miles below Pittsburg Landing.

Shedd notes the relative isolation of life in the region around Pittsburg Landing during this period, as captured in the following account:

> I was born and reared in the county remote from railroads, telegraph lines, daily mails, and newspapers—out in the wastes that lie 'close to nature's heart,' and where life was almost primitive and entirely rural. I was almost twenty before I saw a railroad, or a town or a city of above 500 people. I recall the time when there was not a plow in our county that had not been made in a neighboring blacksmith shop, not a wagon that had not been fabricated in the county; when there were no cooking stoves, sewing machines, mowers, reapers, or even steam mills or wheat thrashers, or cotton gins; and when all the clothing and food were made at home, except a few yards of calico and jeans for 'Sunday clothes' and a little sugar, coffee, pepper, and salt to save the meat—when all the children big enough to plow worked in the field, and schools were limited to about three months between 'laying by' and 'gathering time'.[24]

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19. B.G. Brazleton, *A History of Hardin County* (Nashville, Tennessee: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1885).
20. Brazleton, 53 ff.
21. Dr. Ronnie Fullwood. *Shiloh's House of Peace: The Church That Named the Battle.* (Selmer, Tennessee: G. & P. Printing Services, 2003), 13.
22. Ibid, 19–20.
23. Ibid, 20.
24. John A. Pitts, *Personal and Professional Reminiscences of an Old Lawyer* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, 1930), 27–28.

There were about seventy wooden structures, including crude log cabins and other log farm buildings, on the battlefield in April 1862. Nearly all of these buildings were severely damaged or destroyed during the battle. Over the next thirty years they were replaced by the dozens of other structures that were present at the time Shiloh National Military Park was established in the 1890s.

In 1855, a half-section of land in what was then Tishomingo County, Mississippi was surveyed by Eli and Houston Mitchell and Hamilton Mask, at the site of a planned rail junction of the Memphis & Charleston and the Mobile & Ohio railroads. The new community, originally named Cross City, was incorporated as Corinth in March 1856. Construction of the Memphis & Charleston railroad was completed through Corinth in 1857, and by 1858, the town had a population of 1,500. At this time, the town was also home to numerous businesses, five churches, three hotels, and Corona College, a school for young women. Construction of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad through the town was completed in 1861.[25]

The Region during the Civil War

The Civil War in Hardin County

In the years between its founding and the outbreak of the Civil War, Hardin County maintained a slow but steady growth. For many years the county had been split into two major political factions: the Hardin Party, made up principally of descendants of the first settlers of the county and which allied itself with the national Whig organization, and the opposing Robinson Party, which took the name and political tenets of the Democratic Party.[26] Although the number of slaves in the county comprised only slightly more than 10 percent of the total population, the economic and social conflict engendered by the practice of slavery contributed to the irreconcilable division of sympathies within the county. While West Tennessee was predominantly in favor of secession, the sectionalism that divided the country was mirrored in Hardin County.

With the beginning of fighting in April 1861, men from Hardin County served in both the northern and southern armies. However, until Federal troops overwhelmed the area in early 1862, the Confederates held the county with a poorly supported garrison posted at Savannah, on the east bank of the river.[27]

Shedd notes:

> The isolation that marked the early years of the county's existence was rudely shattered in the spring of 1862 when the great river which had been a welcome link with the markets of the east and midwest suddenly became a deadly threat to the young Confederacy.[28]

U.S. naval forces made the first advance upriver pass of Pittsburg Landing between February 6 and 10, 1862, as part of an expedition to Florence, Alabama. Their second naval expedition from Cairo, Illinois, conducted between February 15 and 22, 1862, advanced Union forces to Eastport, Mississippi.

In February 1862, Union forces also captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, breaching the western defensive line of the Confederacy. As a result, the defending Confederate Army under Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston was forced to abandon Kentucky and most of Middle Tennessee, although they continued to maintain control of West Tennessee. By late March, Johnston's forces were gathered in and around Corinth, Mississippi, located 22 miles southwest of Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee.

25. Stacy Allen, "Shiloh: The Consequence of Losing Armageddon," 2006.
26. Brazleton, 51–52.
27. Lera Durbin, "Five Years of War" in ms. *History of Hardin County,* Shiloh National Military Park, 1934, 2.
28. Shedd, 20.

In early March, the Union fleet reached Savannah. They subsequently advanced to and past Pittsburg Landing in an ongoing effort to penetrate Confederate territory. Other Union forces moved upriver in an effort to reach the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, located a few miles below the Mississippi state line, where they hoped to disrupt Confederate rail communications. High water and bad roads forced the abandonment of the raid, and the troops were instead put ashore on the high ground of Pittsburg Landing, where they camped until the offensive could be resumed. A minor skirmish had occurred at Pittsburg Landing on March 1. Known as the First Engagement of Pittsburg Landing, the skirmish ensued after a Confederate battery fired upon passing units of the Union fleet and a party of Union troops disembarked to face their attackers. The Union forces camped near Pittsburg Landing were directed to advance against Corinth, at the vital railroad crossing of the Memphis and Charleston and the Mobile & Ohio railroads.

On March 17, Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant established his headquarters at Savannah, in the residence of Union supporter William H. Cherry, who invited Grant to stay at his home. Although he established his headquarters at Savannah, Grant quickly agreed with Gen. Charles F. Smith's assessment that, based on Gen. William T. Sherman's reconnaissance on March 16, most of the forces should disembark at Pittsburg and encamp on the Shiloh plateau.[29] Thus, Pittsburg Landing would become the formal base of operations, on a plateau west of the river, with Federal forward camps posted approximately 2 miles inland near the Shiloh Meeting House. Grant received orders not to engage the Confederate forces and to hold his army in readiness for the drive on Corinth, to begin when the Union Army of the Ohio under Maj. Gen. D. C. Buell arrived from Nashville, 130 miles away.

The Battle of Shiloh, April 6–7, 1862

By the beginning of the war, Corinth had become an important transportation hub for the South as a result of the railroad junction located in the town. From 1861, through the spring of 1862, Corinth served as an organization depot for Mississippi volunteer regiments. Almost 12,000 men from Mississippi were stationed at the town, while tens of thousands of Confederate troops passed through via rail.[30]

The Union's movement up the Tennessee River forced Confederate Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to concentrate his forces near the small town of Corinth, Mississippi, where the Memphis and Charleston and the Mobile and Ohio railroads crossed. Johnston correctly determined the Union presence threatened to break western Confederate railroad communications. In response, he concentrated western Confederate forces in and around the strategically important transportation hub at Corinth, Mississippi, where they would also be poised to defend the Mississippi Valley. Once there, Johnston decided to preemptively strike Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing prior to the arrival of Buell and the Army of the Ohio. Johnston placed his troops in motion on April 3; however, heavy rains and muddy roads delayed the march, postponing the attack for several days.

Early on the morning of April 6, a Federal reconnoitering party encountered Confederate cavalry near Fraley Field. After an engagement with pickets, the Confederates began their advance.

On the morning of Sunday, April 6, a force of 44,000 Confederate troops launched a massive assault on the Union troops at Pittsburg Landing. The 40,000 Federal troops were surprised by the attack and shortly after, fighting consumed Shiloh Hill. The Confederates were able to gain ground, eventually forcing the Federal troops into defensive positions around Shiloh Church, in the

29. Smith was in command of the Federal expedition on the Tennessee prior to Grant's arrival.

30. Allen, "Shiloh: The Consequence of Losing Armageddon."

sunken road and tangled woodland area that would later become known as the Hornet's Nest, based on the experiences of Confederate forces there during the battle.

Confederate forces set up a battery of more than fifty cannon, driving back the Union flanks and allowing the capture of over 2,000 Federal troops. Known as Ruggles' Battery, this assemblage would prove to be the largest concentration of field artillery amassed to date in North America. This battery would, however, be dwarfed by the numbers of guns engaged in many Civil War battles to follow.

General Johnston was struck in the leg by a stray bullet on the afternoon of April 6 and bled to death (Figure 11), leaving Gen P. G. T. Beauregard in command of the Confederate troops. By dusk, the Union line extended for nearly two miles west from Pittsburg Landing in a formation that lay perpendicular to the river. In its final position, the Federal Army stood fast. Massed artillery fire from the bluffs above Pittsburg Landing and from the gunboats in the river brought the last desperate Confederate attacks to a standstill.

Shedd notes that the Confederate gains on the first day of battle had been won at great cost. Beauregard ordered the attacks halted for the night, hoping to complete the victory on the next day.

During the night, the lead divisions of Buell's reinforcing army reached the battlefield, and one of Grant's divisions arrived from an outpost position. The strengthened Union forces counterattacked early the next day. The combined Union armies now numbered approximately 54,000 men, nearly 20,000 more men than the depleted Confederate armies. Despite mounting counterattacks of their own, the Confederates could not stop the much stronger Federal forces.



FIGURE 11. A view looking east toward the plaque marking the location of General Johnston's death, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

After fighting concluded on April 7, the bulk of Beauregard's Confederate army retired to Corinth, leaving behind a large rear guard that eventually deployed a few miles southwest of the battlefield near a farmhouse on Ridge Road known as Michie's.[31] On April 8, Grant sent out a large reconnaissance to ascertain whether the Confederates still posed a threat of renewed combat or indeed were retiring to their base at Corinth. The right wing of this reconnaissance force, led by William T. Sherman, was attacked by Confederate cavalry guarding a field hospital located in an area known as Fallen Timbers, 6 miles southwest of Pittsburg Landing. The Federals forced the Confederate cavalry to retire westward and captured the hospital. Union cavalry proceeded a mile further west, where they came upon the main rear guard. Sherman recalled the cavalry and made arrangements with the Confederate surgeons. He dispatched wagons the next day to recover and transport about fifty captured Federal wounded who the surgeons had been treating at the hospital. Sherman paroled the surgeons and the wounded Confederate troops at

31. Also referred to as "Mickey's" in Confederate reports.

the hospital and returned to the Shiloh battlefield, satisfied that the main Confederate force, which had retired to Corinth, no longer posed an immediate threat. After being forced back to Shiloh Church, Beauregard also withdrew his command and returned to Corinth.

Burial of the dead at Shiloh began in earnest on April 8, 1862. Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, Union commander in the West, arrived in Shiloh on the night of April 11, with a goal of putting his army of 125,000 men to work removing the debris of battle and burying the dead. On April 12–13, Sherman was dispatched to attack the trestle bridge on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad line, located across Bear Creek near Eastport, Mississippi. Over the three weeks that followed, the Union army prepared for an advance on Corinth, and the Confederate stronghold along the rail lines there. Union troops continued to arrive, including more of Buell's command and elements of Pope's army. These troops initially disembarked at Hamburg Landing on April 22. A Federal force of approximately 125,000 was assembled over the course of the month.

The Siege and Battle of Corinth, April 29–May 30, 1862, and October 3–4, 1862

Aware of the military value of Corinth, Halleck advanced troops southward from Pittsburg Landing and Hamburg Landing on April 28. Following the Battle of Shiloh, Beauregard positioned his troops to fortify the northern and eastern approaches to Corinth. Soon reinforcements led by Confederate Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn joined Beauregard's troops. The Confederate defenses consisted of a 7-mile-long line of field works which consisted of trenches and rifle pits.[32]

Along with an additional army led by Gen. John Pope, Halleck was able to entrench three armies within cannon range of the Confederate fortifications defending Corinth by late May. Despite reinforcements led by Major General Van Dorn, Beauregard gave instructions for the evacuation of Corinth on May 27. He had become convinced that the army must abandon Corinth on May 25, and verbal orders were issued on May 26 for the evacuation to begin; the written memorandum followed on May 27. Initial Confederate forces, particularly the sick and wounded, began transport by rail early in the evacuation, as indicated by Union reports of considerable train activity beginning the night of May 26–27, and reports of signal guns and rockets being fired by the Confederates. The tactic of announcing the arrival of empty trains with music and cheers, as if reinforcements were arriving, appears to have been used intermittently throughout the evacuation—not solely on the night of May 29 as is often cited. However, it is clear that this vocal ruse intensified during the final 24 hours of the evacuation.[33] The process of extracting more than 70,000 personnel, including some 18,000 sick and wounded located in hospitals around the community, was slow and arduous. In addition, ordnance and supplies had to be moved by rail. At some point on May 28, Beauregard, whose goal was to be ready to leave the area by 3 a.m. on May 29, realized that the timetable was not achievable, and extended the final departure date to May 30. By the morning of May 30, the Confederates had abandoned Corinth, leaving the most viable line of east-west communications in the western Confederacy fragmented. The Confederate troops safely reached Tupelo on June 9.[34]

The siege of Corinth resulted in capture of the strategically important town at the end of May 1862. The Confederates found themselves outflanked 120 miles north along the Mississippi River. Confederate forces pulled out of Fort Pillow, located north of Memphis along the

32. Stacy D. Allen, *Corinth: Crossroads of the Western Confederacy—A Visitor's Guide* (Columbus, Ohio: Blue & Gray Magazine, 2011), 22.
33. Ibid., 29–30.
34. Ibid.

Mississippi River, on June 4. Fort Pillow was occupied by Union forces the next day.[35]

The Federal naval squadron soon began moving downstream, defeating the Confederate River Defense Fleet on June 6 at Memphis. Memphis was surrendered, allowing the Union to secure the Memphis & Charleston Railroad south past Corinth.[36]

In June 1862, President Jefferson Davis replaced General Beauregard, who was on sick leave, with Maj. Gen. Braxton Bragg. Shortly after his appointment to lead the Army of the Mississippi, Bragg moved his infantry south to Mobile, and then north to Chattanooga, where they arrived before Buell and his Union forces. Bragg then moved his troops north to Kentucky, with Union forces following. During this time, Bragg received reports that Union troops were being pulled out of northeast Mississippi to assist Buell. As a result, Van Dorn, who sought to mount an offensive into West Tennessee, pressured Confederate Maj. Gen. Sterling Price to join the forces at Holly Springs, Mississippi.[37]

Following the victory, Grant initiated an overland drive south along the Mississippi Central Railroad line. Like his failed attempt to capture Vicksburg using naval forces in the summer of 1862, this drive failed, and the Union army was forced to retire after December 20. Grant's right wing under Sherman was also defeated in its initial attempt to storm Vicksburg via Chickasaw Bayou in late December. Through ongoing maneuvering, and a carefully orchestrated siege, Grant was finally able to capture Vicksburg, effectively dividing the Confederacy, in July 1863.

On September 24, 1862, General Grant issued General Orders No. 83, which divided his command, the District of West Tennessee, into four divisions. The First Division was headquartered at Memphis, the Second at Jackson or Bolivar, Tennessee, the Third at Corinth, and the Fourth at Columbus, Kentucky. Maj. Gen. William Rosecrans was assigned to Corinth.[38]

On September 28, Price and his troops met up with the forces led by Van Dorn in Ripley, Mississippi. Van Dorn led the combined forces, which numbered 22,000. On October 1, the Confederate troops occupied Pocahontas, Tennessee, which was located along the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, approximately 18 miles northwest of Corinth. Van Dorn was forced to decide whether he should continue north to attack Bolivar, move west toward Memphis, or turn southeast toward Corinth. Van Dorn decided to move toward Corinth, where the presence of the railroad would allow the Confederates to establish a base of operations from which an invasion of West Tennessee could be undertaken.[39]

Union Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans began modifying the fortifications that Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck had constructed in the summer of 1862 to protect Corinth against a Confederate attack from the south or west. Rosecrans felt the fortifications were too extensive to be properly manned by the available forces. Modifications to the defense lines were incomplete when Rosecrans learned of the Confederate occupation of Pocahontas.[40]

By October 2, 1862, the Confederate forces led by Van Dorn were closing in on Corinth, and by the morning of October 3, were only three miles northwest of Corinth. At 10:00 a.m., three divisions were deployed by Van Dorn. In response, Rosecrans unleashed four divisions made up of 23,000 soldiers to defend Corinth, with three divisions advancing and the fourth held in reserve south of the town.[41]

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35. *Special Resource Study, Corinth, Mississippi.* National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. 2003, 23.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 23–24.
38. Ibid., 24–25.
39. Ibid., 25.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.

On October 4, 1862, Major General Van Dorn and the Confederate Army of West Tennessee retreated from Corinth. Union Major General Rosecrans did not send forces in pursuit until the morning of October 5. Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Edward Ord, commanding a detachment of the Army of Tennessee, began advancing on Corinth to assist Rosecrans and his troops, setting up camp near Pocahontas on the night of October 4.

Five batteries made up the interior line of defensive redoubts in the College Hill area. One of the batteries, Battery Robinett, guarded western approaches to Corinth and was the scene of intense combat on October 4, 1862. The Confederate Army of the West, overseen by Price, fought back Davies's division and pushed it back upon Battery Robinett. There, Col. Joseph H. Mower's brigade of Stanley's division came to Davies's assistance before Van Dorn stopped the day's fighting shortly after 6:00 p.m., confident that he could claim a complete victory the next morning.

Rosecrans redeployed his Union forces during the night, while Van Dorn kept his troops in the same alignment. Van Dorn planned to have Brig. Gen. Louis Hebert and his division open fighting at daybreak. Hebert fell ill, and it was not until 9:00 a.m. that his replacement, Brig. Gen. Martin E. Green, was able to take charge and move the troops forward. At Battery Robinett, three Confederate brigades had already engaged with the Federal troops. During the battle, Rosecrans instructed the 27th Ohio and 11th Missouri to kneel to the right and rear of Battery Robinett to move out of the enemy's line of fire, and to charge with bayonets when the Confederates came to a stand. The charge by the Union divisions decimated the Confederates, who moved back into the woods from which they had come.[42]

A division commanded by Confederate Brig. Gen. Dabney H. Maury advanced south down Elam Creek and fought their way into Corinth, where they joined 2,000 troops under Green's command. Soon the Confederate troops were caught in a counterattack at the railroad crossover, and were driven back in disarray. [43]

On the morning of October 5, Ord and his forces met the Army of Tennessee's 4th Brigade under the command of Union Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut in the Confederate's front. Major General Ord took command of the combined forces and pushed Confederate Maj. Gen. Sterling Price and his Army of the West, which served as Van Dorn's advance, back approximately 5 miles over the Hatchie River at Davis Bridge. Van Dorn then led his army back to Holly Springs, while Ord forced Price to retreat, escaping capture. Rosecrans and his army also failed to capture Van Dorn's forces. After the Battle of Corinth, Van Dorn was transferred to the cavalry.[44]

The District of Corinth was established by Union forces on October 26, 1862. The District of Corinth, along with the Districts of Columbus, Jackson, and Memphis, made up the larger District of West Tennessee. Nearly 25,000 Union troops were stationed in the District of Corinth, which spread across northeast Mississippi and into parts of Tennessee and Alabama. The Union forces in the District were under the command of Maj. Gen. Greenville Dodge.

Before the Battle of Corinth, Union troops began the process of upgrading the fortifications around the city. Halleck's line of artillery redoubts were constructed during the summer of 1862. Rosecrans expanded the system with an interior line of redoubts later that summer, but had not finished by the time the Confederates attacked on October 3. However, the earthworks, particularly the interior line, were sufficient to stave off the advances and attack of Confederate forces hoping to regain control of the rail line, and the Confederates suffered heavy losses at the hands of Rosecrans's army.

The security of the Federal forces at Corinth attracted African American slaves seeking

42. Ibid., 26–27.
43. Ibid., 27–28.
44. Ibid.

freedom. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Abraham Lincoln on September 22, 1862, eleven days prior to the Battle at Corinth. The proclamation stated that, as of January 1, 1863, slaves in slave-holding states or those portions of slave-holding states still in rebellion at the time were declared ". . . then, thenceforward, and forever free." Slaves in Tennessee, Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri were not set free by the proclamation. Also, slaves in select portions of the remaining slave-holding states, such as the 48 counties in western Virginia that became West Virginia in 1863, some counties along the Atlantic coast of Virginia, and 121 parishes in southern Louisiana, and the city of New Orleans, were excluded from the effects of the proclamation.

While some Union generals utilized a policy that any freed slaves who passed into army lines became contraband of war, General Halleck ordered his subordinates to keep only those African Americans they could employ. By the fall of 1862, the promise of freedom brought more and more refugee slaves to Union garrisons, and the number of former slaves exceeded jobs available within the army. The increasing number of refugee slaves, combined with a lack of consistent policy within the Federal army, led Major General Grant to appoint Chaplain James M. Alexander of the 66th Illinois Volunteers as superintendent to oversee the contraband while establishing policies related to their welfare.[45] A contraband camp was established in Grand Junction, Tennessee, on November 14, 1862, with Chaplain John Eaton, Jr., of the 27th Ohio Infantry placed in charge. At the same time, Maj. Gen. Greenville Dodge established a contraband camp at Corinth. The Corinth contraband camp began as a tent city on a farm owned by Mary Phillips. The camp was organized under the supervision of Chaplain James M. Alexander. By mid-1863, the camp at Corinth resembled a small town, with a church, commissary, hospital as well as frame and log houses. The camp was laid out on a street grid.[46]

The American Missionary Association, an abolitionist group first established in New York, arrived at the Corinth Contraband Camp in late 1862 and found the camp to be in good order. [47] The association operated a school nearby that was open to students of all ages.[48]

In January 1863, General Dodge ordered houses built for the camp. By the end of the year, the camp resembled a small town, with homes laid out on a grid and divided into separate wards. A regular police force was also established.[49] In addition, the Union Christian Church of Corinth was organized.[50] Benefitting from its location on the farm of Mary Phillips, the camp also included fields where cotton and vegetables could be grown and later sold. The camp had realized a profit of over $4,000 by May 1863.

By March 1863, it was reported that 3,657 people resided at the camp in Corinth. At its peak, the population of the contraband camp reached as many as 6,000 persons.[51]

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45. Joseph E. Brent, preparer. *Occupied Corinth: The Contraband Camp and the First Alabama Regiment of African Descent 1862–1864*, 8, citing Ira Berline, gen. ed., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861–1867*, 5 vols: Series I vol. III, *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), 625–626.
46. *Special Resource Study, Corinth, Mississippi*, 31.
47. Brent, 10.
48. *Special Resource Study, Corinth, Mississippi*, 31.
49. Brent, 13, citing Colonel John A. Duckworth to Dr. William Rosser, December 22, 1862, Duckworth Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa; Map # 13-16, Civil War Maps File, Record Group-77, U. S. War Department Office of Engineering, National Archives; Dodge to Colonel Mersey June 3, 1863, Letters Sent May 1862-September 1864, Record Group 393; Charles F. Hubert, *History of the Fiftieth Regiment Illinois Volunteers Infantry of the War of the Union* (Kansas City: Western Veteran Publishing Company, 1894), 171 and *The American Missionary* 8, no. 3, 67–68.
50. Brent, 14, citing *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 29, 1863.
51. Brent, 20, citing Berlin, 705.

During the time the camp was operational, some refugees were sent to a camp at Cairo, Illinois, while a large number joined the Union Army.[52]

By late 1863, it was determined that the Corinth District was no longer militarily significant. The need for soldiers for the upcoming spring campaigns required the reduction of occupation forces. In December 1863, inhabitants of the contraband camp were relocated to Memphis, where the former slaves lived in a refugee facility until the war ended in 1865. The Union Army destroyed the Corinth camp in January 1864, burning government buildings and barracks, and partially destroying the railroad, warehouses, and depot facilities. The camp was abandoned on January 24, 1864.[53]

Following the abandonment of Corinth by the Federal forces in January 1864, Confederate troops reoccupied the vicinity. The Confederates repaired the railroads, and by April 1864, handcars pulled by mules reached Corinth. Slowly, rail communications were also improved.[54]

Although the scene of major fighting moved southward after the Battle of Shiloh, skirmishes and patrol clashes occurred in the area throughout the war. Most of these actions were between small detachments. In May 1863, a Union cavalry regiment stationed at Corinth marched to Florence, Alabama, passing through Hardin County, and crossing the Tennessee River south of Pittsburg Landing at Hamburg Landing. They conducted a raid on May 26–31, 1863, led by Col. Florence M. Cornyn. Although Cornyn dispatched a small diversionary force to strike northeastward toward Waynesborough, the main force advanced rapidly into northwest Alabama, where they destroyed crops, mills, and factories. In the raid, approximately 200 horses and mules were confiscated and 200,000 bushels of corn standing in fields were burned, with the majority of the devastation occurring in Alabama. In addition, warehoused ammunition, factories, cotton mills, looms, wagon shops, tan-yards, and blacksmith facilities were destroyed. According to contemporary reports, similar destruction did not occur in eastern Hardin County.

As the war continued and the bitterness of sectional strife increased, guerilla warfare flared in the Hardin County area, further aggravated by the presence of deserters from both sides. The traditional political division within the county contributed to the conflict. Shedd notes that ". . . by the end of the war the region was not only physically laid waste but its inhabitants were divided by an enmity which was to persist for many years."[55]

The Region after the Civil War

With the end of the war, the small farmers of Hardin County, with their tradition of self-reliance, were quick to rebuild. However, the bitter feuds engendered by the war still divided the county, and violence was common in the decade following the end of hostilities. By the end of Reconstruction, however, Hardin County had settled once more into its traditional rural way of life. The only major change in this period was the increase of steamboat traffic on the Tennessee, with the accompanying benefits to the inhabitants of the region. The principal steamboat line at this period was the Evansville and Tennessee River Packet Company, which for many years brought visitors to the Shiloh battlefield and cemetery.[56]

The lack of widespread agricultural or industrial development after the war contributed to the preservation of the battlefield at Shiloh, which had undergone little permanent change by the time the movement to establish the park began. The land in much of the battle area remained undeveloped and affordable to the federal government. Shedd notes, "The isolation that had long retarded the area's progress was the same factor which had preserved its great battlefield and made possible the park's

52. Ibid, 14.
53. Brent, 37.
54. *Special Resource Study, Corinth, Mississippi*, 31.
55. Shedd, 12.
56. Ibid., 3.

development on a scale which would otherwise have been impossible."[57]

By the 1890s, new roads had been constructed at the Shiloh plateau, which was largely overgrown with black gum and oak. At this time, the burial places of Union and Confederate soldiers were in a state of disrepair, with many bodies barely covered by a thin layer of earth. Local farmers occasionally found human remains while plowing their fields.[58]

During this time, visitors to the site would often see bayonets, muskets, and other debris remaining from the battle.[59]

Shiloh National Cemetery

In 1866, the War Department established a cemetery to serve as a final resting place for the Federal soldiers killed in the Battle of Shiloh, as well as those who perished during military operations along the Tennessee River.[60]

Refer to the Shiloh National Cemetery chapter of this report for discussion of the establishment and development of Shiloh National Cemetery.

The Movement to Establish a National Park at Shiloh

Initial Efforts to Establish the Park

The movement to establish a national military park at Shiloh battlefield was the direct result of pressure from Union veterans of the western armies who sought to have the scene of one of their most memorable battles acquired and preserved by the federal government.

During the late nineteenth century, efforts were made to preserve Civil War battlefields. During and after the war, national cemeteries were established at several battlefields, including at Shiloh.

Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield Site had been established in 1890, and plans for the creation of Gettysburg National Military Park were underway by 1893, lending impetus to the movement by Shiloh veterans to set aside the area where they had fought and where many of their comrades had given their lives.

The Shiloh National Cemetery had been established in 1866, but aside from this 10-acre tract of the battlefield, the historic ground around Pittsburg Landing was in private ownership.

The effort to create a Shiloh Battlefield Park began in April 1893, when a party of Union veterans visited the battlefield and were concerned to learn from the Superintendent of the National Cemetery that remains of Union and Confederate dead were uncovered each year by farmers plowing their fields or were unearthed in the process of road construction in the area. During their return trip on the steamer *W. P. Nesbit*, the veterans held a meeting and agreed to form an organization to be known as the Shiloh Battlefield Association, for the purpose of encouraging preservation of the battlefield as a National Military Park.[61] Although initially composed of Union veterans, the Association passed a resolution that it was to be comprised of "survivors of that battle, both north and south," and that "the graces of the dead soldiers, both north and south, [be] preserved from desecration."

57. Ibid., 12.
58. Tim Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park.* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 9.
59. Ibid, 9–10.
60. Shiloh National Military Park website.
61. *Report of the Proceeding of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Twenty-Fifth Meeting Held at Chicago, Ill. September 12th and 13th, 1893* (Cincinnati, 1893), XXV, 58 ff.

Shedd notes:

> From this meeting on the *Nesbit*, and with the organization of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, the movement to preserve the battlefield was formalized and given the impetus and direction which led, a little more than a year later, to the enactment of the law creating Shiloh National Military Park.[62]

The preservation of battlefield burials was a primary concern of the veterans in the establishment of the park. In 1894, all war graves outside the existing national cemetery remained on private lands, and thus unprotected and generally not maintained. The efforts of concerned veterans to protect war graves, predominantly Confederate, on the Shiloh battlefield rapidly grew into a national lobby that championed preservation of the entire battlefield.

The Association had gathered significant support by 1894, with the leaders of the movement to create a national military park at Shiloh including veterans of the Union army who had fought in the battle. Strong and prosperous veterans' organizations in the North were able to offer powerful support within and outside of the federal government. The president of the newly formed National Battlefield Association was prominent Illinois politician Gen. John A. McClernand, who had commanded the Union 1st Division at Shiloh. Other veterans of the battle who supported the Association included Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss of Missouri, commander of the ill-fated 6th Division at Shiloh; Gen. Lew Wallace of Indiana, commander of Grant's 3rd Division at Shiloh and later famed as the author of the novel *Ben Hur*; Gen. Don Carlos Buell of Kentucky, commander of the Union Army of the Ohio at Shiloh, who was active in the Association and served later on the Park Commission; ex-Governor Thayer of Nebraska; and Gen. Andrew Hickenlooper of Ohio. The first Secretary of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, and a leading participant in early attempts to secure the land within the battlefield, was Eliel T. Lee of Illinois, who had participated in the meeting on the steamer *Nesbit*, during which the concept of the Association was created.

Prominent ex-Confederates who joined the movement included Senator Isham G. Harris of Tennessee; Col. William Preston Johnston of Louisiana, son of the Confederate commander who gave his life at Shiloh; Gen. Joseph Wheeler, U.S. Senator from Alabama; Gen. Stephen D. Lee of Mississippi; and Gen. Basil Duke of Kentucky, a survivor of the famous Morgan's Cavalry.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, held in Chicago on September 12–13, 1893, E. T. Lee of the Shiloh Battlefield Association presented the case for the military park. Lee read the resolution adopted by the Association, stating its purpose and objectives:

> WHEREAS, The Army of the Potomac has its Gettysburg and Antietam, the Army of the Cumberland, Chickamauga and other battle-fields, which have been purchased by the government, and set aside as national parks, and the positions of the various commands marked; and,
>
> WHEREAS, There is buried on the Shiloh battlefield thousands of both Union and Confederate dead, and whose graves cover the field from the Shiloh church to the Landing, and are constantly being plowed up by parties improving the land, or in laying out new roads; therefore, be it
>
> RESOLVED, That we form the Shiloh Battlefield Association, which shall be composed of the officers and men who are the survivors of that battle, both north and south, for the purpose of asking the government of the United States to purchase this battlefield, and have it set aside as a national park, and the graves of the dead soldiers, both north and south, preserved from desecration, and the positions of the various commands marked with tablets or monuments as each state may determine.

62. Shedd, 13.

> RESOLVED, That we invite the hearty co-operation of the survivors of this battle, both north and south, and all others who will assist in carrying out the wishes of this Association.[63]

Lee asked that a committee of members of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee be appointed to cooperate with the Battlefield Association in its efforts to secure and set aside the land within the battlefield as a national military park. A committee of five was appointed to cooperate with the Battlefield Association in carrying forward the effort to secure and preserve the Shiloh battleground.[64]

In the ensuing year, Lee actively pursued efforts to secure the battlefield land and move the Shiloh National Military Park bill through Congress. In the spring of 1894, he visited the field and on behalf of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, took options on 2,300 acres of land.[65] In support of establishment of the national military park, the Battlefield Association encouraged all survivors of the Battle of Shiloh to become members of the association and to donate funds for the park. One circular from McClernand and Lee on behalf of the association read:

> The President and Secretary of the Shiloh Battlefield Association desire to congratulate the survivors of that battle, north and south, upon the successful and fraternal reunion held on the battlefield, April 6th and 7th, 1894, which must result in great good to all parts of our country, on account of the fraternal spirit manifested by the wearers of the blue and the gray on that occasion.
>
> The reunion was grand in its numbers and sympathetic in its spirit. It was touching to see the old veterans of the blue and the gray assisting each other in identifying the places where the battle had raged fiercest, and where their respective comrades had fallen in greatest numbers. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."
>
> We desire to call the attention of the survivors of the battle of Shiloh and all others who love peace and good will, to the fact that there is now before Congress a bill which was introduced in the House of Representatives, March 30th, 1894, by Hon. D.B. Henderson, Chairman of the Shiloh Battlefield Congressional Committee, which is known as House of Representatives Bill No. 6499, and is for the purpose of establishing a National Military Park at the battlefield of Shiloh, where the survivors of the battle, north and south, east and west, and their friends can meet and erect suitable memorial tablets marking the positions held during the battle, and care for the heroic dead that lay buried all over that forever historic battlefield.
>
> We earnestly desire that every survivor of that battle, who wore the blue or the gray, and any others who will, write their Senators and Congressmen and ask them to give this bill their hearty support. Send petitions to Hon. D.B. Henderson, urging the passage of the bill. Do this at once that the bill may receive a unanimous vote which it justly deserves from every Congressman and Senator.[66]

In its annual meeting at Council Bluffs, Iowa, on October 3 and 4, 1894, the Society of the Army of Tennessee resolved to support the bill to create a national military park at the Shiloh battlefield. The veterans' lobby of the Grand Army of the Republic also gave the measure its endorsement.[67]

Legislative History of the Shiloh Battlefield Association

Soon after its organization, the Shiloh Battlefield Association met at Indianapolis and formed a committee of members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives known to favor the establishment of the military park at Shiloh.

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63. *Report of the Proceeding of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Twenty-Fifth Meeting Held at Chicago, Ill. September 12th and 13th, 1893* (Cincinnati, 1893), XXV, 60–61.
64. Ibid., 62ff.
65. Ibid., XXVI, 124
66. Ibid., 125.
67. *Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, December 5, 1894, 1.

Committee members in the Senate included the powerful John Sherman of Ohio, brother of General William T. Sherman; Colonel William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee; and Isham G. Harris of Tennessee, who had served on the staff of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh and was with the Confederate commander at the time of his death. In the House, members of the Battlefield Committee included Col. David B. Henderson of Iowa, Gen. John C. Black of Illinois, and the famous Confederate cavalryman Gen. Joseph Wheeler of Alabama.[68] General Wheeler had been instrumental in the passage of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park bill in 1890 and had fought at Shiloh.

On December 5, 1894, Congressman Henderson introduced the Shiloh bill to the House of Representatives, explaining that the armies of the west desired that the scene of one of their great battles be preserved. He noted that the Grand Army of the Republic and veterans of the Army of the Tennessee had discussed the bill, and pointed out that options on much of the battlefield land had already been taken. The measure as originally presented called for an appropriation of $150,000; the House reduced this sum to $75,000 and passed the bill.[69] On December 19, the bill passed the Senate, and on December 27, President Grover Cleveland signed it into law. Exclusive jurisdiction over the battlefield lands was ceded by an act of the Tennessee State Legislature on April 29, 1895. These lands included those that were still in private ownership, as well as the national cemetery. Acquisition of the land would have to occur before the jurisdiction would apply, however. Except for one deed, the majority of the land acquisitions occurred between 1897 and 1908. A 1910 government publication documenting management of the U.S. Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and National Parks, indicated that the park had reached a size of 3,225 acres.[70]

With the park established in 1894 a result, the national battlefield commission created and charged with developing the park possessed the authority to exhume the dead from their war-time graves, and relocate the dead to other locations, as appropriate. With a congressionally legislated mandate and mission "to preserve the history of the battle on the ground where they fought" they realistically opted to preserve, commemorate, and honor the Confederate dead by marking and maintaining the historic war graves rather than relocate them. Thus, they considered those who had been buried in trenches a historic feature of the battlefield.

Popular Attitude toward the Movement

Individual veterans, and the veterans' groups whose members had served in the armies of the west, overwhelmingly approved and supported the movement to establish Shiloh National Military Park. The two most powerful of these groups—the Grand Army of the Republic and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee—both officially endorsed the movement.

Some opposition was voiced in the eastern press and within the War Department, based on the concern that too many national military parks were being established.[71] After the Shiloh bill was enacted, officials of the War Department urged that only a small portion of the field, perhaps 25 acres, be acquired for memorial purposes. Shortly after the Shiloh Park Commission was appointed by the Secretary of War, Maj. George B. Davis

68. *Society of the Army of the Tennessee* XXV, 59.
69. *Commercial Appeal*, December 5, 1894, 1.
70. *United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and Military Parks: Title, Jurisdiction, Etc.* The Office of the Judge-Advocate-General, United States Army. (Washington: Government Printing Office, Revised Edition: 1910).
71. *Society of the Army of the Tennessee* XXVI, 128.

urged consideration of commemoration for the battlefield in the form of a small memorial area; however, strong opposition of the Commission and other park supporters overruled him. At a hearing before the subcommittee on Parks of the Committee on Military Affairs, in April, 1902, Davis, now a brigadier general and Judge Advocate General of the War Department, expressed the views he held at the time of the park's establishment, and which he continued to hold, regarding acquisition of battlefield lands. In his statement, General Davis traced the background of the military park movement, and summarized his objections as follows:

> Congress authorized the establishment of a park at Gettysburg some years after the one at Chickamauga was authorized. The project at Chickamauga contemplated the acquisition of a large area, with a view to preserving the battlefields in the vicinity of Chattanooga in the same condition, substantially, in which they were when the battles were fought. It involved, of course, a considerable expenditure of money. That expenditure has been wisely made, and, in addition to a valuable historic park, the United States has acquired a ground for the purpose of encampment and maneuver which is worth all the money which has been expended thereon. My belief was then - it has not been changed - that this was the proper thing for the United States to do for historical purposes, in order that coming generations might see what a battlefield was. My idea was that it was proper to acquire one large historic field in the West and one in the East, and that there the acquisition of areas should cease. That view has not been changed, that the Government should desist from the further acquisition of large tracts of land.[72]

Davis raised another objection to the military park at Shiloh, as follows:

> The Shiloh field is very inaccessible; indeed, you cannot buy a ticket to the Shiloh battlefield. You can get within 20 miles of it, and then you must hire a team to reach the field. For this reason it is less convenient than Chattanooga, for example, for purpose of instruction. It is a flat, uninteresting field, without any striking natural features. Antietam and Gettysburg in the East and Chickamauga in the West would answer all the needs of technical military instruction at the present time, and would also meet the needs of the War College.[73]

Although General Davis's remarks were indicative of the opposition within the War Department, most of the park land already had been acquired and development was proceeding at a steady rate. Only half of the land had been purchased by this time. By 1902, records suggest that approximately 3,069 acres of the more than 6,000 acres authorized in the park's enabling legislation, including the 10.05 acres of the national cemetery, had been acquired and were included in the area protected and maintained by the War Department.[74] Support for the park in the Northern states was evidenced by the rapid appropriation of funds to erect monuments to the troops that had fought at Shiloh. By 1901, five states had appropriated almost $100,000 for monuments and markers, and by 1920 twelve states, Northern and Southern, had erected a total of 117 memorials to their troops at Shiloh.[75] Shedd interprets the establishment of many monuments and markers during this period as further evidence of the public's acceptance and support of the military park movement.[76]

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72. *Hearing before Subcommittee on Parks of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives,* "Statement of Brigadier-General George B. Davis, of Washington, D.C." (Washington, 1902), 1.
73. Ibid., 3.
74. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, Shiloh National Military Park, 2014.
75. Shedd, 21.
76. Ibid.

Shiloh National Military Park under the War Department



FIGURE 12. The Shiloh commission, pictured left to right: Pride, Large, Irwin, Cadle, unknown, Duncan, Looney, Curtis, Thompson, and Kirby. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)



FIGURE 13. Major David W. Reed at the U.S. Infantry Monument. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Organization of the Park Commission

By the terms of the Act of Congress creating Shiloh National Military Park, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont appointed three commissioners to oversee administration and development of the area (Figure 12). The commissioners represented each of the armies that had been engaged in the battle. Col. Cornelius Cadle of the Army of Tennessee was appointed chairman of the Commission; Gen. Don Carlos Buell represented the Army of the Ohio, which he had commanded at Shiloh; and Col. Robert F. Looney represented the Confederate Army of the Mississippi. Major David W. Reed (Figure 13), who had fought and been severely wounded at Shiloh as a private with the 12th Iowa Infantry, was appointed secretary and historian of the Commission, while Capt. James W. Irwin of Savannah, Tennessee, was appointed land purchase agent.[77]

On April 2, 1895, the newly appointed Commission met at Pittsburg Landing. In the early years following establishment of the park, the visiting Commissioners lived in tents, the only quarters available in the area. By May 1, 1895, an engineering force was at work under the direction of Atwell Thompson, effectively promoted at Shiloh to chief engineer, following his work as road engineer at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park. Until 1905, Thompson had onsite responsibility for the physical development of the park. This act of condemnation was the only time the Commission was forced to use this power to acquire battlefield lands. Commission members preferred willing sellers, and thus their selection of James Irwin, a local Savannah resident and Confederate veteran, as land purchase agent was an extremely important gesture that was instrumental in the success of this federal endeavor within the South. The only other condemnation occurred in association with the national cemetery in 1867, when the State of Tennessee ceded possession of land to the federal government. However, the land did not have a clear title, and the United States District Court eventually awarded the government title in 1869.[78] The Commission's administrative office was located at Chairman Cadle's home in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Commission Secretary Reed lived in Illinois. Except for frequent visits to the park, the Commissioners corresponded from these locations until 1910, when the Commission office was finally moved to Pittsburg Landing.

77. D.W. Reed, *The Battle of Shiloh and Organizations Engaged* (Washington, 1903), 6.

78. Smith, 10-11.

Discovery of the "effigy pipe" at Shiloh Indian Mounds (1899)

In 1899, Cornielius Cadle, chairman of the Shiloh National Military Park Battlefield Commission and amateur archeologist, dug a trench at Mound C that was determined to be a burial mound dating to the Mississippian period. Within the mound, Cadle discovered a large stone pipe carved in the shape of a kneeling man (Figure 14). The pipe resembles human statuettes from the Cahokia chiefdom, located in present-day southern Illinois. The pipe is currently on display at the Tennessee River Museum.[79] The museum is a Shiloh National Military Park cooperating site. Prior to being housed at the Tennessee River Museum, the effigy pipe was on display in the museum at Shiloh National Military Park.

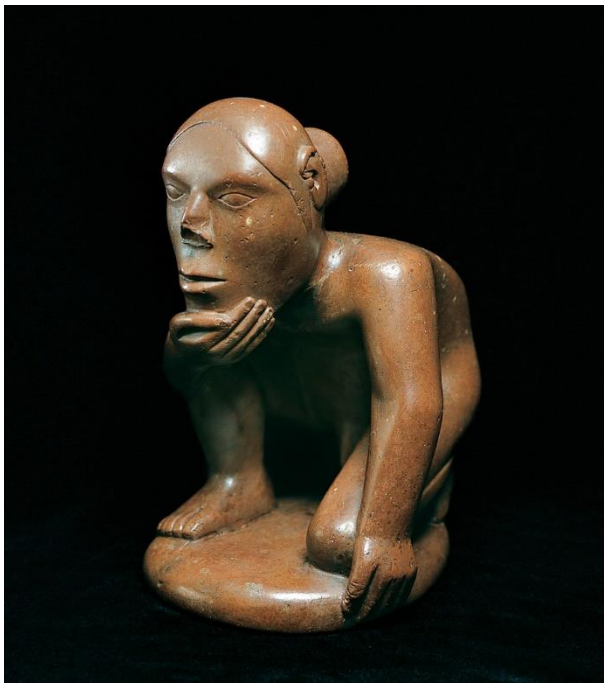


FIGURE 14. Shiloh effigy pipe discovered by the Park Commission in 1899. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Land Acquisition and Boundary Changes

The first problem confronting the new Park Commission was the acquisition of land necessary to tell the battle story. The Shiloh National Military Park Act provided that titles to battlefield lands could be acquired by the Secretary of War under either an act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings of August 1, 1888, or an act to establish and protect national cemeteries of February 27, 1867. The act establishing the park set a limit of $20,000 on funds that might be expended for this purpose. However, it soon became apparent that this sum was insufficient to the task of acquiring the core of the battlefield. A proposal by Chairman Cadle that the appropriation for land acquisition be increased to $50,000 was approved by Congress on June 4, 1897.[80] A subsequent amendment to this act increased the acquisition limit to $57,100 to secure two inholdings within the area (Act of July 3, 1926, 44 Stat. 826).[81]

In 1894, E. T. Lee, acting for the Shiloh Battlefield Association prior to the passage of the battlefield bill, had taken options on 2,300 acres of land within the proposed boundaries of the park. These options required a payment of $8 per acre. Disappointed at not receiving a place on the Park Commission, Lee declined to surrender the options unless he was reimbursed for his expenses in conducting the original negotiations with landholders in the area. In addition, he set a price of $12 per acre for securing title to the land and conveying it to the Government. Instead of complying with Lee's request, the Commission proceeded with acquisition of land not under option to Lee, while waiting for the Battlefield Association's options on the other lands to

79. "Effigy Pipe, Little Man of Shiloh." National Park Service. https://www.nps.gov/stateofthe parks/shil/culturalresources/effigypipe.cfm. Accessed June 2017.

80. Ray Mattison, *Land Acquisitions, Shiloh National Military Park*, Ms. Report, Shiloh National Military Park, 13. See also Act of June 4, 1897, U.S. Stats; 30:43.

81. *National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument*

expire.[82] In July 1895, condemnation proceedings were started to acquire the tract, which included Pittsburg Landing; by the following summer, the tract was acquired at a cost of $6,000 as contrasted with the $25,000 asked by the owners.[83] This was the sole act of condemnation imposed by the Commission to acquire battlefield lands. In March 1896 the Battlefield Association's options expired, permitting acquisition to proceed more rapidly. At the end of 1896, the Government had title to only 85 acres of park land, but by the end of the following year 2,095 acres had been acquired at an average cost of $12.70 per acre.[84]

In surveying the battlefield, it was found that the boundaries described in the original Shiloh bill included almost 6,000 acres, rather than the estimate of approximately 3,000 acres noted in the final bill. The boundaries described in the original bill included 2,000 acres of bottomland; upon the recommendation of the Commission, these were excluded from the acquisition program. The Commission finally estimated that 3,650 acres of land should be acquired for the purpose of adequately marking the battle lines and telling the Shiloh story.[85] By 1913, the major portion of the battlefield lands targeted by the Commission had been acquired, and the park totaled 3,546.14 acres in size. In 1924, title to 105.66 acres of the Shiloh-Corinth Road right of way was taken by the federal government from the Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company.[86] Several smaller holdings were also acquired, each of which was an acre or less in size. As of November, 1954, total lands within the park amounted to 3,729.26 acres, including most of the areas of the heaviest fighting in the two days of battle.

The bottomland formed the part of the battlefield where troop movements and some combat occurred. The Commissioners appear to have believed that the bottomlands would always reflect their historic character, due to their unsuitability for many types of development, and that they could instead concentrate land acquisition on the plateau above. Since they had limited means or appropriations by which to acquire land, they decided to concentrate on the high ground, believing that the bottoms would remain rural and pastoral. Over time, with additional research, bottomland has become a focus of additional lands acquisition due to its importance to the battle story as a staging area for Confederate attacks. The Roberson tract, acquired in 1991, was part of the bottomland.

By 2000, the park encompassed 3,964.37 acres, including the non-federal tracts of the Shiloh United Methodist Church and the Tennessee Highway 22, which total a combined 55 acres. Between 2000 and 2013, another 881.24 acres were acquired with the help of the Civil War Trust, resulting in a total of 4,790.61 acres within the park. One of the acquisitions involved two tracts owned by the Greer family totaling 504 acres.

Changes in Park Administration following Organization of the Commission

During the period of the Commission's administration of the park, membership of that body changed as death or advanced age took its toll on the appointees. Gen. Don Carlos Buell died on November 19, 1898, and was succeeded by Maj. James H. Ashcraft, a fellow Kentuckian, on January 16, 1899. One year after Buell's death, Col.

Regulations (Washington, 1931), Sec. XXIV, Para. 137, 76.

82. Commission Chairman Cadle to J.G. Cannon, Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, January 22, 1897. (Shedd notes that originals or copies of all letters cited in the 1954 Administrative History are in the files of Shiloh National Military Park.)
83. Shiloh National Military Park Battlefield Commission to Secretary of War, June 30, 1896; Shiloh National Military Park Battlefield Commission Chairman Cadle's statement to Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, February 15, 1898.
84. Mattison, 12–13.
85. Cadle to Cannon, January 22, 1897.
86. Shedd, 24.

Robert F. Looney died, and was replaced by Col. Josiah Patterson. When Colonel Patterson died in February, 1904, General Basil W. Duke, another Shiloh veteran, was named in his place.

In 1905, having completed most of his basic engineering and surveying assignments, Commission Engineer Atwell Thompson resigned his position. Thompson's concepts for development often conflicted with his fellow commission members. He was not a veteran of the war and thus viewed certain needs, such as road building, differently than the other members. He argued with Reed about the text for the markers and monuments, contributing to frustration amongst those working on the park. Atwell also grew annoyed with the process and wanted to move on after the initial work had been accomplished in order to return to his trade.[87] Prior to that time, Thompson had been in immediate charge of the park, acting under orders of Chairman Cadle, who maintained the central Commission office in Cincinnati. Upon Thompson's resignation, Maj. David Wilson Reed, Secretary and Historian for the Commission, moved his permanent place of residence to the park and assumed its direction.



FIGURE 15. The first "Range Rider," F. A. Large. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Protection and law enforcement during the period of the Commission's administration of the park was the responsibility of the first park rangers, the "Range Riders." The first of these early park rangers was Francis A. Large, a veteran of Shiloh who was assigned to the area on September 24, 1897 (Figure 15). In 1908 Large resigned because of ill health, but upon his recovery he was appointed Assistant Superintendent in 1909. Large was succeeded as Range Rider by Edward R. Underhill, who had worked as a laborer in the park for ten years. Underhill had served during the Civil War in the 23rd Ohio Infantry under future U.S. President William McKinley.

On January 31, 1910, Chairman Cadle resigned and Major Reed was appointed chair on February 4.[88] Upon Reed's promotion, Gen. John T. Wilder was named Secretary; in 1911 Wilder was appointed to membership on the Chickamauga-Chattanooga Commission and was succeeded on the Shiloh Commission by Gen. Gates P. Thruston of Nashville, Tennessee, who held office briefly until his death on December 10, 1912. On May 14, 1913, DeLong Rice of Nashville was named Secretary of the Commission. In the following year Rice was made Superintendent.

In 1916, Major Reed and General Duke died, leaving Major Ashcraft as the lone survivor of the Shiloh Commission. An act of August 24, 1912, had mandated that vacancies opened by death or resignation in the membership of the several National Military Park Commissions not be filled.[89] When Major Ashcraft died in January 1920, DeLong Rice assumed full responsibility for park administration. Shedd notes of Rice:

> . . . it appears that of the administrators of the park during the War Department period, he was the first to grasp fully the area's responsibility for telling its story to the American people. He strove continually to bring its meaning to the public, especially to the

87. Atwell died relatively young after suffering from chronic dysentery and was buried in nearby Jackson, Tennessee.
88. Minutes of the Shiloh Park Commission, February 21, 1910.
89. *National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations*, Appendix A, Section I, Paragraph 15, 32.

> school children whose visits he encouraged and whose use of the park he did much to develop.[90]

The only notable administrative change during the period between 1920 and 1933 was the coordination of Meriwether Lewis National Monument under the responsibility of Shiloh's superintendent. This monument was erected in 1848 by the state of Tennessee over Lewis's grave site. In 1925, President Calvin Coolidge established the Meriwether Lewis National Monument. The area was placed under the administrative responsibility of the Shiloh Superintendent on July 1, 1926. (In 1938, the monument became a key component of the newly established Natchez Trace Parkway.)

On September 24, 1929, Superintendent Rice and his son died following an explosion and fire at Rice's park residence. Rice was succeeded as Superintendent by Robert A. Livingston, a lifelong resident of the Shiloh community who had served as Park Clerk for many years. Livingston was serving as Superintendent in 1933 when administration of the area passed from the War Department to the National Park Service.

Development and Tourism at the Park

Early Tourists, Guides, and Interpreters. During the early years after the park's establishment, a large percentage of visitors to Shiloh were veterans of the battle who made frequent visits to the park, alone or with families and/or groups of their comrades. Several veterans' organizations were made up of survivors of the battle, like the Hornet's Nest Brigade; while some, such as the Association of the Battle of Shiloh Survivors, held their annual reunions on the field.

Prior to 1910, Thompson realigned, elevated, and otherwise improved the Shiloh-Corinth Road. In 1914, the road improvements were extended south from the battlefield to Corinth, where north-south and east-west rail service was available, resulting in an all-weather gravel turnpike that immediately increased visitation to the park. Before the road was improved, it was a dirt-surfaced travelway that was extremely dusty in dry weather and impassable by carriages or automobiles when wet. The river remained another important means of travel to the area during this period.

The St. Louis & Tennessee River Packet Company ran regular excursions that stopped at the park during the summer and autumn of each year. Visitors who came ashore for a two-hour stay were met by local citizens with hacks and wagons, offering a tour of the park at 25 cents per person.[91] These local residents were the only guides or interpreters most visitors found at the park. Major Reed, the park historian, frequently conducted groups of veterans or important visitors over the battlefield, but with this exception there were no official guides permanently available at Shiloh for many years.

Visitors arriving by river steamer were predominantly from the Midwest, as the tours were made up at St. Louis. Shiloh was a significant attraction for veterans of the northern troops from Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin, who fought at Shiloh, as well as to their families.

Early Hotels and Their Keepers. Conditions of travel to Shiloh in the years immediately following its establishment were not conducive to profitable operation of an inn or hotel on the battlefield. The river packets usually confined their stay to a few hours. The packets also provided far more luxurious living quarters than could be found on shore.

Among the original property acquired by the Commission was one structure that offered the opportunity for housing visitors. This building was a two-story framed structure located on a plateau above Pittsburg Landing, a short distance west of

90. *Annual Report of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission*, 1915, 9. (Cited by Shedd as Commission Annual Reports.)

91. Commission Annual Report, 1912, 7.

the national cemetery. It contained a store, with six sleeping rooms on the second floor, and until 1909 the Park Commission maintained its Shiloh office in one of the hotel rooms. At the time of the park's establishment and for several years thereafter, the store and hotel were operated by Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chambers, who also ran a livery stable in conjunction with the hotel.[92] Later proprietors of the hotel included Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Harris. Still later, the hotel, store, and livery stable were operated by the W. P. Littlefield family. In the tragic cyclone of October 14, 1909 (further discussed below), the hotel and its outbuildings were destroyed, killing two of Littlefield's sons and two guests.

The hotel was rebuilt in the following year and its management taken over by J. P. Sipes. On the night of December 23, 1913, the rebuilt structure was destroyed by fire. Although the Park Commissioners frequently lobbied for an appropriation to rebuild the hotel, funding was never provided.

Principal Physical Development under the War Department

Despite the delay in the land acquisition program occasioned by the disagreement between the Commission and the holders of the Shiloh land options, by 1900 appreciable progress had been made in developing the battlefield for public use. This progress was made only after an extensive program of preliminary research and planning. On October 31, 1899, in his annual report Chairman Cadle summarized accomplishments at the park since its establishment:

> Upon the appointment of the commission in April, 1895, they were directed by the Secretary of War to make a study of the battlefield in order that the camps, the battle lines, the roads, and fields, as they existed in April, 1862, might be properly established. The only material for such exploitment of the battle was in Volume X of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, their own recollections of the battle, and the statements of other survivors, many of whom have visited us upon the field, and the many whom we have called upon for information. A thorough topographical survey was made as preliminary to this work.
>
> We have so progressed that we have located every camp of the Union troops—eighty-three in number—that were encamped at Shiloh on the morning of April 6, 1862, and we have found at this late day the tent rings and sinks of most of them.
>
> The battle lines of the Union and Confederate troops upon the first day of the battle have been established to the satisfaction of the commission, and these lines have been agreed to by the different State commissions and, almost without exception, by individual survivors visiting us.
>
> The roads as they existed during the battle are established, and accord with the maps of Sherman (Thom) and Buell (Michler), and while many of the roads have been changed since 1862, we yet find traces of the old ones.
>
> The fields as they existed are yet apparent, some grown up with trees, that we shall clear to their original condition, and the fields that have been cleared since the war we shall endeavor to restore to their then timbered condition. Two small maps showing the battle lines of the first and second days, the roads and fields, are herewith attached.
>
> The final maps, fully describing the battle, will, of course, be more elaborate; these maps are in preparation.
>
> We have during the year built 11 miles of 'first-class' graveled road, 20 feet wide, thoroughly ditched and drained; one-half mile of 'second-class' graveled road, 18 feet wide, and 2-1/2 miles of 'third-class' road, 16 feet wide, not graveled, are completed. Our plan of work calls for about 10 miles more road of these classes.

92. Atwell Thompson, Improvements on Shiloh National Military Park, ms. report, January 14, 1899, and memoranda in park files.

> We are clearing the field of underbrush, reserving, however, in its original condition such places as the reports of the battle refer to as occurring 'in thick underbrush.' Five hundred and sixty-seven acres have been so cleared, at a cost of $7.34 per acre.
>
> The commission to date has acquired the title to 2,853.98 acres of land. To complete the 'fighting' area of the field, 796.02 acres are yet to be purchased. The most of this will have to be condemned, and the commission will soon submit to you an application asking that the Department of Justice take the necessary steps.[93]

By the end of August 1901, more than 21 miles of first-class roads, with drains and sewers, had been completed (Figure 16, Figure 17, Figure 18 and Figure 19). A total of 208 battle markers had been erected on the field and 26 cannon of the Civil War period emplaced to identify battery positions. A frame warehouse and carpenters' shop, 30 by 60 feet in plan, had been erected, a difficult process given the need to bring supplies to the site by boat. At some periods of the year, steamboat service was erratic and undependable due to low water or floods.[94]

An important aspect of park development during this period was the restoration of the fields and forest that existed at the time of the battle. By 1904, initial clearing of underbrush and planting of trees had been completed, in an attempt to restore a number of historic fields as nearly as possible to their wartime dimensions and condition.

On June 3, 1904, a severe windstorm caused extensive damage within the park, including the destruction of more than 2,000 trees. Six weeks of labor was required to clean up the debris of the storm, which, as Shedd notes, "was but a foretasteof the disastrous cyclone which was to ravage the area five years later." [95]



FIGURE 16. Road makers at the gravel pit. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)



FIGURE 17. Early road work in Shiloh National Military Park. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)



FIGURE 18. A mule drawn roller in the process of making a road. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

93. Commission Annual Report, 1899, in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899* (Washington, 1899), 335–336.
94. Commission Annual Report, 1901, 383 ff.
95. *Shiloh National Military Park Commission Daily Events*, I, June, 1904, 194. (Referred to by Shedd as Commission Daily Events.)



FIGURE 19. Early park markers at Shiloh Branch, in front of the Shiloh Church, 1903. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

In 1908, a warehouse was constructed at the steamboat landing, and a new blacksmith shop with a fireproof brick forge had been completed. Lumber for these buildings, and for other construction work in the area, was obtained from trees cut on park land. At that time, there were 25 miles of graveled roads in the park, giving access to most of the Federal campsites and following the battle lines of the two armies.[96]

The year 1909 marked the end of the first phase of park development. In October, government buildings constructed by the Commission or among the original developments acquired at the time of the park's establishment included the small hotel, a store and post office, two barns, two warehouses, cement and roller sheds, and a blacksmith shop. As noted above, the Commission office was located in a room of the hotel. The Commissioners' living quarters were still in tents, although these had been improved by the addition of wood floors and tops. Expenditures from the date of establishment of the park totaled $553,249.03.[97]

This initial period of successful development came to an end in October 1909, when a cyclone struck the park. As Shedd notes in 1954, "The storm of October 14, 1909, placed a tragic period at the end of the first stage of development at Shiloh Park. Yet, ironically, it paved the way for even greater progress in the years which followed."[98]

The Cyclone of 1909. An account of the cyclone in the *Diary of Daily Events* maintained for some years by the Park Commission, written a few days after the disaster, provides a graphic description of the storm—and also provides a description of the resources developed at the park by that date.

The *Diary* described the storm as follows:

> October 14, at 5:26 p.m. a cyclone visited the Park, striking the Park property in Snake creek bottom there destroying many large and valuable trees, coming up over the hill taking the trees in the Hagy field and ploughing up the ground for many yards. Following a straight line to the Hagy plantation bordering the park on the north when it destroyed every building and killed nine people. In its path it broke down and twisted off, and blew away the large trees in the woods on the north line of the Park adjoining Hagy's property. The course of the storm there changed toward the southeast striking the Hotel at the Landing, which was operated by Mr. W.P. Littlefield. The landing referred to here is the plateau where the present headquarters area is located, west of the National Cemetery, rather than the actual river landing. The hotel was totally demolished, killing Mr. Otho Littlefield and Luther Littlefield and two guests of the hotel, all of whom were blown from 100 ft. to 200 ft. from the house. When the house went down it carried Mrs. Littlefield, three small children, Miss Hardin the school teacher and Mr. T.J. Lewis the mason foreman, all of whom were injured more or less seriously. The wind at the same time swept away the house occupied by Mr. Lewis and deposited a part of it in the ravine north of the Cemetery. But the greater part of the house and all of the furniture was blown entirely away, the pieces not being found. The Iowa monument was demolished. The shaft and upper bronze weighing 25 tons was thrown down; the lower part of the shaft turning completely over and striking the bronze figure of Fame breaking it and also the

96. Ibid., 3.
97. Commission Annual Report, 1910, 3, and Commission Annual Report, 1909, 4.
98. Shedd, 32.

immense granite blocks of the base. The lower part of the shaft was badly broken the upper part chipped. The barn used by Littlefield as a livery barn was blown down and some horses killed. The store blown over and burned, the store and contents burned up or blown away, the Government shop where all tools and supplies were stored was blown down but not carried away and much of the contents was preserved. The blacksmith shop was moved on its foundations but not destroyed. The barn where cement, carts etc. were stored was demolished but some of the roof left. Little house east of the shop was blown completely away. The warehouse at the Landing was totally destroyed with all its contents.

In the National Cemetery the tool house, brick, barn, also brick, and the quarters remodeled for an assistant were completely destroyed with all their contents. The Lodge was badly damaged. One half of the south wall (brick) was blown out, roofing blown off, porches brick gone, windows and doors all broken and gone, chimney blown off etc. Every large tree in the Cemetery was blown down or twisted off. The wreckage from all the other buildings seemed to lodge in the tree tops of the Cemetery down trees. About 1/2 of the headstones were broken or overturned. The 9th Ill. monument was thrown over by the force of the wind and the top tipped over the terrace. The cyclone passed down or up the two ravines north of the Cemetery destroying all the beautiful trees there, in the ravine south of the Cemetery everything was swept down and many of the large trees in Dill Branch ravine were destroyed. The Commission estimated that about $50,000 would cover the amount of damage to property aside from trees.

The office of the Commission which was in one of the rooms of the hotel was a total loss. All the records, notes or surveys, maps, original drawings, orders, correspondence, supplies, heavy furniture, office desks with roll top (2), large table, office chairs, file cases, library of 300 volumes, stove, valuable relics, everything has disappeared completely. Not one thing has been found but a few penalty envelopes, still in a heap on the place occupied by the office, a few torn leaves from two of the books from the Library and a penalty stamp of the office. These things were found at Nixon Tennessee a village five miles across the River. From the tents occupied as sleeping quarters by the Commission everything was blown away. Nothing has ever been recovered of the roofs, floors, heavy dressers (marble top in one tent) beds, mattresses chairs, nothing but two blankets and two white spreads. A quilt from the tent of Gen. Duke was found at Florence, Alabama, 80 miles away . . . .[99]



FIGURE 20. The Iowa Monument after it sustained damage in the cyclone in 1909. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Within a few days of the disaster, the Shiloh Commission had assembled to view the damage and plan the repair and rebuilding of park features (Figure 20). Cleaning up of the debris of the storm began immediately, and by the following month

99. Commission Daily Events, October, 1909, 274 ff. (Writing in 1954, Shedd notes that natives of the region still vividly recalled the storm. Shedd also notes that the *Diary* was incorrect, and that a total of seven people were killed by the tornado, and thirty-three injured in the area encompassing the park; two of the injured died soon after.)

one of the warehouses and a barn had been rebuilt. In December, work on a new hotel was initiated.

Park Development: 1910–1933. On February 19, 1910, a $19,500 deficiency appropriation was made for replacement of property destroyed by the storm. By July 1910, all the buildings, except the Commission's quarters and office, had been restored. On June 20, work had begun on a new office building.[100] In addition, all fallen timber had been removed, except for that in a few acres in the Snake Creek area.

By 1911, the Commissioners reported that, "With the exception of the loss of valuable records, books, maps, relics, etc., the restoration puts the park in much better order than before the storm."[101] Several cubic feet of paperwork, many maps, blueprints, photos, glass negatives, a 300-book library, and other important records were destroyed by the cyclone, leaving a gap in the park's historic documentation. The loss of records in the park was partially offset by the fact that Chairman Cadle maintained his office in Cincinnati and possessed a number of park documents in his files.

In the years following the cyclone, physical improvement at Shiloh continued at a steady pace. In December 1910, the two-story brick office building was completed on the site of the Concession Building, and for the first time since its establishment the Commission was provided with ample quarters for its operations. Other important developments during this period included the construction of the park pavilion in 1912. This open-air structure, with some modification, continued to provide facilities for the presentation of programs, holding of reunions, and meetings of various types throughout the spring and summer of each year. The structure was removed in 1962 in conjunction with road construction activities and the development of an associated picnic facility in historic Sowell field on the west side of Tennessee Highway 22. In the same year, the service area of the park also was expanded with the construction of storage sheds for materials and heavy equipment.

During this period, all of the older wooden bridges in the park were replaced by permanent concrete structures, and sewage facilities with drainage into the river were constructed. In 1917, previously limited telephone facilities were extended to all of the employee residences within the area.

In 1918, the two-story Superintendent's Lodge was erected adjacent to Review Field at a cost of $15,000. In 1920, an employee's residence was erected west of the intersection of the Eastern Corinth and Hamburg-Purdy roads. Another employee's residence was erected in 1932 near the northern entrance to the park. Except for these new buildings, employees occupied buildings already standing on land acquired for park development.

The Shiloh-Corinth Road. In the period after 1910, the automobile age came to Shiloh, bringing with it the necessity for better access roads to the park. While river steamers continued to bring large numbers of visitors during the summer and autumn of each year, when roads were passable automobiles began to appear in the park.

As early as 1899, the need for a good road to Corinth had been noted by Commission Chairman Cadle; as during the Civil War, Corinth was an important railroad center of the mid-South.[102] Such a road would give the park another link with the outside world and would have historical value, providing access to the ground covered by the Confederates in their advance to and retreat from Shiloh and to the siege lines occupied by the Federal Army during the campaign against Corinth after the Battle of Shiloh. In 1900, Atwell Thompson had surveyed this route and in the following year the Commission recommended that Congress appropriate $50,000 for construction of the road. In 1902, bills for the project were presented in the House by Representative E. S. Candler, and in the Senate by Senator A. J.

100. Commission Annual Report, 1910, 3–4.
101. Commission Annual Report, 1911, 3.
102. Cadle to Secretary of War, February 27, 1899.

McLaurin, both of Mississippi. These bills, and subsequent bills proposed in succeeding years, failed to pass.

The commission continued to press for the Corinth Road, and Chairman Cadle noted that while the river steamers brought many excursionists to Shiloh, ". . . a good road from Corinth to the park would increase the visitors there more than tenfold."[103]

Finally, in 1914, the Corinth, Shiloh and Savannah Turnpike Company, chartered under Tennessee State law, built a toll road from the Mississippi line northward to the park. The new gravel turnpike followed the route surveyed by Atwell Thompson in 1900. Visitation to the park immediately increased, but public resentment emerged in response to the toll. In response, Representative J. F. Rankin of Mississippi introduced in Congress a measure providing for the purchase of the road by the federal government. Although the measure failed upon its first presentation, in 1924 Rankin introduced another bill to provide for a road to connect Shiloh National Military Park with the Corinth National Cemetery. On June 7, 1924, funds were appropriated for the purchase and improvement of the Shiloh-Corinth Road.[104] The turnpike was purchased by the federal government for $25,000 and the toll was lifted. Although for a time the road fulfilled its intended function and was primarily an access road to the park, with the construction of other good roads into the area the Corinth road became primarily commercial, residential, and agricultural.

Early Railroads. Several plans were projected for running rail lines into Shiloh Park as an attraction to visitors, but railroads were never constructed in Hardin County. In July 1895, a survey was made for a railroad to run from Selmer, Tennessee, approximately 18 miles west of the park, to Browns Ferry on the Tennessee River a short distance south of Pittsburg Landing. This project did not progress beyond the planning stage, and was abandoned.[105]

In 1906, Congress authorized the construction of an electric railway from Corinth to transport visitors to the park and a preliminary survey for the line was made. The Park Commission was unable to agree with sponsors of the line as to hotel concession privileges and right-of-way within the park. Thus this project also failed to materialize.[106]

After 1914, the availability of a good all-weather automobile road connecting Corinth and the park obviated the need for rail transportation into the area.

Concession History under the War Department. At the time of the park's establishment, one of the existing properties acquired as part of the park was a small store in the Pittsburg Landing community, a short distance west of the national cemetery. Following the creation of the park, the store was operated on contract by its former owners, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chambers, in conjunction with the park hotel and livery stable. This early concession served visitors to the area as well as park employees and nearby residents.

The store continued to serve the area until it was destroyed by the cyclone of 1909. Other facilities offered during that same period included the livery stable, post office, and ferry from Pittsburg Landing to the east side of the river.

The store was rebuilt in 1910 separate from the park hotel, and continued to function as the concession and post office for the area until it was replaced by the concession and post office building erected in 1936.

Another concession service offered to visitors prior to 1933 was the provision of carriages, and later automobiles, to meet excursionists at the boat

103. Commission Annual Report, 1907, 6.
104. Mattison, 20.
105. Commission Annual Reports, 1906, 5; 1907, 5.
106. Cadle to Commission Secretary-Historian D.W. Reed, August 8, 1906.

landing and bring them to the park tour. The fare for this service was 25 cents per person, and the Park Superintendent noted that, "Sobriety and courteous conduct are required of all persons offering their services to visitors."[107] The ferry was leased to a private firm for management "under provisions protective to the public and in conformity with all rules and regulations of the park."[108] The park concession was contracted on a yearly basis and the Commission strictly monitored and enforced policies regarding this service.

Monuments and Dedications. The Shiloh Commission had initially planned to defer dedication of the park until a majority of states that planned to erect state and regimental memorials had been able to do so. However, when it became apparent that this process would take several years, each state was allowed to conduct an individual dedicatory program when its battlefield memorials were erected. No general park dedication was held.[109]

On June 6, 1902, the first monument dedication took place on the field of Shiloh with the transfer of thirty-four Ohio regimental monuments to the federal government (Figure 21).[110] Approximately 2,000 people attended the dedication. On April 6 and 7, 1903, the forty-first anniversary of the battle, five river steamers brought hundreds of Indiana veterans and their families to the park. The Indiana contingent included prominent Shiloh participant and survivor, Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace, who also spoke at the dedication. Together with hundreds of southerners, they witnessed the dedication of twenty-one monuments to Indiana units that had participated in the battle. At this dedication, the poet James Whitcomb Riley recited his poem, "The Name of Old Glory."[111]



FIGURE 21. The sixth Ohio Monument being moved to its battlefield location. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

On November 12, 1903, a monument was dedicated to the 77th Pennsylvania, the only eastern regiment to fight in the Battle of Shiloh. A party of 100 Pennsylvania citizens, including Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, arrived on the steamer *Clyde* to present the monument.[112]



FIGURE 22. One of the Illinois monuments being hauled by steer to its battlefield location. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

On May 17–18, 1904, the State of Illinois dedicated forty monuments at Shiloh, including the imposing Illinois State Memorial (Figure 22). Confederate Gen. Basil Duke addressed the crowd on the meaning of the battlefield preservation:

> When a people renders such honors to the heroic dead it honors itself. The national care

107. Commission Annual Report, 1914, 7.
108. Ibid.
109. Cadle to John C. Scofield, Chief Clerk, War Department, February 19, 1902.
110 . T. J. Lindsey, *Ohio at Shiloh, Report of the Commission* (Cincinnati, 1903), 183 ff.
111. John W. Coons, ed., *Indiana at Shiloh, Report of the Commission* (Indianapolis, 1904), 265 ff.
112. John Obreiter, *The Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania at Shiloh* (Harrisburg, 1908), 34 ff.

> bestowed on this historic spot is as much a potent lesson to the future as a sacred duty to the past, for it commemorates the virtues without which nations cannot survive. May those who fell here never be forgotten, and may these monuments erected to their memory remain as enduring admonitions to the youth of succeeding generations, to love and serve their country equally as well.[113]

On August 22, 1905, Tennessee became the first former Confederate State to be represented by a memorial on the field when veterans of the regiment dedicated a monument to the 2nd (Bate's) Tennessee Infantry before a crowd of 3,000.[114] This monument was dedicated to the regiment commanded by Col. William B. Bate. On April 7, 1906, the forty-fourth anniversary of the battle, Governor James O. Davidson and the Wisconsin Shiloh Monument Commission dedicated and presented the Wisconsin State Memorial to the Park Commission.[115] On November 23, 1906, the State of Iowa dedicated eleven unit markers and the Iowa State Monument with a presentation by Iowa Governor Albert B. Cummins, concluding a series of dedications by the Iowa Shiloh Battlefield Commission including, during the previous week, monuments at Vicksburg, Andersonville, Georgia, and Chattanooga.[116]

On May 7, 1907, a small delegation from Alabama erected a monument funded by donations from the State's chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.[117] On April 10, 1908, Governor John A. Johnson and a delegation from Minnesota presented a memorial to the First Battery, Minnesota Light Artillery, the single unit from the state that participated in the battle.[118] The Arkansas chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy dedicated a memorial on September 6, 1911, with an address by Shiloh veteran Robert G. Shaver, who had, since the war, risen to the rank of Major General and was in command of the State Guard and Reserve Militia of Arkansas.[119]

With the passing years, dedications of battlefield memorials became less frequent. On Memorial Day in 1915, a monument to the famous Crescent Louisiana Regiment of New Orleans was presented by Dr. Y. R. Lemonnier, a former private of the regiment.[120] On May 17, 1917, the largest dedication ceremony in Shiloh's history to date occurred when the National United Daughters of the Confederacy unveiled the Confederate Memorial before a crowd of 15,000 persons, with addresses by Governor Tom Rye of Tennessee and Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, Bishop of Tennessee. Frederick Hibbard, sculptor of the memorial, was present. A letter from President Woodrow Wilson was read at the dedication.[121]

The Michigan State Monument was dedicated Memorial Day, 1919. A delegation headed by Michigan Governor Albert E. Sleeper participated in the ceremony.[122]

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113. George Mason, ed., *Illinois at Shiloh, Report of the Shiloh Battlefield Commission and Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected to Mark the Positions of the Illinois Commands Engaged in the Battle* (Chicago, 1905), 182.
114. Commission Daily Events, op. cit., August 1905, 220, with clipping from *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 23, 1905.
115. F. H. Magdeburg, *Wisconsin at Shiloh, Report of the Commission* (Milwaukee, 1909), 71 ff.
116. Alonzo Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments Erected by the State of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1908), 201 ff.
117. Commission Daily Events, May, 1907, 247, with dedication program attached.
118. *Report of the Minnesota-Shiloh Monument Commission*, 1908, 13 ff.
119. Commission Annual Report, 1912, 4.
120. Commission Annual Report, 1915, 8, and material in park files.
121. Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Richmond, 1918, 297 ff, quoting report of Mrs. Alexander B. White.
122. Joseph Ruff and James H. Failing, "Michigan at Shiloh, Report of the Michigan Shiloh Soldiers' Monument Commission." Bulletin No. 13, Michigan Historical Commission (Lansing, 1920), 7 ff.

Other Important Celebrations. During the early years of the park's existence, most significant programs were related to memorial dedications. Other celebrations of interest included gatherings by various veterans' organizations, in particular the Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, which held their annual reunions on the battlefield for many years. On April 6–7, 1907, the Survivors Association held its first reunion on the battlefield, in a joint meeting with hundreds of former Confederates. This reunion, as was true with many, did not feature a formal program. It instead featured tours of the battlefield and reminiscences with other veterans who had served on both sides of the conflict at Shiloh.[123]

Prior to construction of the Corinth-Shiloh Road in 1914, difficult travel conditions limited attendance at many events. The largest celebration at the park during the first fifteen years of its existence occurred on Memorial Day 1906, when as many as 12,000 persons gathered in the park to decorate graves and participate in the patriotic program.[124]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, on April 6 and 7, 1912, a memorial program was held at the park by 300 members of the Hornet's Nest Brigade, a veterans' organization made up of Federal troops who had fought in that portion of the battle. The Iowa Monument, which had required major repair after the cyclone of 1909, was rededicated with an address by Governor B. F. Carroll of Iowa.[125]

In 1920, the first of the annual "Shiloh Sings" took place. This four- to six-hour program of vocal groups from throughout the south was held each year in early September. In 1954, Shedd notes that the singing programs still attracted the largest crowds of the year to the park.[126]

On April 6 and 7, 1935, almost two years after Shiloh became part of the National Park Service, a program was held to commemorate the seventy-third anniversary of the battle. A special cachet designed by Historical Assistant Randle B. Truett was stamped on mail originating at the park. On April 6 the cachet was stamped in red, memorializing the Confederate Army, while on the April 7 the stamp was blue, in memory of the Union forces. A total of 1,657 requests for envelopes bearing the special stamp were received from collectors throughout the world. In addition, two radio addresses on the subject "Shiloh – 1862 and 1935," were given: one from Nashville, Tennessee, by Historical Assistant George F. Emery, Stones River National Military Park, and the other from Memphis, by Historical Assistant William W. Luckett of Shiloh.[127]

On August 10, 1941, a program at the park celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Park Service. Congressman Ross Collins of Mississippi delivered the principal address, calling for American preparedness for a war then only a few months away. The speech was dramatically underscored by the arrival of 7,000 troops of the 33rd Division to bivouac overnight in the park, en route to the maneuvers in Louisiana.[128]

On the ninetieth anniversary of the battle on April 6, 1952, the Tennessee Historical Society and the West Tennessee Historical Society jointly sponsored a program at the park. Guests included novelists William Faulkner, Claude Gentry, and Shelby Foote; southern historians Stanley Horn

123. Commission Daily Events, op. cit., April, 1907, 245.
124. Ibid., May 30, 1906, 230.
125. Commission Daily Events, II, April, 1912, 20, with dedication program.
126. Although popular, this program does not appear to have continued beyond Shedd's time, as it is not mentioned in later superintendent's reports or other park correspondence.
127. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April, 1935. Stones River was re-designated a national battlefield in 1960.
128. The Daily Corinthian, Corinth, Miss., August 11, 1941.

and Dr. Marshall Wingfield; and Mrs. Maggie J. Hardin, reputed to be the only surviving widow of a Shiloh veteran. Superintendent Ira B. Lykes welcomed the crowd of more than 2,500 persons assembled in the historic Peach Orchard, and Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, author of several popular historical works, gave the principal address on the battle.[129]

On April 4, 1954, the ninety-second anniversary of the battle, more than 10,000 persons were present in the park for the program, which was also noteworthy for the attendance of Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the commander of the Federal Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh, and Colonel William B. Ruggles, grandson of Brig. Gen. Daniel Ruggles, Confederate divisional commander in the battle. Principal speakers included Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, and Dr. Kenneth P. Williams of Indiana University. The Master of Ceremonies for the program was Hillory B. Tolson, assistant director of the National Park Service.[130]

Development and Use Policies under War Department Administration

Shiloh National Military Park was established, "In order that the armies of the Southwest . . . may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought . . . ." On March 30, 1895, three months after the passage of the bill creating the park, Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont wrote to advise the members of the newly-formed Park Commission that they had been appointed "to establish a National Military Park on the battlefield of Shiloh and to mark the lines of battle occupied by the Union and Confederate armies during the operations of April 6 and 7, 1862."[131]

The Secretary emphasized that an immediate consideration in the development of the park was the need for roads to make the site accessible to visitors. He requested that principal roads in existence at the time of the battle be identified, improved, and made passable. In charting this early phase of park development, Secretary Lamont commented on the road development policies followed at other sites:

> It may be seriously questioned . . . whether the opening of avenues along the lines of battle, on other fields of the Civil War, has not contributed to an erroneous understanding of the military operations, by leading the visitor to believe that the avenue and roads on which he passes were in existence during the battle.
>
> In view of these facts, it is suggested that the construction of roads be limited to such as are necessary to reach important centers of operations, and that these be connected, by paths or walks, with the points chosen for marking the positions of divisions, brigades and other organizations of the contending armies.[132]

This cautionary comment from Lamont proved a vital preservation measure at Shiloh and was taken to heart by the National Military Park Battlefield Commission. Shortly after its formation, the Commission reviewed the task confronting it, and prepared a statement of the members' views relative to the policies of development considered necessary. This statement, embodied in a report to the Secretary of War, commented in part that:

> The work of improvement should, in the opinion of the Commission, be restricted to the lands actually acquired in a body. The acquisition of narrow strips bordering the improvements would be injudicious even as applied to roads, and would be impracticable in regard to lines of battle, which in this case are peculiarly scattered and irregular. Such an arrangement would amount to a total destruction of the value of the intermediate patches left to the owners and would correspondingly enhance the cost of the strips

129. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April, 1952, and press clippings in park file.
130. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April, 1954, and press clippings in park file.
131. Secretary of War to Commission, March 30, 1895.
132. Ibid.

> acquired. The intermediate spaces would still be covered with objects and incidents interesting to visitors and rendered worthless to the owners, and even if that could be hindered, the interest of the battle-field to the public would be almost wholly destroyed.
>
> The general plan of the improvement suggests itself readily from the circumstances of the case. The first step should be the restoration of all roads in existence at the time of the battle, public roads, farm roads, and the roads in use for the supply and convenience of the various camps. The public roads, which may be enumerated as the River Road, the West Corinth Road and the Hamburg [sic] and Corinth Road, amounting to about six or seven miles in extent, it is understood to be the intention to macadamize. For the other roads a gravel covering would be sufficient, but in such case, whether macadamized or graveled, the work should begin with outlining the various roads. The work of completing could if necessary be deferred, in whole or in part, for an additional appropriation, which we need hardly add will without doubt be deemed absolutely necessary in continuance of the object of Congress. With the preliminary work finished or even well marked out, the more delicate work of locating the lines of battle, the scenes of particularly interesting incidents and the positions of the various camps at the date of the battle may be proceeded with. We attach particular importance to the location of the camps not only because they are objects of particularly interesting reminiscence, but also because they are constantly referred to in the official reports on both sides, and serve often to determine the position of the lines, and various other interesting facts.
>
> As this work progresses, the necessary system of paths, or byroads connecting the various points will gradually develop itself. With these natural features, as they may be called, of war, &c., the Park will exhibit an admirable system of embellishment, based upon the actual conditions which entered into the daily economy of the Army of the Tennessee in its encampments and determined or marked the events of the battle. Of course the restoration of the original boundaries of woods and fields to be ultimately completed by the gradual growth of timber, will be attended to.[133]

As Shedd notes, with few modifications the goals of development outlined above determined the course of development in the park during the initial period of administration under the War Department. It was natural that in the early years of the park's existence that developmental emphasis was placed upon physical reconstruction of the field and the erection of markers and monuments that would tell its story in detail. In an era of difficult travel in the region of the park, visits to the area by casual tourists were relatively limited; veterans of the Civil War and of the battle, with their families, constituted a large part of visitation. These visitors were particularly interested in specific positions and movements of the various units, and the War Department did not have a specific goal of educating the general public.

While the Commission's initial efforts focused on marking the battlefield, its members were also aware of the need for improved visitor accommodations. In one of its earliest communications to the War Department, the Commission urged the establishment of a hotel for overnight visitors and commented that the availability of lodging would encourage visitation.[134] Shedd notes that ". . . this comment, an obvious one by present concepts, is an interesting revelation of the Park Commission's first faltering steps toward the formulation of a public use policy in a period when there were few guideposts to point the way."[135]

During the first twenty years of the park's existence, when the only means of access to the park available in all weather was by river travel,

133. Commission to Secretary of War, June 14, 1895. The Hamburg and Corinth Road as noted is not consistent with any features of the battlefield. It is possible that the Commission was referring to the Hamburg-Purdy road. The "River Road" is the "Hamburg-Savannah" road, while the "West Corinth" road is the "Corinth-Pittsburg" Landing road.
134. Commission to Secretary of War, June 14, 1895.
135. Shedd, 57.

visitors were limited to a short stay. Excursion steamers running during the summer and fall usually allowed passengers two hours for a carriage tour of the park, with little time for other activities in the area. For many years, public use of the park was supported only by the facilities and improvements that would enable the visitor to tour the battlefield and learn what he could from the detailed marking of troop positions, battle lines, and camp sites.

During the years between 1895 and 1910, particularly after the turn of the century, the Commission encouraged and cooperated with the various states in erecting markers and monuments to the troops who participated in the battle. Dedications and patriotic observances were also encouraged, although the park administration seldom initiated such programs.

In addition to commemoration and tourism, persons living on land acquired for the park were permitted by the original Shiloh Act to take advantage of life tenancy and lease their former property. Life tenancy appears to have been an acquisition tactic settled upon by the Commissioners, who were extremely tactful in their relations with the former landowners and provided many new services for those remaining as life tenants on the battlefield. As a result, a good relationship was formed between the park and the residents, many of whom were able to work in the park as laborers.[136] The terms of the act required that nothing be done to the sites that might interfere with the development of the area or destroy or damage its historical characteristics. Livestock and farm animals were also permitted to graze at large within the area.

In January 1899, there were seventy-one occupied dwelling places within the park, some of which housed park employees.[137] Many of these structures were little more than log huts, and in the ensuing years of War Department administration many of these buildings were demolished "and their sites brought into harmony with the general attractiveness of the park as rapidly as possible."[138] In 1915, the War Department issued regulations that restricted the running at large of certain kinds of stock.[139]

A regulation issued by the Director of the National Park Service, effective August 1, 1935, ended the practice of grazing or keeping livestock and poultry within the park, with the exception of horses provided for and owned by the federal government. This measure resulted in the razing of all of the older farm buildings in the area, none of which was considered to be of historical significance.[140]

Development of the area for public use was limited during the early years of the Park Commission's administration; however, with the appointment of DeLong Rice as Secretary of the Commission in 1913, a change in development and use policy became apparent. In 1914, Rice was named Superintendent of the Commission, relieving the aging Commission Chairman, D. W. Reed, of much of the burden of administrative responsibility.

In reporting on his first year as Acting Superintendent, Rice revealed an awareness of park problems and developmental needs, and in the Commission report first commented on park's responsibility to the public:

> The historic value of Shiloh National Military Park is not known to the general public as it should be, commemorating, as it does, the first great battle of the war. It is respectfully urged that this office should be permitted to give a dignified publicity to interesting facts concerning the park, its jealous preservation of the grim landmarks of a struggle in which 20,000 Americans bled, its natural beauty in its

136. Smith, 53.
137. Atwell Thompson, "Improvements on Shiloh National Military Park," ms. report, January 14, 1899, and memoranda in park files. As cited in Shedd, 79.
138. Commission Annual Report, 1915, 5.
139. Ibid., 8.
140. Superintendent to Director, August 9, 1935.

> setting of history, and other features which would attract the tourist and draw the attention of patriotic people everywhere. Already thousands visit the battle annually. By the issuance of attractive and truthful literature, and an intelligent cooperation with railroad and steamboat companies the park can soon be brought to the fulfillment of the purpose for which it was established - the preservation of glorious history and the inspiration of patriotic sentiment among the people.[141]

Rice's efforts to develop a public relations program for the area were effective. By 1917, the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company and the Mobile & Ohio Railroad had issued folders for distribution, with information provided by the Commission about interesting features of the field.[142] Rice was also the first to note the growing interest in the park on the part of nearby school groups, suggesting that increased interest on the part of local schools would "result in many visits by entire student bodies, that they may look upon the actual footprints of history preserved as they are here, in surroundings of natural beauty."[143]

During this later period of War Department administration, there was growing awareness of the need for better conservation techniques to protect the natural assets of the area. Noting the alarming loss of trees to disease and insects, Rice sought advice from the National Bureau of Forestry.[144] Shedd notes that one policy of the Commission, carried on by the later administration prior to 1933, was the emphasis on beautification of park lands.[145] Although the Commission had recognized early on the need for restoring the forests and clearings in the area as nearly as possible to their condition in 1862, the program for carrying out such restoration was not consistently followed. The Commission spent thousands of dollars in clearing undergrowth, and in grubbing, cutting, and burning sprouts and deadfall.[146] By 1933, this practice, which had been in use for more than forty years, had ". . . left its mark in the form of scarred and dying trees, and in sterile earth where new growth has difficulty in surviving."[147] Many trees dating from the time of the battle were destroyed or damaged. Writing in 1954, Shedd notes:

> Today, criticism is occasionally heard that the area has lost the park-like look it had a quarter of a century ago—that underbrush and deadfall is no longer removed, to be replaced by native grasses. The only answer to this criticism is that the area is slowly returning to the condition in which the soldiers of 1862 found it; that in time it will picture in greater degree the appearance of the field when [it] was the scene of battle.[148]

Shedd notes that the policies for development and use of the area established in the early years of the park's existence were those that continued to characterize it until transfer of administration to the National Park Service in 1933. Changes and improvements were made, especially after 1915, but in its essentials the program was still devoted almost exclusively to "beautification" of the area and to maintenance of the time honored, but highly detailed, system of battlefield marking and monumentation.

Shiloh National Military Park under the National Park Service

Administrative Changes After 1933

On June 10, 1933, the Executive Reorganization Order transferred the administration of Shiloh National Military Park from the administration of the War Department to the National Park Service,

141. Commission Annual Report, 1914, 8.
142. Commission Annual Report, 1917, 4.
143. Commission Annual Report, 1915, 9.
144. Commission Annual Report, 1914, 7.
145. Shedd, 59.
146. W. W. Luckett, *Report on Shiloh's Physical Treatment during the Past 41 Years*, Shiloh National Military Park, November 18, 1937, 1–2.
147. Shedd, 59.
148. Ibid.

United States Department of the Interior. Administration of Shiloh National Cemetery was transferred to the National Park Service at the same time. (Refer to the chapter on Shiloh National Cemetery in this report.)

Under the extensive reorganization program, several other historical areas in West Tennessee and northern Mississippi were placed under the general administration of the Superintendent of Shiloh, with fiscal functions performed by the Shiloh office. These areas included Fort Donelson National Military Park, and Brices Crossroads and Tupelo National Battlefield Sites. Meriwether Lewis National Monument had been administered by the Shiloh Superintendent since July 1, 1926. Camp Blount Tablets National Memorial was also placed under the jurisdiction of Shiloh National Military Park; however, in 1944 this memorial was removed from the list of areas administered by the National Park Service when investigation revealed that the memorial, although authorized, had never been formally established.[149]

The first Superintendent of Shiloh under the National Park Service was Robert A. Livingston, who had held that same position under the War Department since 1929. Livingston, who would later be fired, was the last War Department and first National Park Service superintendent. The first clerk of the park after its inclusion in the National Park System was Mrs. Jessie M. Agee, who held the position for twenty years, until July 29, 1953.

The area had no permanent protective force until December 1935, when Fred Vanous, formerly of the Branch of Buildings, Washington, D.C. was assigned as Park Guard. On December 1, 1937, Mr. Vanous was promoted to the position of Park Ranger, becoming the first National Park Service employee to hold that appointment at Shiloh.

When the National Park Service was decentralized into four administrative regions in 1937, the park became a unit of Region One, which had its headquarters in Richmond, Virginia.

In July 1939, Meriwether Lewis National Monument was transferred to Natchez Trace Parkway, and on July 1, 1941, Brices Crossroads and Tupelo National Battlefield Sites were also transferred to that office. Since the development of the Corinth unit and park expansion south into Mississippi and westward to Davis Bridge, consideration has been given to returning Brices Crossroads to the administrative responsibility of Shiloh National Military Park.

Fort Donelson National Military Park was coordinated under Shiloh until July 1, 1953, at which time full administrative responsibility for the area was placed under the superintendent of Fort Donelson. On August 1, 1953, fiscal functions previously performed at Shiloh were coordinated under the accounting office of Natchez Trace Parkway.

Physical Development under the National Park Service



FIGURE 23. CWA employees at work at the Shiloh Indian Mounds, 1933–1934. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

With the transfer of Shiloh to the National Park Service, a program of extensive physical development was undertaken. By January, 1934, nearly 250 unemployed men from Hardin and McNairy Counties were provided with

149. News Summary, November–December 1944, National Park Service.

employment at the park under the Civil Works Administration (CWA). This group was employed principally in work on the Shiloh-Corinth Road and in combatting erosion, furthering conservation within the park, and excavating the Indian mounds under direction of archeologists from the Smithsonian Institution (Figure 23). Shedd notes that the work performed at Shiloh under the CWA program was the first erosion and conservation project ever undertaken in Hardin County.[150]

Some of the changes proposed and implemented by the National Park Service during its early administration of the park were later considered to be poor models for future managers. First, the National Park Service proposed to eliminate the headquarters monuments entirely, replacing them with markers due to concerns regarding the cost of preservation maintenance relating to the concrete structures. Similarly, park administrators proposed major modifications to the mortuary monuments, including eliminating the concrete bases while retaining the upright cannon tubes. This idea was never adopted.

Another change that dramatically affected the historic landscape was the renaming of all major roads used by the public. The Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road, for example, was renamed Confederate Drive, while the Hamburg-Savannah Road was renamed Federal Drive. The new names, however, simply created interpretation problems. In fact, for the north-south Eastern Corinth Road, the National Park Service divided identification of this route into three different sections with three different names (Hornet's Nest, Gladden, and Bark), which confused matters even further, especially because there is a prominent east-west historic road known as Bark Road. This created a problem, as the battlefield is covered by commemorative markers and monuments that reference the roads by their historic names, causing confusion amongst visitors. As a result, for approximately sixty years, park staff had to explain the difference between the contemporary and historic names. In addition, the new road names became tied to other systems, such as the USGS quadrangle names and the 911 system. In the early 1990s, Superintendent Harrell agreed with counsel from his historian staff to return the roads to the names as they existed in 1862. The newer names remain in place for the USGS and 911, but not on site.

In addition to the CWA program, two Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps were established in the park. Participants in the program included almost 400 African American veterans of World War I (Figure 24).

In this same year, funds for the construction of a number of new buildings and residences within the park were made available by the Public Works Administration (PWA). This new construction included an administration and museum building, two entrance stations at the south and west entrances to the park, and four employee residences, to be completed during the following year.

Civil Works Administration personnel also participated in a research program on the battle, assembling materials for lectures, museum exhibits, and interpretive markers on the battlefield. [151]

150. Press Release, Shiloh National Military Park, January 8, 1934.

151. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1934, 19.



FIGURE 24. Members of Camp Young Company, a CCC camp established at Shiloh. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

On April 19, 1934, the CWA program ended, having completed seven major erosion control projects, six road reconstruction projects, and one cemetery cleanup in the Shiloh Church area, in addition to the preliminary excavation accomplished on the Indian mounds.[148]

One other noteworthy accomplishment of 1934 was the completion of a new survey map of the park—the first since the original map was completed in 1899 under the Military Park Commission. Preparation of this later survey was the work of the Bureau of Public Roads, and was completed as a preliminary step in an extensive program of reconstructing and paving of roads within the area.

By mid-summer 1935, the new administration and museum building, entrance stations, and employee residences had been completed. Construction of a sanitary sewer system and water distribution system for the headquarters area was begun in July and completed the following November. An overhead and underground electrical distribution system was completed the month before.

During 1935–1936, the original Park Headquarters Building was razed and the concession and post office building was erected on a portion of the old foundation. Under this same contract, an oil storage house and four garages for the new residences were completed in May 1936.

The Bureau of Public Roads inaugurated its extensive road rebuilding program in 1935. Under this program, in 1935–1936, more than 10 miles of park roads were graded, drained and surfaced; principal roads were paved with reinforced concrete. The CCC enrollees participated in the road improvement program.

In 1939, a brick comfort station was erected by CCC labor at the northwest corner of the National Cemetery, completing the principal physical development of the visitor core area.

The new comfort-station was designated for "whites only."[149] A wooden structure near the cemetery storage/work barn was designated for use by African Americans before the park worked out an arrangement with the concessioner to use the concession building (present-day Eastern National bookstore). Women and girls used the existing bathroom located on the first floor, and men and boys used a restroom facility constructed for that specific purpose in the basement of the building. Shiloh also had a separate "Negro" picnic area that was constructed by the Civilian

148. Ibid., 10.

149. Correspondence with Stacy Allen, May 23, 2014.

Conservation Corps. It remained in use until the end of segregation on the parks.[150]

The permanent service and utility group for Shiloh was begun in 1940, with the completion of a four-stall unit of the equipment storage building. In the following year, a warehouse was added to the group. Other buildings in the area consisted of older buildings moved to the permanent service site north of park headquarters.

On November 1, 1941, the CCC installations were closed, although a small unit was left to work on several projects in order to leave them at a usable stage of completion.[151] The end of CCC activities at Shiloh marked the close of an era of notable accomplishment in terms of physical development. The war, which began a little more than a month after the camps were closed, ended any efforts toward physical improvements in the ensuing four years.

The Ice Storm of January 1951. Writing in 1954, Shedd notes, "Nature, for the most part, has been kind to Shiloh and no subsequent natural disasters have equaled the cyclone of 1909 in destruction of park values."[152] In late January 1951, however, a severe ice storm struck the Shiloh area, destroying hundreds of trees and damaging thousands more. As noted in Superintendent James W. Holland's report on the storm and its aftermath:

> A total of 1.21 inches of rain fell Sunday, January 28, and started to freeze about 11:00 p.m. Ice formed on the tree twigs and branches and remained the following day when 1.05 inch of sleet and freezing rain were added to the trees' burden. On January 30 there was more sleet, turning to snow.
>
> Wednesday, January 31, saw all the trees in the park under a heavy glaze and snow covering the ground to a depth of about 2 inches. The electric power went out at 6:30 a.m., back on at 7:45, off again at 8:30. After that, service was not resumed until 5:00 p.m., Sunday, February 4. During that time, 104 consecutive hours, the park was without electric power and consequently without heat in the Administration Building and the two largest residences. These are not heated by electricity but are dependent upon electric current for firing and operation. The water supply all over the park was out . . . .
>
> The ice and snow made the roads extremely hazardous and, in places, impassable. Great ice-covered limbs, weighing up to 600 pounds, came hurtling down on the roads, throughout the woods and in the developed areas. About twenty trees fell directly across main roads and had to be removed immediately. The magnificent oaks in front of the Administration Building suffered cruelly. Two good red oaks, among a host of others, toppled [sic] over in the grove in front of the superintendent's residence.
>
> Then followed the coldest day on record here. At Memphis, a low of 11 below zero was recorded that being the lowest for that city in the 72 years the weather Bureau has been in operation there. The nearest approach to the 11 degree temperature was in 1899 when there was a reading of 9 below. At Shiloh, it was 14 below zero at 2:30 a.m., February 2.[153]

No serious structural damage was suffered by park buildings, although water pipes had burst and electrical power failed. The 17-mile telephone line to Corinth was destroyed, and for several days the park was in a state of isolation.

Four years later, Charles Shedd wrote that evidence of the ice storm was still visible in the form of damaged and dying trees.

Concession History under the National Park Service

Until the Concession and Post Office Building was completed in 1936, concession operations were conducted in the small frame store erected by the

150. Ibid.
151. Superintendent's Monthly Report, October, 1941.
152. Shedd, 51.
153. Ibid., citing Report of Superintendent James W. Holland.

War Department in 1910. Upon completion of the new building, the store was razed.

Writing in 1954, Shedd notes, that beginning in 1936, the park concession operated throughout the year, with the exception of the winter months when visitation reached its seasonal low. At that time, contracts for the operation were made on an informal proposal basis. The park superintendent provided general supervision of concession operations, including the furnishing of facilities, services and supplies to the public. In addition to refreshments and approved souvenirs, the concession handled literature sales of official publications.

On January 1, 1945, a contract for new concession facilities was approved by the Secretary of War. The new facilities included a garage, service station, and restaurant at the southern entrance to the park, meeting a long recognized need for the convenience of visitors. Despite postwar shortages, the service center was opened to the public in September 1946.

On June 25, 1947, Congress passed legislation that affected the new concession operation and the future land policy of Shiloh National Military Park. Offered in Congress by Representative Tom Murray of Tennessee, Public Law 105 (1st. Sess. 80th Cong.) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to exchange for private inholdings "Federally owned lands . . . within the authorized boundaries of the park, which are of approximately equal value . . . to the properties being acquired in each case."[154] Under this law, by deed dated September 10, 1947, the 0.92-acre tract on which the new concession was located was conveyed by the federal government to Concessioners William Anderson Shaw and Edwin Lafayette. Shaw of the Shiloh community, thereby removing the new development from the park.

Development and Use Policies under National Park Service Administration

In 1933, with the transfer of the park from the War Department to the National Park Service, a new program of development and restoration began. Shedd notes the National Park Service's "experience and tradition of public service," commenting that:

> It was recognized that monuments and markers had a definite purpose, but the professional personnel of the National Park Service who constituted the vanguard of the new program of development realized the acceleration and expansion of park development would be necessary to bring the area up to the standards considered adequate for public use and enjoyment.[155]

Shedd notes that the building program instituted at this time, with its emphasis on interpretive development and provision for the comfort of visitors, reflected the changes in development and use policies.[156] By 1936, the park Administration-Museum Building was opened to the public, a modern concession building was in operation, and park roads were rapidly being rebuilt and paved. Interpretive literature was provided and trained guides led conducted tours. The burning of undergrowth and deadfall was stopped, and field and forests were permitted to follow their natural patterns of growth.

Newspaper articles and radio programs were used to alert the public to the development taking place at the park and to invite visitors to make use of the new and improved facilities. The educational and inspirational values of the park were understood, and in July 1939, when the first phase of developmental program was nearing completion, a member of the park staff noted: "At the present, this park is probably sufficiently advertised to the general public which is still, largely, looking for recreation now provided for in nearby State parks. It is believed that most of our publicity now should

154. Laws Relating to the National Park Service - May 1944–December 1949, 70.

155. Shedd, 59–60.

156. Ibid., 60.

be confined to educational groups."[157] Education and interpretation were recognized as the primary goals of public use development, but the use of the park by visitors for recreational purposes was also noted and "incidental facilities" such as luncheon areas, scenic trails, and vantage points were provided.

Prior to 1933, the Park Superintendent was almost entirely responsible for park planning and development. After 1933, NPS architects and landscape architects worked on planning for development and expanded public use of the area under the direction of Thomas Vint. In March 1938, the first set of Master Plan drawings for the park were completed, providing for the first time a comprehensive and detailed picture of general development.[158] This master plan, with subsequent additions and revisions based on experience and contemplated area needs, is today a reflection of those policies of development and use which effectively preserve, protect, and interpret Shiloh National Military Park for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

Visitation and Visitor Services, 1930s–1950s

Recorded visitation to the park varied widely during the 1930s, ranging from 50,000 recreation visitors in 1934, through lower numbers—18,424 in 1935 and 14,618 recreation visitors in 1936—to much higher numbers in the latter 1930s: 320,240 recreation visitors in 1937; 346,069 in 1938, and 327,504 in 1939.[159] Visitation numbers cited here pertain to "recreation visitors" unless otherwise noted; overall use visitation, which would also include non-recreation entry (e.g., commuter use) would have been significantly higher.[160] The reason that recorded recreation visitation numbers for 1934–1936 are dramatically low, especially as compared to the significant increase documented beginning in 1937, may be related to the park not having a reliable methodology in place to accurately document visitor use at that early stage

157. Acting Superintendent's Monthly Report, Jul, 1939, 2.
158. Acting Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1938, 2.
159. Visitation information cited here is based on data from the Integrated Resource management Applications (IRMA) database system managed by the National Park Service Natural Resources, Stewardship and Science Division. See NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. Interpretation of data informed by correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016. Note that prior to Stacy Allen's arrival at the park in 1989, park staff were typically counting each entry to the visitor center, whether or not that individual had already entered at an earlier time in the same day (i.e., multiple entries were common, given the location of the restroom facilities, Eastern National bookstore, and other amenities in the visitor center). To obtain a more reliable count, park staff began counting only the initial entry for each individual in a single day. Stacy Allen also encouraged staff to become familiar by sight and association with visitors entering the visitor center, as a safety practice. This revised approach resulted in slightly reduced daily counts, but in increased reliability and accuracy of actual visitor use information. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016.
160. Initially two state highways—Highway 57 (the historic Hamburg-Purdy Road) and the original Highway 22 (the historic Corinth Road) crossed the heart of the core Shiloh battlefield. In addition, the park maintained and stewarded the Shiloh-Corinth Road from the Fraley-Woods field area southward into Mississippi until those sections of the road were respectively deeded to Mississippi (1955) and Tennessee (1956). If persons traveling on these roads were included in the non-recreation visitation count, this would greatly increase overall visitation numbers. Similarly, if today the park counted traffic on the Tennessee Highway 22—which crosses nearly 4 miles of the historic battlefield and is bordered for this length by park lands—as non-recreational visitation, overall totals for park visitation would greatly exceed several million annually. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016.

of National Park Service administration and stewardship. In addition, information is not available to understand what methodology or recording system was being used to determine the number of visitors. Documentation methods in use today were initiated circa 1973, when the National Park Service devised the methods for documenting road counts, facility use counts, etc., to determine recreational versus non-recreational entry and use of the park.

In the 1940s, the number of recreation visitors was recorded as 203,987 in 1940; 232,681 in 1941; 93,526 in 1942; 55,689 in 1943; 55,735 in 1944; and 98,225 in 1945. The significant decrease from 1942 through 1945 reflects the adverse effect on park visitation during the war years. Following the end of World War II, the number of recreation visitors to the park annually rebounded and increased, with 255,340 recreation visitors in 1946; 265,184 in 1947; 293,540 in 1948; and 328,946 in 1949.

Numbers generally continued to increase through the 1950s, with 350,410 recreation visitors in 1950; 342,352 in 1951; 342,479 in 1952; 443,535 in 1953; 481,000 in 1954; 505,900 in 1955; and 644,300 in 1956.

(Refer to following chapters for discussion of visitation during the Mission 66 period and later years.)

Management of Other Regional Units by the Shiloh National Military Park Superintendent

At various times during the history of the Shiloh National Military Park, the park superintendent was placed in charge of other units. In July 1926, the Meriwether Lewis National Monument, established in 1925, and located near Hohenwald, Tennessee, approximately 70 miles northeast of Shiloh, was placed under control of the Shiloh Superintendent DeLong Rice.

Following the transfer of the park from the War Department to the National Park Service, several other historical areas were placed under the administration of the superintendent at Shiloh, Robert A. Livingston. These included Fort Donelson National Military Park along the Cumberland River at the border of Tennessee and Kentucky; Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site in Lee County, Mississippi; and Tupelo National Battlefield Site near Tupelo, Mississippi. Camp Blount Tablets National Memorial in Lincoln County, Tennessee, was also placed under the jurisdiction of the Shiloh superintendent, but was removed from that jurisdiction in 1944, when it discovered that the memorial was never formally established. Meriwether Lewis National Monument continued to be administered by the Shiloh superintendent until 1939, when the administration of the site was transferred to Natchez Trace Parkway. The Brices Crossroads and Tupelo National Battlefield sites were placed under the jurisdiction of Natchez Trace Parkway in 1941. Fort Donelson National Military Park continued to operate under the administration of the superintendent at Shiloh until 1953, at which time full administrative responsibility for the area was placed under the superintendent of Fort Donelson.

The Shiloh Park Citizens Association

In the spring of 1953, the Shiloh Park Citizens Association was formed at the suggestion of Superintendent Ira B. Lykes. This organization was made up of representatives from Shiloh and surrounding communities, and dedicated to the further development and improvement of Shiloh National Military Park and vicinity.

The first meeting of the Citizens Association was held in May 1953. Oscar O. Robbins of Corinth, Mississippi, was elected president. (Robbins was a banker with the National Bank of Commerce in Corinth, as well as President of the Corinth Kiwanis Club in 1952.[161]) A number of committees were appointed to work on development in the

161. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, January 2018.

Shiloh-Pickwick Resort area. The Association contributed time and funds to park projects including the beautification of the Confederate Burial Trench, the showing of the illustrated lecture "SHILOH - Portrait of a Battle" to schools in the vicinity, to the preparation and printing of a leaflet to supplement the park folder, and later to the preparation of the orientation film shown to visitors and to outside audiences beginning in 1956.

In 1954, communities represented in the Association included Corinth and Iuka in Mississippi; and Selmer, Adamsville, Pickwick Resort, and Savannah in Tennessee. In May 1954, Oscar O. Robbins died shortly after the election of his successor, Joe Winningham of Adamsville.

Park Development: 1954–1956

Between the publication of Shedd's park history and the work that was performed under the Mission 66 program beginning in 1956, the park completed several projects and planning studies. It was also during this period that one of the issues that would plague park administration emerged as a threat to park resources.

In late January 1954, heavy rains had caused the waters of the Kentucky Lake section of the Tennessee River to rise, flooding Pittsburg Landing to a depth of 10 to 12 feet. On February 2 the flood waters rapidly subsided, sweeping away an estimated 20,000 cubic yards of river bank together with vegetation and trees, and leaving a gaping hole in the river bank. The Pittsburg Landing river gauge was demolished and more than 50 feet of tour road was lost.[162]

Following the flood, the National Park Service prepared drawings to construct the new concession boat landing at Pittsburg Landing, and initiated consultation with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACOE) regarding erosion problems along the Tennessee River.[163] By 1956, the USACOE had completed a plan for stabilizing the Tennessee River shoreline. Due to a shortage of available funds, however, none of the work was undertaken for several decades. This pattern continued through the 1990s due to the need for further study and investigation to produce a plan that would adequately address the adverse impacts on park resources due to unchecked hydraulic erosion.

Other projects conducted at the park during 1954 involved utilities, specifically completion of a planned water distribution system, and acquisition of 2.7 miles of government owned electrical transmission line by the Pickwick Electric Cooperative, which replaced deteriorated underground cables with a new overhead line.[164]

In 1955, an organization that would play an important role in helping the park to create its ground-breaking orientation film—the Shiloh Historical Association—was formed. The stated purpose of the organization was the development, collection, and preservation of information, records, films, exhibits, and materials relating to the Battle of Shiloh. The organization would later work together with the existing Shiloh Park Citizens Association to fund the film titled "Shiloh – Portrait of a Battle" (Figure 25).

In 1955, the park also initiated work on a new master plan, preparing a Development Outline for Interpretation as well as a General Development Plan.

Another significant issue related to park management and administration—relocating the public highway that passed through the park, rendering park visitation and interpretation confusing and sometimes dangerous—was finally addressed in 1955 and 1956 when the transfer of the Shiloh-Corinth Road to the states of Mississippi and Tennessee was negotiated.

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162. Shedd, 52. In his history, Shedd describes the washout at Pittsburg Landing as one of "nature's occasional outbursts against Shiloh."
163. SHIL_304_2087.
164. Capps, 123. See also Completion Report-SHIL_304_D34.



FIGURE 25. Shiloh Park staff adjusting gunboat models that were used in the filming of "Shiloh – Portrait of a Battle." (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

The park had sought to transfer ownership of the road to Tennessee and Mississippi as early as 1940. Following the closure of the CCC camps and the outbreak of World War II, the size of the maintenance staff was considerably reduced, and limited to eight people by 1945. The small staff was not able to maintain the 17 mile Shiloh-Corinth Road that passed through the park, and the road began to deteriorate.[165]

In 1944, the park was presented with what appeared to be an opportunity to construct a bypass of the Shiloh-Corinth Road, when the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) sought to construct two access roads to the Tennessee River. One road was to be located on the north edge of the park, leading to U.S. Highway 64, while the other was to be built at the southern edge of the park, terminating at the south entrance station on the Shiloh-Corinth Road. Park staff that hoped a new road could be constructed between the access roads; unfortunately, however, the TVA had no authority to build the bypass.[166]

The park continued to seek a solution to its problems with the Shiloh-Corinth Road, and soon engaged the Public Roads Administration (PRA) to survey the area to determine the best location for a bypass road. The alignment favored by the PRA would have likely isolated the gas station and restaurant near the south entrance, to which the park objected, as it did not want to alienate its neighbors.[167]

The park continued negotiations with Tennessee and Mississippi throughout the early 1950s, and in 1955, the State of Mississippi agreed to accept the portion of the Shiloh-Corinth Road between the state line and Corinth. As part of the negotiations, the federal government agreed to widen the road and resurface it prior to the transfer. The road work was completed in October 1955, with the State of Mississippi officially accepting the road on November 16, 1955.

The Tennessee section of the road was accepted by the State of Tennessee in September 1956. Later that year, the federal government provided $414,750 to the state to defray the cost of bringing the road up to state standards. The transfer of the road paved the way for the most important project of Mission 66 to move forward—the rerouting of Highway 22 to avoid the core of the battlefield.

After completion of the proposed new boat dock at Pittsburg Landing in 1956, Frank Reader of Kentucky began operating a sternwheel steamboat from Pittsburg Landing. At the same time,

165. Capps, 47–48, citing Charles W. Fitzgerald, Senior Foreman, *Maintenance Report on Shiloh-Corinth Road*, RG79, Box 124, National Archives, MAR.
166. Capps, 48, citing Superintendent's Annual Report, FY1945, FRC Box 85558; Regional Director Oliver Taylor to Director, February 19, 1944, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR; Regional Director Thomas Allen to Director, April 11, 1945, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR; Head TVA Engineer Frank S. Webster to Superintendent Ross, March 31, 1945, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR; Acting Regional Director Hillory Tolson to J. S. Briqht, Deputy Commissioner, Public Roads Administration, April 22, 1946 , RG79, Box 124,NA, MAR.
167. Capps, 49, citing H.J. Spelman, Division Engineer, PRA to Regional Director Allen, October 16, 1946, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR; Superintendent James Holland to Regional Director Allen, October 24, 1946, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR; Allen to Spelman, November 19, 1946, RG79, Box 124, NA, MAR.

Adventurers, Inc., a local operation, started providing bus tours of the park, while Raymond Shaw, who served as the park's postmaster, and Allen Brown Phillips entered a partnership to operate concessions within the park. Candy, Soft drinks, cigarettes, post cards, park booklets, and other souvenirs were sold.[168]

Coda to Summary History

Immediately following the publication of Shedd's history, significant changes began to occur within the park, as well as the National Park System as a whole, based on the initiation of a program titled Mission 66. The so-called Mission 66 program led to great changes in the physical fabric and planning processes of the National Park System. Mission 66 was designed to upgrade the facilities available to visitors at National Parks, and to use planning as a tool to protect natural and cultural resources. Mission 66 was followed nearly immediately by profound changes in federal policy involving historic and natural resources. Federal policies and acts during the 1960s and 1970s affected how all parks were managed and influenced national viewpoints on resource protection. During the 1980s and 1990s, conceptual frameworks and methodologies involving three areas of historic preservation—cultural landscapes, materials conservation, and battlefield management—evolved profoundly, affecting the manner in which Shiloh and many other parks within the National Park System, as well as many other sites, were managed. In the 2000s, one of the areas of management that continued to evolve was partnerships and linkages involving interpretation and sharing of resources. The establishment of the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park, as well as the protection of other nearby battlefields as part of a system, was of particular interest and also affected. On the eve of the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Shiloh, these added layers of resource management, coupled with the increasing acquisition of battlefield land for protection and interpretation, contributed to a richness and complexity available to visitors and those interested in the Civil War, our National Park System, and the importance of history in our lives. These themes and topics are explored over the pages that follow.

168. Capps, 123–124.

Mission 66 Era, 1956–1966



FIGURE 26. Visitors to the park during the Mission 66 period. (Source: National Archives)

In 1956, Shiloh National Military Park, like many parks in the National Park System, became the focus of a broad planning initiative conceived by the National Park Service to address a wide range of problems and concerns resulting from large post-World War II increases in visitation and inadequate maintenance and planning budgets. The planning initiative was known as Mission 66.

National Mission 66 Context

Mission 66 was a federally sponsored program initiated in 1956 to improve the deteriorated and underserved conditions present in the national parks that resulted from a dramatic increase in visitation following World War II. Mission 66 was one of the largest federal funding efforts conducted as part of a single program during the twentieth century; over the life of the program, more than $1 billion was spent on infrastructure and other park improvements.

Proposals for the program were in response to the growth in popularity of the national parks, as exhibited in numbers of visitors. Between 1940 and 1955, visitation grew from 17 million to more than 55 million. At the same time, the funds appropriated by Congress for the National Park Service to maintain the national parks remained at pre-war levels. In addition, the workforce that had supported park expansion during the New Deal era—most notably the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—had been disbanded by the federal government in 1942 and was no longer available to support implementation of necessary improvements.[169]

The increase in visitation was fueled by a period of economic prosperity accompanied by increased leisure time and access to personal automobiles, which allowed families to vacation in the national parks. By 1950, the vast majority of national park visitors arrived in automobiles, a dramatic change from the pre-war era when trains were the preferred means of travel and transportation.[170]

169. Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 4.
170. Carr, *Mission 66*, 5–6.

With limited automobile-scale infrastructure, and rapidly aging visitor facilities designed to accommodate smaller numbers of visitors, parks were ill-equipped to accommodate this sudden influx of mobile visitors. Overcrowding, traffic jams, and full-to-capacity parking lots were the result. This began not only to diminish the national park experience for visitors, but the condition of the resources the agency was tasked to protect. By the early 1950s, articles with titles such as "National Parks: Tomorrow's Slums?" "The Shocking Truth about Our National Parks," and "Twenty-four Million Acres of Trouble" began to appear in newspapers and magazines describing the deteriorated condition of the national parks.[171]

In response to the poor press, and related concerns raised by Congress, the National Park Service devised the Mission 66 program as a way to improve park transportation and interpretation facilities system-wide, and to modernize, streamline, and standardize visitor flow and the park experience. The individual responsible for envisioning the Mission 66 program was National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth. Wirth was named Director in late 1951, around the same time that problems were being experienced by the parks and called out in the press. Wirth quickly determined the need for a broad plan of action. In February 1955, he announced his vision for a comprehensive conservation program to revitalize the national parks, focusing on a ten-year capital improvement effort to modernize and expand the National Park System. Wirth's Mission 66 plan sought not only to improve conditions at national parks through the construction of new roads, trails, and visitor facilities, but also to increase operating budgets in order to better maintain the parks in the future. In addition to park infrastructure, Wirth intended for the program to address other pressing needs of the National Park System, such as employee housing, visitor lodging, interpretation, access to important resources, and comprehensive planning. To help determine the scope and budget requirements for the program, Wirth created a working committee, as well as a steering committee, and began by soliciting lists of critical project needs from park superintendents.[172]

After putting this internal planning process in place, Wirth focused his attention on securing federal financial support for the program. In order to appeal to the interests and experience of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Wirth presented his funding request as if it were a military effort, employing the word "mission" to express the urgency of the situation. Because the mission would take several years to complete, he targeted an important anniversary for meeting the goals of the program—the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service in 1966. Wirth justified the need for the program by suggesting that annual park visitation would continue to grow, anticipating a level of 80 million by 1966, and that the increased pressure from these visitors would need to be absorbed without causing additional harm to the parks. At the same time, he anticipated the potential for the federal funding process to derail the plan, dependent as it was on annual appropriations from Congress, subject to the vagaries of politics, the economy, and advocacy. To avoid this problem, Wirth suggested that the ten-year program be fully funded up front. To suggest the extent of the need, he used the project lists prepared by the park superintendents and other calculations prepared by his committees.[173]

Wirth presented the program to the Eisenhower administration in 1955. Immediately responsive, the administration in turn presented the plan to the Senate in 1955. The Senate not only accepted the proposal, but increased the amount of the requested first year appropriation from $66 million to $68 million. Thereafter, annual appropriations would increase slightly each year over the course of the entire program. By 1966, the federal government would invest more than $787 million, with approximately $75 million being used for construction and the remainder dedicated to management, preparation of plans, land acquisition, and protection of park resources.

171. Carr, *Mission 66*, 7.
172. Ibid., 7.
173. Ibid., 66.

Wirth relied heavily on the direction of Thomas Vint, National Park Service Chief of Design and Construction, in implementing Mission 66. During the early stages of planning for Mission 66, National Park Service personnel under the direction of Vint decided to create a model master plan to address common problems faced by many of the parks. Mount Rainier was selected by Wirth's committees as the pilot park on which to base the model master plan, referred to as a prospectus.

The prospectus and the vision for the Mission 66 program were presented to the agency's four regional directors at a meeting held in April 1956 at Shenandoah National Park. At the meeting, it was agreed that further pilot studies should be conducted that would illustrate a "cross section" of management concerns and park types. Wirth and his planners added six additional parks to the pilot planning process: Yellowstone and Everglades national parks, Chaco Canyon and Fort Laramie national monuments, Shiloh National Military Park, and Adams National Historic Site. A seventh pilot study, for Mesa Verde National Park, was added later.[174]

Based on these studies, it was determined that the program would focus on the visitor experience by improving and standardizing facilities; providing interpretive resources, additional staff, trails, and maps; and creating guest and employee lodging facilities.

The Mission 66 prospectus developed for Shiloh noted:

> Mission 66 is a forward-looking program for the National Park System intended to so develop and staff these priceless possessions of the American people as to permit their wisest possible use; maximum enjoyment for those who use them; and maximum protection of the scenic, scientific, wilderness, and historic resources that give them distinction.
>
> Construction is an important element of the program. Modern roads, well planned trails, utilities, camp and picnic grounds, and many kinds of structures needed for public use or administration, to meet the requirements of an unexpected 80 million visitors in 1966, are necessary; but they are simply one means by which "enjoyment-without-impairment" is to be provided.
>
> Under this program, outmoded and inadequate facilities will be replaced with physical improvements adequate for expected demands but so designed and located as to reduce features. It will provide both facilities and personnel for visitor services of the quality and quantity that the public is entitled to expect in its National Park System. It is intended to assure the fullest possible degree of protection, both to visitors and resources.
>
> Mission 66 is a long-range program; it will require at least 10 years to accomplish on a sound and realistic dollar basis. That means completion in 1966—the 50th anniversary year of the establishment of the National Park Service. The program has received enthusiastic endorsement by the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and well received by the Congress and Nation at large.[175]

When Mission 66 was introduced to the parks, the program was explained as a conservation effort that would provide ". . . facilities and adequate staffing to permit proper protection, interpretation, maintenance, and administration."[176] Vint also worked with the conviction that it was the responsibility of the National Park Service to share its significant natural resources as much as possible with the public. The national crisis that Mission 66 was meant to address resulted in a mobilization to meet the needs of the public, while also endeavoring to take full advantage of the natural

174. Ibid., 85.
175. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," n.p.
176. Susan Rhoades Neel. "Irreconcilable Differences: Reclamation, Preservation, and the Origins of the Echo Park Controversy." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990.

and cultural resources of each park unit by improving access, interpretation, and management.

Wirth and Vint planned to rearrange patterns of travel and public use within the parks to accommodate increased visitation. To accomplish this goal, the program would modernize park roads, allowing for increased traffic flow at higher speeds. This involved straightening curves and widening formerly quaint winding routes, resurfacing gravel surfaces, and replacing bridges, and was consistent with the vision articulated by Mission 66 that entailed the modernization and streamlining of the visitor experience.

To address the visitor experience, many parks received new orientation and interpretation facilities known as visitor centers. This new building type was designed to be constructed as close as possible to the most significant features of the park in order to afford an immediate understanding of and orientation to the park story. Although beneficial to the visitor experience, the location of a visitor center as near as possible to the significant park resources often conflicted with efforts to preserve these resources.

The architecture of the visitor center also marked a departure for the National Park Service. From its inception in 1956, Mission 66 was characterized by a modernist design aesthetic that contrasted with the rustic style that had been the hallmark of National Park Service design prior to World War II. The idea of constructing modernist buildings in the national parks would prove controversial as the style of architecture was considered incongruous with the natural setting of many parks.

Nonetheless, the visitor center came to symbolize the success of the Mission 66 program as the single most important and visible building at a park site. The Mission 66 program resulted in the construction of 100 new visitor centers. In addition, as part of Mission 66 the National Park Service completed 584 new comfort stations, 221 administrative buildings, 36 service buildings, and 1,239 employee housing units system-wide. The program also resulted in federal acquisition of new land and the establishment of 78 new park units, a 405 percent increase over the 180 parks held in 1956.

One of the best-known modernist visitor centers, designed by noted architect Richard Neutra, was built immediately adjacent to the central point of the battlefield in Ziegler's Grove at Gettysburg National Military Park in 1962. The building became the focus of a heated debate during the 1990s due to its visual impact on the battlefield. The building was demolished in 2009. The controversial aspect of Mission 66 modernist design in the national parks continues to be the focus of concerns today, and many features built as part of the program have similarly been removed.

In general, the part of the program that focused on providing direct access to resources was the least well received and resulted in concerns and questions regarding the potential to negatively impact sensitive features. Some park units did not support the Mission 66 program, arguing that the philosophy of designing roads, trails, and buildings to take the greatest advantage of natural and historic resources posed a threat to those resources. During the prospectus process, Shiloh National Military Park raised concerns about the program. However, the Mission 66 staff were able to convince Superintendent Ira B. Lykes that the proposed outline of management for the battlefield and cemetery was acceptable and the park remained determined to work through the issues.[177]

177. Carr, *Mission 66*, 92.

Mission 66 Developments at Shiloh National Military Park

Policies, Proposals for Changes to Interpretation, Circulation, and Administration of Shiloh National Military Park

By 1956, Shiloh, like most national parks, faced serious challenges relating to resource management and maintenance. Labor pools available before World War II as a result of New Deal-era programs that helped address park development and maintenance needs were no longer present. During and after the war, Shiloh suffered from a distinct lack of available labor and years of inadequate maintenance. During the early 1950s, historic wood lines began to creep into fields, while historic buildings went without repairs. At the same time, visitation rose steadily.

As its maintenance problems increased, Shiloh continued to face many of the same problems it had endured for most of its existence—a remote location, and a lack of regional attention and financial support as compared with the other four original national military parks: Antietam, Chickamauga/ Chattanooga, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg. Each of the other original national military parks enjoyed more modern facilities and had more resources at their disposal than Shiloh. The selection of Shiloh as one of the pilot cases for Mission 66 appeared to offer an opportunity to remedy such slights. Establishment of a new visitor center; expanded interpretation, accessibility, and historic scene preservation and restoration; as well as expanded staffing to manage all of the available programs and activities were identified goals for Mission 66 at Shiloh in the prospectus prepared for the pilot park.

Despite carefully laid plans, however, few tangible changes and little in the way of new construction and renewal resulted at Shiloh under Mission 66. In 1966, as the program ended, Shiloh's New Deal-era visitor contact facility remained, even as three of the other four early national military parks—Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Antietam—received new buildings. The two critical projects that would, however, come to fruition under the program were the rerouting of Highway 22, and the creation of the national park system's first orientation film, *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle.* The film, however, was not in fact a Mission 66 project, but an in-house production that happened to be completed on the eve of the program. Although the park did not experience the degree of change anticipated by National Park Service planners, many of the ideas developed during the program would set the stage for several projects undertaken years after Mission 66 ended.

Of interest to note is the fact that the Mission 66 program coincided with the Centennial of the Civil War. System-wide, the National Park Service determined to take special care in planning events, projects, and programming for the Civil War parks, due to the importance of the Centennial. At Shiloh, National Park Service Historian Edwin C. Bearss suggested that Shiloh Superintendent Ira Lykes prepare for the Civil War Centennial by working with the local community to get them interested in supporting the production of the film project.[178]

One of the outcomes of the Centennial planning was the systematic study of the battlefields to determine their character at the time of the battle. Preparing many of these studies was Edwin Bearss, who served as park historian at Vicksburg from 1955 to 1958, and as regional research historian from 1958 to 1966. For the past fifty years, Bearss's work has served as a critical tool for historic landscape restoration at many Civil War parks, including Shiloh.

Bearss remembers that in 1958, during planning for the Centennial:

> I had the opportunity to go to Shiloh and the other Civil War parks with the approach of the

178. Edwin Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

> Civil War Centennial. Director Wirth met with U.S. Grant, the Third, with the titular head of the National Civil War Centennial Mission. Mission 66 had been sold to President Eisenhower, it being pointed out that the Park Service would be fifty years old in August 1966. . . . Mr. Wirth agrees with General Grant that the Civil War parks will be given priority in meeting the goals that they are going to have for visitation, interpretation, protection, lands, by their anniversary day. So that means the Civil War parks coming into the Civil War Centennial are going to get their interpretive facilities, personnel, standards, and everything improved by the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. So . . . they call a meeting in Chattanooga, inviting all the people in charge of budgeting in the regional office, in charge of interpretation, in charge of the various visitor programs, key members of the staffs of the Civil War parks in the southeast region, which included all the parks except . . . all the military parks except Gettysburg and Antietam. So they met there, and it's decided that they are going to employ one person to do the historical background work for the various programs they are going to have. And I got selected for it. . . . So I got to visit and work at all the Civil War parks.[179]

Mission 66 Prospectus for Shiloh National Military Park

As noted above, Shiloh National Military Park was one of the pilot parks to receive a prospectus, or early master plan, as part of Mission 66 in 1956–1957. In the prospectus, the National Park Service notes:

> While the battlefield alone is an impressive and significant site, its potential benefits to visitors can be fully realized only by carrying out a comprehensive program of development and services designed to preserve and protect the area and tell its story in the most effective manner possible. The extensive scene of battle is now accessible by a system of roads and trails. Roads built for the traffic of twenty years ago must be improved and brought up to the standard of modern vehicular traffic. Foot trails must be developed in those areas not accessible to vehicles. Present roads, for the most part, follow wartime routes. Improvements should be limited to these original alignments where possible to avoid unnecessary changes in the historic scene.
>
> The visitor should be able to receive basic information on the battle, its causes and consequences, by means of museum exhibits and other educational presentations. Trained personnel must be provided to serve visitors, and to plan and carry out the expanded program of development, preservation and interpretation. The battlefield tour sequence, with points of interest clearly identified and explained [must also be defined]. Additional facilities for the convenience and safety of the public must be provided, if the full values of the Park are to be utilized and appreciated. Until all of these facilities can be adequately provided, the Park will only partially fulfill its obligation to the past, the present and the future.
>
> . . . Development must not detract from the primary purpose of the Park, which is to preserve the historic setting of the event and tell the battle story in terms meaningful to all the people. Development must aid the visitor in understanding and appreciating the conflict that occurred at Shiloh, but it must not distract him, nor encourage him to distract others who, for a short time, are looking into the past to seek enlightenment and inspiration.
>
> For these reasons, Park development must not go beyond providing facilities which aid the visitor in seeing, understanding and appreciating the scene of a great battle in the safest and most convenient manner possible.[180]

The plan also documents the slow evolution of park infrastructure since its establishment in 1894 as the basis for needed improvements:

> In the years after 1894, considerable physical development was accomplished—considerable, that is, by the standards of the time . . . . No museum facilities or guide literature were available to prepare the casual visitor for a tour of the field, and the only

179. Edwin C. Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

180. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," 2–3.

> guides obtainable were local persons who were, in most cases, not adequately informed or trained to give competent tours. Roadways in the park were constructed for horse and carriage traffic, but the automobile age was fast approaching.
>
> Park administration, then under the jurisdiction of the War Department, bent its primary efforts toward the beautification of the Park, rather than the preservation of heavy woods and scattered clearings that existed in 1862. During this period of Park development, while the area was still relatively isolated, it is not surprising that citizens from local communities came to look upon the Park as a place of recreation, for picnics and overnight camping. The visitor who did come expressly to see the battlefield and learn something of its story could find very little to help him, unless he had previously fortified himself with maps, literature and private research.
>
> With the advent of the automobile and consequent improvement of roads into the Park, pressure for additional development began to mount. Museum facilities were still lacking, literature was confined to the barest information concerning the Park, and guides were still recruited locally.[181]

The prospectus also documented the changes that had been made since the National Park Service assumed responsibility for the national military parks from the War Department in 1933. Improvements made at Shiloh National Military Park after 1933 to accommodate the growing numbers of park visitors included construction of a modern headquarters building, paving of a portion of the park tour route, the addition of a concession building, and expansion of utility systems and maintenance operations. However, these facilities were not considered adequate to meet the needs of the 600,000 annual visitors projected in the Mission 66 plan:[182]

> The above figures clearly indicate the serious lag between present facilities and the growing number of visitors to the park. Present physical developments, used by more than half a million visitors annually, are those which were constructed for less than one-fifth of that number more than 20 years ago. The steady rise in number of visitors means more vehicles are using Park roads; more persons are visiting the small museum and attending educational programs. More visitors mean more demands on the limited Park staff for personal contact and informational services. Increased visitation imposes heavier responsibility for protection, maintenance of roads, grounds and buildings, and provision of adequate comfort facilities. Park roads are already inadequate for heavy traffic; the small exhibit room is frequently so crowded that visitors cannot enter, and lack of sufficient auditorium space prevents many visitors from attending regularly scheduled historical presentations. Restroom facilities are outmoded and inadequate. At seasonal peaks of travel, available park personnel cannot serve visitors with the personal attention they have a right to expect.[183]

To address these deficiencies, the proposed Mission 66 program for Shiloh targeted enhanced interpretation facilities, roads and parking for efficient movement of visitors through the landscape, and infrastructure improvements including housing, maintenance, comfort stations, and utilities, as noted:

> The problems confronting park development are many, but they are in process of being met and solved.
>
> The proposed construction of a belt by-pass road around the park, as part of Tennessee State Highway 22, will remove virtually all commercial and other non-visitor traffic from the area. At present, Highway 22 crosses the Park from its northern to its southern boundary. Approximately two and one-half miles of the park tour is on Highway 22, and the disadvantages to visitors making the tour may be readily seen. Completion of the by-pass road will assist in the protection of the park, will add greatly to the convenience and safety of visitors making the tour, and will make possible an expanded program of guided tour caravans for larger numbers of vehicles. The by-pass will also permit the use of a single

181. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," 4.
182. Ibid., 5.
183. Ibid., 6.

> entrance into the park, with direct access to the Visitor Center.
>
> All park roads will be paved and improved to conform to modern standards. Several modifications in the tour route will be made to permit more convenient circulation of traffic and simplification of the tour. Adequate pull-out parking areas will be provided at points of interest on the tour route, and the route will enable the visitor to trace events in the battle in the most logical sequence possible.
>
> Certain roads having no historical value will be obliterated or closed to traffic in order to restore the historic setting of the field.
>
> Several foot trails will be improved and developed to permit visitors to inspect at first hand those points of interest not accessible to vehicles.[184]

As Mission 66 planning did for many parks within the National Park System, the Mission 66 program for Shiloh recommended construction of a visitor center:

> A modern visitor center will be developed, and improved facilities for public enjoyment and comfort will be provided. The Visitor Center will serve as the basic point for visitor reception. It will include an up-to-date museum containing exhibits designed to acquaint the visitor with the area and prepare him for his experience on the battlefield. An adequate auditorium will provide for the presentation of motion picture, slide lectures and similar programs which will explain the battle's significance and emphasize its dramatic and important place in American history. Additional trained personnel will be on duty at the Visitor Center during periods of heavy seasonal travel to assist visitors, furnish information, present talks and illustrated programs, and conduct tours of the battlefield.[185]

Interpretation was also considered at a park-wide level. The Mission 66 plan recommended expansion of exhibits offering visitors information about key locations in the battle, sited along the improved tour road facilities and combined with scene restoration efforts to clarify the connection with 1862 landscape conditions. An integrated approach to natural and cultural resource management was proposed that anticipated the cultural landscape preservation methodology developed two decades later by the National Park Service. This is one of the many examples of the leading role that Shiloh took in developing new and effective management strategies:

> On the battlefield itself, points of interest will be identified by appropriate roadside markers giving a brief account of the significance of the site. When followed in order, these points of interest will combine to form an outline picture of the battle on the ground where it was fought. Certain important locations, such as the historic Sunken Road, site of the original Shiloh Church and the pre-historic Indian mounds, will receive special care, to preserve and protect them from the ravages of erosion and restore them as nearly as possible to their original condition. Vegetation which has obscured historic fields will be eliminated, and forest will be restored to areas, now open, which were wooded at the time of the battle.
>
> In order to preserve and protect the forest cover which influenced so greatly the nature of the fighting at Shiloh, the growth of native trees will be encouraged through selective planting. Soil and moisture conservation measures will also be initiated, to stabilize the river bank adjacent to Pittsburg Landing, and preserve the soil in other portions of the field now threatened by erosion.[186]

Other improvements suggested by the plan included enhancement of concession offerings, visitor services, and park operations:

> The present Concession building will be enlarged by interior modification to meet the demands of increasing visitation. Concession operations will continue to be limited to the provision of light refreshments, approved souvenirs and literature, films and sundries for the convenience of the public.

184. Ibid., 6.
185. Ibid., 7.
186. Ibid.

> Adequate restroom facilities will be provided at the Visitor Center. Additional housing for Park employees will be constructed at a point removed from historically significant portions of the field. Water and sewage installations will be expanded to serve the increased needs of the Visitor Center and the employee housing areas, and a sprinkling system will be installed at the National Cemetery to preserve lawn cover during the hot, dry summer months.
>
> The Park utility, maintenance and storage area will be relocated away from points of historical interest, and the present unsightly temporary structures will be razed.[187]

With all of these planned improvements, the plan recognized the need to adequately maintain and support enhanced facilities and programs:

> The present Park staff will be enlarged to carry out the expanded program called for in Mission 66. Several new positions will be full-time while others will be on a seasonal basis. In conformance with good management standards, the peak staff will be on duty when the need is greatest during the year. All staff positions, full-time and seasonal, will contribute directly to the visitor's convenience and enjoyment, and to the effective preservation, protection, maintenance and interpretation of the area. Most of the new staff positions will be filled by personnel directly responsible for public contact and visitor safety.
>
> The program of expanded public service, protection and physical development is only part of the story. There is also the problem of annual maintenance and public contact, which is the basic justification for the improvements scheduled under Mission 66. Each facility provided, each service rendered, requires not only initial planning and execution but a sustained program of efficient operation to assure that each phase of the Park program will continue to make the maximum contribution in meeting the needs of the public.
>
> Current annual operation of Shiloh National Military Park requires an appropriation of $84,000. As the Park enlarges its facilities, so must it receive more operating funds, to make certain that physical developments are not permitted to deteriorate for lack of proper maintenance, or visitor services suffer for want of competent planning and performance by trained, experienced personnel.
>
> The program outlined for Shiloh under Mission 66 cannot be accomplished at once. In many ways, Shiloh's needs are not as acute as are those of many other Parks in the National Park System. But, in the next few years the program for Shiloh will be accomplished, and by 1966 this Park, with all the others administered by the National Park Service, will be prepared to meet and fully satisfy the needs of all the people.[188]

Finally, the plan summarized the intended visitor experience:

> When you visit Shiloh in 1966, changes may not at first be apparent. A primary aim of the Mission 66 program is to preserve the battlefield in its wartime condition to the fullest extent possible, consistent with effective protection, maintenance and interpretation of the area. But, your visit in 1966 will be a more enjoyable and inspirational one than you can experience today.
>
> You will travel on modern roadways, without interference from commercial, non-visitor traffic. At the Visitor Center, trained personnel will be on hand to meet you personally and serve you. Without undue crowding or waiting, you can visit an expertly planned and executed museum. There, exhibits and historical programs will provide you with information on the park and its story, to enable you to derive the maximum benefit from your visit. On the tour route you will be able to follow the course of the battle, and at important points of interest parking facilities will be provided. Historical signs and markers will explain events in the battle on the sites where they occurred, and you will see the scene of the battle in a condition resembling as nearly as possible the original setting.
>
> Mission 66 for Shiloh does not mean radical or unwarranted change. Rather it means logical and carefully planned development and

187. Ibid., 8.

188. Ibid., 8–9.

> operation of the park to preserve the scene and tell the story of an epic chapter of the Nation's past for the benefit, enjoyment and inspiration of all the people, today, tomorrow, and in the years to come.[189]

1961 Mission 66 Master Plan

In 1961, the Mission 66 "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Shiloh" was published. It included several proposed projects, such as obliterating the pavilion at Pittsburg Landing; relocating the parking lot from the front of the visitor contact facility to its east side; construction of additional employee housing; widening of Grant Road for two way traffic; construction of a spur road to the maintenance and residential area; and construction of a Hamburg Road bypass on the southeast edge of the park (Figure 27).[190]



FIGURE 27. View of Hamburg Road, looking southeast toward the 77th Pennsylvania Infantry monument, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Designs were also prepared for an addition to and alteration of the existing visitor contact facility, to change the intersection of the park's Entrance Road with Tennessee Highway 22, to build a pavilion at Sowell Field, and for water and sewer utility upgrades associated with the new picnic area.[191]

Planning and project proposal excerpts from the master plan that set the stage for park administration over the ensuing decade include the following:

> The mission of the National Park Service at Shiloh is to provide an authentic and meaningful story of the Battle of Shiloh and its significance and place in the broader theme of the Civil War in the United States.
>
> The preservation and use policies of the Park are directed toward achieving the above mission through interpreting the Shiloh story to the visitor, consistent with the preservation of the park's physical resources for the enjoyment of future generations.
>
> Visitation to Shiloh has tripled in the past 10 years, reaching more than one million in 1960. Keeping this travel trend in mind along with the approaching Civil War Centennial and the probable continued increase in United States population and personal income, it can readily be seen that there is great need for a program of continuing research and experimentation in the fields of management, history, interpretation, protection, and development.
>
> In accordance with its historical character, both the natural and man-made features of the Battlefield will be kept in the same condition that they were during the fighting to the extent that this is physically practical and consistent with adequate visitor services. This objective will be achieved and maintained by keeping Shiloh strictly a day-use area and by transferring non-conforming uses, such as family reunions, wherever possible, to points outside the Park. The Service is cooperating with the State of Tennessee to encourage establishment of a State wayside park adjoining

189. Ibid., 9–10.
190. Capps, 53. 1961 and 1962 Master Plans.
191. National Park Service, "Addition and Alteration to Visitor Center," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3003; "Intersection-Park Entrance Road & Tenn. Hwy 22," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3004 and 3004A; "Pavilion Sowell Field," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3007 and 3007A, and "Utilities-Water and Sewer Headquarters Area," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3006 and 3006A.

park boundaries to make this proposed transfer of non-conforming uses possible.[192]

Several tracts of land both inside and outside present park boundaries played an important part in the battle. Continued effort should be made to acquire these tracts to insure more adequate interpretive presentation and for preservation of valuable resources. Commercial activities in one adjoining tract are unsightly, inconsistent, and incompatible with the preservation of the historic scene. This tract should be acquired to eliminate this adverse use.[193]

The concession, now located in the post office building, which sells souvenirs and refreshments should be continued as long as it provides a needed service to the park visitor. Overnight accommodations and dining facilities are not needed in the Park. They are readily available in neighboring communities.

A major addition to the Visitor Center, two new residences to replace old quarters infringing on the historic scene, and several new maintenance buildings are contemplated.

One of the principal objectives in the Park's future planning and development program is to reduce the number of entrances.[194] The purpose is to control access to the Park for protection of the historic grounds and objects to direct visitors to their first interpretive and orientation contact at the Visitor Center-Museum and to enhance the value and safety of the tour over park roads by making them one-way routes. Private accesses to the Park are too numerous and will gradually be reduced as protective and control measures.[195]

An entrance road from the proposed belt bypass will provide direct access to the visitor center-headquarters area. The entrance road (Grant Road) will be widened to facilitate two-way traffic and will lead to the visitors' parking area east of the visitor center. The proposed parking area will utilize a portion of the existing employees' parking area which will be expanded to accommodate 116 cars and 3 buses. The proposed walk circulation in and around the visitor center will eliminate the necessity of visitors exiting through the front door after completion of the tour of the exhibits and audio-visual program.[196]

The main Interpretive Theme for the Park is the Battle of Shiloh. But for proper perspective, it is necessary to bring out a supporting theme explaining the Battle's place in the Civil War as a whole and the War's significance in the history of the Nation. The natural setting of the Battlefield is touched upon only where it is woven into the story of the fighting.[197]

192. The day use idea was never implemented. An attempt was made to do so in 1993 by Superintendent Haywood 'Woody' Harrell that failed due to a lack of political support from the state's Congressional delegation. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
193. The land acquisition objective has become an important part of park administration since the establishment of such organizations as the American Battlefield Protection Program, Conservation Fund, Civil War Trust, and the park's Friends group. Since 1990, the park has acquired more land than at any other time since the initial fifteen years of park development. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
194. The desired reduction in the number of access points into the park has not occurred except in a few locations. The public still enters the park via nine different points using public roads. Personal communication, Stacy Allen, National Park Service.
195. Only a few routes have been converted to one-way use, and while a portion of the battlefield tour was one-way as of 2016, most is not. There are important resource protection and interpretation arguments for keeping primary routes two-way. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
196. This has been accomplished. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
197. The themes have since been altered to include Corinth, Davis Bridge, Civil War issues, causes, slavery, the Indian Mounds, and the Trail of Tears, among others. Stacy Allen, personal communication.

The Indian Mounds are included in the Park's interpretive program as outstanding examples of aboriginal life.[198]

The Interpretive Method, now pointed in a correct and effective direction, consists of a Visitor Center for orientation and initial interpretation and self-guiding devices on the Battlefield tour route which will be developed as a one-way tour with interpretive exhibits at key points.[199] An exception is made for organized groups which are offered conducted tours.

Present policy and future development seeks to eliminate all activities not in accord with the Park's historical character.[200]

In carrying out the Park Mission, broad Service policy is interpreted and adapted to meet the specific local situation.

The following practices are followed in line with the principles and methods discussed earlier.

1. Eliminate non-conforming and adverse uses, including picnicking and certain annual events, not related to the historical significance of the park, but nonetheless held here. Until accomplished, retain control over such uses.

2. Transfer approximately 200 acres of park land west of the schedule By-Pass Road to the State of Tennessee for recreational purposes, thereby removing the above incompatible uses from the military park.[201]

3. Secure inholdings and certain adjacent outholdings required for the proper management and operation of the park.

4. Obliterate certain park roads for more effective control of access and for park protection. Follow a wait and see policy with respect to others, observing the travel trend subsequent to construction and use of the By-Pass Road.

5. Reduce the number of private accesses for better control and for park protection.

6. Interpret chiefly by self-guidance, utilizing visitor center exhibits and audio-visual programs to stimulate use of the self-guided tour route and interpretive devices.

7. Preserve the character of the forest and fields as existing at the time of the battle. Lease certain historic fields for hay, thereby reducing park maintenance of those fields.

8. Continue to furnish housing to those employees subject to rotation and to certain others holding "key" maintenance positions.

9. Continue to study the desirability and feasibility of retaining or eliminating all concessions at the Park.

10. If a decision should be made at some time in the future to discontinue the concession operation, consideration should be given to continuing the sale of selected publications, post cards, etc., through the agency of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

198. This has been accomplished. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
199. Again, this idea is not likely to be implemented due to the stewardship arguments and concerns that suggest certain primary roads remain two-way. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
200. Master plan, 1961, through page 7.
201. This plan was never implemented. The park instead placed the picnic/recreational facility on a different tract south of the original proposed location. Although the park's enabling legislation has been amended to permit the transfer/trade of lands, relinquishing land authorized for acquisition by the veterans of the Civil War is not consistent with park battlefield preservation goals. The park's authority to exchange land has not been exercised except in limited cases. Stacy Allen, personal communication.

11. Shiloh National Military Park will function within the framework of this approved Master Plan and under published delegations of authority, as a Group C organization as defined in the *Administration Manual*.[202]

Additions and Modifications to Shiloh National Military Park during Mission 66

As noted above, despite these extensive and detailed plans, few tangible projects resulted at Shiloh from Mission 66. The proposal to build a new visitor center at Fraley Field where the battle had originally begun, which would have made it possible for visitors to tour the battlefield in a more logical and chronological order, was immediately met with skepticism and resistance, and eventually tabled. Plans for the existing headquarters area, which ranged from using the administration building for exhibits and offices and the post office/concession building for employee residences, to the demolition of all buildings in the Pittsburg Landing area, continued to be debated for years. Opinions on the proposal varied, with some officials favoring the move and others advocating maintenance of the status quo. Because of the lack of consensus, nothing was done.[203]

Although the park's Mission 66 prospectus and master plans called for the improvement of interpretive features at the park, none were implemented. This occurred in spite of the fact that the park had developed an interpretive prospectus during the 1950s, which recommended that, in addition to a museum, the park would benefit from establishment of a field contact station located on a key point of the battlefield tour where wayside exhibits and a relief map could be displayed. The prospectus proposed that outdoor exhibits be installed at Pittsburg Landing, the Iowa State Monument, the United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument, the site of Ruggles Battery, the Confederate burial trenches, the Shiloh Church site, the Hornet's Nest/Sunken Road, the Johnston tree and Monument, the Peach Orchard, the William Manse George Cabin, the Indian Mounds, the site of gunboat operations, and the site of the field tent hospital.[204] However, the only tangible improvement in park interpretation occurred when the *Shiloh Historical Handbook*, first published in 1951, was made available in vending machines provided by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association beginning in 1958.[205]

Undoubtedly one of the factors contributing to a lack of significant progress on the proposed projects was the degree of turnover of park superintendents during the period. Another was the lack of congressional support.

On April 15, 1956, as the Mission 66 program was getting underway, Superintendent Ira B. Lykes, who had been involved in the early planning for Mission 66, was promoted and transferred to Washington, D.C., after nearly five years of service at Shiloh. James W. Holland was appointed Acting Superintendent later that month and served for four months between April and July 1956.

On July 10, 1956, Floyd B. Taylor was named the new park superintendent. Taylor remained at the park for only three years. Taylor did not always enjoy a congenial relationship with his staff or the local community. Taylor is known to have disagreed with the Shaw family, prominent members of the local community who owned a

202. Master plan, 1961, 8–9.
203. Capps, 52. Visitor Center Location, Charles Shedd, Jr., July 1957; Superintendent Floyd Taylor to Regional Director, September 10, 1958; Taylor to Regional Director, September 25, 1958; Regional Director Elbert Cox to Director, September 1959; Chief, Design and Construction to Chief, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, November 24, 1959; Superintendent Bernard Campbell to Regional Director, December 8, 1959; Design and Construction to Chief, EODC, December 18, 1959, Shiloh Park Files, Folder 564, Box 37, Series II.
204. Capps, 72. 1953-1959 Interpretive Prospectus, Shiloh Park Files.
205. Capps, 72. Shedd, 65; Monthly Report of Historical Activities, FRC Box 85558.

restaurant and gift store on the edge of the park and were tour concessioners. Park Historian Charles Shedd sought reassignment during Taylor's tenure, possibly in response to the working conditions. Taylor himself was reassigned in April 1959.[206]

Bernard T. Campbell was appointed park superintendent later that month and served between April 12, 1959, and November 30, 1963. He was followed by Ivan J. Ellsworth, who served as park superintendent between December 1, 1963, and June 3, 1967. Like Taylor, Ellsworth maintained a strained relationship with park staff and the local community.[207]

Rerouting Highway 22, and Development of Recreation Facilities

Despite the lack of agreement on the visitor center proposal, other aspects of the Mission 66 plan did proceed. The most important of these projects was the rerouting of Highway 22 (Shiloh-Corinth Road) out of the core of the battlefield. The ground work for this project had already been laid by the time the Mission 66 master plan was prepared for the park. Plans called for the construction of a "Belt By-Pass" road. In addition to enhancing the safety of visitors, the new route would be shorter, decreasing maintenance costs and park law enforcement duties.

Because the road passed through both Tennessee and Mississippi, the National Park Service worked with the departments of transportation in each state to effect the change. After years of negotiations, the park entered into an agreement with Mississippi that effected transfer of their administrative responsibility for the road to the state in 1955. As agreed to in the negotiations, the Mississippi portion of the highway corridor was resurfaced under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Roads as part of Project 9A1. Once the work was completed and the final inspection made on October 17, the State of Mississippi accepted the quitclaim deed to the road right-of-way from National Park Service Regional Director Elbert Cox during an official ceremony on November 16, 1955. The 12 mile section of the road in Tennessee was transferred to the state in September 1956.

Two other agreements were signed between the Governor of Tennessee and the Secretary of the Interior pertaining to resurfacing of the Tennessee portion of the road and construction of a proposed "Belt By-Pass" road that would reroute a portion of the road from the center of Shiloh National Military Park to its western margin. The new road was to reduce safety conflicts with visitors, as well as decrease the length of road that the park would need to maintain and patrol.

The Superintendent's Annual Report for 1957 indicated that the park had decided to cease tours in the vicinity of the highway until through traffic was eliminated from the historic core.[208] Similar to the earlier transfer, the park proposed to transfer title to and jurisdiction over the roads to the State of Tennessee. As part of the proposal, the National Park Service offered to provide funds to assist the state in bringing the road up to appropriate standards. In January 1957, a bill was introduced into Congress for the transfer of lands totaling approximately 200 acres from the federal government to the State of Tennessee for purposes of constructing a new road along the western edge of the park; this new road would be used instead of the internal park roads for through traffic. The transfer of 151 acres was to include an area suitable for the development of a wayside park. The park also entered into preliminary discussions with the highway commission regarding possible transfer of 200 acres of park land adjoining the proposed road for the purposes of establishing a state wayside park that would relieve Shiloh of incompatible recreational use.

On May 16, 1958, Congress passed HR 4115, which provided for the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Tennessee certain lands located within Shiloh National Military Park

206. Edwin C. Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
207. Ibid.
208. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1957.

totaling approximately 51 acres, as well as certain additional land contiguous and incident to the proposed relocated State Route 22 approximating 151 acres, for road construction and recreational purposes.[209] In exchange, the state agreed to build the new road. The Act also released to the park existing segments of State Routes 22 and 142 for exclusive park use. After the act passed, the superintendent noted that accomplishment of the objectives would have a significant bearing on the future of the park and its development under Mission 66 planning efforts.[210]

The project was anticipated to offer the following benefits for:

> 1) separating the fast, heavy, dangerous through-traffic from the park visitor seeking to derive inspiration or pleasure from a casual trip over the historic Battlefield Park Tour Route;[211]
>
> 2) reducing roadside maintenance and road surface maintenance by 75 percent;[212]
>
> 3) enabling a Park Ranger to devote maximum service and attention to park guests;[213]
>
> 4) improving local public relations by providing a 65-mile per hour bypass road outside the park proper.[214]

In November 1958, the Superintendent received written acceptance and agreement on the language, intent, and terminology of a Quit Claim Deed by which the U.S. Government would transfer title to certain lands for the road to the State of Tennessee. After the land transfer was effected in November 1958, the park received a written agreement that indicated the state's pledge to build the new road and release portions of existing Highways 22 and 142 for exclusive park use.

With the necessary agreements in place, construction of the long-awaited bypass could begin. The park was subsequently visited by the Tennessee State Highway Department Division Location Engineer and Junior Engineers to discuss plans and profiles for the new road. After the park staff traveled the proposed route on the ground, the Superintendent noted, ". . . all in all, it appears that in general the interest of the park will be served very well by the proposal."

Superintendent Taylor also visited the Nashville office of the highway department to discuss the project. The highway commissioner indicated that work on the project would likely be scheduled within the next few years.

Although legislation passed in May 1958 had authorized the conveyance of 151 acres from the park to the State of Tennessee for this purpose, and the Tennessee legislature authorized acceptance of the land in February 1961, the Division of State Parks was not enthusiastic about the idea. The State Park Director ultimately refused acceptance of the land.

Construction of the bypass road was initiated in 1961 and completed in 1962, meeting the goal of having the road in place for the Centennial of the Battle of Shiloh.[215] The highway replaced the use of Corinth Road as the main local transportation

209. Public Law 85-406.
210. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1958.
211. Although this objective was accomplished, the park continues to face challenges associated with encouraging drivers on the re-routed highway to remain within the posted speed limit of 45 miles per hour. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
212 The objective of reducing maintenance by 75 percent has never been met. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
213. This has essentially been accomplished, but rangers continue to stop travelers on the roadway whose speed exceeds the 45 miles per hour limit. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
214. This proposal was never pursued. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
215. Capps, 53, 102, 125. Superintendent's Annual Report - FY1958, FRC Box 85558.

corridor through the park.[216] To address the necessary adjustments to the park's internal circulation, the National Park Service prepared drawings for the design of a new entrance road, tour route, and parking areas. The plans also called for the removal of sections of road that were no longer needed (Figure 28).[217]

Despite its desire to avoid accommodating recreation within the park, the National Park Service finally decided to develop a picnic area near the realigned Highway 22 south of Sowell Field in 1963.[218]



FIGURE 28. View of the location of the 1960s closure of Corinth Road, looking northeast from the town of Shiloh, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

As noted by Stacy Allen:

> In hindsight, it made all the sense in the world to move recreation out of the battlefield. At that time, from a financial standpoint, unfortunately for battlefield preservation, they deemed that section of the battlefield less significant. Now, I would argue that we can't do that. I would argue that every acre authorized by the Congress, i.e., Civil War veterans, because that's who were in Congress in 1894, many of them Shiloh veterans, that every acre they mandated is equal to every other acre, we cannot today say one acre over here is less important than this acre over there. But, you know, at one point in time, they were administratively thinking that way. Our legislation was amended to permit the park superintendent the authority to trade land, which I think was the worst thing to ever happen to our legislation.
>
> An Act passed on June 25, 1947 authorizes/provides the Secretary of the Interior the authority to exchange federal land for non-federal lands within the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park. Naturally, these exchanges by Secretarial decree would be—and were—initiated and recommended by the park superintendent and thus, my statement the superintendent possessed authority is semi-accurate in the context the superintendent recommends and requests the exchange, providing their managerial justification why to do so through proper agency channels via the region, then to director, and ultimately to the Secretary. No recommendation to exchange lands was ever denied . . . .
>
> Luckily, conveyance of the lands for a recreational area to the State never came through.[219]

The Park Orientation Film, *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle*

One of the ideas conceived at Shiloh National Military Park during this period as a way to enhance its interpretive program was production of a film that could be shown at the museum to orient visitors to the battlefield. The idea for a film of this type was first proposed in 1937, although

216. Historic American Engineering Record, *Shiloh National Military Park Tour Roads, Shiloh,* HAER TH-37, 1997, 1 of 4.
217. National Park Service, "Entrance Road, Tour Road, Parking Areas & Road Obliteration," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3008_Z1, January 22, 1962. As built drawings: Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3009A, January 1964.
218. Capps, 103, 125. The land used for the picnic area was not the land cited for its use. It was placed on ground south of the proposed conveyance tract. Most of the land proposed for conveyance was not suitable for the construction of the desired recreation facility as it was bottom land. Instead, the park sited the facility south of the proposed land for conveyance. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
219. Stacy Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

the idea had never been acted upon. A variation on the idea was implemented in 1954, however, after park superintendent Ira Lykes broached the idea of developing a slide and sound program to meet the same purpose. Lykes worked closely with Park Historian Charles Shedd to develop the slide show titled *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle*. Although the slide show was an immediate hit with visitors, Lykes remained frustrated with the static format.

In 1955, Lykes suggested expanding on the popularity of the slide show by producing a film addressing the same themes. After sharing his idea with park staff and two nonprofit citizen groups that had formed to support park needs—the Shiloh Park Citizens Association, established in 1953, and the Shiloh Historical Association, established in 1955—Lykes was pleased to receive positive responses on all fronts, as well as offers of financial support and volunteer labor from the nonprofits. Another nonprofit organization, the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, established in 1956 to sell books and memorabilia within the park and return the proceeds to the park for special projects, later offered to donate $1,000 for completion of the film.[220]

Production began on the live-action film, which was shot on the battlefield, in 1956.[221] Filming followed a dedicated period of research conducted at the park to ensure accuracy, and subsequent efforts to prepare the historic narration and secure relic material to be used by the actors.[222]

On April 6, 1956, the park held a special program on the anniversary of the battle during which the completed film was unveiled. The first 500 people to view the 30-minute documentary were members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and their guests. As part of the program, the UDC dedicated the Rosters of Confederate Troops in the battle, which had been prepared over several years by several of the organization's chapters.[223] Superintendent Ira Lykes presided over the festivities.

With the same title as the slide show, *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle* was the first film of its type produced anywhere within the National Park System. It remained in continual showing until April 5, 2012. On April 6, 2012, the film was replaced by *Shiloh: Fiery Trial.* The new film was introduced to visitors on the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Shiloh, following its debut on April 4, 2012, at Pickwick Landing State Park Inn.

Tennessee River Erosion Control

Another aspect of park management that began to receive attention during the Mission 66 era was the protection of the Tennessee River shoreline from erosion. Following the impoundment of Kentucky and Pickwick lakes in the 1930s, the park's river frontage—totaling 9,000 linear feet extending between Tennessee River miles 197.8L to 198.7L along its eastern boundary—had begun to experience severe erosion due to related changes in hydrology. The park's eastern boundary sits along the Tennessee River shoreline, and includes bluffs that reach heights of up to 100 feet. Since the 1950s, the shoreline has evidenced topsoil erosion, slumping, and periodic collapse of soil mass and trees, receding horizontally at an average rate of 8 inches to 1 foot per year. As noted previously, much of historic Pittsburg Landing was lost in a flood in January 1954, when an estimated 20,000 cubic yards of material, close to one-third of the entire feature, washed away in a single episode. The erosion has posed an immediate threat to several important features of the park, including three of the mounds and the central plaza associated with the Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark complex, the CCC-built Dill Branch causeway, an overlook at the extreme left flank of "Grant's Last Line," Pittsburg

220. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1956.
221. Capps, 71. Superintendent Charles Dunn to Director, March 13, 1937; Ned Burns, Acting Chief, Museum Division to Director, February 12, 1937; Press Release, May 31, 1954, Shiloh Park Files; "Work Underway on Color Film of Shiloh Battlefield," *Daily Corinthian,* March 17, 1955.
222. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1956.
223. Ibid,

Landing, and the wall and road along the eastern side of Shiloh National Cemetery.



FIGURE 29. View of the barricades along Riverside Drive, looking south, which were used to protect drivers from the erosion caused by the Tennessee River, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Although the park began to consider how to solve the erosion problem during the 1950s, the situation has remained challenging. Beginning in the 1970s, several methods were used to halt or slow erosion along the shoreline using the limited funds available (Figure 29). These measures have included construction of a creosote pile wall, a sheet pile wall, placement of riprap and rock retaining walls, poured concrete, and stacked bags of concrete, all of which met with varied degrees of success.

Park Activities 1956–1966

Park Activities, 1956[224]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1956, the park recorded more than one-half million visitors for the first time in its history, supporting the claim made by National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth that the popularity and use of the National Park System would continue to increase throughout the 1950s.[225]The increase in visitation was an important consideration in the planning associated with Mission 66.

Visitors participated in several events, programs, and celebrations at the park throughout the year. Primary among them was the marking of the battle anniversary on April 6 and 7, when *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle* premiered.

Promoted prior to completion of the film, Lykes had asked to remain at Shiloh until after the movie was unveiled. He left the park soon after the battle anniversary event, and was replaced on April 15, 1956, by Acting Superintendent James W. Holland. Holland remained at the park through July 9 and presided over the annual Memorial Day ceremony in the national cemetery. In anticipation of the event, the park marked each grave with an American flag.

Floyd Taylor joined the park staff on July 10 as the new Superintendent. Taylor officiated at a special ceremony held on August 25, 1956, to mark the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the National Park Service.

Other programs held at the park that year included Campfire Day on September 19, and Park Establishment Day on December 27.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. To enhance visitor enjoyment of the park, the new movie was made available for visitors in the museum soon after its premiere showing in April. A new relief map of the battlefield was installed in the lobby of the museum that same spring. The map illustrated vegetation, road conditions, and principal points of interest at the time of the battle. New color photographs were also installed to accompany an exhibit about the tour route. At this time, museum visitors were offered a park tour map and folder of information. These were also updated with new photographs. The park further enhanced the visitor experience by installing new entrance signs

224. All information is derived from the 1956 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

225. According to NPS records, recreation visitation in 1956 numbered 644,300 persons. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

and informational and directional signs near the primary park entrance and at important road junctions. These signs were designed to help visitors follow a self-guided tour.

During the spring and summer, visitors were afforded the opportunity to take advantage of two special tour services offered by concessioners and other private organizations: Tennessee River boat tours conducted by the Reader excursion boat concessioner; and passenger bus services provided by Adventures Incorporated. These tours were discontinued later in the year due to limited interest and high overhead.

Planning efforts. Special projects conducted during Fiscal Year 1956 included an update of the park boundary survey.[226] Another project involved the application of a bituminous dust palliative treatment to 0.6 miles of Grant Road, Route No. 1A, conducted under an agreement with the Hardin County Road Commission.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The most important effort conducted at the park in the area of landscape management involved addressing long-standing concerns regarding the passage of Highway 22 (Shiloh-Corinth Road) through the park, as noted previously.

Another project of importance conducted in 1956 was historic field management. Based on a land use plan prepared in 1955 by the Hardin County Agricultural Agent and District Soil Conservationist, nine special use permits were issued for maintenance of 22 acres of fields in open land cover. The program, which was based on a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the two local agencies, entailed the issuance of permits to local farmers stipulating the cultivation of crops as part of an effort to maintain the historic scene, while also improving soil conditions. With the addition of the permits, a total of 244 acres and eighteen fields were leased under the program by the end of 1956. In support of the program, the County Agricultural Agent and a Soil Conservation Service technician regularly inspected the fields, providing the lessees with recommendations for improving agricultural practices in such a way as to protect the historic fields, and reviewing and reissuing the agricultural special use permits as appropriate. These leases presaged a land management tool that many parks would begin to use in the 1980s.

A third project of interest initiated during 1956 was the improvement of landscape conditions associated with the five Confederate burial trenches located within the park. Under the direction and sponsorship of the Shiloh Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Shiloh Park Citizens Association, approximately 140 trees and shrubs, donated by Cartwright Nurseries of Collierville, were planted around the trenches to add beauty and dignity to the burial grounds, while soil erosion problems were also corrected.

General maintenance efforts conducted over the course of the year included cleaning and painting of tablets, fertilizing and aerating the turf in the cemetery, and the initiation of a hazard tree removal program.

During an annual review and evaluation of park property, the park headquarters area was identified as having water treatment deficiencies resulting from the highly corrosive water servicing the area. It was determined that an aerator, contact basin, and chlorine would need to be used to improve the quality of the water supply for the protection of the park personnel and the public.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park staff were involved in the preparation of the Interpretive Section of a new Master Plan Development Outline, which was submitted to the region and subsequently approved by the Director. Staff also enhanced the park's fire

226. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "Proposed conveyance to State of Tennessee for park purposes-Parcel 'A', Proposed conveyance to State of Tennessee for Right-of-Way for State Highway No. 22," Drawing No. 304/41019, 2 sheets. Revision June 1956.

protection program, including the preparation of a fire readiness plan.

Personnel changes included the appointment of a new ranger to curtail speeding on the Shiloh-Corinth Road.

As part of outreach activities, park staff worked with nearby communities to develop programs and materials in support of economic development through tourism. One effort involved working with the City of Corinth to prepare exhibits for a Corinth Historical Museum. The superintendent also assisted Hardin County officials in preparing material for a five-year human and natural resources development plan.

Park Activities, 1957[227]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1957, park records indicate that visitation numbers were fairly similar to those of the previous year, with recreation visitation numbered at 634,000.[228] However, in his annual report, Superintendent Taylor suggested that these numbers were likely to decline once Highway 22 was rerouted from the core of the park. Taylor recognized that the visitation numbers were likely skewed due to the number of cars that represented through traffic. This issue was also recognized in a traffic study prepared in 1956 and 1957 that suggested planned Mission 66 improvements might need to be scaled back due to the artificially high visitation counts from through traffic conveyed along Highway 22. Like Taylor's conclusions, the traffic study suggested that park visitation counts after construction of the bypass would be significantly lower than originally anticipated. Taylor noted that the park anticipated taking more accurate counts after completion of the bypass road.

Visitors continued to participate in several of the events, programs, and celebrations offered in 1956, including the April 6 and 7 battle anniversary and Memorial Day ceremonies, Campfire Day, and Park Establishment Day on December 27. In 1957, the flags used to decorate the graves in the national cemetery on Memorial Day were placed by members of Company B, 170th Armored Infantry Battalion, National Guard Unit, based in Savannah, Tennessee.

Additionally, the Shiloh Park Citizens Association sponsored "Shiloh Night" at the Hardin County Fair during the summer in honor of the ninety-fifth anniversary of the battle. The exhibit, manned by park personnel available to answer questions, featured a Confederate uniform.[229] The new film was also shown at the event.

The film otherwise served as an important draw for the park throughout the year, as noted by Superintendent Taylor in his annual report.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park renewed its new agreement with a local agency of the nonprofit organization, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, to operate a book and gift store in the museum/visitor contact station.[230] Under the agreement, profits from the sale of items would be returned to the park to support operations and projects.

The park's folio for visitors was updated to conform to changes made in the location of signs and directional markers in May 1957. The interpretive information conveyed at each station was reviewed and revised as needed.

Planning efforts. Eleven copies of the new park film were acquired from the Shiloh Park Citizens Association, which maintained ownership of the movie. The park distributed copies to the five regional and other principal offices of the National Park Service.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The farm lease permit

227. All information is derived from the 1957 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

228. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

229. Capps, 124.

230. Ibid.

program continued into its third year with the support of the County Agricultural Extension agent and Soil Conservation Services technician, who evaluated the permits and practices of the farmers. The agents considered changing the recommended crop rotation schedule based on a new policy issued by President Eisenhower concerning the growing of government-supported crops on federal land. Additionally, the park worked to delineate the correct boundaries of historic fields by removing encroaching woody growth. The park also sought to control the historic scene by adding screen plantings where views were not consistent with those present in 1862.

The UDC continued to contribute to the enhancement of the Confederate burial trenches in 1957 by donating additional shrubs for planting.

The water supply problems identified in 1956 were addressed with the installation of a water aeration and filtration system. The new system was described as working well.



FIGURE 30. View of Hamburg-Purdy Road and Bell's Field, looking northeast toward a cannon and multiple markers, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Additionally, the park initiated a project to repaint all 611 metal markers and labels erected by the War Department. The park determined that it would repaint approximately 33 percent of the markers each year, completing the project over a three-year period.[231] Maintenance of the field markers, cannon, and monuments was made a priority along with improved care of existing trees (Figure 30). The staff also worked to standardize all signage within the park and ensure that it met highway regulations.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. One of the most important administrative efforts conducted during 1957 was the initiation of a comprehensive inventory of park maintenance practices and the impact on resources as part of an overall effort to improve the efficacy and efficiency of operations. As part of the inventory, all items considered to be surplus to park needs were sold or otherwise disposed of.

Maintenance personnel attended a workshop on the care of signs and markers held at Natchez Trace Parkway.

Superintendent Taylor made several community outreach efforts, as noted in his annual report. Based on the recollections of historian Edwin Bearss, Taylor's efforts were not well received, and his was not a popular superintendency.

Park activities, 1958[232]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Based on new counting procedures authorized and approved by analytical statistician Rendell B. Alldredge of the Washington Office of the National Park Service during a visit to the park, the number of visitors recorded at the park decreased dramatically in 1958. Overall recreation visitation for the year was 211,600.[233] In March alone, visitation decreased from 32,959 in 1957 to 11,213. Despite these disappointing numbers,

231. This cyclical maintenance program remains a part of the park's management practice in 2015.
232. All information is derived from the 1958 Superintendent's Monthly Reports, unless otherwise noted.
233. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

Superintendent Taylor noted in his August 1958 monthly report:

> Figures reported in future will continue to reflect the greatest accuracy possible, employing continuing surveys and appraisals. Only by this approach can we build and staff realistically for Mission 66 and the future. Time for making revisions and reappraisals is still in our favor, even though the one-hundredth anniversary is in 1962.[234]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. To improve safety along Highway 22, load limitations were placed on trucks traveling through the park. The state operated weigh scales to help truckers determine whether they complied with the new limitations.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts conducted during 1957 included a visit to the park by Regional Director Elbert Cox, who brought news of an anticipated accelerated construction program for the parks as part of Mission 66. While at the park, Cox reviewed Shiloh's proposed program.

In June, Superintendent Taylor traveled to the Region One Office in Richmond as part of a regularly scheduled biannual meeting. Most of the discussions focused on Mission 66 planning and progress. The park requested assistance from the region in hiring a new ranger. Other concerns raised at the meeting included the rerouting of Highway 22, the ongoing problems with erosion at Pittsburg Landing, and the need for engineering inspection and appraisal. The park expressed its hopes and plans for improving the interpretive program under Mission 66.

As part of his return trip to the park, Taylor visited Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. He witnessed the extensive work being conducted as part of Mission 66, noting that it was "an inspiration to see the things which are becoming realities under Mission 66."[235]

In September, a Mission 66 master plan review was held at the park under the direction of Edward S. Zimmer, Chief, Eastern Office Division, Design and Construction, Philadelphia. In attendance at were Ewell M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Region One Office; Arthur F. Perkins, Regional Chief, National Park Service Planning; Jean Carl Harrington, Regional Chief of Interpretation; Thomas C. Vint, Chief, Design and Construction, Washington Office; William S. Kay, Supervisory Park Historian; and Joseph S. Lynch, Supervisory Park Ranger. Superintendent Taylor indicated that:

> This was probably one of the most significant meetings in its detailed deliberations of any ever held in the Park, insofar as future service to the public and final developments which are yet to be accomplished under Mission 66 programming is concerned. A special report, accompanied by sketch maps, is being submitted through channels for your [the director's] final consideration and approval.... The final outcome looks so favorable and promising, in every way, that we are just now beginning to get a real touch of "Shiloh Mission 66 fever" on several of the most significant aspects of the Park development plans.[236]

As part of the master planning process, the park prepared a new interpretive tour plan.

The park's museum program was also reviewed by Museum Curator Elizabeth Albro. Albro indicated that only two major changes were needed to bring the museum records into line with current regulations: the transcription of material from the old records to the new forms; and the inclusion of data concerning artillery pieces.

As part of an overall effort to improve operations, the park began to develop a library catalogue, inventory the slide library, prepare a list by state of the units engaged at Shiloh, and search Miller's Photographic History for photographs pertaining to Shiloh.

234. Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1958.
235. Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1958.
236. National Park Service, "Interpretive Tour Map," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-2030A (October 24, 1958).

The park received a much needed map from the Eastern Office of Division of Design and Construction showing the location of monuments within the park and the tour route. The park also received an older map of Shiloh from the Office of the Quartermaster General.

Archeological work was conducted on the Sunken Road by Park Naturalist Frances Elmore.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The Hardin County Agricultural Extension Agent held a Local Forestry Demonstration within a stand of pines planted by the CCC, demonstrating the process for selective thinning for the health of the trees.

Evaluation of park resources suggested that Residence No. 11, which stood vacant at the time, was considered surplus to park needs. Based on the Mission 66 prospectus, the building was scheduled for demolition. The park first offered the building to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which declined the offer. A park evaluation committee subsequently recommended that the building be sold to the highest bidder. After sealed bids were received for this and other surplus property, the Superintendent noted:

> Almost without realizing it, the early stages of Mission 66 are already arriving at Shiloh. The disposal of one surveyed, obsolete residence, and two accompanying outbuildings, through Award and Sale under Sealed Bids, will shortly restore the historic scene on a portion of the battlefield by the razing of structures which were not there when the battle occurred.[237]

In July, the U.S. Public Health & Welfare Office inspected all public use facilities, water supplies, fountains, restrooms, septic systems, and concession facilities at the park, in addition to care of food, trash, garbage disposal, incinerator, picnic facilities at Rhea Spring, a new outdoor toilet constructed at the site in June, other pit toilets, foot bridges, and the abandoned spring. The officials recommended that the park install a chlorinating system and check if the main septic system was emptying into the Tennessee River. The park was ordered to remedy any occurrence where effluent was found to be reaching the river.

Maintenance activities included repair of roads after a period of heavy freeze-thaw cycles in January and February, and repair, painting, and cleaning of metal signs. Riverside Drive and the turnaround at Pittsburg Landing were identified as in need of maintenance following impacts from river flooding. Other maintenance projects included general repairs to buildings; smoothing minor roads after heavy rains; mulching leaves on lawns; and brush removal and vista clearing on the Sunken Road, the Peach Orchard, around cannon and monuments in fields, and on the edges of woodlands.

Maintenance crews were also engaged in repair of damage caused by vandals to metal markers, while moles were noted as problematic in the cemetery. The park continued work on the three-year project to paint, clean, and catalogue cannon.

The park's interpretive signs were updated for accuracy based on research conducted by Park Historian William Kay.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Two key personnel changes occurred during 1957: Park Historian William Kay was promoted to a position at Natchez Trace Parkway and replaced by Donald Dosch, formerly of Castillo De San Marcos National Monument. Before leaving, Kay attended a Civil War historians' conference at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, visited Texas to interview the son of the Drummer Boy of Shiloh, and traveled to the Army Medical Service School library at Fort Sam Houston to collect materials of interest to the park.[238] Supervisory Ranger Joseph S. Lynch,

237. Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1958.

238. Many veterans claimed to be the drummer boy of Shiloh. It appears that the drummer boy was not a specific person but a character established in a poem/song based on a composite of several individuals. Personal

formerly of Grand Canyon National Park, was also hired and placed in charge of field maintenance activities. Lynch participated in the annual inspection of park fire hazards.

In October, Lynch was appointed Acting Superintendent when Superintendent Taylor traveled to Mammoth Cave National Park and Abraham Lincoln National Historical Park to inspect their Mission 66 developments in considering ideas for Shiloh. During his travels, Taylor also attended a workshop in Atlanta, and visited Kennesaw National Battlefield Park, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, and Wright Brothers National Monument, as well as the Region One Office in Richmond, Virginia.

One of the concerns raised by the park in 1957 was the fact that it was short-handed in terms of clerical staff, and unable to hire a new clerk due to budget shortfalls. In his August report, Superintendent Taylor detailed the various administrative responsibilities that he had been forced to complete due to the need for additional clerical help, including a report on Fiscal Year 1959 anticipated Amortization Accruals, the operating program forms for all applicable accounts, a detailed inventory report on all physical facilities, project construction program priority lists and proposed development schedules, an inventory report on federal real property changes, employee training records, 1960 financial estimates, and preparation and distribution of news releases on the park traffic situation and law enforcement.[239]

As part of an agency-wide initiative involving personnel training and the enhancement of management procedures, park staff participated in a meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where they learned about current trends in management-employee relations, and procedures for cooperative management designed to increase efficiency and workplace harmony.

Park personnel also attended a Red Cross standard course in first aid. Civil Service examinations were offered to employees as an opportunity to advance. To support the needs of park personnel, a Shiloh Park Employee Welfare Association was created.

The park's partnering organization, the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, supported the park by donating a lithograph of a scene depicting fighting in the Hornet's Nest during the Battle of Shiloh to the museum collection.

Superintendent Taylor traveled to Selmer, Tennessee, to attend a trial relating to traffic cases and other infractions of park rules in the court of the U.S. Commissioner. Taylor also addressed a Lion's Club meeting, and attended a special meeting of the Rural Development Program Committee for Hardin County to review progress reports and plans for future economic development. The Superintendent also spoke at a local high school graduation.

In other outreach activities, the effigy pipe, also known as the Little Man of Shiloh, discovered in 1899 during archeological investigations conducted at the Indian Mounds, was shipped to Belgium, where it was to be exhibited at the 1958 Brussels International Exposition. In June, the park loaned Civil War ordnance to Civil Defense officials in Jackson, Tennessee, as part of an effort to rid the area of unexploded ammunition. Park Historian Kay participated in the training of the Civil Defense Explosives Reconnaissance personnel, providing a briefing on Civil War artillery projectiles.

The park's film was shown at a gathering of the Alcorn County Development Commission.

communication, Stacy Allen, Shiloh National Military Park.

239. Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1958.

Park Activities, 1959

Park Superintendent Floyd B. Taylor was reassigned and replaced on April 12, 1959, by Bernard T. Campbell.

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies.[240] In 1959, recreation visitation numbered 225,400.[241] Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and no event information was located for inclusion in this study.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 1959, the federal government purchased the Shiloh school property, located within the battlefield, from Shiloh United Methodist Church for $11,000.[242] Acquisition of this 6-acre property was first discussed in 1955 with members of the Hardin County School Board after the school closed and the students were moved to the Southside School. Acquisition of the parcel was intended to support park interpretation of the area around the historic Shiloh Church site, a key part of the guided tour route.

Park Activities, 1960

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1960, recreation visitation numbered 803,800, reflecting a significant increase over the past several years.[243] In addition to the increase in visitation to National Parks across the country in the decades following the end of World War II, recorded numbers reflect local traffic on park roads, particularly the Corinth Road (original Tennessee Highway 22) was being counted as visitor use at the time. With the relocation of the highway, commuter traffic primarily used the new state highway; a commensurate decline in public recreational use of the park is recorded from 1960 to 1965. *(See further discussion of visitation numbers for 1961 and following years, below.)*

Superintendents' monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and no event information was located for inclusion in this study.

Planning efforts. In 1960, the park prepared a new General Development Plan to guide ongoing projects.[244]



FIGURE 31. View of the paved intersection of Hamburg-Savannah Road (left) and Corinth-Pittsburg Road (right), looking south, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Mission 66-funded activities included additional landscaping of the five Confederate burial trenches, and the completion of more than a mile of paved trail through the Hornet's Nest. The paving of all park

201. Gaps in available superintendent's reports occur sporadically from 1959 through the 1980s. The reports proved to be the best source of administrative information available for preparation of this report. For the years for which no reports could be located, information was derived from drawings and reports available at the National Park Service Technical Information Center (e-TIC). Every effort has been made to locate Superintendent's reports for this report, including research conducted at the park and at the National Archives in Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C.
241. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
242. Capps, 125.
243. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
244. National Park Service, "General Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-2028C. November 4, 1960.

roads, many of which were still earthen-surfaced, was also initiated (Figure 31).[245]

In June 1960, Superintendent Campbell met with leaders of Boy Scout Troop 343 from Memphis to discuss the possibility of developing a hiking trail through the park. Construction of the 14-mile Shiloh Military Trail soon followed as part of a cooperative effort.[246] Within a year, it was estimated that 25,000 people had visited the trail. One of the Boy Scouts who visited the trail was Fred Prouty, now Director of the Tennessee Wars Commission. He remembers:

> It's a good long hike and you must read and write down answers that you obtain from monument text all through in the park . . . like a scavenger hunt! . . . You had to read a lot . . . you were given a questionnaire booklet and you were to answer questions like: "At this point on the map, read the monument that mentions what officer was killed at this portion during the fight at Fraley Field?" And you had to navigate by map since you were not following a marked trail.[247]

In 1972, Tennessee Representative Ed Williams and Ken Humphreys of Shiloh Military Trail, Inc., attempted to have the trail designated a national recreation trail. The park, however, did not support the designation due to concerns that the trail would be overused and associated park resources would suffer. It was also later determined that the trail did not meet the necessary criteria for the designation. Nevertheless, it continued to be heavily used until 1991, when it was closed.[248]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. In 1960, the Shiloh Park Citizens Association changed its name to the Shiloh Association.[249]

Park Activities, 1961

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1961, recreation visitation numbered 927,400.[250] This very high annual number corresponds with commemorative activities associated with the Centennial of the Civil War. As previously noted, visitation counts for this period may be higher than actual visitor use, as persons traveling on highways through the park were included in overall park visitor counts.[251]

Superintendents' monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and no event information was located for inclusion in this study.

Planning efforts. A 1961 edition of the Mission 66 "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Shiloh" was published.

Designs were also prepared for an addition to and alteration of the existing visitor contact facility, to change the intersection of the park's Entrance Road with Tennessee Highway 22, to build a pavilion at Sowell Field, and for water and sewer utility upgrades associated with the new picnic area.[252]

245. Capps, 53. Bernard T. Campbell, Shiloh National Military Park, November 1961, 22; Completion Report – Hornet's Nest Trail.
246. Capps, 125–126.
247. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.
248. Capps, 72. Campbell, 21; Ken Humphreys to Regional Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, December 1, 1972; Regional Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to Regional Director, NPS, October 5, 1977, Shiloh Park Files.
249. Capps, 125.
250. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
251. The visitation figures for this period are extremely high as compared to the range of visitation prior to 1960, and in 1965 and later years. Total annual overall use of the park, based on road traffic crossing Shiloh battlefield in the early 1960s, was in excess of 1,000,000 annually. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016.
252. National Park Service, "Addition and Alteration to Visitor Center," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3003; "Intersection-Park Entrance Road & Tenn. Hwy 22," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3004 and 3004A; "Pavilion Sowell Field," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3007 and 3007A, and

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. In 1961, the Shiloh school building was demolished.[253]

Although funds were appropriated to acquire the land necessary to build the Hamburg Road bypass, construction funds were not forthcoming, and the project languished.[254]

Park Activities, 1962

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1962, recreation visitation numbered 803,200.[255] Superintendents' monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and no event information was located for inclusion in this study.

In 1962, the park observed the Centennial of the Battle of Shiloh with several special ceremonies.[256]

Planning efforts. Plans were developed to plant additional vegetation around the Confederate burial trenches to enhance their appearance and protect them from erosion.[257]

Plans were also prepared to address utility needs within the headquarters area, and deficiencies in the Pittsburg Landing Road Spur and Overlook.[258]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Road work was completed near the Tent Hospital.[259] To enhance the expanded parking area completed at the visitor contact station, the National Park Service planted 215 trees.[260]



FIGURE 32. View of the W. Manse George Cabin with the porch addition from 1962 that is no longer extant, circa 1980. (Source: Library of Congress, Carol M. Highsmith Archive)

The William Manse George Cabin (also the War Cabin), which overlooks the Peach Orchard, was stabilized. A new porch was also added that had not been part of the building historically.[261] In April 1862, this cabin had been located in Perry field, which borders the main battlefield entrance off Highway 22. It was moved to its present location shortly after the battle to replace the George Cabin destroyed by artillery fire (Figure 32).

"Utilities-Water and Sewer Headquarters Area," Drawing No. NMP-SHI-3006 and 3006A.

253. Capps, 126.
254. Capps, 53. 1961 and 1962 Master Plans.
255. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
256. Capps, 126.
257. National Park Service, "Proposed Planting," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3080, December 18, 1961.
258. National Park Service, "Headquarters Area-Utilities Plan" Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-2069C, July 30, 1963, "Utility Area Fencing," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3017; August 1962, "Pittsburg Landing Road Spur and Overlook," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3011B; August 1963, "Hamburg Road Bypass," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3013, November 1963, and "Picnic Area Sowell Field," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3015, August 1963.
259. National Park Service, "Construct and relocate access road" completion report. SHIL_304_D27.
260. National Park Service, "Landscape Planting, Visitor Center Parking Addition" fact sheet for completion report. SHIL_304_D33, and "Landscape Planting Visitor Center Parking Addition," As Built Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3018B.
261. National Park Service, "Stabilize War Cabin" completion report for construction project. SHIL_304_D28. The porch was later removed as part of a restoration project in 2003.

Park Activities, 1963

Superintendent Bernard T. Campbell completed his term of service at the park on November 30, 1963. On December 1, he was replaced by Superintendent Ivan J. Ellsworth, formerly of Saratoga National Historical Park.

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1963, recreation visitation numbered 745,700.[262] Superintendents' monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and no event information was located for inclusion in this study.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In his first monthly report, Superintendent Ellsworth noted that:

> . . . recent changes in the roads in the park and closing or termination of the Lew Wallace and Confederate roads has caused some indecision in the use of the remaining roads by local drivers. The park has spent hours assisting motorists with interpreting the new circulatory pattern.[263]

To support the needs of drivers resulting from changes in park circulation, the National Park Service prepared a sign plan for the entrance and visitor contact facility.[264]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. In 1963, the park completed work on the picnic area proposed in 1961. The picnic area was to feature 110 picnic tables, running water, fireplaces for cooking, and refuse collection features. The areas around the picnic tables and fireplaces were to be paved with crushed stone, along with a system of walks linking road and parking areas with picnic sites (Figure 33).[265]



FIGURE 33. View of Highway 22, looking west toward the Sowell Field Picnic Area, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

The contract for construction of the Sowell Field Picnic Area Comfort Station and sewage disposal treatment unit was awarded to Pettigrew and Finney of Adamsville, Tennessee, in the amount of $13,280. The contract for an associated well was awarded to Robert E. Ratliff Company of Grenada, Mississippi, for $12,335. The access road and parking area were built by the Sawner Trucking Company of Savannah, Tennessee, for $1,973.65.

Other projects completed in 1963 included road work near the Tent Hospital, and new asphalt-surfaced trails leading to the Confederate burial trenches at Rhea Springs, Lost Field, Water Oak Pond, McClernand Road, and Cavalry Road.[266] Cast aluminum markers were fabricated and placed around the park to identify sites of interest to visitors. Trees and shrubs were also planted at the Confederate burial trenches.

262. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
263. Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1963.
264. National Park Service, "Entrance and Visitor Center Signs," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3022, March 1964.
265. Capps, 126; National Park Service, "Completion of Water Systems Headquarters and Sowell Field," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3021, January 1964.
266. National Park Service, "Construct and relocate access road" completion report, SHIL_304_D27, completed August 30, 1963.

Park Activities, 1964[267]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Park visitation declined in 1964, with 471,000 documented visitors.[268] Superintendent Ellsworth's monthly report for January suggested that road closures and other changes associated with the rerouting of Highway 22 was partially responsible for the drop in visitation:

> . . . possibly due to elimination of through traffic from park roads by closure of Confederate Road at the south boundary, closure of Lew Wallace Road at its intersection with the new Park Entrance Road, and by closure of the Cotton Landing Road from the Headquarter parking area to the Park boundary.[269]

Despite a general decline in the number of park visitors, one group that continued to visit the park in ever increasing numbers was the Boy Scouts of America. After completion of the Boy Scout Trail, troop visits increased substantially. Hundreds of Boy Scouts visited the park each month to walk the trail, and to camp overnight. Park rangers led tours and campfire talks for the Boy Scouts.

The park was also visited by the Green Line *Delta Queen*, a tour boat that docked at Pittsburg Landing. Many of those who traveled on the boat took a tour of the park arranged by long-time park concessioners Phillips and Shaw.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Several regional personnel visited the park during this period to evaluate the park's visitor services and interpretive programs. Park Historian Jerry Schober accompanied the regional personnel on a tour of the park as part of an examination of interpretive devices and facilities that would factor into long-range planning initiatives.

One of the topics that was considered of primary importance during 1964 was the future of the Shiloh Church property, owned by the Methodist Church. The church was located on a parcel completely surrounded by park land, and on the site of a key part of the Battle of Shiloh. The park had hoped for some time to acquire the church property in order to include it in park interpretation as well as management programs.

In February, the park was visited by Mr. J. C. Gilbert, Superintendent for the Lexington District of the Methodist Church, to discuss possible federal acquisition of the property, including the non-historic Shiloh Methodist Church building.[270] Reverend D. Benny Hopper, Pastor of the Shiloh Methodist Church, followed up in May with a visit to the park and a proposed policy regarding limiting burials in the Shiloh Church Cemetery as part of an effort to cooperate with the park and support park interpretation. Reverend Hopper also discussed the potential future sale of the property to the federal government. Hopper also proposed to reconstruct the original log Shiloh Church for interpretive purposes. These proposals were later considered by the Southeast Regional Office and Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), which granted permission to National Park Service architect Charles S. Grossman to assist with the reconstruction project. Grossman collected photographs and illustrations of typical log structures to guide reconstruction plans. Park Historian Schober worked with Reverend Hopper to conduct research on the physical character of the building and its probable location.

Planning efforts. To facilitate visitor wayfinding, the National Park Service prepared a

267. All information is derived from the 1964 Superintendent's Monthly Reports, unless otherwise noted.
268. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
269. Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1964.
270. Gilbert had been associated with the Shiloh Methodist Church as early as 1932–1936, when he served as pastor. Dr. Ronnie Fullwood, *Shiloh's House of Peace: The Church That Named the Battle* (Selmer, Tennessee: G. & P. Printing Services, 2003).

new sign plan for the entrance and visitor center.[271] The Superintendent's monthly report for May suggested that demolition of Route 2G (a portion of Confederate Road) and Route 16A (a portion of the Lew Wallace Road) were priorities of the plan.

Superintendent Ellsworth also indicated that the park was considering using some of the excess concrete resulting from the demolition of some roads for river bank stabilization (Proposal M-40). On March 4, heavy rains washed out a section of the road leading to Pittsburg Landing. Some concrete had already been placed along the riverbank following flooding in March. The park, however, realized after the fact that it would be necessary to remove the reinforcing steel bars from the broken concrete before placing it on the riverbank at Pittsburg Landing to ensure the safety of those walking around the area.[272]

Continuing with Mission 66 master plan work, the park prepared updates to the Master Plan Development Outline Chapters I and II, and submitted them to the region for review. Edwin C. Bearss also prepared several important studies on behalf of the park, including *Artillery Study – Shiloh National Military Park, Project No. 17*, and narrative reports for five planned wayside exhibits titled, "The Ball Opens in Fraley Field," "Cleburne's Attack at Shiloh Church," "The Fight for the Peach Orchard," "The Army of the Ohio Arrives in the Nick of Time," and "Death and Destruction at Bloody Pond."

As the national cemetery, the existing conditions plan was revised, and a new appraisal of vacant gravesites prepared. The number of gravesites listed as available was reduced from 270 to 99.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. In 1964, construction of the pavilion, comfort station, water well, pump house, water lines, and drinking fountains were completed at the picnic area by the Pettigrew and Finney Contracting Company of Adamsville, Tennessee, and the Robert E. Ratcliff Company of Grenada, Mississippi. Invitations to bid were also issued for the construction of two pump houses and the completion of the water systems. The low bidder, Carroll and George of Michie, Tennessee, was awarded the contract for $11,200. The new pavilion proved particularly popular because it offered the only shade and rain cover in the area.

As the park worked to address proposed changes to the road network in response to the rerouting of Highway 22, including the removal of some unnecessary road segments, barricades were placed at some intersections to direct visitors through some of the new traffic patterns.

The park's agricultural special use permit applications included requests to access fields via the now-closed Lew Wallace Road.

Stringer Brothers Nursery of Memphis was the low bidder for the tree planting project around the new parking lot on the east side of the visitor contact facility. They completed the work for $3,062.50.[273] Several of the trees and shrubs later required replacement under the warranty. The National Park Service subsequently prepared as-

271. National Park Service, "Entrance and Visitor Center Signs," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3022, March 1964.

272. The placement of concrete on the riverbank during this period was later determined by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to have been an adverse action. The concrete did not provide support or alter erosion, while its haphazard placement and irregular mass actually accelerated the hydraulic force of the water, producing increased cutting action on the surrounding soils. Stacy Allen, personal communication.

273. Capps, 54. Completion Report - Picnic Area, December 13, 1963; Completion Report - Access Road and Parking Area, November 7, 1963; Completion Report - Improve Confederate Burial Trenches, June 25, 1963; Completion Report - Landscape Planting, Visitor Center Parking Addition, February 21, 1964; Completion Report - Construct Picnic Area Comfort Station and Utilities, January 17, 1964, March 10, 1964, and June 3, 1964.

built drawings of the expanded visitor contact facility parking area and planting project.

The park completed its annual inspection of buildings to detect and correct fire hazards, as well as environmental public health issues. It was determined that the park's water and sewer systems required additional improvement. In order to plan for the design of a new sewage treatment plant, the park began to keep records on water consumption.

The Tennessee Department of Public Health visited the park to review the park's efforts to monitor the bacteria content of the drinking water supply. Water sampling had revealed unsatisfactory levels of bacteria in the water supply associated with Quarters No. 8 and 50. To address the problem, the park installed a hypochlorinator for the water supply associated with Quarters No. 8; but it was determined that a new water source was needed for Quarters No. 50. In order to secure a suitable source of water for Quarters No. 50, the park had determined that it would need to enter into a land exchange with a neighboring property.

This proposed exchange, which entailed a property owned by Woodrow T. and Carolina B. Daley, and another owned by John E. and Inez S. Benny, was completed in 1964.[274] Once the land exchange was complete, the park dug a well on the newly acquired tract to support water supply needs at Quarters No. 50. The water in the new well was tested by the United States Geological Survey, Water Resources Division, and found suitable for use. A ground water level recorder was installed, and equipment ordered to connect Quarters No. 50 to the well.

Elsewhere within the park, plans were made to install an interpretive marker at the William Manse George Cabin, once the text was prepared and approved. Another marker proposed to honor the contributions of Texas soldiers was placed on site on July 27 by contractor Strasswender Marble and Granite Works of Austin, Texas. This marker was one of eleven placed on battlefields and other sites of military importance to the state of Texas in 1963.[275]

Regular maintenance activities completed during 1964 included tree work within the cemetery, at the new picnic area, and along the tour route. District Horticulturist J. C. Clark visited the park and advised on care and spraying of the Peach Orchard within the parameters of National Park Service policy regarding the use of chemical pesticides. Based on his advice, maintenance personnel submitted a proposed spray program to maintain the Peach Orchard. Soil samples were taken to determine the cause of poor growth and appearance of ornamental trees and shrubs in the Headquarters area. The samples indicated that the soils were too alkaline for the species that had been planted.

The Superintendent's monthly report in June indicated that roadside cleanup and maintenance responsibilities had been reduced due to the road closures associated with March flooding. The park worked through the spring and summer to repair the roads. Because of the flooding, the park identified the need to improve all drainage structures and ditch lines associated with roads subject to washout. Concrete ditches were built along some of the roads that required repair, particularly those at Pittsburg Landing.

The park also initiated a campaign to clean up broken glass.

In July, the park prepared its annual report of real property, which included an inventory of the park's buildings and utilities. Seven buildings on

274. The land exchange was considered by many to be contrary to the goals of the park and preservation of the battlefield as defined in the 1894 Congressional legislation. Exchanging federal lands for private parcels inside the authorized boundary forces park managers to make a choice regarding which land is more significant, a decision that was originally left in the hands of the veterans. In addition, the park lost acreage in these exchanges, which is also contrary to the enabling legislation since the primary purpose of the park is to protect and preserve the battlefield once acquired. Stacy Allen, personal communication.

275. Capps, 126.

tracts acquired since 1960 were declared excess property, and the list provided to the General Services Administration in the same month. Since the buildings were not sufficiently attractive to result in a firm request from the local schools, they were offered for sale by advertisement. Bids were received on the surplus buildings, and they were later removed from the park and the sites reclaimed.

National Park Service architect Hugh C. Miller traveled to the park to prepare an architectural evaluation of visitor facilities. The visit resulted in changes in the auditorium lighting.

Quarters No. 3 was partially renovated, while four new construction projects were given authorization to proceed, including construction of a new shop and firehouse (B-1), extension of the water system (U-2) and sewer system (U-13), and fencing of the utility area (M-24). Architectural drawings were later prepared for the shop and firehouse, along with initial plans for the improved layout of the Headquarters area.[276]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Ranger patrol time was increased to support protection of those using the new picnic area.

Personnel changes during 1964 were limited. Administrative Assistant Samuel H. Rock accepted a new position at Cape Cod National Seashore, and appears not to have been replaced. Budget concerns also led to the hiring of fewer seasonal personnel, which limited the number of guided tours that the park could offer. The Superintendent noted in his May monthly report that the costs of operating the visitor contact facility and park utilities were being reduced to meet an identified need to economize.

Park personnel were commended by the region for safety consciousness and preparedness, and the park was visited by the Special Assistant to the Regional Director to conduct a fact-finding mission as part of a National Park Service Safety Evaluation Program. The park's attention to safety and its glass cleanup program were commended. Park staff watched a film titled *Safety Everywhere All the Time*. Based on an investigation into a string trimmer accident, the park changed its equipment use procedures. The safety devices on the Cooperative transformer service platform were improved. Fire brigade training was held for key operating employees.

Park law enforcement investigated a visitor's attempt to steal an artillery tube, while increased hunting activity on land adjacent to the park required targeted boundary patrols. Hunters caught in the park were fined. Thefts were also reported in the gift shop during the visit of a group of local high school students. Other problems reported during this period included traffic violations, vandalism, and metal detecting and artifact collecting. Boy Scouts were sometimes identified as the cause of damage to signs, vegetation, and monuments within the park.

Superintendent Ellsworth traveled to Washington, D.C., to meet with Associate Director A. Clark Stratton and former Superintendent Campbell to discuss the closure of park roads. He was appointed advisor to the Tennessee Travel and Tourist Promotion Council by the Governor.

Chief Ranger Wilmer H. Walker and Park Ranger William V. Westphal attended a two-day FBI training school for law enforcement. Park Historian Jerry L. Schober attended a Supervisory Training Course at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Park Guide Fred M. Smith was selected to participate in a training session to be held at the Stephen T. Mather Interpretive Training and Research Center.

James S. Route of the 15th Departmental Management Training Program visited the park to discuss the Intake Training Park Concept, and to interview personnel regarding current practices in

276. National Park Service, "Shop and Fire House Headquarters Area," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3014, January 1965.

orientation and indoctrination of permanent uniformed personnel.

A local chapter of the National Park Service Women's Organization was formed with a goal of sharing ideas and talents with each other and increasing knowledge and skills for family, home, and the park.

The park made the orientation film available to school groups. Superintendent Ellsworth met with President Harry H. Hickman of the Shiloh Historical Association, Inc., on December 5 to confer about delivery of the park film to the Library of Congress, as requested in July 1957 and in fulfillment of the terms of its copyright.

Park Activities, 1965[277]

In March, the Tennessee River flooded its banks and covered Riverside Drive for several days. Use of the flooded road was restricted. After the river receded from its crest of 30 feet on March 31, the road was reopened. However, the flooding had caused a 500 to 700 cubic-yard section of river bank to slip into the river, exposing a section of the Shiloh National Cemetery wall and leaving a 6-foot section of the wall suspended without support. The park notified the Southeast Regional Office of the problem.

In May, a portion of the damage resulting from river flooding was repaired through support and stabilization of the cemetery wall, and fill of the bank slippage. Two large cannon and their carriages were removed from the bank of the Tennessee River due to the risk of loss from further river bank erosion. Although the park also intended to use broken concrete from the road obliteration project as riprap, no bids were accepted for the project and bags of cement and sand were used instead. The proposed repairs were cleared by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The emergency repairs proved insufficient to address the problem in its entirety.

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1965 numbered 382,700 persons, approximately 90,000 fewer than in the previous year.[278] The park initiated a new system to count visitors based on the guidance afforded in the new National Park Service *Handbook on Statistical Surveys: Design and Analysis.* After1965, Shiloh began to experience annual ups and downs in terms of visitation numbers, which continues to the present. Visitation numbers vary from year to year, between approximately 250,000 to more than 600,000 visitors. The fluctuations are based on various factors and influences related to the economy, and social and geo-political parameters, which likewise affect recreational travel throughout the United States.[279]

The park was again visited by the *Delta Queen* as part of a steamboat excursion organized by Greene Line Steamers.[280] More than 100 passengers from the steamer were furnished bus transportation to and from the visitor contact station and a tour of the park by the park concessioner after docking at Pittsburg Landing.

The park conducted many of the same programs during 1965 as had been offered for several years. The battle anniversary program in April was particularly well received due to the blooming of the trees in the Peach Orchard.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Engineer Melvin Barlow of the Southeast Regional Office assisted the interpretive staff in an evaluation of the audiovisual equipment and made a study of possible improvements for the audiovisual system.

In his monthly report for June, Superintendent Ellsworth noted, "The number of drivers who are

277. All information is derived from the 1965 Superintendent's Monthly Reports, unless otherwise noted.
278. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
279. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016.
280. Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1965.

'lost' due to road changes is gradually decreasing although still substantial."

Historian Schober prepared for a visit by a regional Wayside Exhibit Planning team by working on an updated study to ensure the accuracy of the information conveyed on signs, markers, and wayside exhibits. He later met with the planning team, composed of Reed W. Jarvis and Edward J. Bierly. Schober was impressed with the proposed exhibit developments and cooperativeness of the team.

Planning efforts. Work continued on the design of a possible reconstruction of the log Shiloh Church. Architect Charles Grossman provided information on materials and fabrication methods to Reverend Hopper. A preliminary drawing for the reconstruction was approved.[281] Soon thereafter, a meeting was held with a committee from the Shiloh Methodist Church to discuss exchange or sale of the church's inholding. The exchange would involve 4 acres of land and include the historic graveyard. Proposals to transfer land along with the Shiloh Methodist Church were discussed with Reverend Hopper, and a copy of a proposal was provided to the regional director. As the effort reached the negotiation stage, support for the project began to falter, as the church expected some monetary compensation rather than the simple land exchange suggested by the federal government. Because no federal funds were available for purchase of the property, and the Shiloh Methodist Church was not eager to divest itself of the property, the project was put on hold by summer and has never been completed.

Other projects in the process of being designed included the incinerator and can washing facilities and an incinerator access road and ramp.

In 1965, a new master plan was prepared for the park by park personnel.[282] General Development Plan drawings were prepared as part of the master plan.[283] A drawing was also prepared to indicate current and proposed park boundaries.[284] The park also prepared a statement of Goals and Objectives for 1965 and submitted it to the region.

The Land and Water Conservation Act passed by Congress in 1965 stipulated that fees would need to be collected from visitors to the park.

A National Park Service field study committee that included Edward S. Peets and former Superintendent James W. Holland visited the park as part of a Land Acquisition Program for Civil War Areas. Assistant Regional Director Raymond A. Mulvany also conducted an inspection of the park and its operations.

The park was apprised of plans being prepared for a July 1966 reenactment of the Battle of Shiloh on land located near the park by the Confederate High Command International. A report of the proposed activities was furnished to the Regional Director.

The park began an inventory of museum materials, with the location of cannon and carriages checked against artillery location maps. The park also conducted its annual inspection of buildings for fire hazards.

The park was visited by the Hardin County Health Department as part of a statewide survey of campsites. The park's quarters were inspected by the Federal Housing Administration for re-appraisal.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Several projects that had been initiated in 1964 were completed in 1965. One of these was the connection of water lines between Quarters No. 50 and the well on the

281. National Park Service, "Shop and Fire House Headquarters Area," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3014, January 1965.
282. Folder 951, Box 63, Series I.
283. National Park Service, "General Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-2028E_Z1, October 1965.
284. National Park Service, "Shiloh Military Park," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-7008C, December 1965.

former Benny property. Neutralizing filters were used to maintain the new water supply system. A neutralizing filter and water softening system was also placed into use for the headquarters area water supply.

A Special Use Permit was granted for temporary use of a 3,500-foot section of Lew Wallace trace for access to lands adjacent to the park by the owners.

Renovation of Quarters No. 3 was completed, and the building began to be used for housing, while alterations were made to two former public restrooms to serve concessioners and for storage space. Additional replacements were made to the plantings associated with the expanded visitor contact station parking lot.

New projects involving construction of entrance and visitor signs (Proposals M-45 and M-51) were designed, bid, and proceeded to construction. A separate advertisement for invitations to bid was prepared for new interpretive signs and markers. As part of a boundary sign replacement project, the park conducted a detailed inspection of conditions along the park boundary line. The park approved work order B-8 for construction and placement of a new visitor contact station sign. Construction of the sign was guided by drawings prepared by the region.[285] The Tennessee Highway Department was contacted to discuss necessary relocation of park entrance signs within the right-of-way of Highway 22. The project was completed in 1965.

Drawings were prepared to guide construction of a new shop and firehouse and the obliteration of abandoned internal roads.[286] Prospective bidders were contacted about the shop and firehouse building project prior to the plans and specifications being put out to bid. The low bid of $52,060 was accepted and formed the basis for contract 14-10-0131-1442. The work was completed within the year. After bids were received for the obliteration of interior roads, the park determined that all of the bids were too high, and none was accepted.

The area around the headquarters was surveyed to locate and design a lagoon for additional treatment of sewage waste. Water consumption was analyzed and perk tests were completed, while EODC engineer Troy Carr reviewed the landform and topography of the site.

The park began to plan for additions to three employee residences, with funding appropriations anticipated for Fiscal Year 1966.

Eastern Office of Design and Construction engineers surveyed electrical service lines to support planning for service to the new shop and firehouse, and met with the Pickwick Electric Cooperative engineer. A new power distribution system was later installed in the utility area by the electric company. Two Navy trailers used for the Centennial were moved to Mammoth Cave National Park.

Regular maintenance efforts included the completion of tree work in the cemetery, with tree preservation programs conducted under direction of Horticulturist Bernhard A. Kolb. The Smith Field seed bed was prepared for sowing *lespedeza*, or bush clover, as a new ground cover. Maintenance personnel submitted plans for the 1966 pesticide program to be used at the historic Peach Orchard and in association with unwanted weeds and brush at the Bloody Pond, cemetery, boundary line, roadsides, and picnic area. The plan was prepared in compliance with new National Park Service guidelines. Park maintenance staff also conducted a clean-up project in response to an article in the *Hartford Times* about the poor condition of the country's national parks.

285. National Park Service, "Entrance and Visitor Center Signs" Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3022, March 1964.

286. National Park Service, "Shop and Fire House Headquarters Area" Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3014 and 3014A, January 1965; "Obliteration of Interior Roads," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3025, 1965.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park law enforcement investigated the theft of one of the metal "Bivouac of the Dead" plaques and a headstone from the cemetery, a cannonball from in front of the cemetery residence, a tour route marker, a metal star identifying the McDowell Headquarters Monument, and the sword in the UDC monument. Additional vandalism included the theft of signs and a reproduction cannon tube, as well as a tent and other equipment owned by Boy Scouts visiting the park. Looters were also caught stealing from a campsite trailer. Park boundary patrols were conducted to deter pre-season hunting near the park. The park alerted the Tennessee State Warden to out-of-season activities being observed within and near the park. The hunting season again required park patrols for the safety of visitors.

Park personnel changes included the transfer of Park Ranger William V. Westphal to Shenandoah National Park. He was replaced by Park Naturalist Dan M. Welch. Park Ranger (Historian) John Parker "J. P." Barnett was hired in 1965 as a temporary/seasonal Park Ranger (Historian).[287] Two other seasonal employees were added in February, another two in March, and three more in April. Doris Stewart began working for the park as a temporary clerk-typist on a 90-day appointment. A vacant park guide position was filled by Willie France from Mammoth Cave National Park.

The park was instructed to use a new program titled "Centralization of Paperwork, Records, and Reports" that suggested abolishment of the park's Administrative Assistant. The new program was described as leading to a difficult period of adjustment within park administration.

Park personnel were able to take advantage of several training efforts. Park Historian Schober attended a Kentucky-Tennessee National Park Service Interpretive Conference at Stones River, sharing the park's program of interpretation.

A representative from the Southeast Regional Office reviewed current and future safety programs. C. Raymond Vinten spent time with Chief Ranger Wilmer H. Walker, who headed the Shiloh Safety Program as Committee Chair. He made sure that seat belts and hard hats were used by all park personnel. American Red Cross films about safety were shown to park personnel, as were films on training and education, "The President's War on Waste," an Incentive Awards program, and a program on the value of trees, including their usefulness, desirability, and care. Job training of maintenance personnel for improved visitor protection also continued.

Superintendent Ellsworth participated in regional superintendents' conferences held in Richmond, Virginia, on the theme "Better Service through Better Management," and at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, on the theme "Management for Public Service."

The park worked to enter into a cooperative agreement for help with park projects from the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which was to be sponsored by the Corinth, Mississippi, Urban Renewal Agency. The program was soon scaled back due to budget restrictions, and scheduled work programs failed to materialize due to financial and transportation difficulties.

Park Activities, 1966[288]

The federal government passed the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, which resulted in the administrative listing of Shiloh National Military Park in the National Register of Historic Places, along with all historical parks under the administrative responsibility of the National Park Service.

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. The year 1966 was a watershed year

287. National Park Service, Shiloh National Military Archives and Manuscript Collection, 1933–Present, Series I.

288. All information is derived from the 1966 Superintendent's Monthly Reports, unless otherwise noted.

for the park, marking both the end of Mission 66 and the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service. The anniversary was marked in a special ceremony conducted at the park in August. The park film was shown daily to all interested visitors in honor of the occasion.

Recreation visitation in 1966 numbered 443,200 persons, over 60,000 more visitors than in the previous year but fewer than had visited the park in the early 1960s.[289] In July, another group of visitors arrived at the park by river on the *Delta Queen*. Large numbers of Boy Scouts attended the reenactment of the Battle of Shiloh on July 9 that was organized by the Confederate High Command. A special hiking medal was prepared by the Shiloh Military Trail Committee and presented to those who hiked the trail during the reenactment. The event was described as running smoothly, ". . . with no loss of park prestige or park values."[290]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. A 24-pounder (1841) howitzer was received from Petersburg National Battlefield in exchange for a 3-pounder Parrott rifle. The howitzer was placed on the battlefield and can now be seen as the left gun flanking McAllister's Illinois Battery monument, off the northwest corner of Review field.

Planning efforts. In 1966, several additional plans were prepared to guide proposed improvements at the park. These included expansion of the sewage plant, and additions to the residences.[291] Work continued on plans and specifications for the incinerator and can washing facility. Plans and specifications were prepared for the Obliteration of Interior Roads project and submitted for bids. An addendum was issued for the invitation to bids regarding the Incinerator and Can Washing Facility (project D&C-37-Z-66) to ensure compliance with new air pollution control regulations promulgated by Executive Order 11282, issued by President Lyndon B. Johnson on May 26, 1966.

The park reviewed a Signs and Wayside Exhibit Plan prepared by the region and pronounced them excellent, with only a few minor edits. Based on the plan, it was recommended that the park Tour Road be realigned, with two crossings of the Sunken Road eliminated.

The reenactment planned for an area near the park was discussed with the U.S. Army and the Confederate High Command in Nashville, Tennessee. Maps showing the changes to the historic road system, including those routes that had been closed or changed, were prepared for General Ramsey. Ken Humphreys, Chairman of Shiloh Military Trail, Inc., reported that as many as 1,000 Boy Scouts could be expected to visit the park in connection with the event. The location of a bivouac area on nearby Cromwell land was identified.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Representatives from the regional office of the National Park Service checked the water quality at the park, and reviewed the riverbank stabilization project. After a period of high water, investigation of the riverbank indicated that the concrete and sand bags had been successful in curtailing further erosion. Broken concrete was also placed along the Tennessee River bank below Shiloh National Cemetery to prevent further bank slippage. The concrete would eventually create adverse hydraulic conditions that accelerated erosion.

No approval was received on the proposed 1966 pesticide program, and the dormant spray season ended without any work being done.

Well K-4 experienced a decline in water level.

289. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
290. Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1966.
291. National Park Service, "Sewage Plant for Additional Treatment Headquarters Area," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3027, and 3027B, January 21, 1966, and "Additions to Residences Nos. 3, 4 & 6," Drawing No. NMP-SHIL-3029, 1966.

Park maintenance personnel met to discuss Mission 70, a program involving safety procedures.

The park undertook boundary field investigations of the Lost Field to determine possible future clearing work, treated trees in the Peach Orchard to control borers, and conducted an evaluation of safety issues involving signs and stairs.

Repairs were made to the cemetery walls, damaged by flooding, at a cost of $4,000.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture continued a study begun in 1965 to use Japanese beetle traps at six locations within the park under the direction of Inspector Bob Hilan of the Plant and Pest Control division in Jackson, Tennessee. No insects were reported in the park.

The N. H. Ferry construction company received the contract for the Additions to Residences 3, 4, and 6 as project 14-10-1-304-2. The project entailed adding utility rooms to the structures.

A contract for the Obliteration of Interior Roads was also signed as project 14-10-1-304-3, with a value of $8,496.

Work on a Sewage Disposal System for Additional Treatment of the Headquarters Area, project 14-10-1-304-1, was completed at a total cost of $16,000. Installation of a clay and asphalt lining for the lagoon was found necessary as the excavation progressed. The new system was placed into operation, but required the infusion of extra water, since there was not enough in the system to work properly.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park law enforcement investigated the theft of several directional signs, the sword from the Wisconsin Monument, and vandalism involving red and gold paint being used on the Confederate and Minnesota monuments. Tour signs and road signs were also vandalized during this period. Illegal access points into the park from adjacent privately owned land were discovered and blocked off. Trespass problems associated with a neighbor's livestock were also addressed.

Warnings were issued to people bringing hunting dogs into the park. The park continued to spend time preventing hunting on its land as hunting on adjacent properties sometimes spilled over into park, requiring ranger intervention. The Game and Fish Officer met with Chief Ranger Walker to discuss protection of park lands and lands adjacent to the park in McNairy County, Tennessee, where out-of-season hunting had been occurring.

Park personnel changes over the course of the year included the appointment of John Parker Barnett as Park Ranger (Historian) and Herbert L. Meeks as caretaker. Barnett, who was hired to fill a vacancy associated with the retirement of Willie France, had worked at the park seasonally for several years before being engaged for a permanent Park Guide position in May 1966.[292] The career appointment of Doris C. Stewart as Clerk-Stenographer also became effective.

Park Ranger Dan Welch resigned, and visitor protection functions were described as seriously impaired until the position could be filled. In August, Park Historian Schober transferred to Central National Capital Parks. In September, Barthel Jeffreys was hired to replace maintenance worker Ted B. Gray, who had applied for disability retirement. Steven M. Beatty and Thomas C. Hone were later hired to fill the vacant park ranger and historian positions, and provided with orientation

292. Shiloh National Military Archives and Manuscript Collection, National Park Service, 1933–present, Series I. Barnett first worked at Shiloh National Military Park as a laborer in the Maintenance Division in 1960, 1961, and 1962, and then as a seasonal Park Ranger (Historian) in the Interpretation and Resource Management Division in 1963. After a seasonal appointment as a Park Guide at Mammoth Cave National Park in 1964, he returned to Shiloh as a Park Ranger (Historian) in 1965. He was engaged for a permanent Park Guide position in May 1966. He remained in this position (which was reclassified to Park Technician in 1969) until his retirement in September 1976.

and training. A second park historian, Howard E. Tinney, was hired. Tinney transferred from Cumberland Gap National Historical Park. In December, Park Guide Robert A. Harlow also retired.

In a special ceremony, Leslie A. Riley and Jack Sowell were recognized for their years of service to the park. In March, the Shiloh Women's Organization honored retiring Park Guide Willie France for his twenty-four years of service.

The park prepared a report on Functional Analysis of Administrative Services and Executive Direction. Park staff were briefed on the Standard Regional and Local Career Development and Placement Plan. The park submitted a report entitled "Review of the Park Safety Program" to the region.

C. Raymond Vinten, Safety Assistant at the Southeast Regional Office, again visited Shiloh. Vinten reviewed accomplishments relating to 1965–1966 recommendations, and considered goals for 1966–1967. He prepared an inspection report covering new construction, the utility area, the picnic area, and the battlefield tour.

In January, an *Incentive Awards Handbook* was circulated amongst staff to encourage participation in a new program administered through the National Park Service Washington Office and the Southeast Regional Office.

In February, the Coordination of Wage Rate Surveys for Stones River and Shiloh was discussed by park personnel. A Policy Statement in support of the Equal Opportunity Program was issued.

A film marking the National Park Service's fiftieth anniversary—*Parkscape USA*—was shown to employees and their families. A training film for seasonal employees was also shown to the entire park staff. In support of continued safety training, park staff were offered a course in Red Cross First Aid training.

The Shiloh Association held a meeting for which National Park Service Historian Edwin Bearss served as the guest speaker. He talked about the Union ironclad gunboat USS *Cairo*, which had been retrieved from the bottom of the Yazoo River near Vicksburg in 1964.

The park was again apprised that the Neighborhood Youth Corps program was to be activated in Hardin County.

Evolving Management Strategies, 1967–1980



FIGURE 34. The Peach Orchard circa 1885. (Source: Chicago Historical Society, available on NPS History eLibrary website)

After the large infusion of funding and intensive planning associated with Mission 66 ended in 1966, several new influences began to affect park administration. Many of these emerged from federal legislation and resulting policy enacted during the 1960s and 1970s. Shiloh National Military Park personnel worked diligently to assimilate the new federal procedures and compliance requirements into daily park administration and management. Compliance with new environmental, historic preservation, and employment laws generally required training and additional funding.

Federal Regulation and Policy, 1962–1980: Environmental, Recreational, and Preservation Acts

The 1960s heralded a new era in federal resource management—natural, cultural, and recreational—that exerted a tremendous influence on the mission of the National Park Service and National Park System, as well as the administration of individual parks. Several federal acts and policies were enacted in rapid succession during the 1960s

and 1970s that directly impacted most national parks, including Shiloh National Military Park. The acts and resulting policies added new layers of study, evaluation, and public review to existing management practices, many of which had arisen from local and site-specific customary practices.

This chapter outlines the national context of the emerging regulatory environment as it impacted park administration and resource management at Shiloh. It also indicates the specific park administrative response, and physical changes that occurred within the park between 1966 and 1980.

One of the first areas of park administration to come under scrutiny during the 1960s in a general era of reform was natural resource management. During the early 1960s, the emerging science of ecology, coupled with an increasing awareness of the toll that humans were taking on the environment, began to suggest the need for a new ethic of environmental stewardship. Concurrently, the federal government began to recognize the need to make outdoor recreational facilities available to the public, at both the state and federal level, particularly in proximity to urban areas.

Based on a series of federally funded studies conducted in the late 1950s, and a report prepared by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, the federal government established the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in 1962 to address an identified need for enhanced public recreation. The Bureau suggested that the National Park Service would assume much of the responsibility for planning a national recreation program and administering park units designed to accommodate that purpose.[293]

Soon after the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation suggested this new role for the National Park Service, two reports, published in 1963, radically transformed policy priorities within federal agencies involving land management. The first was the *Report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management in the National Parks*. Often referred to as the Leopold Report after A. Starker Leopold, the chairman of the committee that authored the report, the study was prepared at the request of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in response to the problem of grassland overgrazing caused by elk in Yellowstone National Park. The committee's efforts, however, extended well beyond an investigation of elk overgrazing, and considered land management in the park more broadly. In its report, the committee suggested that National Park Service land management policies were contributing to unexpected negative changes in the ecology of Yellowstone National Park and, by association, other natural and wilderness areas under federal protection. Based on its findings, the committee, which included several scientists, presented a blueprint for altering the basic management philosophy for national parks. The Leopold Report suggested that the primary purpose of parks was to maintain an ecological balance and the naturally occurring composition of plant and animal communities in America's national parks, while working to promote restoration as possible to their condition at the time of European Contact. The report recommended that a permanent staff of scientists oversee natural resources management in each park. These findings had a profound impact on the National Park Service and the agency's approach to land management and park administration.

A second study prepared soon after the Leopold Report addressed the related question of research in the parks. Known as the Robbins Report after W. J. Robbins, the chairman of the group that prepared the study, the document corroborated the findings of the Leopold Report and advocated a shift in the agency's approach to managing natural resources based on an increase in scientific research conducted to better understand the processes associated with ecosystems.

The implications for change within the National Park Service in terms of operations, staffing, and

293. National Park Service, "Questions of Resource Management 1957–1963," available at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anps/anps_5.htm (accessed June 6, 2012).

expertise as a result of the Leopold and Robbins reports, coupled with the suggested addition of recreation areas to the National Park System, were enormous:

> [By 1963,] adoption of the Leopold report's recommendations as well as continued pressure to diversify the system to include recreation as well as preservation strained a National Park Service already undergoing change and growth from Mission 66. In the next six years these two issues would demand continual adjustment and reinterpretation. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall signaled the new tone with his 1964 letter on national park management. In it the secretary reaffirmed the Leopold report as a guideline and differentiated the management prescriptions for natural, historic, and recreational areas. The latter was a tacit admission of the growing complexity of the agency's mission.[294]

Even as the agency struggled to address these changes, the number of new federal management policies continued to grow through the 1960s and 1970s. Several additional acts passed by Congress further expanded the role and duties of federal agencies in managing land and natural resources.

In 1964, Congress passed the **Wilderness Act,** which created the Wilderness Preservation System and authorized the federal government to acquire wilderness areas for the benefit of present and future generations of Americans.

In 1965, Congress passed the **Land and Water Conservation Fund Act**, which established a fund for acquisition of new recreation lands, located either within or adjacent to existing park units, or to establish new parks. A portion of the fund, which would be administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, was to come from entrance fees charged at existing parks.

Congress followed in 1966 with passage of the **National Historic Preservation Act** (NHPA) (Public Law 89-665; 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.), which defined the duties of the National Park Service with regard to historic properties. The act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to create and maintain a national register of historic buildings, districts, sites, structures, and objects and to establish programs of matching grants to states and to the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The National Park Service became the coordinating agency for these activities and its director became the executive director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The act was passed in response to the destruction of older buildings and neighborhoods following World War II, often referred to as "urban renewal," and signaled America's commitment to preserving its heritage. The act established preservation as a national policy and directed the federal government to provide leadership in preserving, restoring, and maintaining the historic and cultural environment of the nation.

As part of the act, compliance requirements were established that required federal agencies having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed federal or federally assisted undertaking to take into account the effect on any district, site, building, structure, or object included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Federal agencies were also tasked with engaging the newly-established Advisory Council on Historic Preservation on each undertaking (Section 106 (16 U.S.C. 470f). In addition, federal agencies were required to preserve historic properties under their administrative responsibility and to establish a program to locate, inventory, and nominate all properties eligible for inclusion on the National Register (Section 110 (16 U.S.C. 470h-2)).[295]

Additional acts that would affect the way parks and the National Park Service administered land included the 1967 **Clean Air Act,** which provided another layer of protection for park resources, but also required that a process of compliance be

294. National Park Service, "Questions of Resource Management 1957–1963," http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anps/anps_6.htm

295. "National Historic Preservation Act of 1966," available at https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm (accessed April 12, 2016).

followed by agencies and others, and the 1968 **National Trails System Act**, which provided for the establishment of national recreation trails, accessible as possible to urban areas, to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture according to specific criteria to be established by Congress.

Like the recommendations of the Outdoor Recreation Bureau, this legislation served to expand the diversity of units in the National Park System and the complexity of the agency's management responsibility.

In 1969, Congress passed the **National Environmental Policy Act** (NEPA), which formed the nation's basic charter for environmental protection. It directed federal agencies to carry out their functions in a way that avoided or minimized environmental degradation and required them to conduct planning with studies of potential environmental impact for all development projects. It also specified that the planning process would be open for public input.

> This latter provision was to have extraordinary results as conservation organizations in particular became powerful players at the required hearings. NEPA rounded out a short period during which the duties and ground rules of the NPS evolved with dizzying speed especially for old-time employees, hired at a time when the parks were distant, serene enclaves of natural landscape architecture.[296]

In 1970, the extensive diversification of responsibilities assumed by the National Park Service due to the flurry of Congressional legislation passed during the 1960s resulted in passage of the **General Authorities Act**, which specified that all units administered by the National Park Service were part of the same "system" and that they were to be managed according to the provisions of the Organic Act of 1916 and other related laws. This Act followed efforts conducted by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in 1968 to prepare handbooks that would help the agency address the diverse administrative needs of the expanded national park system with a wide range of natural, cultural, historic, and recreation resources.

In 1973, the U.S. Senate passed the Land Use Policy and Planning Assistance Act (S.268), which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make annual grants to each State to assist them in developing and administering a state land use program that would ensure that areas of critical environmental concern were properly managed.[297]

One of the federal programs enacted to support the work of the National Park Service and other agencies managing public lands was the **Youth Conservation Corps** (YCC), similar in some regards to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the New Deal era. The YCC was established in 1970 as a summer youth work program to address conservation needs in federally managed lands by restoring, rehabilitating, and repairing natural, cultural, and historic resources. Open to high school boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18, and focused on environmental education while completing park maintenance work, the YCC program also serves some of the key functions of Jobs Corps and the CCC. The YCC program was made permanent in 1974 through an act of Congress.[298]

In 1978, Congress passed the **Civil Service Reform Act**, in part as a response to the Watergate scandal. The Act created rules and procedures for federal civilian employees. Parks within the National Park Service were expected to comply

296. National Park Service, "The Ecological Revolution 1964–1969" available at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anps/anps_6.htm (accessed June 6, 2012).
297. Internal document "Reducing the Development Backlog," Series I, Folder 949, Box 63, park archives.
298. Angela R. Sirna, *Human Conservation at Catoctin Mountain Park: A Special Resource Study* (Murfreesboro, Tennessee: Middle Tennessee State University, Department of History, 2015), iii.

with the Act by preparing new personal performance standards for permanent employees.

In 1980, the **National Historic Preservation Act** was amended to include guidelines for the management of nationally significant properties, curation of artifacts, data documentation of historic properties, and preservation of federally owned historic sites. The amendment required designation of a Preservation Officer in each federal agency. The amendment authorized the inclusion of historic preservation costs in project planning costs and authorized the withholding of sensitive data on historic properties when necessary. Federal agencies were directed to maintain historic properties in ways that consider the preservation of historic, archeological, architectural, and cultural values. Federal historic preservation programs were also charged with ensuring that the preservation of properties not under the jurisdiction or control of agencies, but subject to be potentially affected by agency actions, were given full consideration in planning.[299]

Thus, the changes set in motion by the Leopold and Robbins reports in 1963 in park management, along with the rapid passage of legislation that followed in the 1960s and 1970s, led to broad changes in the administration and management of the National Park System. Like many national park units, these changes were to profoundly influence administration of Shiloh National Military Park.

Influence of New Federal Policies at Shiloh National Military Park

The federal policies enacted during the 1960s affected Shiloh National Military Park in several ways.

Beginning in 1965, the park was required to begin charging an entrance fee for visitors based on the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. Despite the legislation, the park elected not to implement the policy at this time due in part to the challenges posed by the numerous entry points into the park.[300]



FIGURE 35. View of Indian Mounds Complex, looking northeast along Riverside Drive, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

In 1966, the park was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places based on passage of the NHPA. This listing was followed by preparation of National Register of Historic Places documentation by Robert Nash, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management at the park, in March 1975, which supported an understanding of the historic significance of the battlefield and national cemetery. The Indian Mounds located along the edge of the river were designated a National Historic Landmark in 1979 (Figure 35). Based on the NHPA, the park would later be required to consult with the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office to ensure compliance with the act when proposing changes to the battlefield.

After passage of NEPA in 1969, which required parks to follow new procedures for planning, the National Park Service began to engage consultants to prepare master plans in order to address the complexities associated with environmental

299. "National Historic Preservation Act of 1966," available at https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm (accessed April 12, 2016).

300. The park did not officially implement entrance fees until 1987, after Congress indicated a need for the National Park Service to meet the stipulations of the Land and Water Conservation Fund in more parks. Once the park began to collect the fees, the money was placed in reserve and was eventually used in the development of the Corinth unit.

impact issues, compliance and review, and the inclusion of public input. In 1974 and 1975, the Kentucky- based consulting firm of Miller, Wihry, and Lee was engaged to prepare a master plan for Shiloh National Military Park. The plan was designed to guide park improvements and management for several years. The master plan was the first report developed for the park in compliance with NEPA, and to meet new agency requirements for regular long-term planning.[301]

In the plan, the consultant firm of Miller, Wihry, and Lee described the visitor experience resulting from Mission 66 improvements:

> An interpretation of the battle events is presently offered visitors through facilities of the Visitor Center and a 10-mile self-guided auto tour (with 14 stops) of the battlefield. Hiking trails are available for more energetic persons. . . . Through expansion of interpretation for visitors, manifold facets of Shiloh—prehistoric, historic, modern, and future—could be brought out. . . . A potential exists to better acquaint visitors with the natural world around them and how that world affects their lives.[302]

Based on the goals and issues identified by the park, the consultant team proposed the following in the plan:

> Vital to the success of this plan is the construction of a new Visitor Contact Station in the southwest corner of the battlefield where the Battle of Shiloh began and ended. This orientation facility will provide a logical starting point for the battlefield tour. The new facility will supplement the existing Visitor Center which will be utilized for expanded interpretation through detailed exhibits and living history demonstrations.
>
> The new Visitor Contact Station will be an architecturally attractive building containing an auditorium, an exhibit area, an information desk, and comfort facilities. A smaller building adjacent to the main structure will house a bicycle concession and the Shiloh Post Office moved from the Park Headquarters area.[303]

Despite the holistic approach to meeting park needs conveyed in the plan, in the end it did not resonate with park staff and many of the ideas were never implemented.

Based on the new ecological approach to land management resulting from the Leopold Report, and the information required to comply with NEPA, the National Park Service began to prepare natural resource inventories and surveys within the park. These included an investigation of the Owl Creek Bottomlands, an old-growth forest that extended over part of a parcel that the park was interested in acquiring beginning in the 1970s due to its historical association with the Civil War Battle of Shiloh.

Park Superintendent Zeb McKinney oversaw the natural resource assessment of the Owl Creek Bottomlands. McKinney, who came to Shiloh with a background in science and natural resource management, noted, ". . . we had a beautiful natural area on the west side of the park, commonly referred to as the Roberson tract and the Owl Creek bottomlands—a really important natural area."[304] McKinney's interest in the tract for its natural resource value was consistent with the emerging focus of the National Park Service on ecology and its influence on natural resource management resulting from the Leopold and Robbins reports, and passage of NEPA in 1969.

In an interview conducted in 2013, former Superintendent McKinney described the change that occurred during his administration:

> The National Park Service was undergoing a service-wide change. There was a renewed, or change in, emphasis from maintenance to management. I kind of felt like, before this, that the principal duty was just to maintain in its present state . . . as best you could, given the resources that you had. And then as we

301. Miller, Wihry & Lee, "Master Plan; Shiloh National Military Park" (Louisville, Kentucky: Miller, Wihry & Lee, August 1974).
302. Ibid., 2–4.
303. Ibid., 48–49.
304. Zeb McKinney, personal interview, October 15, 2013.

> changed the emphasis to management, it turned into a period where we were doing deeper analysis of the resources and what was required to manage the resources, rather than to just maintain the resources as status quo.[305]

Later, in 1980, the park also contracted for the biological assessments that would be required for NEPA compliance relating to three proposed projects—construction of the Hamburg By-Pass Road, a new visitor contact station, and expanded tour route parking.

Based on the availability of work crews resulting from the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970, Shiloh was assigned volunteer enrollees to assist with grounds management projects during the late 1970s. In 1980, YCC crews also supported park efforts to renovate the two campgrounds used by Boy Scout troops and educational groups, and were involved in restoration of historic fields.

Evolving Trends in Interpretation: Ecology and Living History

Two trends in interpretation emerged during this period that influenced park administration. These included the popularity of living history, and the emphasis on natural resources and the environment.

Nationwide, interest in living history began to grow during the 1960s and 1970s, with many parks implementing demonstration programs in traditional agriculture, craft, and military practices. Although the initial focus was on agriculture and the living farm, the movement expanded into other activities involving a variety of demonstration areas, many of which involved period garb and traditional tools and lifeways.

In 1976, the park's interpretive program was expanded in the area of living history to include a Civil War encampment, demonstrations of musket firing, and costumed interpretation at the William Manse George Cabin.[306] Craft demonstrations, also a component of living history programs, were provided by members of the Hardin County RSVP Senior Citizens Organization. Firing demonstrations proved particularly popular, and were expanded during the late 1970s. The park received certification to hold Historic Weapons Firing Demonstration Programs based on approval of the plan prepared in 1978.[307]

Environmental Study Areas (ESAs) were introduced in the late 1960s as an agency-wide initiative that reflected the growing interest in ecology and the environment. They resulted from a proposal made in 1967 by William C. Everhart, Director of the National Park Service Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services,[308] based at the Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia, that the National Park Service take an environmental approach to interpretation and education. In order to consider how environmental interpretation might work within the parks, the National Park Service collaborated with Mario Menesini, director of the Educational Consulting Service, to prepare National Environmental Education Development (NEED) materials for schools. Several ecological concepts were to be woven into all subjects taught in schools and into all park interpretive programs. Parks were encouraged to establish ESAs that could be visited by school classes using NEED materials. By 1970, sixty-three parks had ESAs.[309]

By 1972, Shiloh National Military Park had joined with area educators and civic leaders to form the Shiloh Area Environmental Education Council, which sought to further environmental education in schools. One of the tasks of this group was to consider the park's ESAs. They scheduled a two-week program and invited participants, including 400 Head Start students, teachers, and parents, to develop the program. One of the outcomes, which

305. Ibid.
306. Capps, 127.
307. Certification of supervise, 20130424, 1979.
308. Teresa S. Moyer and Paul A. Shackel, *The Making of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; A Devil, Two Rivers, and a Dream* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2008), 182.
309. Capps, 73; Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (National Park Service, 1986), 68.

was completed in time to mark Environmental Education Emphasis Week in September, was the opening of an Indian Mounds Loop Trail to the general public. To promote the trail, park staff presented programs in area schools, and placed posters in public locations around the county.

The Indian Mounds Loop Trail offered one of the first opportunities for visitors to appreciate the historic and cultural significance of the Indian Mounds. Although the park had requested funds from the Public Works Administration for an Indian Mounds museum in 1933, the facility had been dropped from the list when other projects directly related to the interpretation of the battle were identified as higher priorities. No additional efforts had been made to mark the site. The establishment of the trail signaled that the mounds were again considered valuable to the visitor experience.

In 1973, the park established its ESAs, which were then used to host camps where students were able to imagine life as a Civil War soldier.

Tennessee River Erosion

Erosion of the Tennessee River banks remained a problem through the 1960s. In 1967, park maintenance personnel attempted to repair the Shiloh National Cemetery wall and the riverbank where erosion had undercut the land along the park boundary. The erosion control efforts were initially thwarted by high water levels and poor weather. However, as the weather improved in the late spring the park was able to complete the planned repairs to the wall, and add some riverbank protection below the structure before running out of funds.

The situation worsened again in 1973 following a devastating flood of the river in March when much of the eastern United States experienced excessive rainfall. Severe flooding stretched along rivers located between western Virginia and Mississippi. Maximum discharges from many gauging stations exceeded previous records. The record flooding of the Tennessee River caused extensive riverbank erosion at the Indian Mounds site and along the east wall of the national cemetery.[310] The need to address the problem was indicated in the park's master plan. As part of their effort, the consultant firm engaged Geologic Associates to provide recommendation for Tennessee River bank stabilization to include in the plan.[311]

In response, the park invited Dr. Gerald P. Smith of Memphis University to conduct archeological investigations of the threatened Indian Mounds site under contract to the National Park Service. Smith's work was completed in three phases: 1) analysis of previous investigations, including excavations conducted by Frank H. H. Roberts for the Smithsonian Institution in 1933–1934 as a Civil Works Administration project; 2) limited testing to determine the limits of the site; and 3) stratigraphic testing to determine the cultural chronology of the site.

Later, in 1980, Superintendent McKinney met with representatives of the TVA to discuss the need for more extensive geotechnical studies of riverbank erosion along the eastern margin of the park where erosion had continued to undercut the banks of the river and to cause problems below the national cemetery wall, at Dill Branch, and at Pittsburg Landing. In his Annual Report, Superintendent McKinney noted that the TVA had begun proposed repair work involving the placement of riprap on the problem areas.

The efforts to address the problem, however, were ineffective, and erosion would remain a concern of the park throughout the 1970s, and continue through the 1980s and 1990s as well.

Archeological Investigations at the Indian Mounds

As noted, the park invited Dr. Gerald P. Smith of Memphis University to conduct archeological investigations of the threatened Indian Mound site in 1975. As follow-up to Smith's work, the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), based in

310. Ibid., 127.

311. Series I, Folder 949, Box 63, Shiloh National Military Park archives.

Tallahassee, Florida, was engaged to investigate Mound A and obtain information regarding the cultural and chronological placement of the site.[312] SEAC investigated Mound A to determine its internal composition, and prepared a topographic contour map of the mound.[313] In 1980, SEAC provided a report on the archeological investigations conducted at the Indian Mounds.

Their efforts would continue later as the threat to the Indian Mounds posed by river erosion remained, culminating in one of the largest archeological investigations ever conducted by SEAC in the 2000s.

Park Activities 1967–1979

Park Activities, 1967[314]

Herbert Olsen replaced Ivan J. Ellsworth as Superintendent on June 18, 1967. Like Ellsworth, Olsen would remain in the position for approximately three years.

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1967 numbered 501,300 persons, nearly 60,000 more visitors than in the previous year.[315] The park began to experience an increase in visitation in this year. In April, for example, when the park recognized the battle anniversary, a 60 percent increase in visitors over the previous year was recorded. Boy Scouts continued to comprise a high percentage of park visitors. The scouts were described as hiking the trails and camping in the primitive camping area.

The park continued to offer most of the same programs as in years past, including a battle anniversary event in April, and celebrations of Memorial Day in May, and Park Establishment day in December. The battle anniversary event was marked by the distribution of new information sheets.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. A second Southeast Region representative visited the park to discuss the Mini-Folder Program, relating to the interpretive pamphlets provided to visitors.

In addition to a self-guiding tour leaflet provided to visitors at the visitor contact station, park staff offered several opportunities for guided tours.

In an effort to improve the interpretive exhibits within the visitor contact station, the park replaced some of the photographs on display that had become streaked, and identified others for replacement.

Interpretive specialist Albert C. Manucy of the NPS Southeast Regional Office visited the park to review the museum records and existing and proposed interpretive programs. During his visit, the park discussed the new visitor use markers and wayside exhibits that had been ordered after several years of planning.

Planning efforts. In January 1967, the park submitted an initial report on the disposal of record material as a part of a storage clean-out campaign, as well as a report on the acquisition of inholdings to the regional office.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Park staff identified enhancing the appearance and interpretive potential of the landscape as a goal for 1967. Proposed projects included improved maintenance of the Peach Orchard and several historic fields (Figure 36). During the spring, forty-five peach trees were planted in the orchard to replace those that had died. The park chose a

312. Capps, 127.
313. Ibid., 128.
314. All information is derived from the 1967 Superintendent's Monthly Reports, available through June, unless otherwise noted.
315. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

variety based on a bloom period similar to the trees described during the 1862 battle.



FIGURE 36. View of Peach Orchard abutting Hamburg-Savannah Road, looking northeast, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Maintenance personnel also treated the trees with applications of pesticide and herbicide spray in accordance with a schedule that met National Park Service environmental safety guidelines. They also factored in the efficacy of treatments that had been applied the previous fall to control borers that had become a problem.

Park maintenance personnel continued their attempt to repair the Shiloh National Cemetery wall and nearby riverbank, where erosion had undercut the land along the park boundary.

Following an evaluation process conducted during Fiscal Year 1966, buildings No. 8 and 8A, and an appurtenant pump house, were determined surplus property and identified for removal due to their location near one of the park entrances. The buildings were advertised for sale, and purchased by J. C. Littlejohn. The buildings were removed from the maintenance schedule and readied to be relocated out of the park.

In 1967, the park also completed several construction projects. Final inspection of the work associated with Contract 14-10-1-304-3, Obliteration of Interior Roads, was conducted for the work completed by B&B Construction of Adamsville, Tennessee. In addition, Contract 14-10-1-304-2, Additions to Residences No. 3, No.4, and No. 6, was closed out.

As follow up to the project, a regional landscape architect visited the park to collect data for an as-constructed drawing of the new sewage plant facilities in the headquarters area.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Superintendent Ivan Ellsworth announced his transfer to Richmond National Battlefield Park in May 1967 and relocated in June. Later that month, Herbert Olsen, former Superintendent of Russell Cave National Monument in Alabama, was appointed Superintendent of Shiloh National Military Park. Before reporting for duty on June 18, Olsen met with Associate Director Baker and Assistant Regional Director Marshall, of the Southeast Regional Office, in Washington, D.C., to discuss his new assignment at Shiloh. One of the topics discussed was the possibility of having Shiloh become a work station for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In this endeavor, the park would work with Bob Vinson, Executive Director of a seven-county Community Action Program that included Hardin County.

After his arrival, Olsen met with several influential members of the neighboring communities of Savannah, Adamsville, and Shiloh, in an effort to get acquainted.

Earlier that year, Shiloh had received a new park guide, who had recently received training at Harpers Ferry. In addition, Charles R. Diggs, who had responded to the Secretary of the Interior's Special Recruiting Program, accepted the temporary position of Park Ranger (Historian) in March. In May, Eldredge S. Howard, formerly a local history and science teacher, was awarded the Park Ranger (General) position following his role as Park Ranger (Historian). Diggs was subsequently appointed permanent Park Ranger (Historian), while Nicholas J. Eason accepted the position of Park Ranger to fill another park vacancy. Eason moved to the park from Montezuma Castle National Monument.

Park law enforcement addressed several infractions of park rules throughout the spring, including vandalism reported at the William Manse George Cabin, theft of a park stop sign by two boys from Corinth, Mississippi, and the

attempted theft of a cannonball by a visiting student.

The Southeast Regional Office offered audiovisual training for park personnel, while park staff provided a Standard Red Cross First Aid Course to new employees, along with a safety film titled *The Extra Step*. Regional Architect Edward W. Aschmann also visited the park to review and discuss maintenance practices, while Special Assistant (Safety) E. M. Dale visited the park to present the Director's Safety Certificate for 1966 to the park for its safety record.

A five-year concession permit was granted to Raymond D. Shaw and Allen Brown Phillips to continue providing visitor services within the park.

Herbert E. Kahler, Executive Director of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, visited the park to review operations with Agent J. P. Barnett.

Park Activities, 1968

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1968 numbered 536,700 persons.[316]

Planning efforts. In 1968, design drawings were prepared for the construction of a new surface utility area.[317]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The only recorded construction project entailed award of a contract for $9,980.74 to Pettigrew and Finney Contracting to construct several new waysides in the park. These included four masonry waysides with audio devices and seats, two masonry waysides without audio devices, and one masonry wayside without a seat. The audio devices were installed at Pittsburg Landing, the Sunken Road, Ruggles Battery, Fraley Field, and Bloody Pond (Figure 37). The project also involved installation of two 30-foot-tall aluminum flagpoles and thirty-seven aluminum mounting posts for interpretive wayside markers.[318]



FIGURE 37. View of masonry wayside, looking west toward Bloody Pond, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Park Activities, 1969

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1969 numbered 587,600 persons.[319]

Planning efforts. By 1969, the park had reached a size of 3,520.7 acres.[320]

Park Activities, 1970

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was

316. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
317. National Park Service, "Surface Utility Area," Drawing Nos. 304-41000 and 304-41000A, September 1968.
318. Capps, 54. Contract CX1410789161, Wayside Interpretive Units along Park Tour Road.
319. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
320. Annual Report of Real Property, Series I, Folder 927, Box 61, Shiloh National Military Park archives.

located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1970 numbered 616,400.[321]

Planning efforts. During 1970, the park prepared a Management Objectives report to guide planning efforts.[322]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Superintendent Herbert Olsen's final day of duty at the park was January 10, 1970. He was replaced on January 25, 1970, by Alvoid L. Rector.

Park Activities, 1971

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1971 numbered 608,900.[323]

Planning efforts. By 1971, the park totaled 3,544.7 acres in size. Twenty-four acres had been added since 1969, which was reflected in the General Development Plan and Land Ownership and Boundary maps prepared for the park.[324]

Plans were prepared to construct screen fencing in association with the concession building to diminish the visual impact on the headquarters area.[325]

Park Activities, 1972

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1972 numbered 549,988.[326]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 1972, a new trail was opened providing access to the Indian Mounds as part of the park's development of Environmental Study Areas.

Planning efforts. In 1972, a Management Unit Review was prepared by the park for the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, reflecting the ongoing role of the bureau in national park unit management.[327]

Passage of an Omnibus Bill provided the park with the legislative authority to purchase the Shiloh Church property.[328]

Park Activities, 1973

In March 1973, severe flooding of the Tennessee River caused extensive riverbank erosion at the Indian Mounds site and along the east wall of the national cemetery.[329]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1973 numbered 552,300.[330]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 1973, the first living history program was established at the park in the form of cannon firing demonstrations.

321. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
322. Series I, Folder 951, Box 63, Shiloh National Military Park archives.
323. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
324. National Park Service, "General Development Plan," Drawing No. 304-40002, April 1971; "Land Ownership Map," Drawing No. 304-35000, April 1971; and "Boundary Map," Drawing No. 304-40000A, April 1971.
325. National Park Service, "Proposed Screen Fence Concession Building," Drawing No. 304-60017, July 1971.
326. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
327. Federal Land Acquisition, MUR, 1973.
328. Capps, 126.
329. Ibid., 127.
330. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

In 1973, the park developed an ESA used to host camps where students were able to imagine life as a Civil War soldier.

Planning efforts. In 1973, National Park Service Historian Edwin Bearss prepared a Historical Base Map report for Shiloh based on extensive research of primary source documents and accounts of the battlefield prepared at the time of the battle. The report recorded the character of the landscape at the time of the battle using narrative and graphic depictions.[331] Bearss is known for having prepared historical base maps during the 1960s and 1970s for many Civil War battlefields protected within the National Park System. This body of work was initially funded using appropriations earmarked for recognizing the Civil War Centennial, but continued after 1965. Bearss's work remains one of the best sources of information about the character of battlefield landscapes at the time of the battle, and support cultural landscape analysis and treatment as well as military terrain analysis efforts conducted beginning in the 1990s and continuing as of 2016.[332]

Another project conducted during 1973 by the park was preparation of a map of the parcels under federal ownership, and the identification of their former owners.[333]

The park also submitted a request to the Associate Director of the Southeast Regional Office to remove Quarters No. 1, formerly the Superintendent's residence, from the park due to its poor condition.[334]

Park Activities, 1974

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1974 numbered 554,800.[335]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 1974, the park's ESA program was expanded when the park hosted two workshops for the Students toward Environmental Participation (STEP) program.[336]

Planning efforts. In 1974, a master plan and associated Environmental Impact Statement were developed for the park by a consultant, Miller, Wihry & Lee. The master plan was the first completed by a consultant for the park, and also the first report developed in compliance with NEPA. The master plan was completed to meet agency requirements for regular long-term planning.[337] Despite the carefully articulated proposal for a visitor contact station, this suggestion was never implemented.

Park Activities, 1975

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1975 numbered 345,500.[338]

Planning efforts. In March 1975, Robert Nash, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management at Shiloh, prepared a National Register

331. Edwin C. Bearss, *Historical Base Map Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery Tennessee* (Denver, Colorado: National Park Service, August, 1973).
332. Personal interview, October 22, 2013.
333. National Park Service, "Division of Land Resources" Drawing No. 304-92000.
334. Series I, Folder 950, Box 63, Shiloh National Military Park archives.
335. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
336. Capps, 73–74. Superintendent's Annual Reports 1972, 1973, 1974; *Savannah Courier*, September 21, 1972.
337. Miller, Wihry & Lee, *Master Plan; Shiloh National Military Park*, August 1974.
338. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. The General Management Plan cites overall visitation (including non-recreation) as 640,400.

nomination for the park. The nomination materials provided information about contributing Civil War-era and Shiloh National Cemetery resources.

The master planning process continued in 1975, with the park and region reviewing a draft of Miller, Wihry & Lee's work. They suggested several revisions to the document.[339]

Dr. Gerald P. Smith of Memphis University was placed under contract to conduct archeological investigations of the Indian Mound site after flooding had threatened to erode the significant resources.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Robert Nash left Shiloh in 1975. He was replaced by George A. Reaves III. Reaves possessed skills in the area of history and cultural resource management. His management of the interpretation and education program set programming practices in motion that remained in effect as of 2016. In addition, two senior staff members at the park—Supervisory Park Ranger Joe D. Davis and Chief Park Ranger Stacy D. Allen—who served under Chief Reaves during his tenure at Shiloh continued to occupy key program management responsibilities in 2016. Reaves's contributions remain evident in the diversity of themed interpretive programs, the sustained use of living history to suggest the relevance of past lives and events, and the park's continued support of staff rides and field training activities for active duty, reserve, National Guard, and ROTC military organizations. He possessed vast institutional knowledge and was also a part of the local community. His political insight served two superintendents—Zeb McKinney (1976–1990) and Woody Harrell (1990–2012). Reaves's untimely death in 1994 at age fifty-four was a great loss to the park and the community.

339. Series I, Folder 949, Box 63.
340. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. The General Management Plan cites overall visitation (including non-recreation) as 636,300.

Park Activities, 1976

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1976 numbered 373,300.[340]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Living history programs offered at the park included a Civil War encampment, demonstrations of musket firing, and costumed interpretation at the William Manse George Cabin.[341] Craft demonstrations were provided by members of the Hardin County RSVP Senior Citizens Organization.

In 1976, Shiloh park managers determined the need to condense the park orientation film so that it could be shown every thirty minutes on the hour and half hour, with time for visitors to enter and exit the auditorium in between showings. The beginning of the film, which provided background about the war, was targeted for the necessary cuts.[342]

The park also prepared a taped tour of the battlefield that visitors could follow while driving the tour route.

Planning efforts. The firm of Miller, Wihry & Lee continued to work on the park master plan.

SEAC followed up on Gerald Smith's work by investigating Mound A at the Indian Mounds site to obtain information regarding the cultural and chronological placement of the site.[343]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Construction completed during the year included resurfacing of the Johnston and Hamburg roads and the pull-off parking areas at Bloody Pond, the Peach Orchard, the Johnston Monument, and the tent hospital

341. Capps, 127.
342. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 161. The full movie was later returned to service.
343. Capps, 127.

site. The contract for the road work was awarded to B&B Construction of Adamsville, Tennessee, for $54,650.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. On March 27, 1976, Superintendent Alvoid Rector was reassigned to Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield. He was replaced by Superintendent Zeb McKinney on March 28, 1976.

Park Activities, 1977

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1977 numbered 230,600, much lower than in the previous year.[344]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements and planning efforts. In support of proposed new interpretive initiatives, the park prepared a plan for conducting Living history firing demonstrations.[345]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Following an evaluation of the condition of walks in Shiloh National Cemetery, the park determined that they required repair, and subsequently rebuilt them. The new walks were brick, laid in a basket weave pattern in a sand bed.[346]

Park Activities, 1978

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1978 numbered 332,088.[347]

Planning efforts. The park conducted several efforts in the 1970s to acquire new parcels within the authorized boundary. One of those that was targeted for acquisition by park Superintendent Zeb McKinney was the Roberson tract, which included an important natural area referred to as the Owl Creek bottomlands. Superintendent Zeb McKinney worked for several years and was instrumental in setting in motion efforts to secure the 125-acre tract, although it was not formally transferred to the park until after he retired.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. To reflect the increase in park land that occurred during the mid-1970s, a boundary map was prepared of the park.[348]

Park Activities, 1979

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Superintendent's monthly and annual reports were not available for this year, and limited park visitation and event information was located for inclusion in this study. Recreation visitation in 1979 numbered 318,934.[349]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park received certification to hold Historic Weapons Firing Demonstration Programs based on approval of the plan prepared in 1978.[350]

Planning efforts. During 1979, several plans were prepared to guide proposed projects within the park. These included conceptual plans for new circulation systems around the visitor center and a new park entrance area; new trails; restoration of

344. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. The General Management Plan cites overall visitation (including non-recreation) as 466,164.
345. LivingHistoryFiringdemonst_1977_20130424
346. Field Inventory Report. Series I, Folder 876, Box 57.
347. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. The General Management Plan cites overall visitation (including non-recreation) as 594,800.
348. National Park Service, "Shiloh National Military Park Boundary Map," Drawing No. 304-80001, May 1978.
349. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh. The General Management Plan cites overall visitation (including non-recreation) as 572,500.
350. Certification of supervise, 20130424, 1979.

historic vegetation patterns; alternatives for a new sewage disposal facility; updates to the headquarters building; changes to the visitor contact facility; land acquisition and exchange; and acquisition of easements as well as the Shiloh Church property.[351] The park also prepared a Resource Management Plan, which had recently become of the primary tools for parks to chart anticipated resource management efforts for the coming year and several years to follow.[352]

The NPS Southeast Archeological Center continued to investigate Mound A to determine its internal composition. Archeologists prepared a topographic contour map of the mound.[353]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. In 1979, the Four F Corporation of Memphis was awarded an $119,487 contract for resurfacing several park roads.[354]

Other construction projects included the reroofing of the visitor center and picnic pavilion, and construction of a new comfort station by Albert Willis Contractors of Toone, Tennessee, and Cumming Contracting of Memphis for $12,728.[355]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The Indian Mounds property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 27, 1979.

Park Activities, 1980

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1980 numbered 299,615.[356] The annual Memorial Day services held in the national cemetery were attended by approximately 300 to 400 visitors, including representatives of the veterans organizations associated with the county. Marty Carroll, Hardin County Librarian, was the invited speaker. The Hardin County Retired Senior Volunteers provided a patriotic musical interlude.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park's interpretive programs remained popular and included bus tours for school groups, rifle demonstrations, home-life demonstrations conducted at the William Manse George (War) Cabin, walking tours, and "roving" interpretation. Budget cutbacks led to the suspension of cannon firing and camp life demonstrations, and a shift in the offering of environmental education programs to serving an advisory role to the schools.

Planning efforts. The park worked with the state of Missouri to finalize plans for the

351. National Park Service, "Schematic Layout for the Visitor Contact Station Circulation," Drawing Nos. 304-20011 and 304-20012, May 1979; "Park Trails Plan," Drawing No. 304-20013, May 1979; "Plan for the Restoration of Historic Vegetative Patterns," Drawing No. 304-40004, May 1979; "General Development Plan," Drawing Nos. 304-20008, 304-20008A, and 304-20008B, May 1979; "Land Classification Plan," Drawing Nos. 304-20014 and 304-20014A, May 1979; "Existing Park Headquarters Area," Drawing No. 304-40017, May 1979; "Sewage Disposal Alternatives," Drawing No. 304-40018, May 1979; "Main Entry & Visitor Contact Station Location Plan," Drawing No. 304-40029, May 1979; "Land Proposals," Drawing Nos. 304-20009 and 304-20009A, May 1979; "Land Acquisition Alternative Blanton-Roberson Exchange," Drawing No. 304-40003, May 1979; "Land Exchange Proposals," Drawing No. 304- 40019, May 1979; "Land Proposal @ Shaw's Tract," Drawing No. 304-40020 May 1979; "Easement Acquisition Proposals," Drawing No. 304-40021, May 1979; "Land Acquisition Proposals at the New Park Entry," Drawing No. 304-40022, May 1979; "Shiloh Church Acquisition Proposal," Drawing No. 304-40023, May 1979.
352. National Park Service, "Resource Management Plan Shiloh National Military Park," 1979.
353. Capps, 128.
354. Capps, 55. Contract CX500061526, Resurface Johnston Road and Related Work, November 29, 1976.
355. Capps, 55. Contract CX50009112q, Reroofing Picnic Pavilion and Comfort Station, September 10, 1979.
356. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

installation of a monument to honor Missouri troops engaged at Shiloh.

Dean Berg completed a "Peach Orchard Management Plan" intended to guide efforts to restore the historic peach orchard and effectively maintain the resource. Also completed by the park were weed control guidelines for advising permittees in proper and approved herbicide use on agricultural permit sites within the park. The guidelines were issued to the park's nine agricultural use permittees.

In January 1980, the park's draft General Management Plan and an associated draft Environmental Impact Statement were submitted to the NPS Denver Service Center, as well as the offices of Senators Jim Sasser and Howard Baker, and Congressman Robin Beard, for review. Public meetings were held to allow the public to comment on the plan.

Also completed in 1980 was the final report on the archeological investigations conducted at the Indian Mounds by SEAC.

Superintendent McKinney met with representatives of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to discuss the need for more extensive geotechnical studies of riverbank erosion along the eastern margin of the park.

The TVA also conducted an energy audit for all of the buildings in the park and provided recommendations for efficiency improvements. This was in part a response to the oil embargos of the 1970s, which had suggested the need to adopt new approaches to energy efficiency.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Maintenance and construction projects included re-roofing of the picnic pavilion and picnic area comfort station, and repainting of the national cemetery comfort station, one of the quarters, and a garage. This effort was part of a five-year initiative to renew the finishes on the exterior wood of all park structures.

In anticipation of construction of the Hamburg By-Pass Road, a new visitor contact station, and expanded tour route parking, the agency contracted for the biological assessments that would be required for compliance.

New signs for the driving tour were received by the park. However, the park found errors with the maps and decided to work with the NPS Harpers Ferry Center to correct the problems before installing the new signs.

Park maintenance staff, supported by a five-person YCC crew, continued historic field restoration efforts by removing woody growth found to be encroaching on the margins of existing open areas. The work was consistent with an emerging framework for treating historic landscapes, espoused in an article published in *CRM* journal in March titled, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards." In the article, author Robert Melnick introduced the concept of historic landscape preservation as an emerging area of importance to land management, with implications for the National Park Service.[357]

During the summer of 1980, YCC crews also supported park efforts to renovate the two campgrounds used by Boy Scout troops and educational groups.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Law enforcement recorded 164 case incident reports, with thirty-three violation notices issued. Law enforcement problems generally fell into three categories: traffic and motor vehicle violations; wildlife hunting infractions; and metal detecting and artifact looting violations.

During 1980, the park signed a cooperative agreement with the county that provided for mutual aid in fighting fires.[358] Hardin County received a TVA grant that allowed it to establish a

357. Robert Z. Melnick, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards." CRM *Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 1980).

358. Capps, 128.

fully operative volunteer fire department, which was tasked with supporting park fire suppression needs. The fire-fighters responded to three human-caused fires occurred in the park over the course of the year as well as six fires outside the park.

There were no changes in staff during 1980, with the exception of the retirement of maintenance staff painter, C. B. Bell. Bell's retirement left the park short-handed, and unable to fill the position due to funding limitations and cut-backs.

In compliance with the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act, the park developed and distributed new personal performance standards for permanent employees. Two staff members benefitted from the National Park Service's Upward Mobility program by receiving assistance to attend college classes. Park Technician Dennis Turnbo received a Bachelor of Science degree in Police Science from the University of North Alabama, while Park Technician Julie Adams attended Middle Tennessee State University to pursue a master's degree in Historic Preservation.

Park personnel were noted in the Superintendent's annual report as participating in training opportunities involving performance appraisal, law enforcement, first aid training, and fire-fighting.

Volunteer activities conducted at the park included the presentation of craft demonstrations by the Hardin County RSVP Senior Citizens Organization, indexing of the park archives by Dr. Joe Frank, Associate Professor of Political Science, and interpretive assistance provided by students from the University of Tennessee at Martin School of Park and Recreation Administration. Volunteers helped archive the D. W. Reed collection in conformance with a new catalogue system.

Community outreach conducted by park staff included the Superintendent's role as a member of the Board of Directors of the Tourism Association of Tennessee, a member of the curriculum Advisory Committee for Recreation and Resource Management at the University of Tennessee at Martin, and membership chairman of the Resource Management Section, Tennessee Recreation and Park Association. Superintendent McKinney also traveled to Lane College for minority recruiting purposes.

Evolving Management Strategies, 1981–1989



FIGURE 38. View of Jones Field, looking toward the south, taken from the 14th Missouri Infantry Marker, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

The Evolution of Federal Park Management Policy, 1981–1989

General Management Plans

Until 1978, the National Park Service generally used master plans as the principal tool for long-term management of and development within national park units. Master plans were first introduced as a component of national park management in the 1920s by agency landscape architect Thomas Vint. Vint and his San Francisco landscape division instituted the basic procedures for standardized park master plans that were later adopted for parks nationwide by the National Park Service. The term "master plan" and a standard format for the study type were formalized by 1932.[359]

359. Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 231.

Until the 1970s, master plans were prepared in-house by agency personnel such as regional landscape architects, architects, and planners working in teams. This practice began to change during the 1970s, when new federal regulations involving compliance and public review suggested the agency hire outside professionals to prepare park master plans to avoid bias. The frequency with which master plans were prepared and updated also decreased during the 1970s.

This approach was soon revisited after Congress passed the National Park and Recreation Act in 1978, which stated:

> The National Park Service is subject to a number of legal requirements for planning, all intended to support the best possible decision making for the agency and the public it serves. The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (16 USC 1a-7(b)) requires the National Park Service to conduct comprehensive general planning. The 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA, 42 USC 55) and sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, 16 USC 470) require all federal agencies to base decisions on adequate analysis in consultation with the public.[360]

Based on this Act, the master planning process previously followed by the National Park Service no longer complied with federal law. Beginning in 1978, the National Park Service would be required to prepare, and regularly update, a new type of planning tool known as the General Management Plan (GMP) for each park unit. The GMP was conceived as a strategic planning document intended to guide management of a National Park Service site over a fifteen to twenty year period. The GMP would establish a basic philosophy and broad guidance framework for management decisions that would affect the park's resources and the visitor experience. As noted in federal guidance documents:

> The GMP focuses primarily on what resource conditions and visitor experiences should exist—a shared understanding about the kinds of resource conditions and visitor experiences that will best fulfill the purpose of the park. A GMP defines broad direction for resource preservation and visitor use in a park. Thus, general management planning is the broadest level of decision making for parks. As defined in Park Planning Program Standards, the purpose of a GMP is to "ensure that park managers and stakeholders share a clearly defined understanding of the resource conditions, opportunities for visitor experiences, and general kinds of management, access, and development that will best achieve the park's purpose and conserve its resources unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Although the NPS Management Policies 2006 provide the basic management direction for all classes of park resources and values, they allow for management discretion under certain circumstances, such as when there is the need to resolve overlapping mandates or to consider restoration of conditions that no longer exist. General management planning is the appropriate process for making these broad policy level decisions.
>
> General management planning is guided by the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which direct that decisions must be based on adequate information and analysis and that they must consider a full range of reasonable alternatives. NEPA also requires that decisions be based on scientific information.[361]

Shiloh General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, and Environmental Impact Statement, 1981

Shiloh was one of the first national parks in the system to initiate work on a GMP. The plan was developed over a three-year period that began in 1978. The document, like the park's previous Mission 66-era and 1974 master plans, suggested that additional infrastructure improvements were needed to support the park's mission.

360. National Park Service, *Park Program Planning Standards* (Associate Director, Park Planning, Facilities, and Lands, August 9, 2004), 2.

361. National Park Service, *General Management Planning / Dynamic Sourcebook* Version 2.2 (December 2009), 1–3.

Among the identified needs noted in the plan were a reduction in the number of access points into the park, and the establishment of more control over traffic traveling through the park. Based on the guidance afforded by the GMP, creation of a Hamburg Road bypass was identified as a priority. The GMP suggested that construction of such a bypass would enable the Gladden and Hamburg Road entrances to be closed.

The GMP also called for the conversion of Grant Road to a maintenance-service route, and establishment of a new entrance into the park at Federal Road. This entrance would feature a new visitor contact station designed to offer visitors appropriate orientation to a revised battlefield tour that would follow the two-day battle sequence in a way that was more logical than the route presently in use. The visitor contact station was proposed to be located in Howell Field. The structure was to include space for information, such as publications and brochures, exhibits, office storage, and public restrooms. The GMP also recommended inclusion of a 100-seat auditorium for use in orienting visitors.[362]

Additional projects suggested in the GMP were expansion of the park's interpretive programming to include the Indian Mounds story, and information about the environment and the park's natural resources. Interpretation of the Indian Mounds was to be integrated into a slide show offered at the visitor center, while new wayside exhibits were to be established along a trail that extended through the mounds site. Interpretation of environmental features of the park was to be woven into existing battlefield interpretation as well as that proposed for the Indian Mounds. The recommended expansion of park interpretive themes to include information about non-battle-related cultural and natural resources reflected the emphasis emerging from federal legislation passed during the 1960s, such as the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Environmental Policy Act, which raised awareness about the value of historic and natural resources.

The inclusion of environmental issues in park management, and an expanded discussion regarding the way in which landscape conditions influenced the events of the Battle of Shiloh, represented a departure for the park, and a new area of interest. During this period, the park was led by Superintendent Zeb McKinney, who had been educated in the natural sciences. It was likely due to McKinney's input and support that the GMP suggested long-range preservation of the bottomland forest along Owl Creek as a National Environmental Study Area (ESA) to serve secondary school students. ESAs were popular programs incorporated into many parks during the 1970s and 1980s.

The GMP also proposed the construction of five new interpretive trails within the park. One of these was the Sunken Road Trail, proposed as a 1-1/2 mile double loop that incorporated much of the existing Shiloh Military Trail. The new route was designed to allow for expanded interpretation of the Hornet's Nest area. The second proposal was for the 2-mile-long Three Stories Trail, which would incorporate the existing River Trail, as well as trails through the Indian Mounds and the Dill Creek ravine. The Three Stories Trail was designed to interpret the battle story, the mounds story, and the environmental story. A third trail, designed to be universally accessible, was to form a figure-eight off Federal Road near the proposed new entrance to the park. The fourth was to be built in support of the Environmental Study Area north of Highway 22 opposite Grant Road. The fifth and final route was a bicycle trail that would follow the roads used for the auto tour.[363]

Many of the programs and features proposed in the 1981 GMP have yet to be realized, while others have been reevaluated and abandoned. In the 1983 Superintendent's Annual Report, Superintendent McKinney indicated that he had sent a memorandum to the Southeast Regional Office requesting a revision of the GMP in order to reduce the extent of its development proposals,

362. Capps, 57. *General Management Plan* (1981), 44–45, 58–59.

363. Capps, 57. *General Management Plan* (1981), 71–76.

suggesting the park's dissatisfaction with the document. As noted by Stacy Allen in 2016:

> . . . several park managers since 1981 considered the GMP impractical and unrealistic, with the potential to result in negative and adverse impacts as regards preservation of the battlefield. For example, the recommendation that new non-historic roads be added was not well received, and was in direct conflict with Secretary's Lamont recommendation to the original commission that no new roads be developed within the battlefield, and that existing roads be used to provide public access to the new park.[364]

Former Superintendent Woody Harrell also commented on the usefulness of the GMP to the park during his tenure:

> When I retired, Shiloh had the second or third oldest General Management Plan in the Southeast Region. It was one of the first the National Park Service had contracted out, rather than us doing it ourselves. Just about the time they were going to finalize it, they switched superintendents. I think that probably would have been when Zeb came in, and Zeb didn't have a lot of use for the plan, as it was written by these contractors. Finally, when the regional director retired, it was like OK, I'm not leaving all these loose ends. There's a two-page document where Regional Director Joe Brown signed it and it became official. Zeb never did anything with it, partly as he didn't have a lot of money, but also because he did not have a lot of interest in it. So, the whole time he was here, that would have been from '81 up until '90, and for all the stuff that we were able to do between '90 and 2012 we never did anything that was covered in the GMP.[365]

Historic Preservation and Cultural Landscapes, 1979 to present

Another emerging influence within the agency that began to affect park administration during this period was the field of cultural landscape preservation. Circa 1979, landscapes began to be considered historic resources in their own right, rather than simply scenery or the backdrop and setting for historic buildings and archeological sites.

One of the landscape types that fit this view was battlefields. During the late 1970s, one of the areas of cultural landscape management that emerged as important within the National Park Service was the protection of military earthworks. In 1977, the National Park Service held a conference at Petersburg National Battlefield to consider the issues associated with earthworks preservation and conservation. Although no one from Shiloh attended, the Superintendent at the time, Zeb McKinney, kept informed about the agency's evolving methodology for preserving and managing Civil War earthworks.[366]

Through management of national park units that feature landscapes of historic importance such as Shiloh National Military Park, the agency recognizes the significance of cultural landscapes to our national heritage, making the stewardship of these resources an important part of its mission. Because the National Park System contains an impressive array of landscapes that reflect history, cultural richness, and site-specific relationships between people and the environment, the agency determined that it would need to develop methods for documenting and managing cultural landscapes as part of park operations.

Although the term "cultural landscape" was not coined until the 1980s, parks like Shiloh National Military Park already fit the definition of, and were naturally managed as, cultural landscapes, preserving the resources and character of a significant moment in history. The National Park Service began to develop principles and guidance documents to standardize approaches to cultural landscape identification, preservation, and management during the 1980s and 1990s, using an understanding of parks like Shiloh as a guide. Battlefield preservation in particular has benefitted from the emergence of cultural landscape

364. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
365. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
366. Zeb McKinney, personal interview, October 15, 2013.

methodologies, which coincided with the very active period of battlefield preservation during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The management practices codified by the agency during the 1980s and 1990s drew from many sources, including the National Park Service's original mission as articulated in the 1916 Organic Act, which noted:

> The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.[367]

Although landscape architects and landscape architecture played an active role in the early years of the National Park Service, the influence of the profession began to decline during World War II, and the role of landscape architects in agency planning was much diminished by the late 1940s. The appreciation of landscape architecture and the way that parks integrated historic, cultural, and natural resources reached a symbolic nadir in the early 1960s with the retirement of Director Conrad Wirth, the last landscape architect to hold a major leadership position within the service. By the mid-1960s, cultural landscape values of scenery and history were being challenged by proponents of the Leopold Report, which suggested a new paradigm for management based on the environment and ecology. The report noted that:

> As a preliminary goal, we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the direction that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man. A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America.[368]

Because this view left no room for exceptions for historic sites or cultural landscapes, preservation of historic landscapes fell out of favor, and many historic gardens and landscapes, including battlefields, began to be abandoned to the natural process.

One of the conflicts inherent in the wording of the Organic Act would contribute to problems within the agency later. As outlined in the enabling legislation, the purpose of the agency is ". . . to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." That purpose suggests the agency be responsible for the conservation and protection of landscapes, natural resources and wildlife, and historic objects.

While the agency was at first concerned with the conservation and protection of natural resources based on the early emphasis on natural wilderness parks, responsibilities were later expanded to include a wide range of resource types. Congress passed the Historic Sites Act in 1935, soon after three national park system units were established to protect the sites of historic events—George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Morristown National Historical Park, and Colonial National Historical Park. The Act (Executive Order 6166) consolidated all national parks, national monuments, national military parks, eleven of the national cemeteries, and national capital parks into a single national park system under the administrative authority of the National Park Service.

Since 1935, a decided tension has emerged within the agency over the supposed divided mission of conserving natural resources and preserving history, or cultural resources. Within the agency, it was standard practice for many years that the

367. U.S.C., title 16, sec. 1.

368. A. Starker Leopold *et* al., "The Goal of Park Management in the United States," *Wildlife Management in the National Parks* (1963).

organizational structure, job training, and management practices supported the view that conservation of natural resources and preservation of cultural and historical resources were distinct and frequently competing areas of interests. The one attempt made in the late 1970s to combine these areas of interest within a single Department of the Interior office as the Heritage Conservation and Recreational Service was considered a failure.[369]

Despite the influence of ecology and the environmental movement, the late 1960s was also a time when concern for landscape preservation emerged as a part of a broader historical preservation movement, in response to the loss of historic resources that occurred in the name of urban renewal.

The first documented effort to recognize the importance of historic cultural landscapes was an article authored by University of Oregon professor, Robert Melnick, which appeared in the National Park Service journal *CRM* in 1980. Entitled "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards," the article sparked action within the National Park Service to begin developing a methodology for identifying and evaluating cultural landscapes.[370] By the late 1980s, two National Register of Historic Places bulletins had been prepared to suggest an approach to documenting and evaluating historic landscapes: *How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes* and *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. Since then, cultural landscape preservation has slowly been adopted by the agency and is now an integral part of National Park Service management planning.[371]

During the 1990s, the National Park Service further developed the policies, guidelines, and standards for preserving and managing cultural landscapes. The key milestones in the process have included:

- In 1988, "cultural landscapes" were formally identified in *NPS Management Policies* as a type of cultural resource in the national park system. As part of this effort, policies were established to mandate the recognition and protection of significant historic, design, archeological, and ethnographic values. The policy recognized the importance of considering both built and natural features, the dynamics inherent in natural processes, and continued use.

- In 1994, the agency's principal source of cultural resource policy—Director's Order 28: *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*—was revised to include comprehensive procedural guidance regarding the management of cultural landscapes in the national park system.

- In 1996, the National Park Service published *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*, which provided a methodology for documentation, assessment, and management of cultural landscapes.

It was also during the 1990s that National Register guidance documents began to provide the basis for evaluating a variety of landscape types, such as cemeteries, rural historic districts, and battlefields, in the form of technical bulletins. At the same time, the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, which guides the physical treatment of a significant property, was revised and broadened to include landscape resources. Collectively, these activities and documents provide the framework for the National Park Service park cultural landscape program, which focuses on preserving a landscape's physical attributes, biotic systems, and use (when that use contributes to historical

369. David Grayson Allen, *The Olmsted National Historic Site and the Growth of Historic Landscape Preservation* (Boston, Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 2007), 109–110.

370. Robert Z. Melnick, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards," CRM *Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (March 1980).

371. David Grayson Allen, 109.

significance), and involves three primary activities: research, planning, and stewardship.

Today, Shiloh National Military Park is recognized as a cultural landscape with primary historic value as a Civil War battlefield. The park is generally a historic vernacular landscape—a rural agricultural site where a battle took place. However, it also possesses qualities of a historic designed landscape due to the more formal Shiloh National Cemetery, and evidence of the work of the Park Commissioners to mark the battlefield and facilitate access to and understanding of the battle events.

Of critical importance to understanding the historical events and associations of the battle is the connection between the troop movements, combat, and tactics devised by commanders, with regard to terrain. Because of the importance of terrain in the events of the battle, cultural landscape preservation has been an essential part of park management since the 1890s. The efforts conducted at Shiloh to mark military events on the battlefield and maintain its historic appearance during the early park development period, as well as during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and continuing into the 2010s, are consistent with present-day objectives in the management of cultural landscapes. Specific efforts conducted at Shiloh, including historic field and orchard restoration and management, in many cases preceded but are consistent with the federal guidance of the 1990s. The historical base map prepared by Ed Bearss in 1973 was one of the essential tools used to direct these efforts to restore the historic landscape and present an accurate story to visitors.

The park's efforts to restore historic fields on the battlefield were consistent with an emerging framework for treating historic landscapes, espoused in Robert Melnick's article, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards," noted above. In this article, Melnick introduced the concept of historic landscape preservation as an emerging area of importance to land management, with implications for the National Park Service.[372]

The Conservation Fund

One of the nonprofit organizations that helped the National Park Service to effect battlefield preservation during this period was the Conservation Fund. Established in 1985 by Pat Noonan, former director of the Nature Conservancy, the Conservation Fund remains an environmental nonprofit organization with a mission to pursue environmental preservation and economic development. During the period discussed herein, the organization regularly partnered with community, government, and corporate leaders to fulfill their conservation priorities, including protection of natural areas, working lands, and landscapes of historical value. On a broader level, the Conservation Fund provided leadership in the area of battlefield preservation throughout the nation during the 1980s and 1990s. At Shiloh during this period, the Conservation Fund helped the park to acquire land that was located within the authorized boundary using fee simple purchase and transfer to the federal government.

National Park Service 61: "Guidelines for National Cemeteries"

In November 1985, the National Park Service issued Release No. 1 of NPS-61, "Guidelines for National Cemeteries. The guidelines were to address agency management of fourteen of the nation's national cemeteries, eleven of which had been transferred from War Department administration to the National Park Service in 1933, with the other three transferred later. This document served as a guide to cultural resource management within a specific historic landscape type. It has since been replaced by Director's Order #61: National Cemetery Operations (2010).

372. Melnick, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards."

The Emerging Role of the Computer in Park Administration and Management

In addition to the introduction of new management practices related to cultural landscapes and historic resource conservation, the 1980s served as a watershed period for park administration due to the influence of computer technology. It was during the 1980s that the personal computer, or PC, became readily available and many businesses and organizations incorporated computer use into day-to-day administration and operations. The introduction of word processing, database, and spreadsheet software soon began to revolutionize data and record keeping. Although the growing use of the computer has effected many positive changes in our society, the transition period was often challenging and required staff to adapt or change many established systems.

At Shiloh, the Superintendent's annual reports for the 1980s began to describe the effect computers were having on day-to-day operations, as well as large data-related projects involving resource and collections inventory and management. The first mention of computers appears in the 1982 Superintendent's Annual Report, which indicates that Administrative Technician Doris Stewart had enrolled in a computer programming course at Hardin County Vocational-Technical School, and that several employees had attended a three-hour class titled "Introduction to Computers" conducted by park friend, Henry Williams, Jr.[373]

In 1983, the Superintendent noted in his annual narrative:

> In March, the park acquired a Northstar 8/16 computer and immediately set out to find ways to save time and effort through its uses and applications. TAP sheets were loaded as the first order of business and save much time and effort in tracking budget flow. GSA fleet management data is also loaded saving much time in monthly reporting. Loading historic data, logging routine purchases, and the initial moves to load minor controlled equipment inventories are also computer functions which are improving our efficiency.[374]

Two years later, the Superintendent's annual narrative notes that the park had begun a process of entering accessioned museum collection items into a new database software adopted by the National Park Service known as the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS). It also noted that the park had decided to create a new computer management tool—the Operations Evaluation Program—for use by its maintenance personnel. The program consisted a workbook and work plan database that logged project needs. The system included space for recording the efforts made to correct identified problems.

Soon after the park had completed setting up its new system, it was informed in 1987 that a similar system had been developed at the regional level and was being introduced to the parks. Shiloh was forced to abandon the system it had just created, and reenter all of the data into the new system. The Superintendent's narratives for this period suggest the level of frustration that resulted from the effort required to get the new systems up and running, and the time wasted when new programs were not compatible with those already in use.

By the late 1980s, it was clear that computers were here to stay and would only become more integral to park operations. The Superintendent's narratives indicate that many park personnel began to attend computer training courses in order to help the park maximize its use of new National Park Service data management systems. A computer room was added to house the maintenance management system at the park during this period as well.

Former Chief of Maintenance, Gerald Skaggs, remembers being hired by Shiloh as a WG-8 maintenance worker in 1987, and finding out how important his previous computer experience at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace would be to the park:

> The superintendent at that time was Zeb McKinney. Zeb hired me. I had had some

373. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1982.

374. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1983.

> computer experience while I was at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace. In 1986, the Park Service began a program called the maintenance management system. I had put my computer experience on my resume, and Zeb noticed that. The maintenance supervisor at that time was James Shope. When I got to the park, in addition to being the automotive mechanic Mr. Shope asked me to be a part time computer operator to run maintenance management system . . . .
>
> Well, I didn't have any inclination that it was going to turn out like that, but that was fine with me. I liked it, and actually, that really helped me develop my computer skills. I was the alternate time keeper at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, and when the administrative assistant wasn't able to record the time and attendance sheets, I filled in for her, so that was my limited computer experience. Taking this job at Shiloh helped me develop those skills. I also received some training over the years.[375]

When asked whether computers simplified his job running the maintenance department, Skaggs commented:

> To be quite honest about it, it made our job harder. Because while they were developing the programs, a lot of people wouldn't buy into it, and we didn't have a lot of support from the regional staff. And you know, even though they gave us a little bit of training, it wasn't near enough, and we had to learn the programs so quickly; and that without support they weren't effective. The programs weren't. I don't know what the National Park Service's vision was, at the time, to develop these programs. So I can't speak to that. But at the park level, it made it very difficult for us to do our jobs because of all the extra work, the daily work sheet that we had to fill out and all that stuff. And you know, the guys that worked for me didn't have any training except for what I could give them. They didn't know anything about it. A lot of us didn't care anything about it, it was something else extra that they had to do. You know how that goes . . . .
>
> It did affect morale, and you know, a lot of them didn't think they could do their job as well as they could if they didn't have to spend time doing this. We'd have to come in 45 minutes to an hour early, just to get all the paperwork filled out and that sort of thing.
>
> It was continual change. I think I went through three different management systems while I was supervisor. It was constant change. About the time you got pretty proficient with one, at least, in our thinking, you know, the system would change, and then we had to learn it all over again. In the meantime, I had had some problems with my sight, and I thought I was going to have to retire before I did, but Woody worked really well with me, and bought, or allowed me to purchase some visual aids, you know, so I could continue working. Like the maintenance magnification program for the computers, and some other stuff that made my job easier.
>
> When I decided to retire, all the extra paperwork and the stress from the paperwork and trying to do the job as I was expected to do it was just too much for me. I would have probably worked in the National Park Service a little bit longer had that not been the case, but I had a good career and I was glad to work for the National Park Service. I have the utmost respect for those that are still working. And I know it's difficult for them at times.[376]

The applications for computers in park administration have continued to grow since the 1980s, and as of 2016 has become integral to every aspect of operations.

Tennessee River Erosion Mitigation

Following major flooding at Shiloh in the late 1970s, the Nashville District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACOE) continued earlier efforts to protect the Tennessee River banks along the edge of the park from erosion based on the request of the National Park Service.[377]

375. Gerald Skaggs, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
376. Ibid.
377. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Plans for Shiloh National Military Park Streambank Protection Project; Tennessee River Kentucky

In 1981, the TVA completed a contract to address erosion repair along the Tennessee River bank below the national cemetery, Pittsburg Landing, and Riverside Drive. The work was conducted using National Park Service funds, and labor from Tennessee Valley Authority engineers, technicians, and construction workers. While the park considered the repair project a success, it also continued to work with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to prepare a geotechnical study of riverbank erosion to consider more permanent solutions to the problem.

In 1982, the park entered into an agreement with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to perform a study of the erosion problems along the banks of the Tennessee River following failure of previous control measures. In 1984, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers completed the study. Additional stabilization measures recommended in the plan carried an estimated cost of $6 million.[378] Due to the high cost, the Corps recommended a phased approach to implementing the plan, with priority given to the most vulnerable areas. Raising the funds for the project would prove challenging, and led to continued delays in action, with ongoing erosion.

In 1986, as part of the ongoing need to stabilize the river banks, YCC enrollees placed more than 2,000 sandbags along the Tennessee River at the park's eastern margin.

Erosion continued to be a problem along the riverfront, and the park continued to correspond with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to address the problem. Plans were made to conduct an erosion control project in 1992 that would protect cultural resources at the Indian Mounds and Shiloh National Cemetery.

Because of the threat posed by the eroding riverbanks, the park began to monitor the safety of visitors along Riverside Drive. An initial effort to protect the public entailed the installation of warning signs and fences. By 1991, the road had been undercut to such a degree that the park was forced to close it to buses and recreational vehicles. By 1993, it was closed to all vehicle traffic.[379]

Archeological Investigations and the Indian Mounds

In 1981, the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) continued archeological work within the park to document the Indian Mounds. Efforts focused on limited magnetometer survey of the Native American site. SEAC generated a report documenting their methodology and findings.

In 1988, SEAC completed an archeological assessment of the park.

Interpretation

The mid-to-late 1980s saw improvements to park interpretive exhibits, both along the tour road and in the visitor contact station. The new exhibits were designed with the assistance of the National Park Service Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia as part of a plan prepared in 1984. The exhibits to be sited along the tour road required additional site design work in part due to the recommendation that two new stops be added to the tour. The design work was completed by a landscape architect stationed at Natchez Trace Parkway in 1986. Once the landscape plans were developed, the new wayside exhibits were readied for installation.

In 1987, following further discussions regarding the need to improve interpretation at the visitor contact station, Harpers Ferry Center prepared a new museum exhibit plan in concert with the park and the region. The new exhibits were expected to improve interpretive programming and afford much needed universal access to the park's key

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Lake Project, Hardin County, Tennessee," Drawing No. 304-41913, March 1984; and *Shiloh National Military Park Streambank Protection Project; Tennessee River, Hardin County, Tennessee* (Nashville District, March 1984).

378. Capps, 129.
379. Ibid.

stories. The plans and fabrication drawings were finalized for new visitor exhibits in 1988.[380]

In 1989, the park visitor contact station was renovated and the new interpretive displays and furnishings were installed. Once the renovations were complete, the park held a rededication ceremony to introduce visitors to the new exhibits.[381]

Corinth

It was during the late 1980s that a group of civic leaders in Corinth, Mississippi, began to consider how they might attract state or federal support for establishment of a Civil War battlefield park in the region, to highlight its important military history involving control of a key railroad crossroads. One of the first people to introduce the idea to the federal government was Lanny Griffith, who invited a contingent of the National Park Service from the Washington, D.C., office to visit Corinth and tour the battle and siege land in 1988. The agency officials who traveled to Mississippi at Griffith's request expressed a strong interest in the resources and a determination to learn more.

In the summer of 1989, the National Park Service followed up by sending military history specialist, Paul Hawke, to Corinth. Hawke spent several weeks investigating the battlefield landscape. This effort would serve as the first introduction of the agency to the important battlefield resources of the region that would later become part of the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park.

Trail of Tears National Historic Trail

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail was designated by Congress in 1987. The trail commemorates the forced removal of the Cherokee people from the homelands within the Southeastern United States to reservations and designated Indian Territory land in present-day Oklahoma in 1838 and 1839. The national trail passes through nine states, including Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Tennessee. Shiloh park personnel were involved in the establishment of the trail during the 1980s. Today, the Tennessee River Museum interprets the trail and historical documentation of the passage of leader John Bell and his group of Cherokee who passed through the area and purchased supplies as they traveled westward in 1838. Facsimiles of the purchase receipts are on display, along with information panels that interpret the broader Trail of Tears story.[382]

Park Activities 1981–1989

Park Activities, 1981

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Overall visitation at the park during 1981 was 529,257, an increase of 40,106 over 1980.[383]

The annual Memorial Day services held in the national cemetery were attended by approximately 500 visitors. The address was delivered by Charles A. Howell, III, Tennessee Commissioner of Conservation.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park's interpretive programs were again popular and included bus tours for school groups, rifle demonstrations, home-life demonstrations conducted at the renamed William Manse George Cabin, walking tours, and roving interpretation. Budget cutbacks led to a reduction in the number of seasonal workers hired from nine to seven.

380. National Park Service, "Fabrication Drawings Exhibit Plan" Drawing No. 304-13002, June 24, 1988.
381. Capps, 76. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, and 1989.
382. National Park Planner, "Trail of Tears National Historic Trail / Tennessee River Museum," available at http://npplan.com/national-historic-trails/trail-of-tears-national-historic-trail/trail-of-tears-national-historic-trail-tennessee/trail-of-tears-national-historic-trail-tennessee-river-museum/ (accessed August 15, 2016).
383. Shiloh National Military Park.

Planning efforts. In 1981, the park's GMP was completed and released. The plan was accompanied by an Environmental Impact Statement and a Development Concept Plan.[384]

Botanists from the Upland Field Research Laboratory completed a botanical inventory of the park. The inventory was anticipated to provide important information for natural resource management programs. The project resulted in publication of a vascular flora inventory composed of the 450 species. The inventory suggested the emerging threat posed by exotic woody plants found within the park.

Park personnel also completed a fire management plan that outlined all procedures for addressing the instance of fire in the park. The plan also outlined the individual roles and responsibilities of park personnel in their response to fire. A study of bird nesting activities in park cannon, initiated in 1980, continued through 1981.

SEAC continued to document the Indian Mounds.

The Superintendent's Annual Report indicated that there were four burials within the national cemetery during 1981, and that only thirty-six burial sites remained unfilled.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Maintenance and construction projects included re-roofing of Quarters 50, and interior painting of Quarters 5. The park was unable to complete the planned restoration of building exterior woodwork due to the loss of YCC crews as a result of budget cutbacks.

The TVA completed its contract to address erosion repair along the Tennessee River bank below the national cemetery, Pittsburg Landing, and Riverside Drive. The park continued to work with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to complete a geotechnical study of riverbank erosion that would suggest more permanent solutions to the problem.

New signs were installed at stops along the tour route, following the correction of errors noted by the park in 1980.

Park maintenance crews focused on improving the condition of the national cemetery in 1981, while also continuing to remove woody growth as it encroached on historic fields. Maintenance personnel also worked with nine agricultural permit holders to control the proliferation of Johnson grass, an exotic species that was quickly displacing other species in field areas.

The new Missouri Monument was installed on the battlefield and a dedication ceremony held. The guest speaker was Kaye Steimetz, member of the Missouri House of Representatives.



FIGURE 39. Superintendent Cook presenting Gordon Wissinger with an achievement award at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1984. (Source: Open Parks Network)

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. There were several changes in staff during 1981. James Wycoff joined the park staff as an interpretive technician as a replacement for Julie Adams, who resigned to continue her education. Park Ranger Dean Berg transferred to Great Smoky Mountains National Park and was replaced by Park Ranger Gordon Wissinger (Figure 39), who relocated from Cuyahoga Valley Natural Resource Area.

384. National Park Service, *Shiloh National Military Park General Management Plan* (1981).

The park continued to be short-handed due to the retirement of C. B. Bell in 1980, and a lack of funding to replace him.[385]

The park continued to prepare and distribute new personal performance standards for permanent and career seasonal employees in compliance with the Civil Service Reform Act and National Park Service guidelines.

Park personnel engaged in several training opportunities involving performance appraisal, law enforcement, first aid training, and fire-fighting.

Law enforcement recorded seventy-two case incident reports, with thirty-two citations issued. The incidents involved dogs, traffic violations, and hunting infractions. Shiloh hosted a Regional In-Service Law Enforcement Refresher training course.

Volunteer activities conducted at the park included the presentation of craft demonstrations by the Hardin County RSVP Senior Citizens Organization, and assistance from local Girl Scout troops in serving as liaisons with scout groups using the park. The park's efforts to catalogue all historic artifacts was completed using the National Park Service's new standard system of classification.

Community outreach conducted by park staff included the Superintendent's role as a member of the Board of Directors of the Southwest Tennessee Tourism Association, a member of the curriculum Advisory Committee for Recreation and Resource Management at the University of Tennessee at Martin, and membership chairman of the Resource Management Section, Tennessee Recreation and Park Association.

Funds generated by Eastern National Park and Monument Association were used to print summer activity schedules.

The local postmaster retired, resulting in the relocation of the Shiloh post office outside of the park.[386] A benefit of this change was an increase in display and storage space in the concession building.

Park Activities, 1982

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Overall visitation at the park during 1982 totaled 449,010, a decrease of 17 percent over 1981.[387]

The annual Memorial Day services held in the national cemetery were attended by approximately 500 visitors. The address was delivered by Jerry Russell, founder and Executive Director of Civil War Roundtable Associates. The Hardin County Civil Air Patrol served as color guard for the service, the Hardin County Dixieland Band provided music, and the C&D Jarnigan's Civil War Reenactment Volunteers performed the role of honor guard.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Despite the ambitious plans outlined in the park's General Management Plan, Shiloh's interpretive program began to suffer during the early 1980s due to budget cutbacks. In 1982, the park was able to hire only five summer seasonal employees instead of the usual nine or ten. The park was forced to reduce interpretive programming so that other park functions could be maintained.[388] Those programs that the park was able to offer remained popular, however, and included bus tours for school groups, rifle-musket demonstrations, home-life demonstrations conducted at the renamed William Manse George Cabin, walking tours, and roving interpretation.

385. NPS personnel records indicate that C. B. Bell used his initials only. (Source: Correspondence with Stacy D. Allen, Shiloh National Military Park, January 2018.)
386. Capps, 128.
387. Shiloh National Military Park.
388. Capps, 75. Superintendent to Associate Regional Director, Operations, April 13, 1982, Shiloh National Military Park files.

Planning efforts. In 1982, the park completed a Resource Management Plan, which was reviewed and approved by the Southeast Regional Office. The park also completed an update of the Statement for Management.

Deputy Regional Director Ogle led a team to conduct an operations evaluation of the park. The recommendations made by the team were promptly implemented by the park.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Based on the completed Resource Management Plan, the park initiated work on an Integrated Pest Management Program for the peach orchard and agricultural fields. The park worked with the state Agricultural Extension Service in developing the new program.[389] The project first entailed gathering data and documenting the goals and desired outcomes of historic field management to be supported by integrated pest management. As part of the process, soil loss tolerances were calculated. The Soil Conservation Service assisted the park in mapping and measuring historic fields and developing soil quality maps.

The park also entered into a memorandum of understanding with the Tennessee Wildlife Resources Agency to re-introduce wild turkey in the park. At the same time, the park worked with the Arkansas Department of Game and Fish to establish Chinese carp in the sewage lagoon as a way to control weeds instead of using chemicals. This was implemented as part of the new integrated pest management strategy.

Maintenance and construction projects conducted in 1982 included the issuing of contracts to repair leaks associated with the visitor center roof, and repainting of Quarters #6. A new device was installed to measure outflow from the sewage lagoon in order to meet the compliance requirements of the park's NEPA discharge permit.

The park engaged the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to perform a more detailed investigation of the erosion problems along the banks of the Tennessee River.

Park maintenance crews continued to work to restore the boundaries of historic fields by removing woody growth as it encroached on open space. The work was conducted with the help of volunteer labor. As an incentive, the park allowed the volunteers to keep any firewood they could salvage as part of the effort.

Shiloh became an official weather station unit of the National Weather Observations Network in cooperation with the National Weather Service. The weather station was used to predict fire danger as well as to generate other data.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. There were two changes in staff during 1982. Maintenance worker Eathel Jeffries and Cemetery Caretaker Herman Hunt retired. Jeffries was replaced by Albert Pomplun, who transferred from Stones River National Battlefield. Hunt was not immediately replaced.

Sales of books at the Eastern National bookstore continued to generate funds for park projects. At the same time, a National Park Service evaluation of the concession operation conducted by Allen Brown Phillips and Ernestine C, Shaw resulted in a list of unacceptable practices and sales items. Rather than correct the problems, Shaw and Phillips decided to decline to renew their contract, ending a years-long relationship with the park.

Park personnel engaged in several training opportunities involving performance appraisal, law enforcement, first aid training, vertical refresher training, and fire-fighting. Administrative Technician Doris Stewart enrolled in a computer programming course at Hardin County Vocational-Technical School in order to meet the emerging computer needs of the park. Several other park employees attended an introduction to computers course from a local businessman and friend of the park. The Superintendent participated in a Basic Operations Workshop, as well as Concessions Management Workshop

389. Capps, 128–129.

hosted by the Southeast Regional Office. Following the Concessions Management Workshop, park superintendents were introduced to a new Management Efficiency Trust initiative.

Law enforcement recorded 66 case incident reports, with 32 citations issued. The incidents involved a burglary in the Concession Building, and felonious assault case in the picnic area. The Federal Bureau of Investigation participated in gathering evidence for the felonious assault case.

The park interpretive staff received training in curatorial techniques from Regional Curator Dale Durham, who also reviewed the park's Museum Study.

Community outreach conducted by park staff included the Superintendent participating on the Board of Directors of the Southwest Tennessee Tourism Association; Shiloh/Pickwick Tourism Association; curriculum Advisory Committee for Recreation and Resource Management at the University of Tennessee at Martin; Resource Management Section of the Tennessee Recreation and Park Association; Shiloh/Pickwick Lions Club; Hardin/McNairy Scottish Rite Association, and Corinth Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry.

The effigy pipe remained a popular artifact of interest all over the world. In 1982, it was loaned to the High Museum in Atlanta for inclusion in an Indian Art Exhibition.

Shiloh served as host park for the 1982 Congress of Civil War Round Table Associates held in Corinth, Mississippi in October. Dr. Robert Meinhard of Winona State University in Minnesota presented a program on the condition of Civil War parks in the National Park System. The park offered tours of Shiloh conducted by National Park Service Chief Historian Edwin Bearss.

Park Activities, 1983

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Overall visitation at the park during 1983 totaled 478,696, an increase of nearly 30,000 people over 1982.[390]

Approximately 800 people attended the annual Memorial Day services held in the national cemetery. The service featured a presentation by Congressman Don Sundquist. The Hardin County Civil Air Patrol served as color guard, while the Hardin County Dixieland Band provided music for the services. Dale Jarnigan of Corinth organized a 20-gun salute by reenactors in Civil War uniform using replica rifled muskets.

There were four interments in the national cemetery and one disinterment.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. During the summer, Shiloh's interpretive program was completely reconceived in order to provide additional variety and more fully engage both the interpretive staff and the public. The park added several new special programs, including the Rangers' Choice program that allowed the individual to select the tour he or she planned to give.

Chief of Interpretation Reaves gave tours of the park to several groups of travel writers and travel agents in cooperation with the Tourism Association of Southwest Tennessee.

The park benefitted from having students from the University of Tennessee Park and Recreation School in Martin assist in giving talks and demonstrations as part of their interpretive programs course.

Planning efforts. As a result of the park's filling the staff position of maintenance painter, which had been vacant for several years due to budget cutbacks, Superintendent McKinney sought to improve the appearance and condition of the park's painted plaques, cannons, and monuments, initiating a five-year program to repair and repaint these important battlefield interpretive and commemorative objects. The program was developed jointly by the park, the regional curator, and outside conservation specialists.

390. Shiloh National Military Park.

Superintendent McKinney believed that the "work would establish a new procedure for the preservation of iron objects on field display for the National Park Service." In anticipation of starting work on the program, the park also contacted the Department of Cultural Resources Management at Middle Tennessee University to enter into an agreement to survey the monuments within the park and develop a maintenance management plan.

The Regional Curator provided funds to the park to index the park archives.

Graduate students from Memphis State University began conducting a series of resource management studies dealing with wildlife.

In 1983, the park prepared a Letter of Authorization for Memphis State University to conduct a small mammal inventory and population density study at Shiloh. The study was to be performed without charge by the university.

The Integrated Pest Management Plan for the Peach Orchard and agricultural fields was completed.

The park also developed a draft Land Protection Plan, which was sent to the Washington Office and the Solicitor's Office for review.

Based on new National Park Service policy, the park's agricultural permits were converted to Agricultural Leases of Historic Fields. The park continued to lease thirteen historic fields to local farmers, but now levied a charge for agricultural use of park property; the income was to be used to maintain other park historic resources.

Prior to issuing the leases, the park completed a Soil Conservation Plan and Integrated Pest Management Program initiated in 1982. These documents were referenced in the leases, and the leases were to use the documents to guide farming activities. After attending an Integrated Pest Management seminar in Fredericksburg, Virginia, the park learned that it had served as a pioneer in this endeavor.

Another planning project conducted in 1983 was an inventory of signs within the park. The data was computerized. The park planned to develop a replacement plan for non-regulation signs.

Finally, the park sent a memorandum to the region to inquire whether the General Management Plan might be rewritten to reflect their interest in diminishing the development proposals indicated in the document.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Maintenance and construction projects conducted during 1983 included the repainting of the visitor center and Headquarters Building, the issuing of a contract to add a heat pump to the Cemetery Superintendent's residence, and renovation of the building interior. The park also worked with engineers from the Michie Water District to install a new water line that would serve the picnic area.

Park maintenance crews once again worked to restore the boundaries of historic fields, including Fraley, Woods, Bell, Duncan, and Chambers, by removing woody growth using Jobs Bill funding and YCC laborers. As noted by the Superintendent in his annual report, "As a result of this restoration effort, the historic vista of Fraley and Woods Fields, where the Battle of Shiloh began, is more accurate and the beginning of the historic event more understandable. Other fields are now trimmed back to their historic sizes."[391]

The YCC crews also worked on projects to restore and preserve the Indian Mounds area. Their work supported the relocation of the Indian Mounds Loop Trail away from the tops of the mounds, and the revegetation of social trails, short cuts, and eroded areas in order to protect archeological resources. Park maintenance personnel also constructed an improved trail from tour stop 7 to Fraley Field.

391. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1983.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park personnel engaged in several training opportunities afforded by the regional office involving curatorial procedures, ranger skills, resource management, law enforcement, and operations budget formulation.

Superintendent McKinney, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Reaves, and Resource Management Ranger Howell attended a Tennessee State Park Superintendents Conference in Pickwick. While there, the Superintendent presented a two-hour program about natural and cultural resource management in the National Park System. Reaves later represented Shiloh at a national cemetery managers conference. The group convened to consider ways of establishing uniformity in National Park Service National Cemetery Operations service-wide. Reaves also provided a tour of the park and coordinated field training exercises for officers of two battalions of the 101 Airborne Division of Fort Campbell, Kentucky, who were studying terrain and communication issues associated with the Battle of Shiloh as part of their training.

During 1983, the park was finally authorized to fill the vacant painter position formerly occupied by J.F. Bell. Several other changes in park personnel occurred in 1983. These included the retirement of Chief of Maintenance, William H. Hudson, and the hiring of James Shope for the position. Seasonal Ranger Ed Hayes retired after thirteen years as a Seasonal Interpreter, and was replaced by Roger Lowrance. Park Technician James Wyckoff transferred to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. His position was not immediately filled.

Law enforcement recorded 81 case incident reports, with four citations issued.

Shiloh became an official weather station unit for the National Weather Observations Network, and entered into a cooperative agreement with the National Weather Service. The weather station was used to predict fire threats and to generate other data.

Community outreach conducted by park staff included the Superintendent serving on the Board of Directors of the Southwest Tennessee Tourism Association; on the curriculum Advisory Committee for Recreation and Resource Management at the University of Tennessee at Martin; and as a member of the Shiloh/Pickwick Lions Club, and Hardin/McNairy Scottish Rite Association. The Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management served as President of the Savannah Rotary Club and a member of the Shiloh Civil War Round Table.

Park Activities, 1984[392]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1984 numbered 275,345, while overall visitation for the year was 480,571.[393] The Superintendent's Annual Report does not indicate visitation numbers, or discuss programs conducted during 1984.

Planning efforts. In 1984, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers completed their study of the Tennessee River erosion problem.

The Harpers Ferry Center developed a new wayside exhibit plan for the park's tour road and visitor contact station.

Incompatible residential and commercial development along the park margins was first identified as a problem in the 1984 Superintendent's Annual Report.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Work to implement Superintendent McKinney's comprehensive monument conservation program began in earnest in 1984. Monuments, tablets, cannon, and the cemetery wall were repaired as part of the program (Figure 40). McKinney considered this effort an

392. All information is derived from the 1984 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

393. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

important part of his legacy as park superintendent.[394]



FIGURE 40. View looking north of an example of a repaired tablet along Corinth Road at the Shiloh Branch, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park continued to administer the historic field leasing program with local farmers. The farmers entering into a lease agreement with the agency to manage park fields were required to follow National Park Service policies involving Integrated Pest Management, soil erosion control, and prevention of forest encroachment on open areas. The lease program was intended to support the park's interest in maintaining the historic appearance of fields present at the time of the battle, and is an examples of an early natural and cultural landscape resource management program directed by the agency.

Park Activities, 1985[395]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1985 numbered 264,428, while overall visitation for the year numbered 489,039.[396] The Superintendent's Annual Report does not indicate visitation numbers, or discuss programs conducted during 1985.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 1985, the park established a new system of conveying daily activity information to the public, using a schedule format rather than the park information folders of the past.

Planning efforts. To address proposed changes to the tour route that included two new stops, a landscape architect from the Natchez Trace Parkway prepared landscape plans for the new wayside exhibits.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Superintendent McKinney continued to oversee the monument conservation project initiated in 1983. Repair and cleaning of division, brigade, and mortuary monuments continued under the program during 1985.[397]

The park also worked on landscape restoration projects, including the removal of 6 acres of forest found to be encroaching on historic fields. The maintenance staff were tasked with removing the trees without contributing to soil erosion.

YCC enrollees placed more than 2,000 sandbags along the eroded banks of the Tennessee River along the park's eastern margin.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. In 1985, Shiloh National Cemetery allocated its final gravesite. Burial sites reserved prior to this date have continued to be filled in a process that remains active as of 2016.

In 1985, the park established an Operations Evaluation Program to be used with newly acquired personal computers. The program used an operations workbook tool to identify problems to be addressed by maintenance personnel and to record efforts to correct identified problems.

394. Zeb McKinney, personal interview, October 15, 2013.
395. All information is derived from the 1985 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
396. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
397. Capps, 129.

Eastern National Park and Monument Association continued to operate the park's bookstore, and noted that it enjoyed a very successful year. Funds generated through bookstore sales were used to support park enhancement projects.

A Texas A&M post-graduate student conducted a group behavior research study along the park's hiking trails to determine the source of non-compliant behavior. The study evaluated all visitors, including Boy Scouts, to determine the source of problems documented by law enforcement personnel.

Park Activities, 1986[398]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1986 numbered 325,958, while overall visitation for the year numbered 567,239.[399] The park held its annual Memorial Day ceremony in Shiloh National Cemetery. The ceremony was marked by a presentation, while flags were placed at each grave.

Planning efforts. The park prepared an updated Resource Management Plan, as well as a revised Land Protection Plan.[400] In addition, park staff completed new emergency operations plans to address fires, floods, tornadoes, and hazardous spills. In addition, the park developed a new standardized system for issuing right-of-way permits, agricultural use permits, and special use permits.

After the landscape architect from Natchez Trace Parkway completed the landscape plan for exhibits to be installed at the park's tour stops, the signs were readied for installation.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The monument conservation project continued, with efforts focusing on rehabilitation of the cannon carriage and plaques. The work was conducted by Moran Construction of Arlington, Virginia, for $136,530. The contract called for the removal, transportation, and storage of all field carriage mounted cannon tubes in the maintenance area, the disassembly and cleaning of all cast-iron carriage parts, the application of a corrosion inhibiting solution, and the painting of all metal carriage parts.

Universal access modifications were made at the visitor center and the picnic area, including the addition of access ramps at the entrances and restrooms improvements.

YCC enrollees worked on road and trail improvements, including implementing erosion control measures at the Indian Mounds Trail.[401]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park augmented the computerized management program that they had designed and implemented in 1985, further developing annual work plans for division chiefs into annual work schedules, and incorporating the work schedules into individual performance standards.

Employees of Shiloh National Military Park attended computer training courses at a nearby vocational technical school. Training included instruction in National Park Service data systems, such as d-Base 111, SuperCalc, and Wordstar. The training helped the park maximize its new data management programs.

The Eastern National Park and Monument Association opened a bookstore in the old post office/concession building.[402] By this time, the organization was recognized as an important source of Civil War publications throughout the United States and continued to enjoy robust sales.

398. All information is derived from the 1986 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
399. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
400. National Park Service, *Shiloh National Military Park Land Protection Plan (Update)* (1986).
401. Capps, 55–56. Contract CX500041053/48420485, Preservation of Division, Brigade, and Mortuary Monuments, June 2, 1985; Contract CX500041068, Rehabilitation of Cannon Carriages and Plaques, September 28, 1984.
402. Capps, 129.

The group behavior study conducted by a Texas A&M post-graduate student in 1985 served as the basis for a publication titled "Reducing Depreciative Behavior at Shiloh National Military Park" The study was published by the Cooperative Park Studies unit of the university. The park implemented the principal recommendations of the study. As a result, vandalism decreased.

Park Activities, 1987[403]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1987 numbered 336,129.[404] Based on enforcement of the Congressional legislation passed in the 1960s that required parks to collect entry fees, Shiloh began to charge visitors at the visitor center. The fee collection, which began in February 1987, was considered to be a factor in a concurrent decrease in visitation to the visitor contact station of 25,000.[405] During the same period, traffic counts along park roads remained constant at 650,000.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Installation of new wayside exhibits along the tour route was completed. The number of tour stops increased by two.

The park hosted two touring exhibits. One was produced to mark the 125th anniversary of the battle. The other celebrated the 200th anniversary of the American Constitution.

A temporary display dealing with Memorial Day was also installed in the visitor center.

Planning efforts. A new museum exhibit plan was approved by the park and the region to improve interpretive programming and afford much needed universal access to the park's key stories.

The park's Statement for Management was completely rewritten, bringing it into compliance with National Park Service guidelines.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. A Bally building was purchased for storage of park artifacts, and installed in the basement of the visitor center. Using $38,000 collected in entrance fees, the park enhanced its artifact storage system, helping to bring the park into compliance with National Park Service standards.

The project to repair and clean park monuments continued through Fiscal Year 1987.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park was selected as a pilot area for testing a new computerized Management System developed by the Southeast Region of the National Park Service. The program closely paralleled the system already in place at the park. Maintenance personnel were to use the new system to enter workload inventories into the computer, allowing the Chief of Maintenance to better track his activities.[406]

Due to the improved service afforded by the relocated bookstore, the Shiloh organization was recognized as the Eastern National Park and Monument Association Agency of the Year.

Six army groups conducted staff rides within the park, reflecting a general upward trend in this practice. The park trained three ROTC students from the University of Alabama to assist in the oversight of the staff rides.

The park conducted two training sessions for teachers as part of an in-service training effort conducted by the local school systems. The goal was to improve the quality of the experience students received during field trips to the park.

Two burglaries occurred within the maintenance area. Maintenance equipment, including chain saws and hand tools, were stolen. Arrests were later made.

403. All information is derived from the 1987 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

404. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

405. Capps, 129.

406. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1987.

Park Activities, 1988[407]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Overall visitation in 1988 numbered 690, 468.[408] Recreation visitation was recorded at 352,375. Visitors enjoyed several programs and ceremonies over the course of the year. The 7th Tennessee Cavalry sponsored cavalry and field artillery demonstrations in April. The 7th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry (7th Illinois) sponsored similar cavalry and field artillery demonstrations in May. The park also conducted the traditional Memorial Day program in the national cemetery. In August, National Park Service Day recognized the anniversary of the establishment of the agency. As part of the program, the 7th Tennessee Cavalry set up a camp and explained its features and historic activities to visitors. The 7th Tennessee Cavalry and the 7th Illinois also began conducting cavalry and artillery demonstrations in the park at other times of the year; these living history activities have since continued and remain very popular as of 2016.[409] The Yarn Spinners of Memphis also held a one-day workshop on storytelling at the park.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park developed a new walking tour for the Dill Branch and Indian Mounds area. The park also used funds from the fee collection program to rehabilitate the Ruggles Line Trail, Burial Trench Trail, and three footbridges, and built steps to the top of the Indian Mound. The footbridge and trail at Fraley Field were relocated to the edge of the wood line to afford a better view of the "historical area."

Planning efforts. Plans and fabrication drawings were finalized for new exhibits to be installed in the visitor contact station in 1989.[410]

In 1988, the Shiloh Indian Mounds site was designated a National Historic Landmark. The Tennessee SHPO reviewed the nomination, as well as an archeological assessment completed for the park.

The park identified several areas where it would have trouble meeting National Park Service standards. The areas of concern identified included:

- Installation of city water to the picnic area and removal of the well water system.
- Removal of the 50,000 gallon water tank and tower once water was installed to the North Shiloh community, suggesting that the need for storage would no longer exist.
- Correction of erosion problems along the west bank of the Tennessee River south of Pittsburgh Landing, and to the south, east, and west boundary. The erosion was identified as a threat to historical and cultural resources, and a safety hazard to park visitors and employees.

Initial discussions were conducted with National Park Service historian Edwin Bearss and the audiovisual division of Harpers Ferry to consider a replacement for the park orientation film.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. As the park worked to adapt to the National Park Service computerized work planning and management system, a computer room was added in an under-utilized storage room to house computer equipment. The park also began preparations to implement a new H2 Financial Input Tracking System on January 1, 1989.

Work continued on monument repair and conservation. The State of Kentucky proposed complete rehabilitation of its monument due to deterioration of the plaque and the stone pillars. The Indianapolis Civil War Roundtable assumed responsibility for raising the money for the

407. All information is derived from the 1988 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
408. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
409. Capps, 129.
410. National Park Service, "Fabrication Drawings Exhibit Plan" Drawing No. 304-13002, June 24, 1988.

necessary cleaning and repointing of the Indiana monuments, using specifications developed jointly by the Southeast Region Cultural Resources Office and the park.

Other maintenance efforts included filling road shoulders and parking areas with crushed rock in order to level the road surface and enhance appearance and safety. The visitor center roof was replaced with a new roof composed of slate and built-up roofing. Gutters and flashing were also replaced. The park quarters were rewired for electrical service. The carpenter shop was renovated. The interior received new work benches and wiring. Quarters No. 50 and No. 4 were repaired and repainted inside.

Erosion at the Rhea Spring Bridge along Confederate Road was corrected through removal of trees blocking culverts, clearing the drainage channel, and repair of eroded areas with mixtures of rock, gravel, and clay.

Vegetation management conducted over the course of the year included removal of several mature southern red oaks that had died due to drought, as well as 577 stumps with a stump cutter. Hazardous tree limbs near headquarters and the mortuary monuments were also removed. The park worked to address colonization of large field areas by Johnson grass, an invasive species that flourishes under drought conditions. The park noted that considerable spraying and field management would have to be done in 1989 by lessees to control Johnson grass.

An evaluation of the amount of silt that had accumulated in Bloody Pond suggested it would need to be removed. The park made arrangements for the YCC and Boy Scouts to remove silt and other sediments from the pond as part of their annual project responsibilities.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park worked diligently to enter information about all cultural museum items into the National Park Service's new database software program known as the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS), use of which was required. The work was completed by the end of the year.

The Superintendent oversaw several evaluations of park policy and operations. All park position descriptions were reviewed and revised as needed, while performance standards were also reviewed and revised.

The Superintendent was also active within the Tourism Association of Southwest Tennessee, while the Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management was involved in community outreach as a member of the Hardin County Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club.

Law enforcement recorded 145 case incidents including vandalism, traffic incidents, hunting, and relic hunting. A group of three men were caught metal detecting within the park in June.

Park Activities, 1989[411]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Visitation in 1989 was recorded at 572,000, of which 319,000 visitors were considered recreational and 253,000 non-recreational in nature. The group campground recorded 4,400 overnight stays. The visitor center was used by 96,800 visitors.

As per tradition, the park hosted Memorial Day ceremonies in Shiloh National Cemetery, while on the 127th anniversary of the battle, the park hosted Civil War demonstration events that included an encampment of volunteer reenactors from the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, Morton's Artillery Battery, the 52nd Tennessee Infantry, and the 6th Kentucky Infantry. Over 3,500 visitors attended the event.

Planning efforts. Preparations were made to update the park's Resource Management Plan, with a draft prepared in the fall.

411. All information is derived from the 1989 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison reviewed park plans for installing a granite cannon tube, and waterlines along the road shoulder, at Wilkes Battery, and at Sowell Field.

Plans were made to conduct an erosion control project in 1992 that would protect cultural resources at the Indian Mounds and Shiloh National Cemetery. The park began to monitor the safety of visitors driving along Riverside Drive as the river banks continued to be undercut. In a first effort to protect the public, the park erected warning signs and fences. These were later considered inadequate to protect visitors and the road was closed.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The park visitor center was renovated and new interpretive displays and furnishings were installed. The visitor contact station was rededicated as part of ceremony to introduce visitors to the new exhibits.[412]

The original wood shingles on the picnic pavilion roof were replaced with asphalt, due to rapid deterioration of the natural materials. Tour stops were paved with washed aggregate concrete to control erosion and compaction. The use of river-deposited gravel helped the paving to blend in with the setting. Trees were removed from one of the Indian Mounds to reduce displacement of archeological resources by maturing root systems. The mound was cleared of timber and seeded with red fescue. The park began to plan for the planting of native shrubs and trees to restore a more natural appearance to areas being impacted by visitation. Installation of a municipal water supply at the picnic area continued to be delayed.[413]

The Tennessee Historical Commission erected a historical marker adjacent to Highway 22 in honor of CCC camp MP-3.[414]

The Kentucky Monument was renovated by the Kentucky Historical Society. The inlaid Kentucky limestone pilasters of the monument were replaced with single stone pilasters of Georgia granite, while the bronze plaque was returned to the foundry—Sewah Studios—and restored.

The Conservation Fund acquired a 143-acre parcel, known as the Roberson tract, for the park.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. In late January, the park's Lead Park Ranger position was filled by Stacy D. Allen, who transferred from Vicksburg National Military Park. Allen joined the staff in mid-March, after completing an eight-week course involving ranger skills training at the Horace Albright Training Center at Grand Canyon. In April, Allen followed the ranger skills training with a two-week historic weapons certification and safety training program conducted at the Stephen T. Mather Training Center in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. His new duties at Shiloh would entail frontline supervisory responsibilities for Interpretation and the Visitor Services Program.

Allen, who came to Shiloh after four years at Vicksburg, was first hired in 1984 as a seasonal Interpretive Ranger. After moving to a permanent position in 1986, Allen served for two years as a generalist Park Ranger, responsible for interpretation, law enforcement, and resource management. Those individuals who influenced Allen's later career were Vicksburg Park Historian, Terry Winschel, and Superintendent Bill Nichols. About Nichols, Allen notes: "He was a park ranger's superintendent in the sense that he come up from the park ranger ranks, and he was very skilled in all facets of management, and possessed tremendous civic engagement skills with the communities."[415] Although Allen appreciated the mentorship afforded by Winschel, Nichols, and his supervisor, Sam Weddle, Allen was encouraged to apply for other jobs after two years recognizing that National Park Service personnel "have to move on if they want to advance their career and gain a variety of experience."[416] Although, "There is a general thinking that if you hold five to six positions in seven to eight different parks, that's a

412. Capps, 76. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, and 1989.
413. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1989.
414. Capps, 130.
415. Stacy Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.
416. Ibid.

better experience than holding the same number of positions in a couple of parks," Allen remains at Shiloh National Military Park twenty-seven years later due to his deep appreciation and love for the park. Additionally, Allen recognizes the value of having personnel remain in one park for longer periods:

> If someone stays engaged, if they enjoy their work, if they contribute and they've got something to bring to the table, it can be an outstanding benefit for the agency, for the particular park they work at, for the fellow staff, and for the public, because you get, through a long association with the same park, an institutional awareness and knowledge of an evolving program.[417]

Allen's interest in working in the national parks was the result of a childhood interest in history cultivated by the elders in his family, and regular visits to park units during his formative years. The thoughtfulness of a park ranger who took the family to see the cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde even as the park was closing remained with him years later. Allen joined the National Park Service after completing preliminary studies toward a PhD in anthropology at the University of Kansas. (Allen departed the program to work toward a career in the National Park Service.) A non-traditional history seminar on the Civil War that entailed role playing led to a love of personal interpretation.[418]

During Allen's first summer, fires in Yellowstone National Park in the previous year (1988) were the subject of nationwide concerns about National Park Service land management. Shiloh personnel worked to address concerns raised by the public in programs and presentations made to area clubs and organizations. Programs were presented to the humane societies in Savannah, Nashville, and Chattanooga regarding the potential reintroduction of wolves into park ecosystems such as at Yellowstone.

Historic Preservation Specialist Nick Velox from George Washington Memorial Parkway conducted a 40-hour training course in monument rehabilitation and preservation. Members of the Southeast Region Cultural Resource Preservation Team participated. The team proceeded to rehabilitate many monuments within the park, especially bronze statues and adornments, which were cleaned and waxed.

In his annual report, Superintendent McKinney noted that:

> Each year at Shiloh begins with an in-house operations evaluation. This appraisal of our needs is then incorporated into goals, objectives, work plans, operating program, and work calendars for each division. Regular reviews by the management team keep the park effort in focus and assures timely responses to the most pressing issues.
>
> The Administrative Division has been busily engaged in learning and implementing new data management systems, H-2 Flags, PROPS, Travel Lightning, and Quarters-Housing, to name a few. We eagerly anticipate the day when we begin to stabilize and realize the time saving benefits which are supposed to accrue from computerization.[419]

Several more staff rides were conducted by U.S. Army officers in training, with oversight provided by the park.

Law enforcement incident reports included a variety of violation notices involving larceny, traffic and pet offenses, traffic accidents, a search for a missing person, injured or ill persons, and one false-alarm wildfire report.

Deficits in the workload inventory of the Maintenance Management System again required more funding and manpower than was available to the park. The park submitted requests for funding and manpower to address the deficiency.

417. Ibid.
418. Ibid.
419. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1989.

Evolving Management Strategies, 1990–2016



FIGURE 41. Site of Harper's Mississippi Battery, Shiloh Battlefield, January 2011.

A National Context of Historic Battlefield Preservation, 1980s to present

Battlefields are cultural landscapes that possess unique and inherent management needs. The specific goals, needs, and technical considerations associated with battlefield preservation became the focus of several federal and private nonprofit initiatives beginning in the late 1970s that have since produced an important body of guidance available to support management and administration. While this focus emerged during the late 1970s as parks considered management strategies for military earthworks, battlefield preservation took on a greater sense of urgency during the mid- to late 1980s when suburbanization and other development began to threaten rural historic landscapes, including battlefields and other military sites. As rural areas

located in proximity to urban centers became increasingly threatened by subdivision and industrial development, communities as well as government officials realized that would need to identify landscapes of significance to save and tools they could use to protect significant land from development. Methods for identifying battlefields, assessing their importance within the larger context of campaigns and wars, securing their protection, and funding land acquisition and management were all needed, and would be the focus of efforts conducted by the federal government, state and local governments, private organizations, and individuals during the late 1980s and early 1990s, with efforts continuing to the present.

Although Shiloh for the most part had been protected by the efforts of Congress a century earlier, the park did benefit from the growing battlefield preservation movement through the efforts of nonprofit groups such as the Friends of Corinth, the Civil War Trust, and the Conservation Fund that have acquired land within the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park, as well as the Siege and Battle of Corinth National Historic Landmark property, a portion of which is designated the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park during this period. Battlefield preservation efforts that accelerated during the 1980s have also resulted in the protection of several other battlefields associated with the Shiloh and Corinth campaign, and the formation of preservation groups that now serve as park partners.

Earthworks Management

As noted previously, one of the early examples of National Park Service efforts to develop methodologies for battlefield preservation was a conference held at Petersburg National Battlefield in 1977 to address the management of military earthworks. The issue was later considered at the regional and national level. Recognizing that a defensible process for earthworks management was needed as a result of the extensive collection of earthworks administered by the agency, the National Park Service engaged consultants during the late 1980s and 1990s to prepare a series of studies that would consider soil science and plant ecology in developing management guidelines for military earthworks.

The first of these studies—the *Earthworks Landscape Management Manual*—was published in 1989.[420] The manual identified three objectives critical to earthworks preservation: combating erosion, maintaining healthy vegetative cover to blanket the soil and prevent its loss, and limiting human access to sensitive resources. The study concluded that military earthworks managed under forested conditions, rather than turf, exhibited the least erosion and retained the sharpest profiles and most legible features.[421]

The second study, with a draft published in 1998, was titled *The Guide to Sustainable Earthworks Management.*[422] This report analyzed several military parks in the Mid-Atlantic and Southeast regions to determine the range of conditions associated with earthworks and the forces threatening their integrity. While the study recognized that managing earthworks under forest conditions was one option, it also offered methods for maintaining earthworks under grass cover, since many parks found this preferable for interpretation. The study suggested that parks consider planting native, warm-season grasses as an effective alternative to cool-season turf grasses, as a landcover type capable of protecting against erosion. The study suggested that the advantages of warm-season grasses included adaptability to a wide range of environmental conditions including

420. Andropogon Associates, *Earthworks Landscape Management Manual* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1989).

421. National Park Service, "Introduction: Management Context" in *05 Currents: Sustainable Military Earthworks Management*, <www.nps.gov/hps/hli/currents/earthworks/intro_page2.htm>, accessed February 2010.

422. National Park Service, *Guide to Sustainable Earthworks Management.* 90 percent draft. 1998. Online at <www.nps.gov/chal/sp/jeawogui.htm>.

drought, and diminished maintenance and mowing once established.[423]

The third study, *Managing Earthworks under Forest Cover*, was completed in 1998 by forester Dr. James E. Johnson of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.[424] This work addressed issues associated with sustainable earthwork management not considered in the *Earthworks Landscape Management Manual*, including how to actively manage earthworks under forest cover through an approach described as tree husbandry.

In 2005, the National Park Service collected these studies into a single narrative, supplemented with additional findings derived from work at several parks, which formed a comprehensive guide to earthworks management titled *05 Currents: Sustainable Military Earthworks Management.*[425] The guide addresses the philosophy, approach, and implementation of treatments for a range of current and desired future conditions. Although the Shiloh unit of Shiloh National Military Park does not contain earthworks, these methods have been used to manage the extensive system of earthworks at the more recently formed Corinth unit.

Civil War Sites Advisory Commission

In 1991, following the drama and coalition of efforts to save First Manassas Battlefield, the U.S. Congress established the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) as a way to evaluate the condition of and threat to the nation's Civil War battlefields. An important anticipated outcome of the commission was the identification of a method for prioritizing battlefield preservation needs.

The commission started by documenting every Civil War battlefield within the country, determining boundaries, evaluating significance, assessing integrity, and identifying current and anticipated future threats to integrity. Before the documentation commenced, National Park Service Southeast Regional Office and Washington Office program leads convened to determine the role that the field historians in the Southeast Region, many of whom were duty stationed on Civil War sites managed by the National Park Service in the Southeast Region, would play based on their location and subject expertise.

Chief Ranger George Reaves and Lead Park Ranger Stacy Allen attended a National Park Service workshop designed to provide training and disseminate information regarding the Southeast Region's role and responsibilities for participating in the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission survey of the nation's battlefields. Reaves and Allen served as Southeast Region Civil War Site subject matter experts, as well as potential survey team members. As part of the training, they were taught the specific battlefield survey methodologies to be used. Since many of the 384 battlefield sites surveyed as part of the program were located in the Southeast, staff in the region would be instrumental in completing the study. Every National Park Service battlefield site in the southeast had personnel in attendance.

The multi-day workshop was held at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, with program and field survey methodology training provided by Southeast Regional Office and Washington Office cultural resource program specialists, most notably historians David Lowe (Washington Office) and Paul Hawke (Southeast Regional Office). The workshop concluded with selected field staff being assigned battlefields to be surveyed. Shiloh staff were assigned survey of eight battlefields: Shiloh (Tennessee), Athens (Tennessee), Davis Bridge (Tennessee), Memphis (Tennessee), Decatur (Alabama), Luka (Mississippi), Corinth, both the siege and battle, (Mississippi). Chief Reaves assigned the duty to Allen, who spent several months conducting

423. Ibid.

424. Dr. James E. Johnson, *Managing Earthworks under Forest Cover* (Blacksburg, Virginia: National Park Service, 1998).

425. National Park Service, *05 Currents: Sustainable Military Earthworks Management.* Online at <www.nps.gov/history/hps/hli/currents/earthworks/index.htm>.

battlefield surveys in the region and preparing reports and maps for the study.

The result was a *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields*, published in 1993. The report ranked the 384 inventoried battlefields according to their preservation priority level using a four-tiered system. The rankings were based on historic significance, current condition, and the level of threat posed to battlefield integrity by development. Fifty battlefields were identified as top priorities for protection, with a "critical need for action." Second priority battlefields were in relatively good condition, and faced few threats, but remained relatively unprotected." Third priority battlefields were those where substantial historic land was already protected and faced limited threats, but were in need of some additional land protection. Fourth priority battlefields were those that were already fragmented with poor integrity.

The 1993 CWSAC report also identified a study and core area for each surveyed battlefield. Battlefield study areas were drawn to encompass all important components of the conflict. These components might include approach routes, areas of troop concentrations, reserve positions, a commander's headquarters, signal stations or other important observation points. The study area might also contain picket lines, battle lines, maneuver areas, assault areas, artillery positions, retreat routes, and places where the armies bivouacked before or after the fighting. As drawn, battlefield study areas form the basis for understanding the strategic context and geographic setting for a particular conflict.

Battlefield core areas were drawn to encompass areas where confrontational deployment, the heaviest fighting, and the most severe casualties occurred. Battlefield core areas occasionally included areas important in shaping the ebb and flow of battle, even when fighting at these sites was minimal. Examples might include river crossings, crossroads, signal stations, or other features that contributed to the battle's development and outcome. This two-tiered system was designed to help prioritize battlefield land for protection purposes. Although the boundaries were not drawn to take National Register eligibility into consideration, the core area typically included the areas of greatest importance to understanding the events of the battle, and served as boundary justification for many National Register nominations involving Civil War battlefields.

Since 1993, the CWSAC study, and the methodology it espoused for documenting Civil War battlefields, have proven invaluable as tools for land acquisition and resource protection by groups such as the Civil War Trust (CWT) and the National Park Service.

With the perspective of twenty years, Congress funded an update of the CWSAC report in 2005–2007. The update included two notable additions: the identification of National Register eligible boundaries and the use of U.S. Army military terrain analysis principles referred to as KOCOA (which stands for Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, and Avenues of approach) to describe troop movements and military tactics on the battlefield.

Specifically, Congress required the updated report to reflect:

- Preservation activities carried out at the 384 battlefields identified by the CWSAC during the period between 1993 and the update;
- Changes in the condition of the battlefields since that period; and
- Any other relevant developments relating to the battlefields during that period.

National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*

The National Park Service also codified battlefield survey methods for the general public in the 1992 National Register of Historic Places Bulletin prepared by Historian Patrick Andrus titled *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields.* Contributing to the preparation of the bulletin was

Edwin C. Bearss, National Park Service historian and battlefield expert. Recognizing increasing interest in battlefield preservation, the bulletin noted:

> Battlefields represent some of our nation's most significant historic properties. Our nation achieved independence through the trial of battle, and military action often determined the very boundaries of this country. The momentous decision of whether we would remain one country or two was settled by war. The great clash of cultures between the first Americans and the later European settlers was determined in military engagements.
>
> Battlefields are an important type of cultural landscape. They are places that have been profoundly marked by human endeavor. While the significance of many battlefields derives from a brief and extraordinarily violent moment in time, the basic principles for identifying, evaluating, documenting, registering and protecting these historic properties can be applied more broadly, particularly to significant historic rural landscapes. The characteristics that define a broad range of rural landscapes—natural features, land uses, vegetation, historic building types—also define many battlefields. The threats to rural landscapes—changing land uses, loss of vegetation, alteration to natural features, loss and replacement of historic buildings—also are occurring on many battlefields.
>
> The battlefields of American history reflect important aspects of our culture and heritage. These lands today face unprecedented threats to their survival. Their loss would destroy an important part of our shared historic experience. This publication is designed to assist in the recognition of these important properties worthy of preservation. We should never forget the sacrifices made on these fields.[426]
>
> An important step in the preservation of battlefields is that they be recognized by listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Listing properties in the National Register often changes the way communities perceive their historic resources and gives credibility to State and local efforts to preserve these resources as living parts of our communities. The information contained in the surveys of these historic places and in the National Register nomination forms can be used for a variety of purposes, including public heritage education, planning by local, State, or Federal agencies, and in publications.[427]

American Battlefield Protection Program

At the same time Congress authorized the CWSAC, the Secretary of the Interior also recognized the growing imperative to protect the nation's battlefields by establishing the ABPP in 1991. The program funded studies and the development of protection and documentation standards including support of the National Register Bulletin authored by Patrick Andrus.

In 1996, Congress bestowed additional value and importance on the ABPP through passage of the American Battlefield Protection Program Act. Since 1996, ABPP has increasingly promoted battlefield protection through the distribution of grants to local and state governments and nonprofit organizations involved in the preparation of battlefield protection and interpretation plans, as well as funding to support land acquisition. ABPP has also funded theme studies and other investigations that help to place individual battlefields and associated lands into a framework for decision-making, while providing technical assistance in several related areas.

On December 17, 2002, the 1996 Act was amended through passage of the Civil War Battlefield Preservation Act.[428] The Act has two purposes:

426. Patrick A. Andrus, National Register Bulletin: *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994), preface. Available online at http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb40/nrb40_pre.htm
427. Ibid. "The Status of Battlefield Preservation."
428. Public Law 107-359, 111 Stat. 3016.

- To act quickly and proactively to preserve and protect nationally significant Civil War battlefields through conservation easements and fee-simple purchases of those battlefields from willing sellers; and

- To create partnerships among state and local governments, regional entities, and the private sector to preserve, conserve, and enhance nationally significant Civil War battlefields.[429]

The Act also directed the Secretary of the Interior to update the CWSAC *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields*, the process for which is described above. The *Battlefield Survey Manual* developed by ABPP explained the field methods to be employed for the resurvey. It also referenced the survey, significance, and integrity concepts outlined for battlefields indicated in the National Register bulletin, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*, which became available soon after the CWSAC completed the original report.[430]

Using its refined methodology, ABPP was able to validate or adjust the original CWSAC's study and core area boundaries to more accurately reflect the extent and key resources of each battlefield.[431] To address the issue of integrity more specifically, the updated CWSAC study was to include a third boundary line as indicated by ABPP—the Potential National Register boundary.[432]

Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites, Civil War Trust, Conservation Fund

Supporting the federal government's increasing efforts to protect and adequately manage battlefields were organizations formed in response to the threat posed by development during the 1980s. Three of the most important of these were the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites, the Civil War Trust, and Conservation Fund.

The Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites (APCWS) was established in 1987 based on the critical need to protect battlefield lands under threat of commercial, residential, highway, and industrial development. The organization was the result of a meeting attended by twenty individuals to discuss shared concerns about the rapidly disappearing battlefields of Northern Virginia. The group decided that the best way to save threatened battlefield land would be through fee simple purchase and subsequent management.

The development proposal that prompted the gathering and formation of APCWS was a large hotel complex that would closely edge Manassas National Battlefield Park near Manassas, Virginia. The parcel targeted by development was owned by the Marriot Corporation, and was considered to fall within the First Manassas Battlefield, although it was not protected within the national park unit. Several groups coalesced to protect Manassas battlefield land. Their efforts led to federal legislation designed to thwart the development plans. (See also chapter entitled Partnerships.)

Over the next decade, APCWS raised thousands of dollars with which to purchase land associated with battlefields threatened by development. Despite a growing membership and number of donations, the organization continually found the need greater than the resources available and struggled financially throughout its existence. In 1999, APCWS merged with another Civil War battlefield protection organization, the Civil War Trust.

The CWT was established in 1991. Like APCWS, the CWT was concerned with protecting

429. National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields; Commonwealth of Virginia*" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, July 2009), 4.
430. National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields; Commonwealth of Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2009), 13.
431. Ibid.
432. Ibid., 14.

battlefield land, as well as promoting legislation to support the cause. Unlike APCWS, which secured much of its funding from private donations, the CWT received federal funds from the sale of Civil War Battlefield coins produced by the U.S. Mint. For several years, the two organizations actually competed with one another for funding and in their pursuit of land to protect. The 1999 merger was intended to increase efficiency and reduce the unnecessary overlap in these endeavors. Following the merger, the new organization was named the Civil War Preservation Trust, but has since been renamed the Civil War Trust.

Since 1999, the CWT has continued to grow its membership annually. The CWT has been highly successful in its ability to raise funds, engage in land transactions, and manage and interpret battlefield lands. Shiloh National Military Park has benefitted from the work of the APCWS and the CWT through acquisition of battlefield land at Shiloh, Corinth, Davis Bridge, and Fallen Timbers, among others. (See section entitled Other Battlefield Land Acquisition, below.)

As noted in the previous chapter, the Conservation Fund was established in 1985, and was heavily involved in battlefield preservation during the late 1980s and early 1990s. At Shiloh, the Conservation Fund was responsible for acquisition in 1991 of a 125-acre parcel, known as the Roberson tract, which was of interest to the National Park Service.

After purchasing the Roberson tract, the Conservation Fund donated it to the federal government for inclusion within Shiloh National Military Park. The parcel was the site of the staging area used by the Confederates for their final attack against the Union right flank. The land had been farmed and timbered since the Civil War. It also contained the only section of bottomland forest that had not been timbered. Private donors, including John Nau III, were instrumental in helping the Conservation Fund to acquire the land.[433] Title to the land was later transferred to the National Park Service during a special ceremony.[434] The Conservation Fund was also instrumental in assisting the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission in devising a strategy for battlefield preservation around the same time. (See discussion of Corinth unit below, as well as chapters entitled Partnerships and Corinth unit.)

The Corinth Unit

As noted in the previous chapter, proposals for protecting land associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth, and potentially establishing a unit of the national park system, began to resonate during the late 1980s. In 1991, the Southeast Region of the National Park Service, in conjunction with the newly-formed ABPP, published a study titled *The Siege and Battle of Corinth: A Strategy for Preservation, Protection and Interpretation*, which outlined possible avenues for addressing the proposals.[435] Another outcome was the establishment of a task force by ABPP to further investigate preservation of the battlefields associated with the Battle and Siege of Corinth, including the extensive system of earthworks ringing the city.

The Corinth Battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1991. The nomination was prepared by the National Park Service and ABPP. Authors of the nomination for Corinth included Edwin C. Bearss, Paul Hawke, Tom Hensley, and Cecil McKithan of the National Park Service, and Jack Elliot of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The team was assisted in the field by Shiloh staff, particularly Chief Ranger Reaves and Lead Park Ranger Allen. In 1993, interest in preserving the battlefield strengthened when the CWSAC report listed Corinth as a Priority 1 battlefield, in critical need of action.

Despite the efforts being put forth by the National Park Service to address battlefield preservation, many within the agency remained concerned

433. Miller, Wihry & Lee, "Inspection Report; Owl Creek Bottomlands at Shiloh National Military Park" (National Park Service, 21 March 1978).
434. National Park Service, "Boundary Map," Drawing No. 304-80004, October 4, 1978.
435. National Park Service, *The Siege and Battle of Corinth; A Strategy for Preservation, Protection and Interpretation* (September 1991).

about the potential to add another unit to the national park system given budgetary concerns. Following an effort made by Senator Lott to build an Interpretive Center at Corinth, as noted by former Superintendent Woody Harrell, "The National Park Service testified against it at every opportunity. We don't need it, we can't take care of what we got, we give grants, we can give technical assistance but don't mention the 'P' word. No new parks."[436]

When asked about the resistance to his bill within the agency, Senator Lott noted "Well, since I'm going to keep working on my bill until I get it passed, I don't think it's going to affect the long term chances at all." [437]

As foretold by Lott, on 1996, Congress passed the Corinth, Mississippi, Battlefield Act, which authorized the establishment and construction of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center. The Act included a $6 million appropriation for the project, and indicated that the new Corinth unit would be administered by Shiloh National Military Park.[438]

In 1998, the Mississippi Congressional delegation submitted a second bill that advocated the establishment of a new battlefield park at Corinth. In support of the effort, the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) donated a 20-acre parcel that contained one of the primary objects of the battle—Battery Robinett—to the National Park Service. As noted by Jim Woodrick, Director of the Historic Preservation Division for the state of Mississippi,

> We were part of the planning and site selection group for the Corinth Interpretive Center and our office acted as the pass-through agency for the acquisition of associated battlefield properties in Corinth and along the siege lines (in concert with the ABPP).[439]
>
> As I recall, there was some investment on the part of the state with the auditorium at the Interpretive Center (but not sure of the amount), but we provided support through the MS SHPO on site selection, reviews of interpretation and in processing property acquisition through the ABPP. The Mississippi Legislature also provided funding in the initial battlefield acquisition program, through which more than twenty (20) individual properties were acquired.[440]

Throughout 1999, the park was involved in providing technical assistance to legislators, while the SERO and WASO offices were involved in lobbying for the passage of the legislation.

In the meantime, the National Park Service initiated planning and design for the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center in November 1999 with a charrette and workshop held in Corinth. Architectural and landscape design plans were developed under the direction of project manager Joe Crystal of the Denver Service Center by consulting architects, Overland Partners, Inc., of Houston, Texas, and landscape architects EDAW, Inc., of Denver, Colorado. The National Park Service established a schedule that included contractor bidding by late Fiscal Year 2002. At the same time, the thematic design of interpretive center exhibits was also initiated with the assistance of The Planning, Research, and Design Group Ltd., of Fairfax, Virginia. Mangi Environmental Group, of Falls Church, Virginia, was engaged to prepare the Environmental Assessment for the project.

Archeological investigations were also conducted by the Southeast Archeology Center at Battery Robinett in Corinth that included the use of ground penetrating radar (GPR) to locate features of potential interest.

In 2000, Congress passed the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act of 2000 establishing the Corinth

436. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
437. Ibid.
438. Sec. 602. 16 USC 430f-5
439. Jim Woodrick, personal interview, August 17, 2016.
440. Ibid.

unit of Shiloh National Military Park.[441] The act authorized the National Park Service to prepare a Special Resource Study to determine if properties other than the land already identified for use in developing the Interpretive Center should be acquired. The National Historic Landmark prepared in 1991 served as the basis for land that was suitable for consideration in establishing a boundary for the unit.

One of the sites that was identified as meriting further investigation was a Contraband Camp located at Corinth during the Civil War. Local historian Paul Pardue conducted research into the history of the camp, and prepared a paper titled "In Search of the 1st Regiment of African Descent and the Contraband Camp of Corinth, Mississippi," that was instrumental in raising awareness of the site and interest in its preservation.

After the bill passed in 2000, the appropriation for the new park and Civil War Interpretive Center was increased by $3 million. Despite appropriations totaling $9 million, the funds were considered insufficient for construction of an auditorium. Once this became apparent, local stakeholders, who considered an auditorium and an orientation essential to the success of the interpretive center, worked with the state to secure additional funds by issuing a bond. In the end, the State of Mississippi would issue a bond to contribute $500,000 for the auditorium project. Later, Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission chair Rosemary Williams would convince Congress to provide additional federal funds for a film, eventually securing a line item appropriation of $1 million. Half of this money was used to produce the Interpretive Center film, while the other half was spent on commemoration and interpretation of the Corinth Contraband Camp.

In 2001, pre-construction planning for the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center proceeded, and the Special Resource Study authorized in 2000 was in development. A Value Analysis for Interior and Exterior Exhibit Media at Corinth was conducted.

In 2002, a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan was completed by Harpers Ferry, while a FONSI was developed for the construction and operation of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.[442] At the same time, the Draft Special Resource Study was also completed. At this point, as noted by Superintendent Harrell, the National Park Service realized that the Special Resource Study would not be sufficient to guide the agency's efforts to establish a new unit of the National Park Service:

> . . . the legislation says to do this special resource study and the National Park Service says 'wait a minute. We do a Special Resource Study to suggest to Congress what they're going do and if they want to create a new unit and the law that said for us to do the Special Resource Study already established the Corinth unit and put in the Interpretive Center. For these lands to come in, we need a boundary adjustment.' So we went through a protracted argument at the Washington and regional level of what would constitute a minor boundary adjustment, how do we do that, and would we in fact do a special resource study.
>
> The upshot of that discussion was we had two completely separate documents... a coffee table sized booklet, lots of color in it that was going to be sent to everybody in Congress, and then the environmental document that goes into detail in chapter and verse and will meet the requirements of a boundary adjustment.[443]

Rounding out the busy year, a concept design workshop was held for "Interpreting and Commemorating the Contraband Site" at Corinth.[444]

441. Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act, Senate bill (S. 1117), H7390.
442. National Park Service, "Finding of No Significant Impact for Construction and Operation of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center A Unit of Shiloh National Military Park" 2002.
443. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
444. National Park Service, *Concept Charrette Interpreting and Commemorating the Contraband Camp Site; A Briefing Booklet; Corinth Unit-Shiloh National Military Park* (October 29-31, 2002); and *Corinth*

In 2003, the Special Resource Study was published for the Corinth unit, while a Boundary Adjustment Study was also finalized. The Boundary Adjustment Study identified Corinth lands suitable and feasible for inclusion in the park, and presented various alternatives for preservation. The study mirrored the Corinth Special Resource Study in terms of findings. It also served as a compliance document through the addition of an Environmental Assessment and land acquisition alternatives. Because of this, it was the Boundary Adjustment Study, rather than the Special Resource Study, that was forwarded to Congress, while the Special Resource Study became an illustrative report suitable for a range of audiences and promotional purposes. The documents suggested four alternates for the boundary of the new Corinth unit, ranging from no additional land acquisition to the addition of 7,427.28 acres. The preferred alternative suggested setting a boundary that encompassed a 2,595.40-acre area, comprised of eleven historic parcels that would be managed by the National Park Service, and another area totaling 2,439 acres and comprised of seven parcels that would be managed by other partnering entities. Despite the submission of the required document, Congress did not follow up, and the boundary issue remained in limbo even as the park moved ahead with the development of the Interpretive Center on the 17-acre Battery Robinett parcel.

In 2004, the park opened the 15,000 square-foot Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, while also dedicating the Corinth Interpretive Center Contraband Memorial Park. To support interpretive center operations, the park helped to create new bulletins and informational materials.

In 2005, the park worked with the Harpers Ferry Center to develop a new interpretive film for Corinth. The park staff also cooperated with the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth to develop interpretive and commemorative resources for the Contraband Camp Memorial Park.

By 2006, Congress still had not reviewed or taken action on the Corinth Boundary Adjustment Study. With the additional time available, the National Park Service decided to take the opportunity to revise one of the alternatives proposed in the report. Alternative B—the preferred alternative—was changed to reflect the acreage already acquired by the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and other parcels already in negotiation—a total of 950 acres—rather than the initial proposed figure of 2,595.40 acres.

In 2007, legislation was put forward to select the preferred alternative. In 2008, Congress finally approved the park boundary adjustment to add sites in Alcorn County, Mississippi. The preferred alternative that suggested the unit encompass 950 acres was approved. This land would include the 800 acres of NHL properties already secured by the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and land associated with the Corinth Interpretive Center. After the Congressional approval was secured in 2010, the park began working on fee simple transfer of these lands. The transfer has been complicated due to Mississippi conservation easements placed on the parcels. It is possible that some of the land might first need to be returned to the state so that the legislature could eliminate the easements through passage of a bill.

Other Battlefield Land Acquisition

With acquisition of the Roberson tract in 1991 by the Conservation Fund, a new era of land acquisition was initiated that has begun to rival park establishment in 1894. Acquisition has accelerated since 1991, and has included parcels within the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park, the Fallen Timbers area that is

Contraband Camp Conceptual Design Workshop (National Park Service, October 29–31, 2002).

beyond the authorized boundary, the addition of the Corinth unit, and land associated with the Battle of Davis Bridge, among other parcels. In many cases, acquisition of this land would not have been possible without the support and assistance of partnering organizations. At the same time, although these acquisitions have resulted in the protection of battlefields from development, as noted by Superintendent Dale Wilkerson in 2016, one of the greatest challenges faced by Shiloh National Military Park going forward is planning for how to manage the land and make it relevant and its stories accessible to visitors.[445]

In the 1990s, however, one of the efforts led by Superintendent Woody Harrell was preparation of a land protection plan. In reflecting on this period, Harrell notes:

> I think one of the biggest things we did was looking at protection and boundary adjustments and preparing a plan for what land was still needed to tell the Shiloh story. I guess when I got here I assumed that Shiloh was pretty much the size it was going to be. But after being here a while and especially going back and reading that 1894 legislation, I realized there's 6,000 acres within the authorized boundary, and we have a legal description in that original legislation. Today, the legislation for new parks usually cites a separate map, one that can be changed without altering the enabling law.
>
> But, as you read the Shiloh legislation, it was obvious that they were taking in all the water courses around Shiloh Hill, this big plateau. That 1894 legislation gave the park a geographic boundary marked by semi-annually flooded bottomland. The good thing about that is in Hardin County, we were never going to have any historic zoning or land protection from it, but twice a year the good Lord was going to flood the Tennessee River and the Snake Creek/Owl Creek bottomlands, and that meant nobody was going to build anything permanent in that area.
>
> So looking at the map, a lot of the floodplain was within the 1894 authorized boundary, but if we could just go to that 100-year flood line, then Shiloh had this natural, geographic boundary. The only other folks in the Southeast Region with that situation would be down at Fort Pickens and Gulf Islands where all Santa Rosa Island is a Civil War battlefield. You could have the whole thing because it is an island! But we had two-thirds of that at Shiloh with bottomland around our plateau. As we would look for funding and we would look for a willing seller, we would try to buy those little pieces that would take us to the flood line down in the southeast corner, where the people were located who would be cut off if the flooding came. If we bought their land, once they were gone there would be no need for anybody to come back on those roads and it was cheaper to buy the land than it would have been to put a multi-million dollar bridge down there to let them go out the other way. So we worked a long time on that and kept trying to sell that idea. We used the Civil War Trust as a key player in that land purchase.
>
> Just an example, when I got here there were six acres on the northern boundary. A fellow by the name of Art Manus repaired carnival rides for a living and over the years he had gotten a Ferris wheel and a merry-go-round, so he put in an amusement park on the northern boundary. The idea was we'll take all these visitors to Shiloh and we'll run them through the amusement park. Well, nobody wanted to go to the amusement park... they came to Shiloh for the Civil War and in the evening there weren't any motels around so they were all leaving to go somewhere else, so that amusement park never worked, and we had an abandoned Ferris wheel and merry-go-round and all of that business on the edge of the park. We wanted Art to sell it to us and he never would. Then a fellow named Raphael Eledge came in and bought it unbeknownst to us. Raphael wanted to put up a relic shop next door, which he did. He also had a bed and breakfast on that six acres.
>
> The bed and breakfast was an aggravation to him and it was never popular, so to get some of his money back he came to us and said, "Have I got the house for you! Got a hot tub in the back. This is great." We said, "Well, we've got

445. Dale Wilkerson, personal interview, August 18, 2016.

> no money. We can get some probably in a year or so but let's see what we can do on it." So I went to the Civil War Trust and they weren't interested in the house. They were interested in the land. So I went back to Raphael and I said, "I need two acres with the house in there and the Trust will buy it." Okay, let's talk. The Trust came down, they met with him, and six weeks later they were back to give him a check and purchase the land. By that time I had found some land acquisition money to buy it from the Trust.
>
> It took me 13 months to go through the government red tape to buy it from the Trust and move it to the National Park Service. Now, if I had to wait that much time Raphael wouldn't have waited. He'd have gone out and found a willing buyer and have sold it. So even when we had funding available the ability of the Trust to move quickly allowed us to deal with willing sellers in a positive way. That was coming to a screeching halt by the time I left, with Congress saying, "Well, it's our decision of when the land comes into the park system and you're undermining Congress by having people buy land and donate it to you." So that was not as great a system at the end but it was a big help for us early on.[446]

One of the more controversial land acquisition proposals was the Greer tract. Because the parcel did not fall within the park's authorized boundary, the Washington Office of the National Park Service land office suggested that the park was not in a position to conduct a land exchange for its acquisition as Superintendent Harrell requested without Congressional approval of a legislative boundary change. Harrell recognized, however, that as Superintendent he did have the right to effect the land exchange based on legislation passed in 1947, as discussed by Stacy Allen:

> Woody Harrell contemplated exchanging an equal portion of federally owned bottom land on the Tennessee River for the upland non-federal portion of the Greer tract. He toyed with that for a while…
>
> I just love working with Woody, and we had a nice relationship over 21-and-a-half years. Didn't mean we didn't disagree on things, and this is one of the things that we disagreed on, because I think it was just a bad amendment to our legislation…
>
> That's not what the veterans wanted—an exchange of lands already acquired. If they did, then why did they give us [one of the best defined battlefield parks] particularly in regards to the geography. They had a mission. They had a purpose. They were preserving Shiloh Battlefield. And they made sure that they encompassed within the authorized boundary every place that someone could have perished or been maimed, or a principal maneuver occurred, or movement that in essence is the history of this battle on the ground where they fought, because that's what it says: they're going to preserve the history of the battle on the ground where they fought… And I said, "It's very difficult now, this far removed, for us, I think, to say, 'Well, this acre was more important than that acre.'"[447]

In 2004, the park, with the assistance of the CWT, was able to leverage TEA-21 funds to acquire an additional 184.14 acres of battlefield land within the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park. With the addition of the Gardner and Faulkner tracts, the park reached a size of 4,116 acres.

In 2006, the CWT targeted acquisition of the 5.9-acre Hidalgo tract, located at the western edge of the park near Pratt Lane and Shiloh Road. By 2008, CWT had also acquired three approximately 2-acre tracts from Rafael Eledge and the 169-acre Owl Creek tract. For all of these, CWT planned to donate them to the park following completion of the sale.

In 2009, the Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation donated a 5.6-acre tract they had acquired in 1987 to the National Park Service along the west side of the Hatchie River bridge site on the Davis Bridge battlefield. This tract is now located within a more than 835-acre battlefield land area acquired by the

446. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

447. Stacy Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

Civil War Trust, State of Tennessee, and Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund. This land may eventually be transferred to park administration. The CWT continues to work to secure the remaining Davis Bridge battlefield land within the boundary authorized by the Corinth legislation, which encompasses 1090 acres. The bulk of the protected battlefield land is currently managed by Tennessee State Parks as part of Big Hill Pond State Park. As noted by Stacy Allen:

> There's legislation pending before Congress that would add that to the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park. So, we could end up managing it all. But the big thing with the Davis Bridge folks has been they've been wanting to improve public access and interpretation and everything. They're always talking about a visitor center, visitor center, visitor center.
>
> And trails and things like that, and they've got money. They got transportation enhancement money, and it's been a number of years, and it hasn't been spent.

In discussing the need for a visitor center with Tennessee State Parks, Allen said:

> You're all talking about a visitor center, and I'm telling you, you may be putting the cart before the horse, because, one, we've got to get the site preserved, and you have to make sure that all the protections are in place for that. Sure you want public access, sure you want interpretation. But I think right now you're going to be looking at non-personal interpretation as opposed to personal interpretation... We're doing our darnedest to provide that personal interpretation from here and from our Corinth facility, and we will continue to do that, because we own a piece of the pie, and we may end up with all the pie. But, you know, to think about putting a visitor center out there, everybody needs to kind of step back and take a look at the past and see what has been accomplished.[448]

Another land acquisition related to Shiloh National Military Park's military history that does not fall within the park's authorized boundary is Fallen Timbers, a discontiguous land area to the west of the park that was the location of the culminating act of the Battle of Shiloh. As noted by Superintendent Harrell:

> Fallen Timbers was purchased by the Trust, but it cannot be added to Shiloh National Military Park without Congressional authorization. Right now, Fallen Timbers is a piece falling through the cracks. It is the only big site where the Trust has bought land but the park can't do anything with it. We have the 6,000 acre authorized boundary. We have the ability to go outside of that boundary to mark significant sites, so that was the legislation we used to loan cannon and cannonballs to the city of Savannah to put up the Grant headquarters over there. It's our 1894 legislation that says we can do that, so that worked out great. When the Corinth Unit comes along, Fallen Timbers certainly should have been in there, the Special Resource Study on Corinth had Fallen Timbers as one of the most important sites, but the National Park Service at the Washington level was resisting doing anything new at Corinth because this was a Congressional initiative. This was a project by Senator Cochran and Senator Lott, and the National Park Service was digging in their heels. Finally Congress would blink enough to take all of the land that the Corinth Siege and Battle Commission had acquired in Alcorn County because they were getting the pressure from the local stakeholders.
>
> But Fallen Timbers is on the Tennessee side and nobody was pushing for expanding Shiloh Park up there.[449]

Stacy Allen noted in 2015 that the park had "added more acres in the last 15 years... than had been added in the previous half-century or more, since the initial development."[450] This has brought new responsibilities to park staff: "At a park this size, you've got one chief routinely in charge of

448. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.
449. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
450. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

managing all functions, an integrated program, whereas at some place like Yellowstone, you have a chief ranger just for law enforcement. You have a natural resource manager. You have a chief of interpretation. It'd be broken down, and a park this size can't afford that. So, everything falls under one, which, is also an issue. You have to wear a lot of hats. And so, you're a jack of all trades, but not a master of everything. You can only be a master of a few things."[451]

As of 2016, the CWT continues to own the Fallen Timbers land. As noted by Harrell:

> Marsha Blackburn, the local congresswoman has had a bill in for several years to add it (and also making Parkers Crossroads, which is Representative McDaniel's baby, a National Park Service affiliated area).
>
> Nothing has happened with it at all. Last time Senator Alexander also put the bill in on the Senate side, and I really thought that would be enough to pass it because it's a real minor thing, we're just talking about a couple hundred acres to come in, but it did not happen then and it hasn't happened since.[452]

Harrell suggests that they only way the Fallen Timbers land has a chance of being added to the park is through the Corinth legislation. Within the authorized boundary, Harrell feels that only about 300 more acres are really necessary to protect due to the presence of large areas of floodplain that are unlikely to ever be developed.

At the same time, the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission and Friends of Corinth continue to hold title to much of the land that was acquired through their efforts to protect the battlefield. It is anticipated that this land will eventually be authorized for transfer to the federal government, However, as noted by former Superintendent Harrell,

> Early on, Shiloh had a solicitor in Atlanta that we went to for opinions whenever we needed one. The solicitor in Atlanta was favorable to the Trust buying land and then having it come to Shiloh if it was in the authorized boundary. The solicitor's office decided to reorganize and they put us under a solicitor out of Knoxville, who wanted every 'I' dotted and every 't' crossed and was not going to approve any of these transfers. That's what I was dealing with when I left. About two years later someone is saying something about that Corinth land now belonging to the National Park Service. I'm like, how the devil did you do that? I'm knocking myself out and I'm not getting to first base. Somebody in the lands office in Atlanta retired, taking all the corporate knowledge of the solicitor issues. The replacement came in, "why is nothing happening over at Shiloh? We've got all the stuff hanging. Bring all that in." Well of course they'll bring it in because they didn't know to go back and ask for this solicitor's opinion. Sometimes it's easy to get forgiveness than permission and that's how a bunch of it came in.
>
> And part of it is Congress saying you are trying to go around us. We'll decide how big the park ought to be and you buying land and then coming in with it.[453]

Tennessee River Museum

In 1992, the park helped to establish the Tennessee River Museum, the result of a heritage tourism development first envisioned by a local citizen group, led by Kent Collier (Figure 42), based in Savannah, Tennessee, and Hardin County. As noted by Superintendent Harrell:

> Very shortly after I arrived, the county got a hold of the old post office building in Savannah and was trying to figure out a use for it and how to deal with a political hot potato, having spent a lot of county money on a surplus federal building. The Tennessee River Museum came out of that purchase.
>
> I went to the stakeholders and said "we will lend you the effigy pipe as part of your museum exhibits but you have to come up with the context for it. We don't want it to be exhibited

451. Ibid.
452. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
453. Ibid.

as 'look what the first superintendent dug up.' We want to show how it fits in with the Mississippian period."

It has since been a very successful partnership between the National Park Service and the Tennessee River Museum which leads us to talk a little bit about tourism. I was coming in and beating the tourism drum rather strongly when I first got here. The Tennessee River was sort of a dividing line at the time of the Civil War and it remains a dividing line today. Hardin County is on both sides of the river, but the people of Savannah are separated from Shiloh in a way that say modern Gettysburg or Fredericksburg aren't; that is those towns have the Civil War history but it was right in town. Shiloh was very much taken for granted because it had been here for so long and yet people weren't seeing the impact of tourism in Savannah, so we were looking for ways to increase that.

Like I say we were beating that drum for a while until one of the locals took me aside and said, "On this tourism business, you have to understand for some of our older county commissioners, if they come to town on Saturday and there's a car with out of state plates parked in their normal parking spot, that's tourism and that's bad." We looked at the figures we had and the average visitor stay was about two hours at Shiloh. They'd come in, see the movie, spend an hour driving around and that was it, which meant that even with the new hotel/motel tax, most people weren't staying long enough to make a big impact. So one argument we made with the Tennessee River Museum was if we could divert a number of people from the battlefield back to the county seat and let them spend an hour going through a museum there, now the two-hour visit has become a four-hour visit, which is half a day, which means everybody's eating a meal, and everybody's going be buying some gas somewhere in the county, and some folks would think about staying overnight before heading off to Memphis or Nashville or Birmingham. That strategy worked pretty well, but of course we were charging an entrance fee back then at the park…

So we printed up a card, had our safety regulations on one side and a free pass to the museum on the other, so when you came in and paid your fee at Shiloh, we said you need to go see the effigy pipe, you need to go learn about the Trail of Tears and the War on the River. We were able to get a significant number of people to make that trip, and we knew that's where they came from because they were showing up with the Shiloh issued pass.[454]



FIGURE 42. Kent Collier standing next to the effigy pipe in the Tennessee River Museum.

The museum focuses on local history, in part to encourage visitation to Savannah by Shiloh National Military Park visitors. As noted by Harrell:

> The themes we were looking to support or have the museum help us support…. One of course is the Indian Mounds, but the Trail of Tears, a national long distance trail, was coming into existence right about them. Before the Tennessee River Museum, nothing had been done on the Trail of Tears in this part of Tennessee. The river was the trail's water route, plus there were several land routes. One came right through downtown Savannah, so we put the local folks in contact with National Park Service Long Distance Trails people and that's how those exhibits came to be. That was really the first presence of Trail of Tears in this neck of the woods.
>
> We were covering the land battle pretty well at the Shiloh Visitor Center but the whole role of the freshwater Navy, the inland Navy, and the

454. Ibid.

> importance of the rivers in the Civil War… the museum gave us a way to do that. Of course the Tennessee River played an essential role, that's obvious. We worked with the good folks down in Vicksburg National Military Park to lend a number of artifacts from the gunboat *Cairo*. The *Cairo* was at Pittsburg Landing until three days before the battle. The river level was going down. They were afraid the *Cairo* was going to get stuck, so they moved it back to Paducah. It didn't take part in the actual battle, but it was certainly involved in the movement up the Tennessee.
>
> So those were key stories important to the National Park Service that we weren't doing a good job on, so the partnership gave us a way to promote those themes and again have an impact on tourism by lengthening the stay.[455]

Chief Ranger George Reaves and Museum Technician Jane Kemble provided technical assistance in the development of the museum design, exhibits, and collection preservation/management plan. Kemble was also chiefly responsible for the development of an effective collection management program. Kemble was responsible for the care and maintenance of the park's collection and archives. In development of new museum exhibits for the visitor center in 1988–1989, Kemble had spent a great deal of time preparing artifacts for public display, including cleaning and readying four cannon that had previously been exhibited on the battlefield, as well as military accoutrements, equipage, flags, guns, artillery shells, and medical instruments. Kemble's care of the objects under her charge continues to be reflected in the state of their preservation and good condition to this day.

455. Ibid.

National Cemetery Management

National Park Service 61, "Guideline for National Cemeteries

The National Park Service administers 14 of the 133 national cemeteries that comprise the federal burial ground system. One of these is Shiloh National Cemetery (Figure 43). The majority of the nation's national cemeteries are administered by the National Cemetery Administration, an agency of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs.



FIGURE 43. Shiloh National Cemetery.

The two agencies follow internal policies and guidelines based on their individual missions. Policies established by the agency to guide national cemetery management are found in several Department of Veterans Affairs publications:

- *National Cemetery System Policy Manual* M40-1 (May 5, 1975)
- *Headstones and Markers Manual* M40-3 (December 3, 1982)
- *Operations of National Cemetery Manual* M40-2 (May 1, 1984)

The *Headstone and Markers Manual*, which is currently in the process of being revised by the National Cemetery Administration, details the eligibility requirements for receiving headstones, and the styles of markers available. The

specifications included in the manual include the types of headstones furnished, the disposition of removed headstones, and the policies for headstone replacement. Replacement of historic headstones is also addressed in National Cemetery Administration Notice 2004-06, which includes information about the importance of preservation of the cultural landscape, within the context of correcting inaccurate information on nineteenth-century markers.

In 1999, the National Cemetery Administration made changes to its guidelines for management of cemetery landscapes in response to the Veterans Millennium Health Care and Benefit Act (Title VI, Subtitle B, Section 613). The Act stipulated an evaluation of the repairs needed at national cemeteries to meet care and appearance standards. Based on this study, the National Cemetery Administration established the National Shrine Commitment, which articulates an overall vision for national cemeteries as national shrines:

> A national shrine is a place of honor and memory that declares to the visitor or family member who views it that, within its majestic setting, each and every veteran may find a sense of serenity, historic sacrifice and nobility of purpose. Each visitor should depart feeling that the grounds, the gravesites and the environs of the national cemetery are a beautiful and awe-inspiring tribute to those who gave much to preserve our Nation's freedom and way of life.[456]

This version of *National Shrine Commitment: Operational Standards and Measures* is the most recent in a long line of published national cemetery standards that began with War Department administration in 1911, based on an expansion of the standards established during the founding of the National Cemetery System during the Civil War. The *National Shrine Commitment* assumes a high level of care and maintenance for all cemeteries within the system. The current standards provide detailed guidance for the treatment of headstones, buildings, and grounds. They outline the requirements for maintenance, including the percentage of lawn that must be weed free and the percentage of headstones that must not show evidence of debris or objectionable accumulations. The standards and measures contained within the *National Shrine Commitment* are designed to impart honor, memory, majesty, serenity, and beauty, perpetuating qualities identified as desirable during the nineteenth century, when many national cemeteries were established.

However, they do not address contemporary needs for historic preservation and interpretation as addressed by National Park Service regulations and policies, setting up differences with National Park Service national cemetery regulations.

National Park Service-administered national cemeteries are subject to National Park Service regulations and policies including 36 CFR Part 12: National Cemetery Regulations. Specifically, these regulations note:

> All national cemeteries administered by the National Park Service will be managed as historically significant resources, and as integral parts of larger historical parks. Burials in national cemeteries will be permitted, pursuant to applicable regulations, until available space has been filled . . . .
>
> The enlargement of a national cemetery for additional burials constitutes a modern intrusion, compromising the historical character of both the cemetery and historical park, and will not be permitted.[457]

The National Park Service regulations are modeled after the regulations published by the National Cemetery Administration, 38 CFR Part 38: National Cemeteries of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

456. National Cemetery Administration, *National Shrine Commitment: Operational Standards and Measures,* Version 4.0 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, October 2009), 4.

457. National Park Service, *Management Policies 2006,* section 8.6.10.1.

Additionally, national cemeteries administered by the National Park Service must be managed in accordance with *Director's Order No. 61: National Cemetery Operations* (July 2010) and *Reference Manual 61: National Cemetery Operations* (November 2011).[458] While these documents refer to the regulations and standards established for the National Cemetery System by the National Cemetery Administration, and the National Park Service works to meet its policies and shares in its mission to honor the dead and keep their burial places sacred forever, as embodied in a Congressional Joint Resolution of April 3, 1866, the agency is also guided by the mission "... to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[459] The National Park Service must also follow such guidance documents as National Park Service *Management Policies 2006*, *Director's Order No. 28: Cultural Resource Management*, and *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline.*

Director's Order No. 61 provides general directions for visitor use; interment eligibility, limitations, facilities, and services; disinterment; headstones, markers, and commemorative markers; and ceremonies and special events.

Tennessee River Erosion Mitigation, Including Archeological Investigations of the Indian Mounds

Flooding continued to contribute to erosion problems along the river during this period of the park's history. In 1990, an 8 by 40 foot section of Shiloh Indian Mound A sloughed off as a result of flooding that also brought the riverbank to within 7 feet of the national cemetery wall and began to undercut Riverside Drive. The park decided to permanently close the road in 1991 to prevent visitor injury. As a result, the Southeast Regional Office allocated $500,000 to address the problem.

Superintendent Harrell remembers dealing with the erosion as one of his first challenges as Superintendent, and immediately understanding that it would take more than the money allocated by the region to fix the problem.

> We had to try to find some way to get the funding, and it took working with local folks who had some congressional contacts. We knew we weren't going to be a high enough priority through the regular National Park Service budget, so it was going to have to be through an add-on or a line item . . . .
>
> We worked with Kent Collier over in Savannah. He... was a big history buff. He was also personal friends with Congressman Van Hilleary. They had gone to school together and Kent was able to get his ear, which really got us started on the project. Another name that comes to mind is Jerry Lessenberry, who was with the Sons of Confederate Veterans up in Jackson, Tennessee. He's now deceased, but he would write anybody and call anybody, and make a general nuisance of himself until people came around to doing things, finding some money for the park.
>
> Ultimately we would spend $6.2 million on this stream bank stabilization and it came in a million here, a million there. There would be some standoffs with Congress putting pressure on the National Park Service to change their priorities and find some money somewhere, some soft money that they could put in there. Over the course of five or six years, we were finally able to get enough money to get started on it.[460]

458. As reorganized in 1973, the National Cemetery System is comprised of 146 important national cemeteries under the jurisdiction of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and 14 national cemeteries associated with historic sites and battlefields managed by the National Park Service.
459. National Park Service Organic Act, 16 U.S.C. 1, 3, 9a, 460 1-6a(e), 462(k) (1916).
460. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

The first successful effort occurred in 1992, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Tennessee SHPO successfully obligated funds for Tennessee River shoreline stabilization between Pittsburg Landing and the park's northern boundary. Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison reviewed several erosion control plans that focused on placing riprap along the banks of the Tennessee River. Work was scheduled to begin in October 1992, but was delayed. In Spring 1993, another devastating flood occurred along the Tennessee River when much of the Midwest was inundated as a result of excessive rainfall. The flooding led to the diversion of boat traffic on the Mississippi River to the Tennessee River.[461] This also led to further delays in the riverbank stabilization.

Work began on the project in 1996 to place riprap in the most critical areas. At the same time, Indian Mounds A, D, and E were affected by spring rains, and numerous prehistoric artifacts were discovered in eroded areas. Stabilization work that followed plans prepared by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers continued in 1997.

Recognizing that the initial work was not sufficient to address the problem, the U.S. Army Corps prepared a more detailed Riverbank Stabilization Plan in 1998, which featured various alternatives and costs associated with each. The National Park Service and Tennessee SHPO evaluated the alternatives for impacts to natural and cultural resources.

Following selection of the preferred alternative, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers initiated work in 2000 on Phase 1 of the revised erosion stabilization project. Phase 1, with a budget of $3.2 million, involved the placement of armor or riprap on the riverbank and bluff up to the 500-year flood line for a distance of 1,200 feet between Browns Landing to a point south of the mouth of Dill Branch in front of the Indian Mounds (Figure 44). Stone riprap was also used to form a bench on which to construct a gabion wall. After the gabions were installed, inspection revealed that some had begun to slip or settle, and construction was halted.



FIGURE 44. Shoreline stabilization along Riverside Drive.

The project remained on hold throughout 2001, as the shoreline revetment work continued to settle. The work continued in 2002, once the settling problem was resolved.

As noted by Superintendent Harrell,

> We used the Corps to do all the riprap, the rock placement, and then we were able to fold a number of other things into that project. Mound A in the Indian Mounds complex was the single most threatened site. The earliest maps of Mound A showed at the base of it there was an apron of land before you got to the riverbank. The erosion over the years had eaten away at that natural profile and brought the bank back to completely vertical, so that every additional flood would eat away at the bank and then it would begin sloughing off, so it had eaten away the apron and it also cut into the Mound itself. Trying to pin the Corps down for an estimate of what else was going to happen, about the best they could say was over the next 25 years we could lose as much as 25 additional feet and it could all happen in year 1 or it could all happen in year 25.
>
> That put us into mitigation archeology to go back that full 25 feet and learn as much as we could because that was so threatened. And then the plan was to harden the riverbank up to the 100-year flood line, which was 402 feet above sea level. And then if we could protect

461. Capps, 131.

> up to that 100-year flood line, hopefully the cliff would reach a state of equilibrium before we lost too much additional ground. Lots of issues with that project, things you would not expect. Before we could put the filter cloth and the riprap to come up with a way of attacking the erosion, there were several places where old chunks of concrete had been dumped over the years and these in fact had made the erosion worse than just leaving the natural riverbank there because eddies formed as the flood waters came up.
>
> Anyway, there were restrictions about where you could dump that material. Of course the further you had to carry it to dump it the more expensive it would be. During some previous work, there had been dredging out in the Tennessee River and that was a great place to dump things because it was very sterile. This was an ideal site, so we were looking at permission to dump it just downstream from the park. However, it was determined we needed to send divers down just to make sure before we started. During the period since the original dumping of that rock material, that sterile location was the perfect habitat for fresh water mussels so it had changed over just a few years from nothing there of any consequence to this nursery of mussels, and we had to find other way to dispose of excess material.
>
> In the Corps' initial plans, we used a lot of gabion baskets made out of wire and then filled with rock material, so you could stack them up as a wall, and there were at least two times when we were almost finished and the whole gabion wall gave out and slid into the river, and we had to go back and then try to build on top of that and come up with alternative plans... We brought all the material in on barges from a quarry on the river downstream and moved a lot of stone to get that protection…
>
> We did surveying on the riverbank, several places two or three times a year after that to make sure there wasn't going be any more settlement. As far as I know still up to the day everything seems to be going good on that.[462]

The threat posed to the Indian Mounds by riverbank erosion suggested emergency mitigation measures were needed to protect the information potential of the site (Figure 45). In the late 1990s, the National Park Service allocated funds for SEAC to conduct a special study and data recovery project at the site. Research, which began in 1999, preceded excavation and fieldwork conducted in support of data recovery.



FIGURE 45. Indian Mounds, January 2011.

In anticipation of the excavation phase, David G. Anderson, an archeologist with SEAC, and Paul Welsh, already involved in independent research at Shiloh to map the mounds, designed the project in consultation with the Chickasaw, the Tennessee SHPO, and the park. Through careful consideration, it was determined that the SEAC archeologists would excavate a third of the mound closest to the river, and collect and recover all the information they could before the mound was lost. Because the excavation involved a temple structure rather than a burial site, and the archeologists did not anticipate disturbing any graves, it was not disputed by the Chickasaw Nation.

As noted by Superintendent Harrell:

> Because there was the potential of finding human remains either by some of the digging we were doing or resulting from the continuing erosion… any sloughing could expose human remains or a grave... we had to work with the

462. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

> Chickasaw Nation under NAGPRA--the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. We had to consult with the tribe that would have been in the area at the time of the treaties and that would have been the Chickasaw. We had to deal with them in a government-to-government relationship, and we signed one of the first National Park Service agreements with the Chickasaw under NAGPRA to cover how we would handle these remains if in fact any might be discovered.
>
> We would have the Chickasaw come visit several times. They brought the Council of Elders. They also came out and filmed some movies, both promotional and historic. It was a very positive relationship.[463]

Once the design plan was approved, the National Park Service funded four seasons of field work, to begin in 2001, at a total cost of $2.5 million and involving 4,000 person days of field investigations. With as many as forty individuals on site at a time, this was the largest excavation SEAC had ever undertaken.[464]

Much was learned about what the mounds likely looked like when in use. The mounds were found to be constructed earthen structures capped with layers of brightly colored mud and terminating in a level plaza at the top. Archeologists theorized that the brightly colored mud was used to call attention to the mounds, which would have been visible for some distance up and down river, suggesting to outsiders that those living at the mounds were powerful and should not be attacked. Archeologists believe that there were once structures on top of the mounds, as many as twelve structures, which were used for ceremonies and storage. Few artifacts relating to habitation were recovered as part of the excavations. The investigations also revealed a long history of use of the temple site. Radio carbon dating techniques used by the archeologists suggest that the mound remained in use between AD 1000 and 1350.[465]

As noted by Superintendent Harrell:

> We did not find a lot of artifacts, but we did learn a lot about the construction of the Mound at its various stages. There'd be a floor and there'd be a remnants of charcoal fires or posts where buildings were built and then they would come back with more baskets of dirt and raise the mound to another level… The young archeologists I think were surprised at the colors of the stages. Some of the older ones said, "We knew that twenty years ago." But at different stages, the Mounds were given different colors. They would bring in a red dirt or a white dirt as a cover layer. The Chickasaw have a tradition of the red villages and the white villages. The reds would be the war-loving villages and then the white would be the peace loving.
>
> Although the Chickasaw motto is "unconquered and unconquerable," I would hope today all Chickasaw villages are peace loving!
>
> Obviously the Mounds have been there a long time. The archeologists say the height of their development would be 800 to 1200 A.D. There seems to be a peak in the late Mississippian culture before the arrival of the Europeans. It's not until a little bit later that the five civilized tribes, of which the Chickasaw would have been one, develop.[466]



FIGURE 46. Indian Mounds shelter.

To support visitor understanding of the site, the park worked on design and construction of a new

463. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
464. Steven Kidd, personal interview, December 3, 2013.
465. Ibid.
466. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

Indian Mound Trail. Plans included a trail shelter (Figure 46).[467] While Harpers Ferry worked on the design of new wayside exhibit panels to be sited along the trail, the park completed construction of the trail, parking area, and shelter.

Shiloh: A Fiery Trial and Corinth Orientation Film

In 1992, the "Friends of Shiloh Battlefield" was formed. Members included those working to establish the Tennessee River Museum in cooperation with Shiloh National Military Park. The principal goal of the Friends group was to sponsor a new $1 million feature film about the battle and a new orientation film for the park visitor center. In this, they hoped to support one of the goals expressed by Superintendent Harrell. Harrell, however, recognized that the effort would require an extensive fund raising effort. One of the sources of funds targeted for developing a new film was the entrance fee money that the park was required to charge. As a result, Harrell began to set aside this money for the project.

Production of the new Shiloh Battlefield unit visitor orientation film finally began in 2010 after $393,400 of funding had been secured. The National Park Service contracted with Great Divide Pictures of Denver, Colorado, to produce the film.

In 2006, the park worked with the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth on a film for the Corinth Interpretive Center. The film was funded through a $498,000 line item from a Congressional bill. The contract was awarded to Signature Films in 2007.

Civil War Sesquicentennial

The National Park Service began to plan in earnest for events commemorating the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War in 2010. At the park, the Sesquicentennial took on a great sense of importance in overall park planning in the spring of that year. The park as well as its partners began to plan events throughout the region.

For the park, plans would need to be made for the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Shiloh, planned for March 28 to April 8, 2012, as well as the Battle and Siege of Corinth, planned for October and November 2012.

The park staff worked closely with area tourism offices, park friends, local school districts, state officials, and other partners throughout. Superintendent Harrell served on both the national and regional Sesquicentennial committees; the Southeast Region Civil War Sesquicentennial Steering Committee; the National Civil War to Civil Rights Steering Committee; and as a senior advisor to the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission. With various staff working on the effort, and groups meeting regularly to discuss events and progress, the park was able to ensure coordination with state planning efforts, and sustained dialogue and cooperation with regional and national committees. This allowed for Shiloh's events to align with other activities designed around the Civil War Sesquicentennial.

Because Shiloh regularly conducts large events, park staff did not consider the Sesquicentennial, although high in profile, unmanageable should it be given sufficient planning and organization.[468]

In 2011, a team management approach was established such that various staff leads were identified and point of contact and oversight responsibilities assigned to each. The chief ranger and facility manager were identified as points of contact with county and state officials regarding emergency operations and services that would be required to support off-site battle reenactments. The Chief Ranger and Facility Manager also co-supervised all park program operations for the

467. National Park Service, "Trail Shelter Indian Mounds Trail," Drawing No. 304-41023C, September 2004.

468. Stacy Allen, "National Park Service Civil War 150th Commemoration Signature Event Report."

event. The Superintendent, in his capacity as an advisor to the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission (TCWSC), served as the point of contact in charge of coordinating programmed park activities with State-sponsored events at Shiloh. Other key staff members served as points of contact for various program areas and in maintaining communication with partners and volunteers. The park staff met regularly over the next year and a half, increasing the frequency of meetings to weekly over the course of the final six months of planning and implementation.

The first event that emerged from the planning and anticipated the Sesquicentennial program was A Civil War Educator Workshop held on June 19 through24, 2011. The workshop was sponsored by Shiloh National Military Park, Vicksburg National Military Park, the Ulysses S. Grant Association, and Mississippi State University (MSU). In the week-long workshop, held at MSU, thirty-two educators focused on the development of Civil War curricula for secondary school children, participated in a series of classes and programs relating to the diversity of the Civil War experience; reviewed the use of the computer and internet for locating Civil War sites and resources; viewed scenes from the Civil War films *Birth of Nation* and *Glory* followed by discussions focusing on the roles of African-Americans and women in the war, and the experiences of United States Colored Troops in Mississippi. Field tours of Shiloh Battlefield, the Corinth Civil War Interpretative Center, Vicksburg Battlefield and the Old Courthouse Museum in Vicksburg were offered, and provided the opportunity to discuss, understand, and appreciate the role of public history in interpreting the Civil War within the National Park System. The event concluded with presentation and discussion of the curriculum based "Teaching the Civil War" lesson plans they crafted as part of the symposium.

The eighteen academic and public historians supporting the workshop with subject matter expertise represented Mississippi State University, University of Alabama, Auburn University, University of Tennessee, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library and the National Park Service.[469]

As March 2012 approached, community partners remained engaged on various levels, helping to coordinate battle reenactments planned for March 31–April 1, and the state Signature Event scheduled for April 4-5.

Nearby national park units and support offices would detail staff to support increased visitor and resource protection needs throughout the commemorative program, and to staff and support the expanded need for generating effective social media services.[470]



FIGURE 47. An image of the filming of the 2nd Texas Infantry ambush for *Shiloh: Fiery Trial.* (Source: Shiloh National Military Park, April 2011)

One of the planned events for the Sesquicentennial was the premier of the park's new orientation film *Shiloh: Fiery Trial.* After the State of Tennessee planned a Civil War Forum to be held at Pickwick Landing State Park in early April, the park redoubled its efforts to complete the film and schedule the premier to coordinate with the event. This required the assistance of the film's producers, the State Park, the Sesquicentennial Commission, National Park Service Technical AV specialists such as HFC technical support, Hardin County Tourism, and many of the film's cast and crew (Figure 47).

469. Stacy Allen, summary of Sesquicentennial events.

470. Allen, "Signature Event Report."

Shiloh was the featured battlefield of 2012. The state of Tennessee, which planned a Signature event for each year of the Sesquicentennial, oversaw organization of the Signature Sesquicentennial Event Commemorating the Battle of Shiloh conducted March 28 to April 8.

With good weather, park staff anticipated large crowds for both the March 31 and April 1 reenactments held near the park, as well as the battle anniversary dates of April 6 and 7. Visitation proved far greater than anticipated, especially for park-sponsored battlefield hikes and the commemorative Grand Illumination.

Expenditures totaled roughly $100,269.94 for the park-sponsored portion of these Shiloh Sesquicentennial activities. This funding was divided nearly equally between the Washington Office's Sesquicentennial funds, park operational monies. [471]

Eastern National also contributed an additional $10,750. Bookstore sales were in excess of $178 thousand during the twelve-day Sesquicentennial program, roughly 50 percent of average annual sales. Sales of special commemorative items for the Sesquicentennial, including 3-D materials and publications, were particularly good. Also popular were the post-premiere sales of the film *Shiloh–Fiery Trial*, and books offered at signing events with notable Civil War scholars/authors, including John F. Marszalek, Wiley Sword, Larry J. Daniel, James Lee McDonough, Stacy Reaves, Brian K. McCutchen, Timothy B. Smith, Duane Helweg, and Stacy D. Allen. In addition, park staff contributed both text and photos for the *Guidebook to African American History in the National Parks*, in which the compelling history of the park's Corinth Contraband Camp is featured. These included a revised Sesquicentennial edition of the *Blue & Gray Magazine: Shiloh! A Visitor's Guide* and full color *Sesquicentennial Edition of Trailhead Graphics "Shiloh National Military Park Battlefield Commission Battle Maps,"* both extremely popular sales items with park visitors. Finally, park staff and volunteers produced an audio CD titled *Voices of Corinth: An Audio Account of Civil War Corinth, Mississippi.*[472]

Several Shiloh-themed historical publications were produced during the Sesquicentennial, among these, *The Battle of Shiloh*, the third volume of the *Tennessee in the Civil War: The Best of the Tennessee Historical Quarterly* series. The volume featured ten previously published THQ scholarly articles on Shiloh, edited by Timothy B. Smith, along with Carroll Van West, director of the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, senior editor for the entire Sesquicentennial series. The popular *Images of America* photographic history book series (Arcadia Publishing) published the attractive photo history *Shiloh National Military Park*, along with the companion *Postcards of America* printing of fifteen historic Shiloh postcard images, offering a photographic record of Shiloh from the Civil War through its establishment as a national military park, to modern times, highlighting battlefield preservation, landscapes, commemorative features, facilities, battle veterans, and the work of the African-American Civil Conservation Corps stationed on the park in the 1930s. Another four scholarly works about Shiloh were published during the Sesquicentennial, *A History & Guide to the Monuments of Shiloh National Military Park* (The History Press) by Stacy W. Reaves; *Shiloh 1862* (National Geographic) by Winston Groom; the award winning *Scapegoat of Shiloh – The Distortion of Lew Wallace's Record by U.S. Grant* (McFarland & Company, Inc.) by Kevin Getchell; and *Shiloh – Conquer or Perish* (University Press of Kansas) by Timothy B. Smith. Historians Reaves, Getchell, and Smith participated in multiple author/historian book signings held at the Shiloh Battlefield Eastern National bookstore during the 150th commemorative period. Lastly, a photo of the Tennessee State Monument on Shiloh National Military Park was selected by EN as the featured 2012 *Passport to Your National Parks* annual national stamp, coinciding with the battle of Shiloh Sesquicentennial.

471. Ibid.

472. Ibid.



FIGURE 48. Elementary students who participated in the 150th Kids Camp in front of the 2nd Tennessee Infantry Monument. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park, April 2012)

Several additional events and programs were offered during the twelve-day period marking the Sesquicentennial. On April 2 and 3, thirty-six elementary school children participated in the park-sponsored "Civilian to Soldier Camp of Instruction." Twenty-two of the older children camped at Shiloh battlefield, assuming the historic identities of Union and Confederate soldiers, with park staff interpreting the causes of the war, enlistment, camp life, school of the soldier, period music, rations and food preparation, music, historical readings, picket duty, commemorative ceremonies, and the human cost of the war (Figure 48).

On April 4, more than 800 people attended the premiere of the orientation film at Pickwick State Park. Among the guests was Regional Director David Vela and Chief of Staff Gordon Wissinger.

On April 5, more than 400 people participated in the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Signature Event Forum: "Invasions by Rail and River: The Battle of Shiloh," in which the park's chief ranger provided a keynote presentation. Southeast Regional Director David Vela and Gordon Wissinger attended the opening forum ceremonies, which included an address by Tennessee Governor Bill Haslam.

On April 5, approximately 150 children participated in education programs provided by park staff, state employees, and volunteers during the Tennessee Civil War Signature Event at Pickwick Landing State Park. Titled "Beyond the Battlefield: Shiloh Heroes and Legends" these programs covered numerous topics and activities associated with Civil War history, including the individual experiences of Union and Confederate soldiers at the battle of Shiloh, the experiences of women in the war, slavery and the issues of the war, and the African-American experience in the war and the battle of Shiloh. Later, ninety visitors attended an evening program conducted at the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center by Joyce Henry on "Women as Soldiers in the Civil War."

On the evening of April 6, 240 people attended a music program presented by the popular Civil War Musician/historian Bobby Horton at the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center

Throughout, on a daily basis between April 5 and 8, park staff and volunteers provided "150th Battle of Shiloh Anniversary" interpretive programs and presentations that included hikes and caravan tours. Upwards of 3,600 visitors attended these programs, while 16,444 people viewed the temporary museum exhibit on the war experiences of the 14th Missouri U.S. Infantry.

On the evening of April 7, an estimated 15,000+ visitors participated in the commemorative Shiloh Sesquicentennial Grand Illumination when 23,746 lighted candles representing the total number of American soldiers, Union and Confederate, documented among the killed, wounded, and missing in the battle of Shiloh were set around the park. Visitor vehicles extended bumper to bumper across the battlefield for twelve miles.

A total of 39,028 visitors entered the park on April 6 and 7, the actual Sesquicentennial dates of the Battle of Shiloh. Of these, 24,028 entered the visitor contact stations at Shiloh and Corinth. These visitor totals mark the highest visitation on record for any two-day period in the park's history.[473]

473. Allen, "Signature Event Report."

Shiloh – Fiery Trial premiered on PBS in Tennessee on April 5, and then throughout PBS affiliates across the nation the remainder of April 2012. In addition C-SPAN3 aired a filmed battlefield tour with the chief ranger on the night of April 7 and morning of April 8. Additional Shiloh programming created by C-SPAN3 aired April 14 and 15. Nashville Public Television aired a Shiloh-themed program statewide on April 7 titled *Shiloh: The Devil's Own Day* in which the chief ranger again served as on-camera historian. All these programs were viewed by tens of thousands of people, with the PBS broadcasts of *Shiloh - Fiery Trial* being viewed by several million Americans. Later, *Shiloh – Fiery Trial* received a jury selection REMI Award at the Houston International Film Festival for best history short documentary film; took second place at the 2013 National Association of Interpretation in the long interpretive film category; and the park received the National Park Service Southeast Region 2013 *Keeper of the Light Award* for Interpretive and Education Excellence in Interpretive Media for its role in producing the film.

A social media team, consisting of five employees from nearby park units, helped launch a successful social media outreach that recorded 182,520 contacts on Facebook between April 2 and 8.

To provide this twelve-day signature event, the park partnered with numerous organizations, businesses, local governments, state agencies, individuals, etc., throughout preparation and presentation of the Shiloh Sesquicentennial Program. These include:

- Armies of Tennessee
- Blue – Gray Alliance
- Civil War Trust
- Civil War 150th National Planning Team (NPS)
- Corinth/Alcorn County (MS) Tourism
- C-SPAN
- Eastern National
- Emerald Productions
- 52nd Tennessee Regimental String Band
- 14th Missouri (US) Infantry
- Friends of Shiloh Battlefield
- Hardin County EMS, Fire Dept., and Sheriff's Dept.
- Hardin County Convention and Visitor's Bureau
- Hardin County School System
- Great Divide Pictures
- Joyce Henry
- Bobby Horton
- McNairy County EMS, Fire Dept., and Sheriff's Dept.
- Nashville Public Television
- Pickwick Landing State Park
- Public Broadcasting System (PBS)
- Southeast Region (NPS) Civil War Sesquicentennial Steering Committee
- State of Tennessee
- Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area
- Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association
- Tennessee Department of Education
- Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation
- Tennessee Department of Tourism
- Tennessee Emergency Management Agency
- Tennessee Highway Patrol
- Tennessee Historical Commission
- Tennessee Sesquicentennial Commission
- Tennessee State Library & Archives
- Tennessee State Museum
- Tennessee Wars Commission
- 13th United States Colored Troops
- Tourism Association of Southwest Tennessee
- United States Naval Landing Party

Park staff who worked throughout the twelve days of special events included twenty-four permanent employees and twenty-three seasonal employees. The park was supported by the work of eleven agency personnel detailed to the park from nearby park units, such as Stones River, Vicksburg, and Mammoth Cave. In addition, 255 volunteers assisted in events and programs, not including the dozens of people who made the luminaries during the weeks prior to the Grand Illumination. In

addition, seven Eastern National employees staffed sales outlets during the event.

Because Tennessee placed a high premium on marketing Sesquicentennial commemorative activities throughout the state, Shiloh's program benefitted from the state's advertising and efforts to raise public awareness and knowledge about the anniversary.[474]

At Corinth, the 150th Anniversary of the Battle of Corinth Program was held October 2 through 5, with a Corinth Heritage Festival and Civil War Grand Illumination held on November 3 and 4. These were the final park-sponsored activities concluding the 2012 Civil War Sesquicentennial program for Shiloh National Military Park. They were conducted at the park's Corinth Civil War Interpretative Center.

The four-day battle anniversary program in October included ranger-led education programs presented at the Center for 694 school children, with programs focusing on the diverse soldier, civilian, and contraband experiences relevant to the Civil War in Corinth; along with a series of 11 battle anniversary battlefield hikes provided the general public. Then, on November 3–4, interpretive programs were presented by living historians portraying the 43rd Mississippi Infantry. This Confederate regiment, known as the "Camel Regiment," had within its ranks a camel named "Old Douglas," which carried the instruments and knapsacks for the regimental band. Two camels participated in the living history presentations provided to 623 people over the weekend.

On November 3, in conjunction with the Heritage Festival, businesses in historic downtown Corinth held annual Christmas open houses throughout the day, while Civil War musician Bobby Horton performed to a standing room only crowd at an evening concert at the Interpretive Center.

The Civil War Memorial Grand Illumination featured 12,000 candles placed throughout Corinth's National Register Historic District, at the Corinth Contraband Camp, and the Interpretive Center grounds. The luminaries were set to honor the soldier and civilian casualties resulting from the 1862 Siege and Battle of Corinth.

For the Corinth events, approximately 141 volunteers donated 475 hours, joining park staff in providing the services and activities for the roughly 11,500 park visitors participating in the six-day event. The entire park staff were also on hand for the event.

National Park Service Centennial

On August 25, 2011, five years prior to the agency's Centennial, the National Park Service published *A Call to Action; Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement.* This document served as "A call to all National Park Service employees and partners to commit to actions that advance the Service toward a shared vision for 2016 and our second century." It laid out a vision for future that included recommitting to the exemplary stewardship and public enjoyment of these places, and suggesting that "A Second-Century National Park Service Connects People to Parks, Advances the Education Mission, Preserves America's Special Places, and Enhances Professional and Organizational Excellence."[475]

At Shiloh National Military Park, plans to celebrate the Centennial were developed by park staff under the leadership of Superintendent Dale Wilkerson, who joined the park in February 2015. Special events were to be held over a year-long period extending from the anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh in April 2016, through the anniversary held the following year. In April 2016, the park held a large living history event in which

474. Stacy Allen, "Signature Event Report."

475. National Park Service, *A Call to Action; Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement* (2011), 5.

200 to 300 reenactors portrayed a combination of infantry, cavalry, and artillery soldiers. The event attracted 4,000 to 6,000 visitors. Superintendent Wilkerson planned to unveil a new smartphone app in time for the event that was developed with the assistance of the CWT.

Following the living history event, the park scheduled a series of five spring and summer music concerts held on Memorial Day, in June, on the Fourth of July, on the National Park Service Centennial of August 25, and on Labor Day. Music ranged from Civil War era to New Orleans jazz and Memphis blues, to new bluegrass. On November 5, 2016, a luminary event and fall festival was held at Corinth, in partnership with the City of Cornith. The event featured living history demonstrations, a concert, and the "Grand Illumination," which honored those who perished during the siege and battle of Corinth. The Centennial programs at Shiloh were scheduled to close in April 2017 with a luminary event.

As part of the Centennial initiative, "Every Kid in a Park," fourth graders from Hardin and McNairy counties in Tennessee, and the City of Corinth and Alcorn County in Mississippi, participated a *Camp of Instruction* program, which introduced the students to life as a young soldier during the Civil War. The students assumed the identity of an actual soldier who served in the Civil War. In addition to this program, the students also participated in a program that explored the everyday life of prehistoric Mississippian peoples.

Park Maintenance Operations

A key aspect of park administration is maintenance of park resources in good condition. Maintenance practices conducted during this period reflect agency trends nationwide, while at the same time reveal the heritage of ingenuity and resourcefulness of Shiloh National Military Park personnel during the period considered by this Administrative History.

In addition to the available Superintendent's Annual and Monthly reports, this Administrative History provides information derived from a series of personal interviews conducted in 2013 to 2016. The interview with former Chief of Maintenance, Gerald Skaggs, conveys a wealth of information relating to maintenance during this period. In summarizing his role over time at the park, Mr. Skaggs noted:

> I worked from 1987 until 1990 as the park mechanic and maintenance worker. And then our maintenance supervisor, James Shope, retired, passing away right after that.
>
> I believe it was 1990 when Woody came as Superintendent for the park, and he appointed me acting maintenance supervisor. I worked at the position until 1992, and then Woody hired me as the facility manager or maintenance supervisor. I worked in that position from 1992 until 2008.

Skaggs also noted regarding the maintenance staff, including seasonal and volunteer staff, and the activities within his division's purview:

> We had about six or seven permanent workers year round. And then in the summer time, I had up to four seasonal workers, plus the Youth Conservation Corps [YCC].
>
> I've been responsible for up to three quarters of a million dollars per year, on a couple of occasions. That included everything. Regular salary of employees, all of our maintenance projects, the YCC crew, and all of that. And I'm happy to say that I never came up short at the end of year. Always met my budget. That's one thing that I can be proud of. The budget they gave me, it was enough to see us through for that year. We had a lot of rehab projects during my time. You know, monuments, historic markers, buildings, roofs, and all that sort of thing.
>
> And worked with contractors really closely. The ones that got the contract to do the projects. And even wrote some of the small contracts myself. When I started, we had contractors in the regional office in Atlanta. And then they kind of got away from that and we had to go to through some other parks that had contracting officers. Dale Wilkerson was a contracting officer at Natchez Trace Parkway [note: in February 2015, Mr. Wilkerson became Superintendent of Shiloh National Military

Park]. He was one of those who worked with the superintendent at Shiloh. And he helped us out a lot. Dale did, he and the maintenance supervisor at Natchez Trace, his name was Stenis Young. And Stenis helped us out a lot, because he had some specialized equipment that we didn't have at Shiloh. And he would loan us equipment, that he had, that we didn't have, that we needed. Like boom trucks, dozers, things like that.

When I was supervisor, we actually mowed and kept trim about 455 acres at Shiloh. And we did that all basically with two persons on mowers plus the one that took care of the national cemetery. So actually I had three people doing the mowing, and then the seasonals would do the trimming and that sort of thing. It seemed like our park got hit a lot with storms, and that was a problem for us. We didn't have equipment to clean up after a wind storm or an ice storm. We had two ice storms, bad ice storms, while I was there. And then it seems like we averaged maybe a couple of severe wind storms a year that would blow trees across our road. We actually didn't have the equipment that we needed to take care of that efficiently. So we had to work extra hours, or get equipment from Stenis to clean that stuff up.

One of the interesting parts about the job [was that] it was a little different every day. And you know, I enjoyed the challenges. Sometimes it got a little overwhelming, but you know, we made it through. When our visitors got to the park, I always told my guys, the first thing they're going to see is our restroom facilities. And you know, we took pride in our restrooms. We kept them as good as we could, as good as possible. Some of them were run down and out of date, but we eventually worked on that and got those in our cyclic maintenance program, and into a rehab and repair project.

The next thing that they noticed were the grounds, you know, how well the grounds were kept. We got a lot of comments, positive comments on our restrooms and the way our grounds were kept. You know, how clean they were, the mowing and trimming, the way the trees were trimmed and that sort of thing. And the way the buildings looked, because of course, we kept all the buildings painted and all the maintenance up to date.

One year, we had a cyclic program to rehabilitate the monument that's got the eagle on it. I can't for the life of me remember the name of the monument right now. But the one that's got the big eagle on it. We had a project to rehab that. So we got a crane in there, and set it up, and we were going to take the eagle off the top of the monument, which I think is about 90 or 100 feet in the air. So we got all the scaffolding and everything set up, and the former interpretation supervisor [George Reaves] came out and looked at all the scaffolding and everything. And as we were climbing the scaffolding all of a sudden, he realized that the contractor was supposed to set up steps on the scaffolding. So we'd been just scaling the outside, climbing the scaffolding with just a ladder on the outside, which was very unsafe, but no one seemed to realize that we were supposed to have steps.

We had to hold up the work and keep the crane around until the contractor got the steps built. That probably delayed us a couple weeks.

Regarding the positions in the maintenance division and the camaraderie amongst the staff, Skagss also noted:

In the maintenance division, I had a fellow that worked for me, a plumber and electrician, his name was Steve White. Real good fellow. I had some really good workers over the years, Liz. And I had a couple, you know, that didn't want to work.

I also actually hired the administrative officer. She began working for me in the maintenance division, Lisa Casteel. She hired in as a maintenance management clerk. She was part time at first. She was very efficient. I mean, she really caught on to the program quickly and begin to enter all of our data and that sort of stuff. Once Woody found out how efficient she was, he took her away from me... and moved her up to headquarters as the assistant to Margaret Garvin, the administrative officer, and when Margaret transferred, then Lisa got the, administrative officer's position. I always told Woody, 'You took away the best clerk I ever had.'

It was mostly local people that would work here. We did have transfers, periodically, and I was a transfer myself, but most of the workers

> that I had were local. So you know, they stayed until they either retired, or their health got so bad that they had to retire.

When asked about the training process for new hires, Skaggs commented:

> Actually, the training for the employees did get better over the years. When I first started as supervisor, it was almost unheard of for one of my employees to be accepted into a training program or a safety program or anything like that. We did most of it at the park. We had people that were certified, trained in certain types of equipment—like the use of chain saws—but we did that training in house. The ranger division did a whole lot of that. But over the years, you know, it did evolve a bit into a better training process. Not only training on the job, but we saw a trend to cross train people for future jobs that they might be able to take.
>
> Our ranger division did most of the safety training when I first started. I can't remember the region coming in and doing very much training at all. We would go to other parks to train sometimes, or to special training where courses were offered.

When asked about integrated pest management and vegetation management, Skaggs commented:

> When I first started with the National Park Service, that wasn't a very big concern at all. At Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, we didn't use hardly anything as far as integrated pest management for treating exotics or anything like that. It just wasn't used. But I'm thinking of – you know, Roundup, or anything like that, it wasn't used. Of course, in later years, we did use some, but people that applied it had to have special training, so we sent them to get that training. Tom Parson was one, and I remember sending him to train to learn how to apply some of that in the national cemetery.

Skaggs also remembered the efforts that were conducted to address river bank erosion by the maintenance staff and others in the park:

> We did work on ways to stabilize the riverbank erosion. I worked on that my whole career. Finally… I can't remember what year the U.S. Army Corps of Engineer finally got the stabilization project completed. Woody would probably know that. When Woody came in, he jumped on it and worked on it just about his entire career also.
>
> For a while we had to close one of our roads that went down to the river. The erosion got close to Dill Branch, and actually washed part of the road out. So we had to close that area completely off. And that wasn't very well received by the tourists or the community. Woody could speak a lot more on that than I can. We got a lot of feedback, negative feedback, because of the road closure. Woody got senators and congressmen and other persons involved in it, and finally secured some emergency funding to work on that. It was a big deal.
>
> The erosion was also threatening one of the ceremonial Indian Mounds. We had to erect some special barriers down there to keep the visitors away from the bluff where the river was undercutting it. That area was part of the final stabilization, that program, that the Army Core of Engineers did.

Regarding vandalism in the park, Skaggs noted:

> We did have vandalism from time to time, and it was our responsibility to correct that, or in some cases, try to prevent it. But most of the vandalism that we had while I was the maintenance supervisor, was local. It wasn't from our visitors, our regular tourist visitors. It was local. And you know, some of the reasons we had vandalism, I think, was because the local people saw that the park was changing. The thinking was that the park has been here longer than you've been here, and we were here before you were here, like it was the community's park. And 'it's our park, we do what we want to with it.' And then when they realized that they couldn't do what they wanted to do with it every time, then they would either tear up something or – I guess the most vandalism that we had was at the picnic area restrooms. We had a terrible time over there because the restrooms were so isolated from the rest of the park. We also had some vandalism on cannons and monuments… graffiti, that sort of thing.

On the topic of vandalism, Stacy Allen adds that the overwhelming preponderance of criminal

incidents that have occurred within the park have involved resource crimes, such as the theft and looting of archaeological resources including artifacts, the poaching of wildlife, defacing of park features, property, and monuments, and the theft of or damage to government property.[476]

Maintenance staff were generally integral to the process of hosting events at the park, involved in setting up, breaking down, and cleaning up, among other tasks. When asked about events at the park during his tenure, Gerald Skaggs indicated:

> We had two or three special events per year. When Woody was here, he used to do a candlelight tour of the park. That took a lot of our time – it was around Christmas time, holiday time, that we did that. It took a lot of time getting ready for that, getting set up, and also cleanup after it. And then we had, of course, our anniversary weekend every year. Somewhere around April, first weekend in April. And it was actually a much larger event than it is today. It's since been scaled back. Actually since I have retired. We were still going strong the year I retired. I think it's been reduced because of budget cuts and other factors. I don't know.
>
> Visitors, annual visitors actually increased for a few years after I came here, and then it seemed like they sort of started falling off in the last years that I worked with Shiloh, and I don't know what their annual visitor rate is now, I don't know if it's coming back up, but a lot of that was because of the gasoline prices, of course, and Shiloh being so far away from any interstate highway. That had an effect on people who just didn't want to drive that extra 80 to 100 miles, you know, to visit the park when the gas prices were so high.

The opening of the Corinth unit as part of Shiloh National Military Park had implications for all divisions of park staff. Particular to the maintenance division was the challenge of maintaining two landscapes, miles apart, with only one set of equipment. Skaggs remembered the excitement and the challenges associated with adding the new unit to the existing park:

> We worked really hard on getting that visitor center at Corinth planned out and built. And had a lot of help on that from Mrs. Williams, there at Corinth, she was a big help.
>
> When we first opened up, we didn't have any staff at Corinth at all from the maintenance division, so we had to go down, take people from Shiloh, and go down and do the maintenance and come back. The last few years, I did have one permanent person down there and a couple of seasonals in the summer time. Of course, we still had to bring equipment from Shiloh to mow the grounds and do all the maintenance that we needed—backhoes and that sort of thing. I don't believe Randy still has got the type of equipment down there that he needs. He still has to transport some of it down there. It kind of presents a hazard too, a safety hazard, pulling the heavy equipment down there so much, being on the road.

When asked to share his favorite memory, Skaggs talked mostly about the personal relationships he enjoyed with other employees of the park, and how much the working environment meant to him:

> Well, my favorite memory, I guess, would be just working with the people at the park, particularly those that worked for me, and the other divisions. I had a really good working relationship with the ranger division and administrative division. I never had any real problems. Of course there's always problems popping up, but nothing you couldn't work around, you know? And the people that were in the positions were good to work with. And that's my favorite memory—just working with the people and having the good memories of working with them, and how well we got along.
>
> You know, we take pride in our visitor center, and the park, as one of the cleanest parks that they visited. And working through the different maintenance projects, you know, like repair-rehab, building the visitor center at Corinth. Another thing that I might mention is when I got to Shiloh, we had two flagpoles, one in the national cemetery and one out in front of the visitor center, that were in really bad shape. They were rusted where they came into contact

476. Stacy D. Allen, correspondence, 2016.

> with the ground surface. And I finally got both of those replaced with new, up-to- date, flag poles. We put them on the cyclic program and got money for those. And when we built the visitor center at Corinth, we put up one there like the one at Shiloh. We liked the one at Shiloh so well that we went with the same basic design and everything down there.

Skaggs also takes great pride in several accomplishments of his tenure:

> Another thing that I'm proud of was how we improved our equipment. When I got to Shiloh, our equipment was a bunch of rusted bolts. That's all you can say. Our mowing equipment and trucks... we had trucks that actually had the floorboards rotted out of them. And when I left, we had a good fleet of vehicles. We had good equipment. We didn't have all the equipment that we needed, but the old equipment had been replaced, and we had new equipment, reliable equipment where we didn't have to spend so much time repairing and working on those things. So that's one of the things that I'm proud of is how well we were able to improve the quality of equipment that we had.
>
> Fortunately, while I was supervisor, we didn't have a lot of budget cuts. Matter of fact, our budget increased just about every year. Fortunately, when I put equipment on the equipment replacement list, it got funded in a year or two. So that's the way I built up the quality of our equipment, was through the equipment replacement funds and cyclic funds.

As regards park staff, Skaggs notes:

> There's still a lot of people working at Shiloh that I hired in as a supervisor out there. And I'm very proud of them. Stacy Brooks is still out there, Ruth Borden is still out there, Randy Martin, the maintenance chief. Tony Rinks is still there. I can't think who else would be there. Even some of them that worked for me as seasonal are permanent out there now. Randy was very helpful when I was out there. As a matter of fact, I pulled him, and he actually took the position that I vacated a few years later. He was the mechanic for a few years until I retired, and then he got my position after I retired. And two or three years before I decided to retire, I pulled Randy in the office and gave him some extra duties that he probably would think it was extra work. And it was. But I was kind of trying to groom him for that position. And of course I'd talked to the superintendent about it, and he agreed. And then it worked out that where when I retired they would be able to promote Randy into my position.[477]

Park Activities 1990–2016

Park Activities, 1990[478]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. The number of visitors to the park in 1990 totaled 593,435, with 105,083 entering the visitor center. A large number of visitors, 325,692, were primarily concerned with recreational activities. The group campground recorded 6,398 overnight stays.

The park offered several programs and events throughout the year that were popular and well-attended. The Second Annual Shiloh Art Show was held on and around the battle anniversary on April 7 and 8 in cooperation with the Savannah Art Guild. Infantry and cavalry demonstrations were conducted by the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, 52nd Tennessee Infantry, and Morton's Tennessee Battery. Over 3,500 visitors observed the demonstrations. The park also sponsored the annual Memorial Day service in the national cemetery. The Grand Illumination, a new program proposed by Superintendent Haywood 'Woody' Harrell, designed to mark each of the 23,746 battle casualties with a candle on the park's establishment day anniversary, was postponed due to rain.

A special ceremony was held on July 14 to mark the dedication of a Tennessee Historical

477. Gerald Skaggs, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

478. All information is derived from the 1990 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

Commission marker for CCC Co. 2425 MP-3, which commemorated the contribution to park development by a Civilian Conservation Corps company of African American World War I veterans.[479]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Interpretation centered on talks, tours, roving interpretation, and demonstrations.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts included revision of the Shiloh GMP to address concerns with the 1981 plan, and approval of the park's updated Resource Management Plan by the Washington Office of the National Park Service. Park staff assisted the Regional Curator in the development of standards for cannon carriages.



FIGURE 49. View of the plaque marking the location of Johnston's death, looking northwest toward the trail leading to the Johnston Memorial Site, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance efforts conducted during the year included the clearing and seeding of two additional Indian Mounds; the planting of all leased fields in hay or drilled grains to replace row cropping that had been discontinued due to erosion concerns; the rebuilding of several footbridges; resurfacing of several trails with wood chips; and removal of 50 hazardous trees and 250 stumps (Figure 49).

Special projects included construction of a universal access ramp at the bookstore entrance, and the closing of Riverside Road to buses and RVs due to erosion problems exacerbated by Tennessee River flooding.[480] Plans to replace the HVAC system at the visitor center were reviewed by Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance coordinator Joe Garrison.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Superintendent Zeb McKinney retired after 14 years at the park. George Reaves served as Acting Superintendent for 2-1/2 months until McKinney's replacement could begin his tenure. Woody Harrell became Park Superintendent on August 12, 1990. Shiloh was Harrell's first superintendency. His previous experience had included a seasonal position at Moore's Creek National Military Park in southeastern North Carolina, several years at the Cape Hatteras Group, including Wright Brothers National Memorial, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, and Cape Hatteras Seashore.

Regarding his early years with the National Park Service, Harrell noted:

> It was difficult to get a permanent position back then. They had a regional intake program for rangers, and they chose five of us out of a final group of about twenty and it was just sort of willy-nilly where they sent everybody, and I was assigned to Chickamauga Chattanooga National Military Park. I didn't intend to be exclusively in Civil War parks, but I started as a permanent with six years at Chickamauga, then spent three at Manassas.
>
> When the Shiloh job opened up, my old superintendent at Chickamauga, Bob Deskins, was the associate regional director, and I think

479. Historic American Engineering Record, "Shiloh National Military Park Roads," 2 of 4, TN-37.

480. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1990.

> it was probably his good word that got me the job.[481]

One of the initiatives Harrell attempted to implement early on during his tenure was closing the park roads at night. He notes:

> At the time the National Park Service had exclusive jurisdiction at Shiloh, which meant there could be no partnership with the highway patrol or the sheriff because of the exclusive jurisdiction restriction. We had 4,000 acres and there was a lot of local commuter traffic, which meant with the park open 24 hours we had relic hunters, we had drunken drivers, we had poachers, we had young lovers, we had whatever you didn't want going on...vandalism, etc. I didn't particularly like having to pay rangers to be on patrol all night. I'd rather have them working in the daytime and talking to visitors, but as long as the park was open we were the only law enforcement game in town. So to be able to close the gates would have certain solved most of those problems.
>
> There were a couple of things that made closure a difficult idea to sell. Our immediate neighbors to the south, if they followed the speed limit, could get to the main road as easy going south as they could coming up through the park. In fact they could probably do it a little bit quicker, but our roads were better and they usually went much faster than the speed limit. They did not want that route to go away. There were some people on our extreme southeast corner who, when the river comes to flood and puts the roads to the south under water, drive out by coming through the park. We were looking at strategies to solve those concerns and I was trying to lay the groundwork. We wound up with as big a crowd in the visitor center auditorium as has been there in the last fifty years and all of them from out for my hide.... Twenty-five years later the roads are still open.[482]

Law Enforcement incidents included 93 case incident reports involving traffic violations, accidents, and injured and ill persons. ARPA violations were noted as increasing in 1990.

Park personnel once again were faced with implementing a new computer accounting system—the Federal Financial System (FFS) — which replaced the earlier P&FM system.

Outreach activities included a visit by the Park Cultural Resource Management Specialist to Melrose to assist in the registration of the park's museum collection, and a cannon exchange with Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. As part of the exchange, Shiloh gained a Confederate-type tube to mark the Ruggles Line. Superintendent Harrell also attended the launching of the USS *Shiloh*, one of several Aegis class destroyer to bear the name of a National Park Service-administered battlefield, at the Bath, Maine, Iron Works.

This year marked a watershed in the era of partnerships and outreach, particularly for the park's efforts involving battlefield preservation. One of the most extensive partnerships that emerged around this time was the effort to establish a Civil War park at Corinth. As noted by Harrell:

> When I got to Shiloh, the folks in Corinth were getting interested in Civil War preservation. It seemed like once every generation there was somebody coming in with a proposal for a park in Corinth "just like Shiloh." We had the plans for the proposal before this one, and of course nothing ever happened on that.
>
> To the west of town was a new subdivision. There were a number of them being built when NASA was going to move the solid rocket booster plant for the space shuttle over to Yellow Creek in Tishomingo County. The speculation was because the Corinth schools were much better than the Tishomingo schools, many of the scientists and engineers would come over here. So this subdivision was being established, and all of a sudden people realize Battery F, one of the outlying Civil War forts, is right on the corner between three lots of the subdivision. So it was like "we can't let this happen. We've got to raise money for it."

481. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

482. Ibid.

> In this they had some success. Then probably the biggest thing was John Nau out of Houston, a big Anheuser-Busch distributor, and a big Civil War buff, contributed the $30,000 they needed to make that possible. The saving of Battery F got the Civil War preservation effort going, with people saying "We need a park, we need a park, we need a park in Corinth just like Shiloh."[483]

Despite the fact that the National Park Service resisted kicking and screaming, believing that they already had their hands full managing Shiloh, preservation of Corinth would eventually become a partnering endeavor, with the National Park Service playing an important role.

Park Activities, 1991[484]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. In 1991, the number of park visitors increased to 680,689, with a total of 113,697 people entering the visitor center. Of these, 400,893 visitors indicated their interest in partaking of recreational activities.

The Shiloh Grand Illumination, which had been postponed the previous year due to rain, was introduced as a new program (Figure 50). As part of the ceremony, a candle was lit for each of the individuals who had lost their lives in the battle. The third annual Shiloh Art Show was held in cooperation with Shiloh Art Guild. The battle anniversary was also marked, as per the long-standing tradition, with infantry and cavalry demonstrations conducted by the 7th Tennessee Cavalry and the 52nd Tennessee Infantry. The park again sponsored the annual Memorial Day service in the national cemetery.



FIGURE 50. Photograph of the park at night during the 2012 Grand Illumination ceremony. Shown is the Sarah Bell Peach Orchard environs. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

A ceremony was held to recognize the donation of a 125-acre parcel to the park by the Conservation Fund.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Park rangers and interpretive personnel continued to conduct tours and talks, demonstrations, and offer to provide information to visitors encountered while roving the park.

Planning efforts. Funding shortages resulted from lessees not paying for their field leases. In the park-maintained fields, the National Park Service grew concerned with the condition of the land cover and conducted an analysis to determine revitalization needs.

A new boundary map was prepared of the park that noted the addition of the 125-acre tract donated by the Conservation Fund.[485]

On April 30, the free primitive group camp that had been used by Boy Scouts for 25 years was closed.[486] Establishment of a state campground near the park replaced the need for the facility, which had become a challenge to maintain for the National Park Service.

Flooding led to the loss of an 8 by 40 foot section of Shiloh Indian Mound A. Erosion also brought

483. Ibid.
484. All information is derived from the 1991 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
485. National Park Service, "Boundary Map," Drawing No. 304-80004, October 4, 1978.
486. Capps, 130.

the riverbank to within 7 feet of the national cemetery wall and began to undercut Riverside Drive. The park decided to permanently close the road in 1991 to prevent visitor injury. The region allocated $500,000 to address the problem.

Park personnel, particularly Reaves and Allen, contributed to planning efforts being conducted by the Southeast Regional Office in conjunction with the ABPP to develop plans for preservation of Siege and Battle of Corinth land.[487] The property was designated a National Historic Landmark on May 31, 1991 based on documentation prepared as part of the effort.

The park was approached by the Greer family about a land exchange that had been under discussion since the 1960s. The Greer property included a Civil War-era tent hospital site. The Greer family was interested in receiving Tennessee River bottomland in exchange for their parcel.

Although this issue was not resolved during 1991, eventually, with the help of the Civil War Trust, the Greer tract would be acquired for inclusion within the park in 2013.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance efforts conducted during the course of the year included monument conservation, which occurred with the help of a preservation student, and efforts to restore the battlefield's 1862 vegetative cover following the guidance afforded in the historic base map prepared by Edwin Bearss in 1973. As part of the restoration project, a 7-acre tract near the Confederate monument was cleared of underbrush and trees with the help of a YCC crew. The goal was to restore the patterns of historic vegetative cover by the park's Centennial in 1994.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Chief Ranger George Reaves and Lead Park Ranger Stacy Allen attended a National Park Service workshop to guide their participation in the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission survey of the nation's battlefields. Allen would later complete survey of several regional battlefields by the 1992 deadline.

Hardin County approached the park for assistance in marking the site of Grant's headquarters in Savannah. The park responded by loaning the county two 30-pound Parrott cannon tubes to be erected on Highway 64 at the edge of town, initiating an outreach effort that eventually grew into a project to establish a Hardin County museum that is known today as the Tennessee River Museum.

Law enforcement citations involved several ARPA violations. In February, rangers apprehended two men who had removed 137 artifacts, including a Civil War bayonet, from park land. After a three-day jury trial, the men were convicted and sentenced to a combination of jail time and probation. It was the first felony ARPA case for a federally-administered battlefield. Veteran Park Ranger Kent Higgins served as lead investigator throughout a second ARPA felony case. Two park rangers helped Higgins in apprehending the looters and supporting the investigation and their ultimate prosecution. They included Jane Kemble and Stacy Allen. Southeast Region Archaeologist, Dr. Bennie Keel, provided technical expertise throughout the investigation, archeological assessment, and in court testimony. The park received the services of FBI Tool Mark Identification Expert John Lewoczko, from Washington, D.C., who provided testimony linking the digging tools seized from the looters to the park crime scene. As a result of the guilty verdicts, the park received restitution payments totaling more than $15,200. For their performance throughout the investigation and prosecution of the landmark APRA case, the Shiloh rangers received letters of commendation from National Park Service Director James Ridenour.

Superintendent Harrell served on a National Park Service task force for the Civil War Soldier System

487. National Park Service, *The Siege and Battle of Corinth; A Strategy for Preservation, Protection and Interpretation* (September 1991).

project, a database created to document all Civil War soldiers.

Park Activities, 1992[488]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1992 numbered 407,986.[489] A donation box was installed in the lobby of the visitor center in support of funding park projects. The annual Memorial Day ceremony was held in the national cemetery.

Planning efforts. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Tennessee SHPO successfully obligated funds for Tennessee River shoreline stabilization between Pittsburg Landing and the park's northern boundary. Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison reviewed several erosion control plans involving the placement of riprap along the banks of the Tennessee River.

Transfer of the Roberson tract was completed. In order to appropriately address additional land acquisition in the future, the 1894 authorized boundary was clarified by the Regional Solicitor.

Planning efforts included completion of a Preservation Guide for the treatment of cultural resources prepared by the park. Staff also revised the park's Statement for Management.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects included the development and implementation of a mowing plan that was designed to present a well-kept appearance along the tour road while more closely approximating 1862 historic vegetation patterns. The park also worked to clear encroaching woody growth within historic Stacy Field, land that had been owned by Nancy Stacy and sold to Joseph Duncan prior to the Civil War. YCC enrollees were involved in the project, as well as planting 1,500 trees as part of reforestation and scene restoration efforts in other parts of the park. These efforts were consistent with the growing influence of cultural landscape management practices.

YCC enrollees also cleared brush and vistas at the Indian Mounds and riverbank, while a backdrop of cedar trees was replanted behind the United Daughters of the Confederacy monument. The park also determined that it was important to landscape and mow the Confederate burial trenches in a manner consistent with the standards used to maintain the national cemetery. Trail repair was effected in several locations, while several social trails were obliterated.

One of the ongoing projects conducted in 1992 was the clearing of hazard trees and branches for the safety of visitors and park personnel, and to protect buildings from damage.

Work to repair and repaint the park's historic plaques also continued, with efforts conducted in association with approximately one-third of the 450 historic metal signs completed. Based on completion of an inventory of non-historic signs, twenty-four unnecessary signs were removed.

The park also installed a Recycling Center display at the picnic area.

All buildings were converted to septic tanks and the sewage lagoon was eliminated. Maintenance area buildings were reroofed and repainted. Quarters No. 3 was rehabilitated to accommodate park housing needs. The cemetery lodge (also referred to as the cemetery caretaker residence) was converted to administrative office space.[490] Based on this change, it was possible for the park to house all ranger activities under one roof.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. As part of its outreach responsibility, the park worked with a local citizen group and Hardin County to support the establishment of the Tennessee River Museum in Savannah.

488. All information is derived from the 1992 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

489. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

490. Capps, 131.

The park entered into a cooperative agreement with the Tennessee Department of Transportation for litter pick-up along Highway 22.

The "Friends of Shiloh Battlefield" was formed to sponsor a new $1 million feature film about the Battle of Shiloh and a new orientation film for the park visitor center. Harrell began to set aside entrance fee money for the project.

Harrell was also able to establish a new position at the park for a full time historian after recognizing early on during his tenure that he needed a subject matter expert on the park staff. Stacy Allen, who had served as Lead Park Ranger since 1989, was selected for the position. Allen would serve as park historian for the next ten years. In his new role, Allen completed his survey the eight battlefields assigned to him in support of the CWSAC report and followed the work with documentation and completion of the reports for delivery to the Washington Office.

A new Maintenance Support Assistant position was established to input computer data.

The park's Standard Operating Procedures were reviewed and updated. Administrative procedures identified in 1991 as requiring further clarification were tightened.

A park library was established in the visitor center based on recommendations provided in the Operations Evaluation. This occurred after the administrative offices were transferred to the cemetery caretaker residence.

Staff participated in annual management inspection and park goal setting, as well as a Job Corps program. Park staff also completed a West Star Leadership Training Course sponsored by the University of Tennessee.

Superintendent Harrell was active in the community, speaking at several group and organization events, while also serving as the Southeast Regional Office's representative on committees for the Eastern National Park and Monument Association. Harrell also co-chaired the Civil War Soldier System task force, for which the park had been selected as a test location, and renewed the park's participation in the Southwest Tennessee Tourism Association. Finally, Harrell was involved in offering training sessions to National Park Service personnel, including one on historic scene restoration at a National Park Service Historic Landscape Workshop, suggesting the increasing role of cultural landscapes in historic park management.

Park Activities, 1993[491]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1993 numbered 341,220.[492] Visitation at the visitor center was recorded as lower than the previous year, possibly due to the doubling of entrance fees from $1 to $2 per person. Visitors continued to enjoy the three principal programs offered on an annual basis: the battle anniversary, the Memorial Day ceremony, and the park anniversary. To manage crowds associated with the battle anniversary and another tactical demonstration event, the park adopted an Incident Command System.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. To enhance interpretation and visitor services, the park decided to emphasize personal interpretation, placing a ranger at the visitor center to provide visitors with information regarding the battle and battlefield. The park historian was videotaped giving a tour of the battlefield as a way to develop an alternative to ranger-led tours and serve a larger percentage of visitors. Trailhead Graphics, formed in 1991 to provide accurate and easy-to-read, full-size, topographical maps, and specializing in Civil War park maps, prepared a detailed topographic map of the park that was made available for purchase at the park.

491. All information is derived from the 1993 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

492. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

The park installed a prototype for the Civil War Soldiers System in the visitor center that visitors could use as part of a one-year trial.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts included inventory of national cemetery vegetation, with the date of origin of individual specimens identified whenever possible; an inventory and inspection of all historic plaques; and a detailed sign inventory and sign management concept plan.

Riverbank stabilization plans were developed in conjunction with the USACOE. The plans suggested the use of riprap as a bank protection measure. Spring 1993 was another year of Tennessee River flooding. In fact, much of the Midwest was inundated with excessive rainfall that caused widespread flooding of several major rivers. This flooding led to the diversion of boat traffic on the Mississippi River to the Tennessee River. In response to the flooding, Riverside Drive was closed to all vehicles.[493]

To enhance visitor traffic flow, Superintendent Harrell developed a plan to separate the park driving tour route from commuter traffic and national cemetery visitation. The park's Land Protection Plan was revised to address authorized boundary, while the Statement for Management was updated.[494]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects conducted during 1993 included painting of the second third of the 450 historic cast iron markers; clearing of underbrush along the river, including the national cemetery ravine, Pittsburg Landing, and the view from a wayside exhibit that had become overgrown; and restoration of the Winter Oaks pond area. The park also began to use the new Preservation Guide to address monument conservation needs. The park analyzed test results associated with work conducted on the Peabody Monument to direct other conservation needs. YCC enrollees assisted the park in the clearing project, while a troop of Boy Scouts supported the pond restoration project. The park continued its efforts to mow along the tour route with an objective of maintaining a well-kept appearance and protecting 1862 vegetation patterns. Stumps were removed from a new field area being cleared in support of scene restoration. Existing historic field leases were renewed. The park sought approval to conduct a prescribed burn on lands difficult to mow.[495]



FIGURE 51. Peach tree orchard plantings protected from deer browse, 2011.

New plantings were added to the Peach Orchard (Figure 51) to replace trees lost to weather and deer browse, while fire ants remained problematic.

Construction projects involved establishment of a temporary pull-off at the Missouri monument to allow visitors to safely pull off the road to view the monument, the reopening of Peabody Road to automobile traffic, the relocation of surplus gates to the Roberson tract to initiate integration into park management procedures, and the installation of a new storage building for the museum collection within the maintenance area.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The State of Tennessee established concurrent jurisdiction with the National Park Service over park lands.

Personnel changes included the filling of the vacant position of Chief of Maintenance, and the

493. Capps, 131.
494. National Park Service, "Statement for Management; Shiloh National Military Park and Cemetery" 1993.
495. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1993.

hiring of a new safety officer and other position vacancies.

As part of regular and new administrative initiatives, Superintendent Harrell reviewed current Standard Operating Procedures, the park conducted a security survey, and a Management Objectives Workshop was held at the park for regional and park staff and local community leaders.

The park acquired a new laptop computer for use by Cultural Resource Management operations personnel.

Funds generated by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association bookstore sales supported several park needs.

Law enforcement recorded 38 incident reports.

The park also continued its outreach efforts by supporting the work of local citizens and Hardin County to develop the Tennessee River Museum. Finally, park staff provided technical assistance to the Corinth Civil War Task Force.

Park Activities, 1994[496]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1994 numbered 363,411.[497] Visitation at the visitor center totaled 107,166. More than 1,061 interpretive activities were enjoyed by 46,411 individuals. Visitation was particularly high during special events and programs.

The park celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary year with the third Shiloh Grand Illumination on December 17, and a one-hundredth anniversary reunion on December 27. The battle anniversary was observed with interpretive events and activities. The Memorial Day observance was attended by 520 people. The anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service was also observed as part of a Founder's Day/Living History Weekend held August 27 and 28.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Interpretive activities focused on the design of a Park Educational Program with teaching aids by park staff. The program was funded using a Parks as Classrooms grant, and was tied to the curriculum requirements of Tennessee and Mississippi public schools.

The park also secured USS *Cairo* gunboat artifacts from Vicksburg National Military Park to create an exhibit on naval activities during the Civil War.

Planning efforts. Park staff prepared a brief Historic Structure Report for a historic log home in Kossuth, Mississippi.

The LCS was updated by park staff using a new computerized format.

Tennessee SHPO 106 coordinator Joe Garrison reviewed plans prepared by the park for installing an access ramp at the bookstore.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. One of the events that led to much work on the part of park maintenance was a storm that occurred in February. A freezing rainstorm that began in the afternoon of February 10, led to an accumulation of heavy ice on park roads, buildings, structures, power lines, and trees. The park as well as the surrounding area lost power, while approximately 8,100 trees were damaged or destroyed. Park staff worked throughout the day on February 11 to clear blocked road surfaces after 383 trees were blown down or damaged along the tour route. The park was closed to public use for the next nine and one-half days. Power was restored four and one-half days after its loss at the park, but certain sections of Southwest Tennessee and North Mississippi remained without power for nearly two months. Shiloh National Cemetery remained closed to public entry for more than a month, as the park

496. All information is derived from the 1994 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

497. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

awaited emergency funding from the Southeast Region to contract the necessary tree removal work after 28 trees were killed during the storm. Fortunately, only four of the troop position tablets were dislodged, damaged, or knocked over by impacts from falling limbs, while only two of the monuments displayed surface scarring. One cannon carriage was destroyed as a result of a 140-year-old oak toppling onto the gun and carriage at the battery monument location for John Wesley Powell's Illinois Battery position near Wicker field. One headstone in the cemetery was broken, ironically during the contract tree removal.



FIGURE 52. View of the repainted gates of the U.S. National Cemetery at Shiloh, 2011.

Landscape management and maintenance efforts included monument conservation and cleaning of the final one-third of the park's 450 stone and bronze monuments throughout the year. A large section of the cemetery wall was repointed. Restoration of six of the fifteen concrete and cast-iron headquarters and mortuary monuments was also completed. The cast-iron markers and gates at the cemetery were repainted (Figure 52). Twenty-one of 100 artillery pieces were cleaned. A troop of Boy Scouts cleaned 1,627 cemetery headstones. Exotic vegetation control continued with the aid of grant funding. Exotic fire ant invasion continued, although no funds were made available for control. Historic field leasing was reevaluated and improved. An additional twenty-five new trees were planted at the Peach Orchard. Deer, however, killed many of the new trees. The orchard was also mapped, while national cemetery vegetation management continued with the development of a management plan.

One of the initiatives implemented in 1994 was exotic vegetation control, described as long neglected but much needed. The park secured Small Park Natural Resource Preservation Program funds to conduct the control efforts, which entailed treatment of privet and mimosa with herbicides along 51 linear miles.

Construction projects involved the installation of new boundary signs at each entrance to replace older signs. Road signs within the park were also replaced and now bore the original historic road names. The need for the new signs was based on the sign inventory and assessment completed in 1993. A new road was constructed over the historic trace connecting Pittsburg Landing Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Road, while five park driveways were resurfaced.

Water quality monitoring began in April.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. As part of ongoing efforts to support the Tennessee River Museum, staff and cultural resource management interns assisted local citizens in the design and construction of museum exhibits, including one that incorporated gunboat artifacts received from Vicksburg National Military Park.

On April 15, Chief Park Ranger George Reaves, who had served Shiloh as Chief of Interpretation & Resource Management since 1975, died unexpectedly. Reaves continues to be greatly missed in 2016. A month after George's death, Superintendent Harrell appointed Stacy Allen to serve as Acting Chief Ranger until the vacancy could be filled. It was also in 1994 that the park lost the long-tenured expertise and services of Administrative Officer Doris Stewart, who retired in May. Without Reaves and Stewart, the park would suffer from the loss of a half-century of institutional knowledge.

Administrative activities included linking park offices through Novell Local Access Network by installing fiber optic cable. Wiring was added to the cemetery house, visitor center, chief of

maintenance office, maintenance shop, and the Bally building.

A new agreement with the Title V Employment and Training Office provided part-time employment for older workers.

Park Activities, 1995[498]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. . Recreation visitation in 1995 numbered 330,432.[499] Park visitation at the visitor center was recorded at 96,595. More than 520 interpretive activities were enjoyed by 28,121 individuals. Events and programs included observation of the battle anniversary with interpretive events, Memorial Day, and the Shiloh Grand Illumination. In addition, Mudsills Living History Programs were held on June 17 and 18, in addition to the 16th Alabama Infantry Living History Weekend on July 29 and 30. The park also offered a Civil War First Day Issue postage stamp to the public on June 29.

Planning efforts. The expanded focus on Civil War battlefield recognition and protection in Southwest Tennessee and Northeast Mississippi continued, and included ongoing survey of regional battlefields on behalf of the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission survey and the establishment of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission. One of the outcomes of the heightened interest in the Civil War was designation of Brice's Cross Roads battlefield, located in Baldwyn, Mississippi, as a National Historic Landmark.

In support of planning and future landscape management, a Global Positioning System (GPS) field school was sponsored by the park in February. Data about extant Civil War resources was collected for more than 500 features, later enhanced by field surveys conducted in April and November. The project was funded by the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission. The National Park Service Washington Office Cultural Resource Geographic Information System program office provided the expertise and manpower for the Global Positioning System data collection effort, which included Civil War resources associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth. The survey team consisted of David Lowe, who supervised the study, Bonnie Burns, Orden Lantz, and Nell Dieterle. This team coordinated and worked in the field with Park Historian Stacy Allen, the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, and private landowners.

Plans to erect a flagpole at the Confederate Burial Trench site were reviewed by Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects included conservation and cleaning of stone and bronze monuments and 150 cast-iron plaques, restoration of two concrete and cast-iron headquarters and mortuary monuments, and cleaning of several artillery pieces. One cannon carriage destroyed by the ice storm was replaced, while other cannon condition problems were corrected. New carriages were painted and placed into use. Exotic vegetation control continued, with privet and mimosa targeted due to their pervasive presence within the park. The fire ant invasion continued, but no funding was available to combat the infestation.

Bloody Pond maintenance continued with the assistance of a troop of Boy Scouts. Historic field leasing improved after one troublesome lessee was not allowed to renew, and the park assumed responsibility for maintaining the historic fields associated with the lease. Boundary clearing was conducted over a 3-mile area, with fences repaired and replaced. Fifty new trees were planted in the Peach Orchard as part of an effort to establish and maintain an orchard of 250 trees. Deer continued to cause problems with young plantings, however. Pruning and spraying of trees also continued. The boundaries of several fields were reestablished.

498. All information is derived from the 1995 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

499. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

Park mowing equipment was replaced and new wood chipping equipment was acquired.

The exteriors of all maintenance buildings, as well as the access gates, were painted. A new gate was installed at the Roberson tract. A new drain system was installed around the visitor center. Universal access ramps were added at the visitor center and bookstore.

A 1,500-gallon underground fuel tank was removed near the visitor center. It was replaced with a 1,000-gallon aboveground vaulted tank. A 2,000-gallon underground fuel storage tank was also removed at the maintenance shop and replaced with a 1,000-gallon aboveground vaulted tank. A 750-gallon pedestal gasoline tank and a 450-gallon diesel fuel pedestal tank were removed and replaced with a dual 1,000/500-gallon aboveground vaulted tank for gasoline and diesel fuel storage.

Water quality monitoring continued. The identification of high acidity levels led to investigations to determine whether any rare, threatened, or endangered species were associated with the waterways. The University of Memphis proposed to study stream macroinvertebrates, fish, and morphology.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. In the area of staffing and park personnel, law enforcement needs were evaluated. Summer interns were hired using funds provided by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association account.

To support park administration, a park-wide cc-mail system was established.

Paul Hawke was selected Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management for the park and relocated from the Southeast Regional Office National Register Program Office. At the time, the regional office was engaged in a staffing adjustment. By shifting his FTE position to Shiloh, the Atlanta office was able to meet downsizing quotas. At the same time, Shiloh benefited from the addition of a proven cultural resource manager in the field. Hawke also brought his Southeast Region ABPP responsibilities to Shiloh.

As part of outreach efforts, the park worked with the city of Savannah to design the Trail of Tears Interpretive Trail, securing graphics and developing text.

Park Activities, 1996[500]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1996 numbered 318,936.[501] In this year, 86,620 visitors entered the visitor center. a total of 28,008 visitors participated in 1,053 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, and another 3,490 visitors were served through informal/roving services.[502] Military staff rides were also held at the park. In addition to the Annual Battle of Shiloh Living History Weekend and annual Memorial Day program, two living history events were enjoyed by visitors. A new ceremony involving the Confederate National Flag was conducted at the park. A flagpole donated by two camps of the Southern Confederate Veterans was erected in March–April at the largest of the five Confederate burial trenches and used to fly the First National flag of the Confederacy.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Many of the visitors participated in the park's interpretive programs, including living history programs.

500. All information is derived from the 1996 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

501. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

502. *Shiloh National Military Park 1996 Servicewide Interpretive Report* and Shiloh National Military Park 1996 visitor and attendance figures.



FIGURE 53. Elementary school children standing next to the Stream of American History Exhibit at the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Planning efforts. In 1996, Congress passed the Corinth, Mississippi, Battlefield Act, which authorized the establishment and construction of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center (Figure 53). The Act included a $6 million appropriation for the project, and indicated that the new Corinth unit would be administered by Shiloh National Military Park.[503]

In support of the growing interest in other nearby Civil War battlefields, Joseph Brent prepared "Occupied Corinth: The Contraband Camp and The First Alabama Regiment of African Descent 1862-1864" on behalf of the City of Corinth and The Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission."[504] The study was funded by the National Park Service and ABPP.[505]

Tennessee riverbank erosion was monitored, including stabilization efforts. Indian Mounds A, D, and E were affected by spring rains. Numerous prehistoric artifacts were discovered in eroded areas.

With the assistance of Memphis University's Biology Department, the park continued to survey aquatic resources within Shiloh National Military Park. The inventory was coordinated by Shiloh Resource Management Specialist Lowell K. (Kent) Higgins, who eventually prepared a park fish study using the data collected in the field. Through the study, scientists discovered high biological diversity in the park's waters. Two preservation interns, one each from Penn State and Southern Mississippi State University, worked at the park to assist in preservation repair efforts.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance efforts included control of exotic vegetation to eradicate mimosa and privet, although funding reductions limited the amount of work that could be done. The park planted 100 new trees in the Peach Orchard to replace those killed by deer browse and other impacts. Thistle control was performed in leased fields conducted by lessees. Missing bronze components of the Shiloh Confederate Monument were replaced. The monument restoration project was funded by a local chapter of the UDC.

Large tree stumps were removed from Water Oaks Pond, and the area reseeded. Downed mature trees were removed from along historic field boundaries, while portions of the park boundary were cleared and fences constructed. A new mowing pattern was devised for Duncan field, and other historic vegetation patterns and views were restored. Six hazardous trees were removed and others pruned. Areas of the cemetery were sodded.

Other maintenance and construction projects included a new radio tower built on the site of an old water tower east of the maintenance area, repainting of several park residences, removal of an underground storage tank, and installation of a 2,000 gallon septic tank at the visitor center. Concrete pads were constructed at tour stops 9, 10, and 11 for visitors.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Law enforcement recorded 162 case incidents, including vandalism at the 77th Pennsylvania

503 Sec. 602. 16 USC 430f-5

504. Joseph E. Brent, *Occupied Corinth: The Contraband Camp and The First Alabama Regiment of African Descent 1862-1864* (February 1995).

505. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1995.

Monument, whereby part of the structure was stolen.

Outreach efforts included Park Historian Stacy Allen serving as a Tennessee representative on the Lower Mississippi Civil War Task Force, and contributing to a Civil War interpretive brochure for a seven-state area, and Superintendent Harrell serving on the Tennessee Wars Commission. Harrell and Chief Ranger Paul Hawke provided technical assistance to the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission.

Park Activities, 1997[506]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1997 numbered 345,310.[507] A total of 102,972 visitors entered the visitor center during 1997. In this year, a total of 12,846 visitors participated in 639 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, and another 2,940 visitors were served through informal/roving services. The year marked the 135th anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh, and several events were held in conjunction with the battle anniversary weekend. These included a large reenactment held near the park, approximately 6 miles southwest of Pittsburg Landing, thus the park itself did not host the traditional park-sponsored battle anniversary living history weekend that April. This accounts for the decrease in visitors attending park-based staff-provided programs this year.[508] Programs conducted over the course of the year at the park included a Savannah Pops Civil War concert, the annual Memorial Day program, a Bobby Horton Civil War music program, the Texas State Historical Commission Lone Star dedication, and a Living History Weekend.

Planning efforts. Funding was received by the park to enhance its library study collection. Planning efforts involved preparation of a Strategic Plan for the park.[509] In support of many of the park's inventory and maintenance needs, GIS mapping was developed. In addition, the fish and aquatic invertebrate study continued, while a reptile and amphibian inventory was planned. A rare endemic species of lichen was found growing in the park.

The List of Classified Structures (LCS) was updated through comprehensive survey of the park's historic resources. The park also initiated work on an archival preservation project.

The park entered into a Programmatic Agreement for Section 106 compliance with the Tennessee SHPO. Joe Garrison reviewed an application for debris removal and site restoration associated with the Tennessee River banks along the edge of the park.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Tennessee riverbank stabilization continued following the plans prepared by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Landscape management and maintenance efforts included removal of hazardous trees and limbs in the national cemetery, restoration of the Sherman Headquarters Monument, deer control at the Peach Orchard where all of the new tree plantings had been killed, and fire ant control. Brown recluse spiders bit several staff and had to be controlled. Exotic emu control was also needed, as birds escaping from local farms had begun to enter the park. A lack of funding precluded additional work to control exotic vegetation.

Lessees who were not maintaining historic fields in a satisfactory manner did not have their leases renewed. After the park took over managing the fields, the weed problems in the fields were

506. All information is derived from the 1997 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
507. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
508. Superintendent's Annual Narrative (1997) and *Shiloh National Military Park 1997 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 1997 visitor and attendance figures.
509. National Park Service, "Strategic Plan Shiloh National Military Park," September 22, 1977.

reduced. At the same time, two new fields were made available for lease. Larkin Bell field was restored to 1862 conditions by through the removal of woody plants. Rangers cleared a portion of the southeast park boundary as a fire break. A Heritage Trail project was conducted with help from a Boy Scout troop.

Two of the Indian Mounds were cleared of brush and trees. The significance of the mounds suggested a more comprehensive approach to stabilization and interpretation was merited. Based on proposals submitted by the park to the region, a budget of $2 million was authorized to fund new trail and landscape treatment work at the Shiloh Indian Mounds.

Conservation programs were conducted on park monuments, including cleaning and painting, while cemetery headstones were also cleaned. Tennessee state prison inmates provided some of the labor for this effort. The park received approval through Section 106 compliance to remove the 1918 War Department Quarters No. 1 (the former Superintendent residence). Vinyl siding was installed on Residence No. 50. Finally, a communications shack was built to house radio repeaters.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park administration efforts included acquisition of a Collection Management computer program.

Law enforcement recorded 88 case incidents and 17 resource violations. Vandals damaged the inscribed vertical stone section of the Confederate Burial Trench Monument.

Park personnel were involved in several national and regional history efforts. The Battle of Shiloh was featured in *Blue and Gray Magazine*, including articles and maps prepared by Park Historian Stacy Allen. Allen and Park Ranger Brian McCutchen also authored several feature articles for *The 135th Anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh Reenactment Program*. Allen also contributed to *Thousand Mile Front: Civil War in the Lower Mississippi Valley*.

Allen also represented Tennessee on a seven-state Deep Delta Initiative Lower Mississippi Civil War Task Force, and contributed with Paul Hawke to the production of a guide/brochure. Allen attended a Tennessee Lands Commission hearing on the state acquisition of 115 acres of the Davis Bridge Civil War Battlefield site. Tennessee decided to purchase the battlefield site for inclusion within its state park system. The 115-acre acquisition, added to the approximately 5 acres purchased years purchased earlier by the Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation, became the basis for a major battlefield preservation effort that would be conducted later at Davis Bridge. As of 2016, the battlefield property under protection totals more than 800 acres in 2016. Superintendent Woody Harrell served as an advisor on the Tennessee Wars Commission, and provided technical assistance to the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, including efforts to produce interpretive literature, exhibits, trails, and auto tours of significant resources.

Park Activities, 1998[510]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1998 numbered 329,067.[511] Visitation at the Shiloh visitor center totaled 83,801 in 1998. Also, a total of 24,032 visitors participated in 804 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, and another 2,200 visitors were served through informal/roving services.[512] These programs, in addition to the various events held at the park, continued to be large visitor draws. Events and programs included living history demonstrations on the battle anniversary, a Memorial Day program held at the national cemetery, and a service to honor the Confederate dead within the

510. All information is derived from the 1998 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
511. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
512. Superintendent's Annual Narrative (1998) and Shiloh National Military Park 1998 visitor and attendance figures.

park conducted on June 7 at Tour Stop 5. A Living History Weekend was held in August that was organized by the Tennessee Infantry Regiment. There was also a special ceremony held to dedicate the Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark.

Planning efforts. Efforts to recognize the Siege and Battle of Corinth and to protect associated battlefield land began to bear fruit, as legislation was submitted by the Mississippi Congressional delegation advocating for the establishment of a new battlefield park, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy donated the 20-acre Battery Robinett parcel to the National Park Service.

Planning efforts included the preparation of a parking lot concept for Brown's Landing Road.[513] In addition, the park prepared a Spill Prevention and Facility Response Plan, and partially updated the Resource Management Plan.

A Riverbank Stabilization Plan that featured various alternatives prepared by the USACOE was examined for impacts to natural and cultural resources.

A freshwater mussel inventory was prepared for the Tennessee River. Funding was secured for an amphibian and reptile survey of the park, while the aquatic resources inventory report was completed. Archeological excavation of a prehistoric Mississippian house site associated with the Shiloh Indian Mounds was conducted.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance activities included repair of 6,000 square feet of brick walkways in the Shiloh National Cemetery (Figure 54). Original pavers were salvaged and cleaned, while the damaged walkway beds were repaired. Old pavers were reinstalled with new mortar. There remained additional areas of the walk in need of similar treatment.



FIGURE 54. Brick walkway within Shiloh National Cemetery, 2011.

Elsewhere within the park, landscape maintenance efforts involved application of integrated pest management strategies for the control of exotic plant and animal pest species, the clearing of seventeen acres of brush and trees within historic fields in order to reduce fuel loads and the potential for fire, and an overall inspection of the twenty historic fields under lease. These fields comprised a total of 265 acres. The park also cleared 1-1/2 acres of encroaching vegetation along the margins of Cloud Field in support of the construction of a proposed tour route parking lot for visitors to access the Shiloh Indian Mounds. Conservation efforts continued in 1998. The work included repair of the William T. Sherman headquarters monument involving removal and replacement of the monument's concrete base. A French drain was added to help keep water from further damaging the base. The monument was repainted and new Bermuda sod was placed around it. Ninety-five historic markers were

513. National Park Service, "Parking Lot Concepts Browns Landing Road," Drawing No. 304-41914, February 1998.

cleaned and painted, while the Union Division Headquarters monument was also cleaned. The former Superintendent residence site, where the building had recently been removed, was landscaped. Five open historic wells—at the former Superintendent residence, at the John Glover homestead, within the Roberson tract, and on the historic Larkin Bell farm—were filled for public safety. The visitor center was painted, and motion detectors and hose bib backflow preventers were installed.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. An interpretive exhibit funded by the UDC was developed for the new Tennessee River Museum in Savannah.

The park archives were reorganized and conserved, and a database developed with inventory information. Additional park GIS files were compiled using information derived from GPS survey. Park personnel also entered and edited vital resource problems, concerns, and needs into the new National Park Service system-wide Project Management Information System (PMIS).

Summer interns were engaged to study and make recommendations for appropriate historic preservation methods to be used in maintaining park resources.

Law enforcement recorded 40 case incidents.

In outreach efforts, Superintendent Harrell served as an advisor to the Tennessee Wars Commission. Harrell also supported Team Hardin County meetings and tourism activities in Savannah, Tennessee, providing technical assistance on interpretive program activities at the Savannah River Museum and a new Trail of Tears exhibit. Harrell also continued to support the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, in conjunction with Paul Hawke and Stacy Allen. Allen conducted an additional field survey to amend and correct the boundary of the Brice's Crossroads Battlefield National Historic Landmark district.



FIGURE 55. View of the Dill Branch culvert, looking west toward Riverside Drive, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Another partnering/outreach effort conducted by the park was support for Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) documentation of Shiloh National Military Park, focusing on the tour road system and associated bridges and culverts and interpretive features. The project included documentation photography and four sheets of drawings recorded as project TN-37 (Figure 55). The project was described as "cosponsored during the summer of 1998 by HAER (Eric Delony, Chief) and Shiloh National Military Park (Woody Harrell). The project was funded by the Federal Lands Highway Program through the National Park Service Roads and Parkways program. The fieldwork, measured drawings, historic reports, and photographs were prepared under the direction of NPS Park Roads and Bridges Recording Program Manager Todd Croteau and Program Historian Tim Davis. Cynthia Ott prepared both the historic report and the drawings. Formal large-format photography was completed by Jet Lowe."[514]

514. Historic American Engineering Record, "Shiloh National Military Park Roads," 1 of 4, MS-14 and TN-37.

Park Activities, 1999[515]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 1999 numbered 357,532.[516] Over the course of the year, 84,649 visitors entered the visitor center. Also, a total of 29,945 visitors participated in 941 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, and another 3,000 visitors were served through informal/roving services.[517] The special events and programs offered over the course of the year included living history demonstrations provided on the battle anniversary, Memorial Day programs held at the cemetery, and a special use observance hosted by the 51st Tennessee Infantry Living History organization at the site of the largest of the five mass graves for Confederate soldiers killed in action at Shiloh. Tennessee Confederate Memorial Day was also observed at the burial trenches. The 23rd Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America, and the 8th Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment, United States of America, were involved in presenting living history demonstrations. At Corinth, a Mississippi Confederate Memorial Day special-use program was offered for the first time.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts included preparation of a Peach Orchard Management Plan,[518] and the filing of environmental and Section 106 compliance forms relating to implementation of the Tennessee River Streambank Protection Project. The peach orchard management plan was supported by a map, inventory, and planting plan prepared in 1999 by Wendy Ross.

Efforts to convince Congress to pass the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act continued throughout 1999. The park was involved in providing technical assistance to legislators, while the SERO and WASO offices were also involved in lobbying for the passage of the legislation.

In the meantime, pre-construction planning and design work proceeded on the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.

The park also submitted a PMIS funding request (PMIS39752) to manage hazardous trees as a public safety effort, and another (PMIS39773) to manage wildfire through training, preparation of an updated fire management plan, and update the fire history and map in GIS.

Natural resource data collection included the completion of an amphibian and reptile survey report. Park water quality research continued.

Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison reviewed the plans for the Tennessee River bank stabilization project and requested documentation photographs.

Archeological investigations were conducted by the Southeast Archeology Center at Battery Robinett in Corinth. Archeologists used Ground Penetrating Radar to locate features of potential interest.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance efforts conducted by the park included the use of an Integrated Pest Management program to control fire ants, cats, dogs, and plant pests; removal of hazard tree limbs; cleaning and painting of historic markers; and the enclosure of a black powder storage bunker (magazine) within a chain link fence. Eight lessees managed twenty historic fields totaling 265 acres. Boy Scouts donated time to repair problems in the park, such as eroded trails. The exteriors of several buildings were painted, and the utilities were updated at the picnic area, including installation of pressure regulator valves.

515. All information is derived from the 1999 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
516. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
517. Superintendent's Annual Narrative (1999) and Shiloh National Military Park 1999 visitor and attendance figures.
518. National Park Service, "Shiloh National Military Park Peach Orchard Management Plan" (Revised December 1999).

The park submitted a Project Management Information System (PMIS) request (PMIS39761) for funding to return to exotic vegetation control initiatives introduced in 1994, indicating that without annual treatment, the problem was not anticipated to be controlled.



FIGURE 56. An original Sibley Tent, part of the Shiloh museum collection, loaned for an exhibit at the Smithsonian, 2012. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park completed the ongoing archive catalogue project, while acquiring two Civil War tents for the collection. These tents are extremely rare, with less than five surviving from the Civil War. One of the tents acquired for Shiloh is a Sibley (Figure 56). It is one of only two tents of this type known to exist, and the only one in the United States. The other tent is a standard wall tent. The park purchased both tents using its Eastern National Donation account for $5,000.

Veteran Shiloh employee Lowell K. (Kent) Higgins, retired after a long career with the National Park Service. Wendy Hart Ross, who entered permanent service in the agency as a national Intake Program trainee, assumed the permanent position of Resource Management Specialist. Ross was soon involved in several community outreach programs.

Law enforcement recorded 88 incidents. A missing granite cannon tube from the 14th Ohio Battery Monument was recovered. ARPA incident charges were filed.

Park Activities, 2000[519]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2000 numbered 261,472.[520] Total park visitation was 401,433 based on traffic counts. A total of 83,812 visitors were recorded as entering the visitor center over the course of 2000. Also, a total of 27,902 visitors participated in 711 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers.[521] Living history demonstrations were provided on the battle anniversary. On Memorial Day, a ceremony was held in the national cemetery, while the 51st Infantry hosted a special use ceremony at the Confederate burial trench. Mississippi Confederate Memorial Day was observed as a special use activity at Corinth.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements.

Planning efforts. In 2000, Congress passed the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act of 2000 establishing the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park.[522]

519. All information is derived from the 2000 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
520. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
521. Superintendent's Annual Report (2000) and Shiloh National Military Park 2000 visitor and attendance figures.
522. Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act, Senate bill (S. 1117), H7390.

SEAC archeologists conducted remote sensing of Battery Robinett within the Corinth unit. GPR was used on the eroded fortification to locate subsurface evidence of cultural activity.

Based on the threats to the Indian Mounds posed by riverbank erosion, the National Park Service allocated funds for SEAC to conduct a special study and data recovery project at the site.

SEAC also conducted two other investigations at the park relating to Civil War-era resources in 2000. These included a metal detector survey of ten pre-selected locations on the battlefield to collect baseline data regarding the context integrity of the 1862 battle, and to compare the potential of finding artifacts in the woods with that of fields. This was followed by field testing using metal detection, shovel tests, and excavation units to locate a historic cabin site east of the Peach Orchard.

Plans were prepared to reconstruct Brown's and Pittsburg Landing roads, rehabilitate Reconnoitering Road, replace the Dill Branch culvert with a bridge, construct a new comfort station, and reconfigure the visitor center parking area.[523]

In support of natural resource management, an endangered bat survey was initiated. Park water quality was monitored by Memphis University.

Joe Garrison, Tennessee SHPO 106 compliance officer, reviewed plans for the installation of the Mississippi Monument. At the same time, Jim Woodrick, Director of the Historic Preservation Division for the state of Mississippi served as Mississippi Department of Archives and History liaison to the Mississippi Veterans Monument Commission for the Mississippi Monument at Shiloh project.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The USACOE initiated work on Phase 1 of the erosion stabilization project along the Tennessee River shoreline articulated in previous planning studies. Phase 1, with a budget of $3.2 million, involved the placement of armor or riprap on the riverbank and bluff up to the 500-year flood line for a distance of 1,200-feet between Browns Landing to a point south of the mouth of Dill Branch in front of the Indian Mounds. (Refer to Figure 44.)



FIGURE 57. Shiloh National Military Park bookstore, January 2011.

Otherwise, landscape management and maintenance efforts conducted during 2000 included the painting of forty-seven iron troop position markers and all of the iron features of the cemetery; cleaning and painting 130 other historic monuments and markers; and the removal of hazardous trees and limbs. Tennessee sculptor Russ Faxon restored missing bronze features on seven Iowa monuments using funds provided by the State of Iowa through a special appropriation to the park. In addition, the Shiloh bookstore (Figure 57) and comfort station were painted, and the historic cemetery lodge, concession building, and cemetery restroom were reroofed. The park also initiated work on structural stabilization and preservation maintenance for the William Manse George Cabin. Twenty-five new trees were

523. National Park Service, ""Shiloh National Military Park Project PRA-SHIL 502(2) Rehabilitation of Roadways and Parking Areas, Intersection Improvements, Drainage Structure Rehabilitation/Replacement, and Other Miscellaneous Work ," Drawing No. 304-41918, Plan-in-Hand Field Review, July 25, 2000; and "Rehabilitation of the Comfort Station," Drawing No. 304-80008, August 2000.

planted at the Sarah Bell orchard. Fire ant infestations were again treated.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. As for the park's museum collections, ANCS+ records were corrected to document every item owned by the park.

Paul Hawke was selected Chief of ABPP and departed the park in January 2000. Superintendent Harrell assigned Stacy Allen the responsibilities of acting Chief Interpretation & Resource Management until the vacancy could be filled.

Numerous outreach projects were supported by park staff. For example, park personnel were involved in supporting projects under development by the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission to further the establishment of the new park unit and interpretive center, and the protection of other battlefield land in the region. They also provided technical assistance and recommendations for site and resource preservation and public access for seven of fifteen properties in Alcorn County, and the completion of ABPP and TEA-21 grant proposals. The park also participated in discussions regarding the proposed McNairy County Shiloh Historic Trail project.

Superintendent Woody Harrell attended heritage preservation organizational meetings and activities for the Mississippi River Delta Initiative, the Tennessee Wars Commission, and the Tennessee chapter of APCWS. Park staff supported exhibit design and construction for the Tennessee River Museum, and attended Hardin County Tourism meetings. Park Historian Stacy Allen served as a subject matter expert for the Mississippi Battlefield Commission, along with Terrence J. Winschel, park historian at Vicksburg National Military Park, and Jim Woodrick, of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Allen also participated in a conference to further national management strategies for battlefields known as "Rally on the High Ground," as well as "Strengthening Interpretation on National Park Service Battlefields," the Fifth National ABPP Conference on Battlefield Preservation, Discovery 2000, and Cultural Resources 2000.

Park Activities, 2001[524]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2001 numbered 356,787.[525] The park recorded 82,000 visitors as entering the visitor center during this year. Also, a total of 33,982 visitors participated in 1,005 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, and another 4,140 visitors were served through informal/roving services.[526] As part of an emerging new tracking effort, the park recorded 101,000 hits to its website.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Park interpretive staff, in collaboration with University of Mississippi students, designed and developed a web-based Shiloh Monument Location System. Park staff also met with National Park Service Long Distance Trails staff and representatives of the Tennessee River Museum to develop a plan for a Trail of Tears exhibit, and worked on plans for a Civil War Commemorative exhibit room at the museum. At the park, work was initiated on a 1.1-mile interpretive trail at the Shiloh Indian Mounds.

Planning efforts. The investigation of the Indian Mounds entered a data recovery stage.

Pre-construction planning for the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center proceeded, and the Special Resource Study authorized in 2000 was under development. A Value Analysis for Interior and Exterior Exhibit Media at Corinth was conducted. Plans to repair the park tour road were put out for bid. The park submitted a PMIS funding request (PMIS38764) for GPS and GIS

524. All information is derived from the 2001 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
525. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
526. Superintendent's Annual Report (2000) and Shiloh National Military Park 2000 visitor and attendance figures.

equipment and computer program to improve the park's data and mapping.

Pickwick Electric Cooperative approached the park about rehabilitating the existing power line right-of-way across the park. In support of protecting the historic scene, the park negotiated relocating the lines to follow the right-of-way for Highway 22. Where the lines would continue to cross the park, staff also negotiated having the lines buried between State Route 142 and the park's north boundary. The upgrade was desperately needed since the park possessed some of the oldest lines and poles in the system.

The endangered bat survey field research study concluded, along with water quality monitoring. The Shiloh National Military Park Land Protection Plan was revised.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Several facility maintenance, resource management, and landscape maintenance projects were completed during 2001. These efforts included replacement of deteriorated wood siding, painting of two building exteriors in the maintenance compound, pruning and removal of dead wood from trees, removal of hazard trees, and restoration clearing and clean-up of five acres of historic Larkin Bell field. Seventy-two peach trees were planted at the Sarah Bell orchard. The tree that marked the mortal wounding site of General Albert Sidney, which had been in decline for some time, was removed. An electrical gate system was erected at the entrance to the maintenance compound. Through the agricultural lease program, seventeen historic fields totaling 292 acres were managed to protect historic landscape patterns.

Elsewhere within the park, new construction efforts included installation of a replica of the Civil War-era Shiloh Church on the church inholding property. The church was used as a headquarters by Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard during the battle, and may also have served as a hospital or shelter. Like most of the structures that were present on the battlefield in 1862, the church was heavily damaged during the battle. Residents claim the cemetery at the church was so damaged that the locations of family graves could not be identified. Damage to the structure led to its dismantling by Union forces for other uses. The best evidence suggests that they were used to shore up bridges over Shiloh Branch immediately below or south of the church. Members of the congregation later built a brush arbor and worshiped there until enough money could be raised to build a large board building of simple style. The second church, built in 1881, remained in service during the 1890s, when the park was established. The second church building likewise did not last, and was torn down by the congregation in 1929. Construction on the current church began in 1929 using native stone, but a lack of funding during the Great Depression forced the congregation to stop construction. Work began again in 1949. By 1952 the congregation had finished the shell using brick, giving the present church a two-toned look.[527]

The riverbank stabilization remained on hold as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers shoreline revetment work continued to settle.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Collection management projects also continued in 2001, including ANCS+ cataloguing, and the creation of a computer database for archival material using the ProCite program.

Ranger Tim Smith authored *Shiloh National Military Park: An Administrative History 1862–1933* based on work conducted to complete his Ph.D. dissertation. The work also featured a section outlining National Park Service administration of the park from 1933 to the present. This work was to be followed by a more detailed park administrative history for the National Park Service period of administration that would replace the work of Charles Shedd. The more detailed administrative history was never completed.

527. Timothy Brian Smith, "Shiloh National Military Park: An Administrative History, 1862–1933," PhD dissertation, Mississippi State University, December 2001, 254.

The park actively participated in a feasibility study mandated by the Vicksburg Campaign Trail Battlefields Preservation Act of 2000 to examine and evaluate sites in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee for potential inclusion in the National Park System and determine mechanisms for site protection.[528] Stacy Allen served as a member of the core study team, making field surveys and drafting the report, while Superintendent Harrell was involved in other aspects of the project. The park's involvement continued for three years. The Vicksburg study generally coincided with work conducted to prepare the Corinth Boundary Adjustment and Special Resource studies. The Corinth studies were completed in 2003, and the Vicksburg study in 2004. Park Planner Bill Koning and Denver Service Center Historian Harlan Unrau worked on all three studies as principal team members throughout. Other principal team members of the Vicksburg study included historians, Terrence J. Winschel of Vicksburg National Military Park; James Jobe of Fort Donelson National Battlefield; and Dale Phillips, Superintendent of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. Winschel, Jobe, and Phillips had also served previously with Stacy Allen on the Lower Mississippi Civil War Task Force. Harrell served on the Corinth team as Shiloh Superintendent, while co-managing the Vicksburg study with Superintendent William O. Nichols of Vicksburg National Military Park.

During 2001, the park identified a problem with understaffing based on a 40 percent decrease in FTEs over the course of the previous decade. Supporting this conclusion were two studies prepared by the park during the year: the General Management Analysis and the Law Enforcement Needs Assessment. The studies recommended the addition of four full time commissioned officers, including a commissioned ranger.

Law enforcement violations recorded included damage to the Confederate Memorial.

The CWT and Friends of Shiloh Battlefield Association supported acquiring a 2-acre tract of interest to the park. These groups helped to identify other willing sellers with land within the park's authorized boundary.[529]

The effective partnerships with the Savannah Tennessee River Museum and the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission continued to enhance the ability of the park to meet interpretation, education, and historic preservation goals and objectives. The park also supported the work of the Tennessee Wars Commission, and a partnership with The Renaissance Center and Cracker Barrel Old Country Stores to produce a film: "Hallowed Ground: Preserving Tennessee's Battlefields." Park staff worked with Team Hardin County, Hardin County Tourism Commission, Corinth Area Tourism Promotion Council, and the Alliance of Corinth to promote and encourage heritage tourism. They were also involved in providing technical support to the Davis Bridge Foundation, Friends of Parkers Crossroads, and the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission regarding preservation and interpretive planning efforts, as well as land acquisition.

As noted by Superintendent Harrell, Corinth legislation led to...

> about 5 acres of Davis Bridge [coming into the park] because it was going to be given to us, and it was feasible and suitable to make it a park. It was not a lot of acreage and by that time the state of Tennessee had gotten 400 or 500 acres over there, but by taking that little 4-1/2-acre site we could put Davis Bridge on our brochures and folders as a part of Shiloh Park. That would begin a lot of tourist traffic, we could divert Shiloh visitors there because people would go see the rest of the park.[530]

528. Public Law 106-487.
529. Superintendent's Annual Report, 2001.
530. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

Park Activities, 2002[531]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2002 numbered 371,118.[532] During 2002, a total of 83,870 people were recorded as entering the visitor center. The park continued to support similar programs as in previous years. A total of 59,533 visitors participated in 930 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers during the 140th anniversary year of the Battle of Shiloh. The significant increase was due to heavy attendance (38,489) to the eight special events the park hosted, all of which included formal programs.[533] The park website received 108,719 hits.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The Kodak Company, through the National Park Foundation, provided grant funding for the Shiloh Monument Location System.

The park initiated a documentation project using comparison photos of historic archival views to illustrate change over time in the landscape. The digital images were made available on the website. The park also developed a new Park Kids Newsletter, and young people visiting the park were given cameras to help produce it.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts conducted during 2002 included initiation of a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan with Harpers Ferry and preparation of a FONSI for construction and operation of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.[534] A concept design workshop was held for "Interpreting and Commemorating the Contraband Site" at Corinth.[535]

The park also submitted several PMIS funding requests for special projects. These included PMIS16703 for historic scene restoration involving the removal of up to 160 acres of woodland cover in areas that were open fields at the time of the battle; PMIS15034 for restoration of the 18.8-mile Shiloh trail system, described in deteriorated condition; PMIS28771 for replacement of the park entrance signs due to outdated information; and PMIS28724 for construction of a boardwalk over Indian Mound A to protect it against erosion.

The park entered into a cooperative agreement with the State of Tennessee to allow the installation of the Tennessee State Monument along Sherman Road on the battlefield.

Revisions to the Shiloh Land Protection Plan were completed. Plans were also prepared to rehabilitate roadways and parking areas, improve intersections, and rehabilitate and replace drainage structures throughout the park.[536]

The National Park Service began the process of evaluating several regional Civil War battlefields for their potential inclusion in the National Park System based in inventory and assessment funded

531. All information is derived from the 2002 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
532. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
533. Superintendent's Annual Narrative (2002), *Shiloh National Military Park 2002 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2002 visitor and attendance figures.
534. National Park Service, "Finding of No Significant Impact for Construction and Operation of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center A Unit of Shiloh National Military Park" 2002.
535. National Park Service, *Concept Charrette Interpreting and Commemorating the Contraband Camp Site; A Briefing Booklet; Corinth Unit-Shiloh National Military Park* (October 29-31, 2002); and *Corinth Contraband Camp Conceptual Design Workshop* (National Park Service, October 29-31, 2002).
536. National Park Service, "Shiloh National Military Park Project PRA-SHIL 502(2) Rehabilitation of Roadways and Parking Areas, Intersection Improvements, Drainage Structure Rehabilitation/Replacement, and Other Miscellaneous Work," Drawing No. 304-41919, Plan-in-Hand Field Review, May 7, 2002.

by ABPP. Seventeen individual historic sites on fourteen tracts of land were identified as meeting criteria for inclusion.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. To facilitate universal access, the park rehabilitated several interpretive features, such as wayside exhibits, to ensure that they were barrier free and met the most current Americans with Disabilities Act Accessibility Guidelines.

Landscape management and maintenance projects included repair of the park tour road system using an award of $2.3 million from the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA), provision of universal accessibility improvements at the entrance of the visitor center, the plans for which were first reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO, realignment of the entrance road, improvements to the visitor center parking lot and sidewalks, replacement of 250 concrete pads along Corinth Road and headwalls along Pittsburg Landing, cleaning of the bricks in the walkways constructed at the front entrance of the cemetery, and landscaping of roads and grounds damaged by recent construction. Monument conservation was also conducted to repair features in poor condition and those that had been the target of vandalism.



FIGURE 58. View of Sunken Road Trail near Corinth-Pittsburg Road, looking east, circa 1999. (Source: Library of Congress, HAER TN-37)

Thirteen historic fields were maintained through mowing by the park, while lessees maintained another seventeen fields totaling 292 acres. YCC workers hired for the summer helped to clear the vista at the Pittsburg Landing overlook. Trees were pruned and hazards removed. The Sunken Road Trail (Figure 58) was improved with new bridges, while several other trails were rehabilitated, improved, and maintained. The park purchased forty new ductile steel cannon carriages in order to replace one-fifth of those on the battlefield. The exterior of the visitor center and the national cemetery gate were painted. Deteriorated wood siding on garages was replaced.

USACOE revetment work continued after the settling problem was resolved. SEAC mitigation of Indian Mounds continued.

Work on the electrical line relocation, removal, and burial proposed in 2001 by Pickwick Electric Cooperative began. The park was able to pay for the project using a portion of the funds from the Omnibus Transportation Enhancement Bill of 1996, in which Shiloh received $11.25 million for road and bridge work. Although outdated, the lines represented an innovation at the time they were installed, and this isolated part of Hardin County likely benefitted from the introduction of electrical service fifteen to twenty years earlier than it might otherwise have expected due to the needs of the national military park.

A construction contract was awarded for Corinth Interpretive Center Greenways resource preservation projects funded by TEA-21.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park continued the work of archiving collections information in the computer database.

In June 2002, Superintendent Harrell selected Stacy Allen to fill the permanent position of Chief Park Ranger, vacated when Paul Hawke transferred to the Washington Office of the National Park Service in early 2000. Allen remains in the position as of 2016.

Law enforcement recorded eighty case incidents, including wildlife poaching.

The park continued to support regional partnerships with other organizations such as the

Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Savannah Tennessee River Museum, Team Hardin County, Hardin County Tourism Commission, Corinth Area Tourism Promotion Council, and Alliance of Corinth. Technical support was provided by park staff for preservation efforts being conducted by Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Davis Bridge Foundation, Iuka Battlefield Commission, and Friends of Parkers Crossroads. Superintendent Harrell and Park Historian Allen served as advisors to the Tennessee War Commission and Tennessee chapter of the APCWS, Mississippi Civil War Battlefield Commission, Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Davis Bridge Foundation, and Iuka Battlefield Commission. Work continued on the National Park Service feasibility study for battlefield sites in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

CWT continued to work with private land owners to acquire land identified as important to battlefield preservation.

Park Activities, 2003[537]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2003 numbered 391,346.[538] The park recorded a total of 74,593 visitors entering the visitor center. Also, a total of 36,713 visitors participated in 968 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers.[539]

There were several special programs offered throughout the year, many of which were consistent with those celebrated at the park for years. The Memorial Day ceremony was again held in the national cemetery, while the park issued five special use permits for other memorial ceremonies and observations. An American Wars program, introduced three years earlier, continued to be popular. Five living history weekends were held at the park, one of which was held on the battle anniversary weekend. Historic weapons programs remained a popular draw with visitors.

The park participated in a new program offered by CWT, referred to as Park Day. The emphasis of this new program was park enhancement. In 2003, Park Day was focused on clearing a fire line. The Homespun History Guild offered a program on home-life during the Civil War as well as a Christmas holiday program, while a U.S. Veterans group presented a Spotlight on America program.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. More than 11,000 people participated in personal interpretive programs offered by park staff and volunteers.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts included preparation of a draft Fire Management Plan, a draft of which was reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO.

The park also oversaw completion of an Environmental Assessment and Finding of No Significant Impact for the road improvement project.[540] A Special Resource Study, identified in the 2000 legislation, was published for the Corinth unit, while the Boundary Adjustment Study was also finalized.

Also in the planning stages were new wayside exhibits, and designs for a new Shiloh Indian Mounds NHL Interpretation Trail. The park continued to work on a land acquisition plan to identify priority parcels based on an understanding of the avenues of approach used by the contesting armies during the battle. This information was developed in order to work more closely with groups like CWT on land acquisition.

537. All information is derived from the 2003 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
538. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
539. Superintendent's Annual Report (2003), *Shiloh National Military Park 2003 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2003 visitor and attendance figures.
540. U.S. Department of Transportation, *Environmental Assessment Reconstruction and Improvement of Various Roadways and Bridge Replacements* (August 2003); and Finding of No Significant Impact.

The SEAC archeological mitigation of the Indian Mound site was ongoing, with funding provided by TEA-21 and other sources. The work continued to yield important findings. At the same time, the USACOE continued their efforts to stabilize the Tennessee River banks along the park's eastern boundary.

Two projects were ongoing that focused on natural resource data collection, including a bird inventory, and a herptofauna distribution study.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Through use of a National Park Service Preservation Skills Training (PAST) program preservation team, the William Manse George (also Lewis Wicker) cabin was repaired. Plans for the work were reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO. The work involved installation of a new roof, realignment of the cabin's position, and construction of a new stone, mud, and stick chimney. The project was coordinated by Park Ranger Ashley Berry and maintenance worker Tom Parson, who was also completing a two-year training assignment for PAST program certification in masonry.

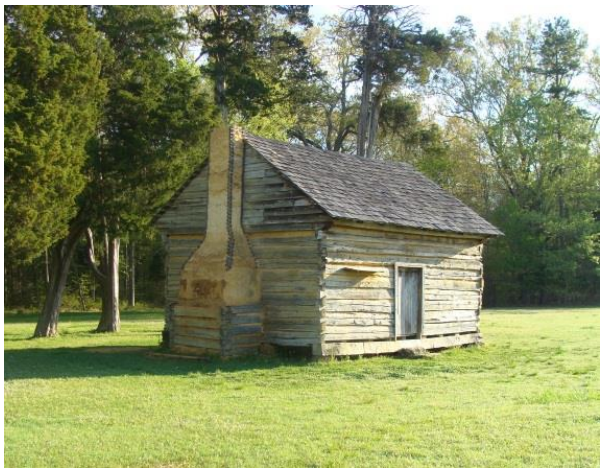


FIGURE 59. View of the William Manse George Cabin after restoration work completed in 2003. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Construction projects included ongoing work to complete the Civil War Interpretive Center at Corinth, while at Shiloh the park installed several temporary exhibits relating to Shiloh Veterans and the William Manse George Cabin (Figure 59), which was restored in 2003 to remove a porch added in 1962.

Landscape management and maintenance projects included restoration of a historic cabin on the Sunken Road Trail, restoration and repair of several trails, hazard tree and limb removal along the tour road and trails, paving of the service road, Welker Battery Road, and several driveways and maintenance parking areas, emplacement of new artillery carriages, and acquisition of a new flagpole for the national cemetery. The park engaged a contractor to conduct conservation work on the Iowa State Monument, while completing repair and cleaning work in house on the Confederate Monument and several other monuments.

The project involving relocation and burial of electrical lines also continued in 2003. By the end of the year, 98 percent of the work, initiated in 2001, had been completed, while Phase 1 of the planned FHWA road improvement project was finished.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Park staff available to administer, maintain, and interpret the site included the equivalent of twenty-five full-time employees, three seasonal employees, and two temporary employees.

Law enforcement recorded fifty-six incidents.

The park's involvement in partnership efforts and activities continued to grow throughout the decade. In 2003, these included the initiation of a proactive land protection program in conjunction with CWT. Almost immediately, the organization announced the acquisition of six properties totaling 200 acres of core battlefield land. At the same time, negotiations were under way to acquire an additional 1,000 acres. The CWT was also involved in land acquisition at Corinth, and similarly announced the protection of 225 acres in Mississippi in 2003. Through the efforts of the Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation and the State of Tennessee, another 200 acres were preserved at the Davis Bridge Battlefield.

Outreach efforts conducted by park staff included the provision of technical assistance and support to various groups and efforts. For example, the park participated in Civil War Days in Collierville by providing a period Bible for temporary display. The park also continued to help with the Vicksburg Campaign Trail Special Resource Study. Due to the ongoing interest in the Shiloh effigy pipe, the park made a casting of the artifact and used it to make replicas for display.

Park Activities, 2004[541]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 204 numbered 311, 149.[542] Park traffic counts indicated that 475,675 visitors used the park in 2004. Of these, 72,034 entered the visitor center. A total of 49,204 visitors participated in 809 personal interpretive service programs during the year, including formal and informal interpretation programs and roving contacts.[543] The events and programs conducted at the park during 2004 included a Battle of Shiloh Living History Weekend held on the battle anniversary, the Homespun History Guild's Christmas holiday program, a Memorial Day program held in the national cemetery in conjunction with an American Wars Interpretive Program, and the CWT-sponsored Battlefield Preservation Day aimed at park clean up. A memorial service was also held at the Confederate Burial Trench 5, while Tennessee Confederate Memorial Day was observed as a special event. It was tied to a groundbreaking ceremony for installation of the new Tennessee State Monument. The park continued its Historic Weapons Black Powder Program, registering 212 live-fire demonstrations. A historical seminar was held at the new Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.



FIGURE 60. Bronze sculpture of an African American Civil War soldier located within Contraband Memorial Park, April 2015.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In 2004, the park opened the 15,000 square-foot Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, while also dedicating the Contraband Memorial Park (Figure 60). To support interpretive center operations, the park helped to create new bulletins and informational materials.

At Shiloh, a new initiative known as Parks as a Classroom offered interpretive programs for school children. The park also developed lesson plans for local schools as part of the Teaching with Historic Places initiative.

The park received artifacts on loan for display within the museum and developed several temporary exhibits using these and other artifacts from the collection. Also completed in 2004, was reorganization of the library, and the establishment of a new library at Corinth.

Planning efforts. The park continued to plan for the preservation maintenance of the William Manse George Cabin, while also completing Phase 1 of the project during 2004.[544]

The SEAC Indian Mound mitigation project continued, along with study and cataloguing of

541. All information is derived from the 2004 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
542. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
543. Superintendent's Annual Report (2004), *Shiloh National Military Park 2004 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2004 visitor and attendance figures.
544. Sarah K. Parker and Ashley E. Ball, *William Manse George Cabin Preservation Plan* (National Park Service, 30 September 2004).

artifacts. To support visitor understanding of the site, the park worked on design and construction of a new Indian Mound Trail. Plans included a trail shelter and wayside exhibits designed by the Harpers Ferry Center.[545]

Planning efforts were initiated to address repair of the deteriorated national cemetery wall. Other planning studies completed included a Fire Management Plan and associated Environmental Assessment (EA), which was reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO, the Corinth Special Resource/ Boundary Adjustment Study, which included an EA and FONSI, also reviewed by the Tennessee SHPO as an expansion of the park.[546]

Natural resource inventory and management activities that were the focus of the 2004 season included bird and herptofaunal inventories, and initial planning for a mammal study, and field monitoring of aquatic insects and water quality. An Ozone Exposure Monitoring Test was conducted.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects conducted during the year included a survey of historic roads and trails to note deficiencies for maintenance, followed by repair and restoration efforts; monument conservation that entailed sandblasting, priming, and painting 707 historic markers, pressure-washing of headquarters and mortuary monuments, pressure-washing of 1,688 marble headstones in the national cemetery, and rehabilitation of the concrete portions of the Gladden Mortuary Monument and the Stuart Headquarters monument; and construction of French drains to support better stormwater management around the monuments. Any outstanding deficiencies in monument repair were noted for the Project Management Information System (PMIS). The park also replaced twelve of the more than forty cast-iron tablets dating to War Department administration of the park that had been lost over time, primarily through World War II metal drives. The replacements were made as part of the first phase of a larger project.

In addition, repairs were made to several park residences, while hazard trees and limbs along the park auto tour were removed, and a new flagpole was erected for the POW/MIA flag. The boundary was cleared for 132,000 linear feet and an average width of 25 feet to support boundary management and to reduce fuel loads in support of the Wildland Urban Interface Fuels Project.

At the Peach Orchard, the park planted 100 new trees, while 76 trees were added to the Sarah Bell Orchard north of Bloody Pond. The park also planted twenty-four fruit trees at the Larkin Bell orchard site, as part of a new interpretive exhibit, while nine apple trees were added to the exhibit orchard at the Tent Hospital site. Gabion wire enclosures were established around the trees to protect them from deer browse.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The Superintendent's Annual Report noted that that the park hired ten seasonal workers during 2004. To supplement paid staff, the park also continued to participate in the Volunteers in Parks program.

Law enforcement reported fifty-nine total incidents.

Administrative activities noted included development of administrative program requirements for FMSS, PMIS, and GPRA. The park also worked on computerization of GPS coordinates for each monument and marker on the field, photography of tablets, development of a map system for markers and monument, a cemetery database, improvement and expansion of the park website, and placement of bulletins on the web site. The park's collection management

545. National Park Service, "Trail Shelter Indian Mounds Trail," Drawing No. 304-41023C, September 2004.

546. National Park Service, *Corinth Civil War Boundary Adjustment Study Corinth Unit of the Shiloh National Military Park Environmental Assessment* (March 2004); and Finding of No Significant Impact.

projects were finally completed. Funding from sources such as Eastern National was used to replace computers and printers.

Most of the park's computer data was made obsolete by agency adoption of the Content Management System "Commonspot." The park was required to transfer data to the new system.

In collaboration with the CWT, TEA-21 funds were used to acquire battlefield land within the authorized boundary. A total of 184.18 acres referred to as the Gardner and Faulkner tracts, were acquired. By the end of 2004, the Shiloh Battlefield unit had reached a size of 4,116 acres.

Partnerships between the park and the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission and the Savannah Tennessee River Museum continued. Park staff also worked with Team Hardin County, the Hardin County Tourism Commission, the Corinth Tourism Council, and the Alliance of Corinth to promote heritage tourism. The park provided technical assistance to the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission as well as CWT as they worked to acquired and preserve Civil War battlefield lands and cultural resources in Alcorn County, Mississippi. The park also provided assistance in the design of a one-mile interpretive trail that was to provide access to the best preserved section of the Confederate earthworks on the Burns tract. Other battlefield preservation efforts being conducted by the Iuka Battlefield Commission, Britton Lane Battlefield Association, and Friends of Parkers Crossroads were also supported by park staff, who served at the same time as advisors to the Tennessee Wars Commission, Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, Mississippi Battlefield Commission, and Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation.

Eastern National opened a bookstore at Corinth under the same type of agreement that was in place at Shiloh. The organization was formed to support the needs of the national parks by selling books and other items and returning profits to the parks for improvement projects.

Park Activities, 2005[547]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2005 numbered 315,296.[548] The park recorded a total of 384,722 visitors passing through the park in 2005, with 66,658 of these entering the Shiloh visitor center. Visitation at the Corinth Visitor Center totaled 22,223. A total of 39,091 visitors participated in 700 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 17,437 visitors contacted through informal roving staff assignments.[549] Visitors were able to design their own tours using the non-personal interpretation materials available, such as the Unigrid map and park bulletins.

Programs conducted over the course of the year included the Annual Battle of Shiloh Living History Weekend held in April, five additional living history weekends that offered demonstrations of Civil War life, the Memorial Day program held in the national cemetery, a Tennessee Confederate Memorial Day sponsored by the park with a separate service at the burial trench, Tennessee's annual Confederate Decoration Day, and the Homespun History Guild Christmas holiday program. Two special programs offered for children were School Days in May, and the fee-free National Lands Day. The CWT sponsored a third annual Battlefield Preservation Day that guided special clearing and clean-up work at the park. The historic weapons program also continued in 2005. The Parks as Classrooms program was offered by park interpreters to school children.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. In support of interpretive planning, the park worked with the Harpers Ferry

547. All information is derived from the 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

548. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

549. Superintendent's Annual Report (2005), *Shiloh National Military Park 2005 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2005 visitor and attendance figures.

Center to develop a new interpretive film for Corinth. The park staff also cooperated with the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth to develop interpretive and commemorative resources for the Civil War Contraband Camp Memorial Park.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts conducted included design of directional signage connecting Shiloh and Corinth. Because Congress did not take action on the Corinth boundary adjustment, the park worked with SERO to prepare a Legislative Support Data package.

Natural resource inventory and management activities included completion of bird and herptofauna inventories, and initiation of mammal and aquatic insect studies.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects conducted over the course of 2005 involved removal of hazard trees, maintenance of open fields to preserve historic landscape character, placement of Bermuda sod around the Tennessee Monument, conservation treatment of several monuments, restoration of Larkin Bell field, stump removal, and continued preservation of the William Manse George cabin. At Corinth, a 3-acre woodland south of and adjacent to the Corinth Interpretive Center was cleared. The Shiloh National Cemetery wall was inspected and its continued deterioration noted.

Construction projects completed over the year included the Corinth Interpretive Center and design and construction of trails leading to the nearby earthworks. Several building repairs were undertaken at Shiloh Battlefield unit.



FIGURE 61. The Tennessee Monument. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

The Tennessee Monument was completed and erected at the park, with a dedication ceremony held on June 3, 2005 (Figure 61). The event was attended by Tennessee Governor Phil Bredesen and Congressional Representative Marsha Blackburn, as well as 100 volunteers and 2,000 visitors. The monument was placed on the west side of Water Oaks Pond, a quarter-mile north of Shiloh Church, on a site that witnessed some of the battle's most intensive combat. Although all states with troops participating in the battle were invited to erect monuments during the early park development period, Tennessee had not yet marked done so due to cost considerations.[550] During the 1990s, the UDC decided to raise awareness of the need for Tennessee to place a monument on the Shiloh battlefield. Because the park's enabling legislation requires that states sponsor new monuments, the UDC, with help from Fred Prouty, Director of Programs, Tennessee War Commission, appealed to the state legislature to appropriate funds for a monument.

The artist chosen to design and sculpt the monument was Gerald L. Sanders of Pampa, Texas. The subject of the monument is the color bearer, an idea first championed by the Sons of Confederate Veterans to honor the many color-bearers who lost their lives on the morning of the first day of the battle. Sanders' monument features three 9-foot-tall figures and a large flag set on a 5-foot-tall granite base inset with bronze tablets inscribed with the order of battle for Tennessee

550. Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida similarly had not erected monuments at the time.

units. Prouty and Allen advised Sanders on uniforms, weapons, and accoutrements. Prouty arranged for several Civil War reenactors to be photographed as a mock-up of the monument. The reenactors were dressed in Prouty's own collection of authentic Civil War clothing and accoutrements.[551]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Hurricane Katrina hit the United States on August 23, 2005. This storm was a major force that wreaked havoc within the Southeastern United States, although the damage at Shiloh was only minimal. However, park employees assisted in the emergency response to Hurricane Katrina as needed. Hurricane Katrina was followed in mid- to late September by Hurricane Rita, which also inflicted some damage to park resources.

The park's website was updated based on agency adoption of a Content Management System. The Superintendent's Annual Report noted that the park was able to hire six seasonal employees were hired, but supplemented their staff by continuing to participate in the volunteers-in-parks program.

Work to update and enter data into PMIS, FMSS, QMIS, and GPRA using the agency's new database system took up a lot of park staff time. At the same time, the park continued to address the backlog of collection cataloguing, particularly artifacts.

Law enforcement citations totaled twenty-five.

The park continued to partner with the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Savannah Tennessee River Museum, Team Hardin County, Hardin County Tourism Commission, Corinth Tourism Council, CWT, and Alliance of Corinth in their efforts to protect and interpret Civil War battlefields and events within the region. The CWT entered into serious discussions with the owners of 1,000 acres on Shiloh Hill regarding sale of the land for conservation.

Through the Lower Mississippi Delta Initiative Project, the park partnered with the Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association to produce a web-based assessment of Civil War battlefields in West Tennessee.

As part of outreach efforts, the park helped design five interpretive waysides for a trail on the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth property at Alcorn.

Eastern National had another year of solid sales, despite a decline in visitation.

The park loaned several surplus cannon carriages to mark other Civil War sites in the area, including Parker's Crossroads and Salem Church.

Park Activities, 2006[552]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2006 numbered 335,657.[553] Park traffic counters indicated that a total of 486,353 visitors passed through the park in 2005. Of these, 70,754 entered the visitor center. During this year, a total of 34,821 visitors participated in 547 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 29,690 visitors contacted through informal roving activities.[554]Non-personal interpretation offerings included the Unigrid brochure and information bulletins. Guided interpretive walks were offered on anniversary dates.

At the Corinth unit, visitation totaled 22,050. Volunteers helped Shiloh National Military Park staff with many aspects of the new park unit's operations. Park interpretive staff split their time

551. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.
552. All information is derived from the 2006 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
553. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
554. Superintendent's Annual Report (2006), *Shiloh National Military Park 2006 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2006 visitor and attendance figures.

between the Corinth and Shiloh units, both of which offered the Junior Ranger Program.

Events and programs included the annual Battle of Shiloh Living History Weekend in April, and six additional living history weekends held later throughout the summer season. The Memorial Day program was again held at the national cemetery, while a Confederate memorial service was conducted at the burial trench. Park staff offered an interpretive program referred to as the American Wars Program throughout the weekend. The park also sponsored a Tennessee Confederate Memorial Day observance.

The CWT again sponsored Battlefield Preservation Day, which focused on cleaning up and repairing areas of the park. A new program offered was a fall Civil War concert held at the visitor center with music by the Lambuth University Brass Ensemble. A School Days program was offered in May. Parks as Classrooms continued to be offered to school groups, and school children were again offered to participate in National Lands Day, a fee-free day. The park also provided natural history programs, and updated the website with new information. The historic weapons program also continued. The orientation film, *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle*, was recognized on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park organized several events to mark the occasion, including a special viewing of the film followed by a panel discussion about the making of the historic 1956 production.

Planning efforts. Plans relating to roadway improvements at Shiloh were reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO.

Natural resource data collection conducted during 2006 included work on in-process mammal and aquatic insect studies.

The park worked with the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth on a film for the Corinth Interpretive Center.

An appropriation was received to fund design and installation of commemorative and interpretive features at Corinth Contraband Camp.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management and maintenance projects involved removal of hazardous trees and limbs, monument conservation, tree stump removal, tree and brush clearing to enhance field margins, and planting of 100 peach trees. Building maintenance included painting, power washing, and utility work.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Facility asset work conducted during the year included reporting in FMSS, PMIS, QMIS, and GPRA. The backlog of recovered items continued to be addressed in collections management.

Park Ranger Josh Clemons attended Federal Law Enforcement Training, and was assigned a law enforcement field training posting at Buffalo River National Scenic River. The same year, Park Ranger Rick Welch transferred to a lateral law enforcement assignment to Petroglyph National Monument.

Law enforcement incidents totaled thirty-eight.

Partnerships with regional groups involved in battlefield protection, interpretation, and tourism continued, while the CWT continued to help acquire land, identifying the Hidalgo property as a possible addition to the park.

Park Activities, 2007[555]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2007

555. All information is derived from the 2007 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

numbered 368,742.[556] The park's official traffic count at both the Shiloh and Corinth units registered 512,832 visitors, with 91,868 entering the two visitor centers. During this year, a total of 32,869 visitors participated in 819 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 27,244 visitors contacted through informal roving activities.[557] The park's thirteen interpretive staff offered numerous programs, such as battle anniversary programs, a Memorial Day ceremony at the national cemetery, and an Armed Forces Day Civil War Soldier Re-burial Ceremony at Corinth.

A pair of breeding bald eagles took up residence on the battlefield, building a nest in late summer 2007 atop a large pine tree in southwest Cloud Field, and raising two eaglets to full fledge aand flight by late spring. The eagles were a source of considerable excited to visitors and residents in the immediate park area.[558]

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. To support interpretation, a new film to be shown at the Corinth Interpretive Center was contracted.

Planning efforts. Planning efforts involved preparation of a Centennial Strategy statement in conformance with the agency-wide Centennial Initiative to mark the anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service (1916–2016).

The park also prepared landscape restoration plans and invasive plant control protocols. Final drawings were prepared for road construction projects, including (Brown's Landing) Dill Branch Road, Indian Mounds Parking Area, and others.[559]

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. The park received preservation maintenance program funding to replace some of the original 100-year-old cast-iron carriages, and an additional appropriation to restore cast-iron troop position markers that had been lost over time. The cannon carriage replacement program was conceived as an on-going process that would continue for several years under several phases and draw funding from a series of fiscal program years. The marker restoration effort was similarly designed to follow this approach. During 2005, seven carriages and twenty-two markers were replaced.

Landscape management and maintenance projects conducted over the course of the year involved restoration of damaged or missing monuments, rehabilitation of historic roads deemed critical for public access and wayside exhibits, installation of new exhibits at the Indian Mounds, removal of hazardous trees and invasive plants, and maintenance of historic orchards, adversely affected by a recent drought. Also within the park, water lines and fire hydrants were replaced, and eighteen buildings and grounds were maintained.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park reported a roster of the equivalent of twenty-six full time employees. Criminal activity diminished due to determined efforts by park staff.

The transaction involving the Hidalgo tract was completed by the CWT.

Eastern National reported good sales at its three bookstores, located at Shiloh, Corinth, and the Tennessee River Museum.

Park Activities, 2008[560]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2008

556. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
557. Superintendent's Annual Report (2007), *Shiloh National Military Park 2007 Servicewide Interpretive Repor*t, and Shiloh National Military Park 2007 visitor and attendance figures.
558. Stacy D. Allen, correspondence with the authors, May 2014.
559. National Park Service, "Project TEA-21 Rehabilitation of Brown's Landing/Dill Branch Road, Construction of Indian Mounds Parking Area, and Other Miscellaneous Work," Drawing No. 304-41026, May 2007.
560. All information is derived from the 2008 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

numbered 357,340.[561] Park visitation figures for 2008 totaled more than 500,000, with 83,215 people entering both visitor centers. A total of 23,884 visitors participated in 1,028 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 24,583 visitors contacted through information roving activities.[562] The battle anniversary program was again a popular draw. The park offered nine special walking tours over the course of the day to visitors. Living history demonstrations were offered during three summer weekends. For the annual Memorial Day ceremony, the park added weekend costumed interpretation.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Natural resource personnel offered programs and walking tours throughout the summer season. A variety of interpretive programs were offered to school groups, including curriculum-based efforts.

Park staff continued to work on the orientation film for Corinth, and improving accessibility to the new visitor center.

Planning efforts. In 2008, Congress finally approved the park boundary adjustment to add sites in Alcorn County, Mississippi. The 2007 Corinth Boundary Adjustment legislation established a new authorized boundary of 950 acres for the Corinth unit. This was a large increase over the 17.33 acres already donated to the National Park Service at Battery Robinett where the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center was located.

The SERO office of the National Park Service prepared Determinations of Eligibility for several historic park resources as regards the National Register of Historic Places. These resources included the park's administrative headquarters/museum building (Figure 62), four employee residences, and the concession and post office building built during the New Deal era between 1933 and 1941. Each was determined eligible for listing in the National Register.



FIGURE 62. View of park headquarters, the former National Cemetery Superintendent's Lodge, January 2011.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects included reopening of Brown's Landing Road and Riverside Drive, which had been closed for seventeen years due to severe streambank erosion along the Tennessee River. The reopened road reconnected visitor access to the Shiloh Indian Mound NHL, Dill Branch ravine, and the Tennessee River. This access was made possible by FHWA rehabilitation and reconstruction work, and construction of a new causeway crossing the ravine. In association with the FHWA work, a new parking area was built at the access point for the new Shiloh Indian Mounds Interpretive Trail. Four pull-outs were added near Dill Branch. This effort was also made possible due to the streambank stabilization work conducted by the USACOE.

Additional landscape management projects entailed installation of replacement fencing, restoration of markers, removal of hazard trees, replacement of cannon carriages, and trail maintenance. In addition, hazard trees and

561. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

562. Superintendent's Annual Report (2008), *Shiloh National Military Park 2008 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2008 visitor and attendance figures.

invasive plants were removed, replacement fruit trees were planted in the two historic orchards, and metal markers and cannon carriages were painted. Some additional missing markers were replaced. Agricultural leases helped to maintain 200 acres of historic fields in open vegetative cover.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park indicated that it had the equivalent of twenty-nine full-time employees for Fiscal Year 2008. The Centennial Seasonal Employment Initiative allowed the park to hire ten seasonal employees. Operational logistics were made more complicated by having to travel between the two park units.

Law enforcement initiatives continued to reduce criminal activity in the park.

CWT acquired another two additional tracts in 2008—the Eledge tract (2.2 acres) and the Owl Creek tract (169 acres)—with plans to donate them to the park. These were in addition to three tracts conveyed by Rafael Eledge to the CWT over a several year period, each approximately 2 acres in size.

Park Activities, 2009[563]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2009 numbered 404,134.[564] Traffic counts suggested a total of 600,000 visitors to the two park units, with 83,215 people entering the two park visitor centers. A total of 46,600 visitors participated in 1,128 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 26,188 visitors contacted through informal roving activities.[565] Anniversary celebrations expanded to include five days of interpretive programs. Memorial Day weekend again featured costumed interpretation. In addition, living history demonstrations were offered over the course of five summer weekends. The park and the City of Corinth co-sponsored a Fall Heritage Festival that included a Grand Illumination of Corinth.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Over 72,000 visitors benefitted from personal interpretive programs, while school curriculum programs were offered to children. Natural resource management personnel led tours.

Work continued on the Corinth orientation film.

Planning efforts. A Long-Range Interpretive Plan for Shiloh was completed by Harpers Ferry Center.

Receipt of funding led to planning efforts relating to the purchase of new equipment, rehabilitation of park housing and the visitor center museum, and redesign of the auto tour loop at the Tent Hospital site.

As-built drawings for the Indian Mounds Trail shelter were prepared.[566]

A resident pair of breeding bald eagles again nested in the park.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects included rehabilitation and construction of Sherman and Cavalry roads, rehabilitation of public access to Pittsburg Landing, and construction of a bridge crossing of Tilghman Branch. The park also acquired new cannon carriages; planted 120 new trees; repaired the Indian Mounds Trail boardwalk; painted thirty-seven historic markers; installed seven replacement markers, two new naval artillery pieces and carriages, and new siege gun exhibit carriages; and performed landscape work at the Corinth Contraband Camp. Hazard trees and invasive plants were removed. More than

563. All information is derived from the 2009 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.
564. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.
565. Superintendent's Annual Report (2009), *Shiloh National Military Park 2009 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2009 visitor and attendance figures.
566. National Park Service, "Trail Shelter Indian Mounds Trail," Drawing No. 304-41023D, June 2009.

200 acres of historic fields were maintained through historic leases.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park staff was increased to the equivalent of thirty-one full-time employees.

Funds were used to administer the successful volunteer program. In the realm of interpretation, volunteers played an important role in supporting the park's goals, with 575 individuals donating 7,862 hours of time. The Centennial Seasonal Employment Initiative enabled the park to hire nine seasonal employees. Increased patrol measures were conducted again and deterred criminal activity.

The assessment of the condition of Tennessee's Civil War Parks was published by the National Parks Conservation Association.

The Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation offered to donate5.6 acres of land to the National Park Service associated with the Davis Bridge battlefield, and the Department of the Interior accepted. In May 2009, the 5.6 acre Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation tract was officially conveyed to the Department of the Interior, to be managed as part of the park's Corinth Battlefield unit. CWT worked to secure the remaining 80 percent of the battlefield that was not already managed by the State of Tennessee as part of the nearby state park facility at Big Hill Pond.

Park Activities, 2010[567]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2010 numbered 317,046.[568] Visitation recorded for the year totaled 430,000, with 82,700 people entering the two visitor contact stations. Fee collections decreased along with the total numbers of visitors. A total of 42,093 visitors participated in 1,182 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with an additional 24,056 visitors contacted through informal roving activities.[569] The park again recognized the anniversary of the battle and Memorial Day. Living history volunteers were involved in many of the activities.

The park received a grant to support the Fall Heritage Festival, co-sponsored by the park and the City of Corinth, which included revival of the Grand Luminaire ceremony. In addition, five weekend living history demonstrations were held during the summer months.

Volunteer programs continued to support these park initiatives as well as daily interpretative efforts.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. A total of 642 volunteers provided the park with 7,544 person hours.

Planning efforts. Production of the new Shiloh Battlefield unit visitor orientation film began. Additionally, the film for the Corinth Visitor Center was described as in post-production.

After Congress approved adjustment to the Corinth unit boundary in the 2007 bill, the park began to work to finalize fee simple transfer of the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth lands to the federal government. The transfer was complicated due to Mississippi conservation easements that had been placed on the parcels.

Park Manager Jim Harrison and his staff stationed at Big Hill Pond State Park developed an informal Resource Management and Protection Program for the Davis Bridge Battlefield Site.

The park's resident pair of bald eagles continued to nest in the park.

Riverfront development began to increase and became of concern to the park.

567. All information is derived from the 2010 Superintendent's Annual Report, unless otherwise noted.

568. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

569. Superintendent's Annual Report (2010), *Shiloh National Military Park 2010 Servicewide Interpretive Repor*t, and Shiloh National Military Park 2010 visitor and attendance figures.

The park continued planning for Sesquicentennial events and programs to be held at the park and elsewhere around the state in 2012.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects included improvements to Sherman and Cavalry roads, further rehabilitation of public access to Pittsburg Landing, and changes to the auto tour loop at the Tent Hospital site, constructed by Claunch Construction Company. The Savannah to Hamburg Road was also repaved. In addition to regular maintenance, forty new trees were planted at the two units, while sod was laid near the Corinth Interpretive Center earthworks.



FIGURE 63. Examples of bronze tablets in the park, January 2011.

A monument preservation maintenance team was organized for the summer season. Eight employees cleaned and waxed more than 200 bronze statues, tablets (Figure 63), and other monuments, and washed and cleaned another 50 stone monuments. Fifty-four historic markers were painted, three new replacement markers were installed, bronze monuments were cleaned, and three cannon carriages were repainted. The team also repointed a section of the national cemetery wall, while maintenance was conducted at Residence No. 4.

Hazard trees were removed and invasive plants were controlled. Selective clearing and trail maintenance were also performed. Fruit tree replacements were planted in the two historic orchards. More than 250 acres were managed using historic leases. The footbridge at Fraley Field was demolished and rebuilt. Signage was installed in association with twenty new tour stops along the Shiloh Battlefield unit tour route. Tree work was conducted near Phillips Creek and at the Corinth Contraband Camp site. Superintendent Harrell described the work as complicated by the park managing two units in two states, and providing technical assistance to a third at Davis Bridge.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. The park listed the equivalent of thirty-five full-time employees.

Increased patrol measures that began in 2008 continued to prove successful.

The park continued to partner with several groups and organizations related to heritage tourism and battlefield preservation. The park superintendent and chief park ranger continued to provide technical support to the heritage preservation efforts mounted by neighboring communities and nonprofit organizations, and to facilitate and sustain regional Civil War battlefield preservation and interpretive planning efforts.

Superintendent Harrell served on a Southeast Region Civil War Steering Committee and as SERO representative to the National Park Service National Sesquicentennial Steering Committee. With Stacy Allen and Superintendent Harrell attending meetings at the regional, national, state, and local levels to aid the agency in strategic planning, programs, and events associated with the Sesquicentennial.

The park's land protection plans were furthered through efforts to partner with the CWT, which continued to target funding of land acquisition within the authorized boundaries of Shiloh National Military Park. The CWT completed acquisition of the Rafael Eledge tract, Jamie Fullwood tract, John Hidalgo tract, and Joe Green tract, and began negotiating acquisition of 250 to 400 acres of the Fallen Timbers site, where the culminating battle actions of the Battle of Shiloh took place. Stacy Allen raised concern that the

Fallen Timbers legislation would not pass Congress due to the 10,000 acres that have been added to Vicksburg National Military Park relating to its campaign.[570] In May, the 5.6-acre Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation tract was officially conveyed to the park, to be managed as part of the park's Corinth Battlefield unit.

Park Activities, 2011

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2011 numbered 387,816.[571] The two contact stations at Shiloh and Corinth served 81,966 visitors. Also, a total of 33,344 visitors participated in 1,093 interpretive programs presented by staff and volunteers, with additional 25,224 visitors contacted through informal roving activities. [572]

A total of 1,170 children were indicated as involved in the Junior Ranger program.

The park also offered visitors 23 park-produced publications and 7 audio-visual/electronic media productions. Park employees were assisted by 903 volunteers providing 28,461 hours of interpretive service. Much of this time was dedicated to work on the new park orientation film *Shiloh – Fiery Trial.*

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Work on the new park orientation film, scheduled for its premier on the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Shiloh, continued in 2011.

Planning efforts. Planning for the Sesquicentennial continued. The efforts being conducted by the park were supported by several partnering organizations, as well as local school officials and teachers.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. In 2011, park staff included:

Administration: Woody Harrell, Lisa Casteel, Paige Burks and Cathy Ponds.

Facility Management Division: Randy Martin, Tony Rinks, Ruth Borden, Bennie McClain, Billy Lewis, Anthony Simmons, Joshua Steel, Glen Foster, and Shawn Dawson.

Interpretation & Resource Management Division: Stacy D. Allen, Joe Davis, Ashley Berry, Gary Henson, Marcus Johnson, Chris Mekow, Charlie Spearman, Heather Henson, Rachel Winters, Thomas E. Parson, and James Minor.

A Civil War Educator Workshop was held on June 19-24, 2011. The workshop was sponsored by Shiloh National Military Park, Vicksburg National Military Park, the Ulysses S. Grant Association, and Mississippi State University (MSU). It kicked off Shiloh's Civil War Sesquicentennial program.

Park Activities, 2012

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2012 numbered 587,620, while total visitation to the park during this Sesquicentennial year of the Shiloh of Shiloh and Siege and Battle of Corinth was 755,203 people. The park recorded a total of 452,121 visitor contacts involving personal and non-personal services. The two contact stations at Shiloh and Corinth served 133,714 visitors. Overall, the park recorded hosting 1,063 formal interpretive programs for 9,835 visitors; 315 demonstrations and performing art programs for 4,869 visitors; 42 special events attended by 55,414 visitors; and 219 education programs for 8,163 students. A total of 1,162 children used the park Junior Ranger program. The park also made available 24 park-produced publications for 21,692 visitors and 5 audio-visual/electronic media pieces.

570. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

571. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh.

572. Superintendent's Annual Report (2011), *Shiloh National Military Park 2011 Servicewide Interpretive Report*, and Shiloh National Military Park 2011 visitor and attendance figures.

Park employees were assisted by 1,087 volunteers contributing 8,154 hours of service.

A total of 104,266 people journeyed through the park to visit the sites and resources in Tennessee and Mississippi. These numbers were calculated by assessing visitor counts kept at both park visitor contact stations and park entrances between March 28 and April 8, 2012. The twelve-day "Battle of Shiloh" Sesquicentennial attendance represented roughly 30 percent the total visitation recorded for the previous year in 2011.

During the year, the park hosted National Signature Event events for the National Park Service's Sesquicentennial Commemoration of the Civil War.[573] Two living history events associated with pre-reenactment commemorative activities were held on March 29 through 31: Confederate Approach March from Corinth to Shiloh (175 reenactors) held on March 29 and 30; and Arrival of Buell's Army (by boat) at Pittsburg Landing (525 reenactors) and subsequent march across Shiloh battlefield on March 30 and 31.

Following the reenactments conducted outside of the park, there were several events held within the park between April 2 and 8, 2012. Events at the park comprised both commemorative and interpretive general public programs and specific educational programs designed to meet curriculum goals for area school children in the study of the American Civil War. These programmed events were developed in partnership with the State of Tennessee. The State specifically sponsored events on April 4–5.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. Shiloh National Military Park celebrated the Sesquicentennial of the battle over a two week period that spanned March 28–April 8, 2012, with special ceremonies and events occurring on April 6 and 7.

In addition to the special events developed, programmed, and presented to the visiting public in conjunction with the Civil War Sesquicentennial, the park's interpretation and education program continued daily operations, many of the interpretive activities and programs also related to these themes throughout the year.

The park supported the events associated with two reenactments held in Hardin and McNairy counties on March 31 through April 1. The Blue and Gray Alliance Shiloh Reenactment was held one and one-half miles southwest of Shiloh battlefield. The park provided support for the Incident Command Team for the event, while park staff, along with Eastern National personnel, staffed a National Park Service visitor information and bookstore outlet. Roughly 55,000 visitors also entered the park during this period. A total of 9,594 people visited the commemorative exhibit on the Union Navy during the Civil War, located on the lawn of the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center. The chief ranger and two rangers were detailed to support the Interpretive Center.

Planning efforts. The park embarked on a three year planning and design process to develop new battlefield waysides with the assistance of contractors—the 106 Group—and Harpers Ferry Center. The new waysides had been identified as a park Sesquicentennial goal after the existing thirty-year-old panels were assessed as outdated.

Planning was also conducted in support of the fabrication and installation of the Mississippi State Monument.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. During the Sesquicentennial, the park employed commissioned Shiloh alumni as well as the staff of nearby park units such as Stones River and Mammoth Cave to help with visitor and resource protection. Park staff specifically requested the services of personnel familiar with the park operations and park lands and possessing experienced institutional and resource knowledge.

573. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh; 2012 monthly visitor use statistics for Shiloh National Military Park.

Assisting with the reenactment conducted off site were the tourism offices of Hardin and McNairy counties in Tennessee, and Alcorn County in Mississippi, which provided public services and information. The events were also overseen by an interagency Incident Command Team comprised of state, local, and federal agency personnel organized to provide effective public services for emergency response, law enforcement, fire, and traffic control to ensure public safety.

Eastern National also helped staff and man National Park Service information and interpretive sales outlets within and outside of the park.

Departure of Superintendent Woody Harrell. The day after the Sesquicentennial events at Shiloh were completed, on April 9, 2012, Superintendent Woody Harrell retired after twenty-two years on the job. Harrell had overseen tremendous changes at the park, most notably the establishment of the Corinth unit in Mississippi, and its attendant interpretive center, the Contraband Camp, several land acquisitions within Tennessee, the stabilization of Tennessee River erosion, the SEAC Indian Mounds archeological investigations, and many other efforts associated with improving park administration, resource protection, and the visitor experience. Stacy Allen served as Acting Superintendent of the park from April 10 through June 2, 2012, until John Bundy initiated his tenure as Superintendent on June 3.

As noted by Harrell regarding his long tenure as superintendent:

> I was expecting to stay at Shiloh for two or three years, then move my career west to high mountains, tall trees, big sky, but the Shiloh job kept growing and evolving. And I was never able to pull myself away. In 2012, the timing seemed right to attempt a longtime personal goal of hiking the Appalachian Trail. So the day after Shiloh's 150th anniversary, I turned in my keys and badge, and the day after started my walk from Georgia to Maine.[574]
>
> After I got here all of the National Park Service expansion at Corinth began and that looked like it would be more interesting than any other job I could find, and it was tough to pull myself away. I wound up being here 22 years.[575]

Reflecting on the change in park visitation and expectation over the last few decades, Harrell noted:

> With the Civil War, it seems like there were spikes in interest every few years... well, go back as far as one-hundredth anniversary of the Civil War, visitation increased for the Centennial and it never went down. Alex Haley came out with *Roots* and visitation spiked and it never went down. Ken Burns came out with his Civil War T.V. series, and visitation spiked and never went down. I think for whatever reason we took a hit around 9/11. People weren't traveling maybe as much after that and I don't think we've recovered since then. One thing early on… we were collecting a fee at the visitor center, but that meant all of the folks who got to the visitor center had already seen most of the park because they would have to drive through it to reach the visitor center.
>
> One reason our park figures were low, if visitors had been to the visitor center before and they knew the movie was the same one we started showing in 1957 they weren't going to pay the three bucks, four bucks, whatever it was to come in, so we were losing our best opportunity to communicate with visitors because the fee was keeping them from coming in the building. We weren't making that much money off the fees anyway. The only way to correct that would have been to put up an entrance booth out on each road but with five or six entrances that would have been costly. I think considering Shiloh's location sixty miles from the nearest interstate and in a county that up until 2000 had fewer people living in it than were killed, wounded, and missing at the battle, I thought our numbers were really good. We were probably the sixth most visited Civil War

574. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

575. Ibid.

> battlefields, and you've got to *want* to come to Shiloh.

Harrell also remembers that after the Corinth Interpretive Center opened, he remained concerned about skewing visitation by not charging a fee at Corinth, while visitors continued to pay a fee at Shiloh:

> That was one of the last things I did. When we opened in the Interpretive Center in Corinth, we had gotten $500,000 from Mississippi to add an auditorium. I felt really bad about charging a fee at Corinth, since we'd had that local support. The whole focus from Senator Lott was this was going to be a tourism draw and the fee would not help that, so we never charged a fee at Corinth. We were chasing away our audience by charging it up at Shiloh, and right at the end there was a window where it was politically a good move to go to Congress and say we're dropping the fee, so we did. At least the fee did give us the ability to produce the new orientation film at Shiloh...
>
> The pendulum has swung with Shiloh's entrance fee over the years. When it first started, an order came down to the regional office, which was back in Richmond in those days. "Okay, we've got to have seven parks in the Southeast Region that weren't charging a fee on Friday to start to charge a fee on Monday, and Shiloh got elected. Well, how much of this money is coming back to the National Park Service? Not one penny. It's all going into the General Treasury... so there was no incentive to collect money. So instead of putting up the entrance booth, we thought, all right, we'll collect it at the visitor center so that's how that started. And then towards the end, as those fee collection goals and the collection system was changed, 80 percent of the fees now came back to the National Park Service. Initially it's gotta be bricks and mortar projects. It's gotta be a project that will be visible to the traveling public. This is what your entrance fee paid for. We were not getting that much a year, and the bureaucracy and the red tape to go through the process to spend $30,000 to $40,000 a year wasn't really worth it. What we needed was a sizeable pot of money so we can do a big project we couldn't accomplish any other way, so I started stockpiling that entrance fee money and obviously I was not the only superintendent that was thinking in those terms.
>
> When the National Park Service went to Congress to testify one year and presented their tale of woe of "we've got so many deferred maintenance needs and no money..." blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. Somebody, a staffer, pulls out this piece of paper and says "you say you've got no money, but there's $22 million of entrance fee money just sitting there. How can you say you need more when you've got $22 million you haven't even spent." It was that way for two or three years. Everybody waiting until they had a sizeable amount. The next day there came a memo down from Washington that the parks had until the end of the year to spend that money and there would be no more carryover. Fortunately I was able to get a call in to Harpers Ferry Center and quickly get on their list to get a contractor to make the film. The schedule was touch and go until the film was completed.[576]

Another aspect of his tenure as Superintendent that Harrell reflected upon was the professionalization of maintenance and law enforcement. Prior to Harrell's joining the agency, he noted that:

> . . . everybody in the National Park Service wore a lot of different hats.
>
> Early in my career, many of us adhered to the concept of the 'Renaissance Ranger," competent in many disciplines. During the '80s, the National Park Service was moving towards commissioned law enforcement rangers with 20 year retirement. In 1990, when I arrived at Shiloh, we still had exclusive jurisdiction. All of the interpretive rangers carried a commission and everybody was doing one day a week where they had law enforcement duties.
>
> The big issue for Tennessee's national parks had been the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. At the Smokies, the surrounding community wanted no part of removing exclusive jurisdiction. Steve McDaniel, our local state legislator, was probably our best

576. Ibid.

friend in state government. He's a big Civil War buff and loves the Tennessee River, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh… We worked with him and Steve got it done so everybody but the Smokies in Tennessee would be dealt with at one time so we all went concurrent jurisdiction except the Smokies. I'm assuming it's still the way. That allowed us to develop partnerships with the state and county. That freed us up some, which made the job a little easier. Then as we moved to the law enforcement commission and the stringent training and rangers having to do 51 percent at least to earn that law enforcement retirement, it really separated the ranger staff. The jobs were very much divided. Back when I got here, the folks that were doing the most law enforcement were very much visitor service oriented, with interpretation seen as the first level of law enforcement; to answer questions or talk to visitors, stop trouble before it happens. I think a lot of folks that go into law enforcement now have a different world view. Visitor understanding and appreciation, that's their bread and butter. I wouldn't say it's getting them back from law enforcement training and then the superintendent having to defang them. I won't say that, but I'll come awful close to saying that. The park neighbors' perception of the rangers is more negative. You can understand that, with the problems that are coming to parks. You don't know who you're going to bump into if you stop to answer visitor questions who's going to pull a gun on you. But if you're trained to think that way, that the danger of the job puts personal safety as the number one priority, it makes it more difficult to be that renaissance ranger who stops to answer visitor questions, to provide help and friendly assistance.

I would say it started just a little before I got here, but instead of a ranger that was doing a lot of things, they would be the cultural resource or natural resource management specialist. Now we've got a curator, we've got somebody whose job title is doing that. Relying more on science, on the natural science side, whether it's biology or forestry... whatever. We've seen a lot more different staff positions in the park. Before everybody was a ranger... it was a generalist position, and now you've got more people with a range of titles.

The science aspect of it is good. You're having to hire them for different skills. You're having to pay them at a higher level. In the past, we've misused a lot of park rangers because we've said we're going to pay you next to nothing and you have to do everything, so I guess that's good, but the unintended consequences of that has I think made it tougher for the National Park Service to do as much as we did back then.

If you're in a big park like the Smokies that's great. You've got a forestry person, you've got a wildlife person, you've got an integrated pest management person, you've got all of that. When you've got a smaller park... well, it's probably the medium sized parks that are having the toughest time. The small parks, they don't a chance to have all of those types of specialty positions, because they've only got a handful of people.[577]

Regarding the future, Harrell suggested:

What I see for Shiloh is – is hopefully that the continuing managers will be broad-minded enough to know that you have to have some guts to tackle the expansion issue, but that we're not finished, and they're not in complete control of that. The American public have found that they have power through the dollar and through the vote, that if they want some place like Fallen Timbers to be part of Shiloh National Military Park, it's going to happen, whether the current park manager at Shiloh National Military Park wants it to happen or not. So, gotta be smart and realize that we don't get to pick and choose that which we are charged with maintaining. Because all we hope to have is a seat at the table so that we can provide some awareness and understanding to illustrate what the issues will be with trying to have sustainable preservation of it, to manage it, that we won't – maybe you may not see a quick, non-personal interpretation at formal waysides and trails and all that; it takes time, and it takes money. And to keep reflecting back on how long it's taken us to get to where we are today with Shiloh, and let's look a little bit at that history and to know that we're somewhere

577. Ibid.

> on the same track, and that it's maybe nice that we don't immediately go out there and alter the landscape.

Harrell also reflected on his experience with evolving standards in terms of access, maintenance, and historic preservation practice:

> One of the struggles has been dealing with conflicting legislation as reasonable handicap accommodation under the ADA versus pure preservation. We would have complaints the cemetery house was not accessible and OK, this is your administrative headquarters, you've got to be able to get people in there. I was not too excited about building some sort of elevator lift on the outside to get people up there. If anybody needs to see me I can meet them at the visitor center. With limited budgets, those were often tough issues.
>
> Maintaining the landscape, we were fortunate when I got here that Shiloh was the best preserved of the parks and I think we pretty well left it in that same condition... Correcting the streambank erosion problems did cause us to alter the natural landscape but mainly as visible from the river.
>
> If I'd have had more time and more money, we would have worked on more of these historic fields that had disappeared, and we would have opened those back up. Much of this goes back to World War II when annual budgets were so small the annual clearing just didn't take place for five or six years and then it was too late to resume regular cutting. Stacy Field was one we tackled and opened up...
>
> ...and that worked well. We've let some land grow up using the 1862 historic base map drawn by Ed Bearss. When I got here Barnes Field would have extended all the way back to the road and the maps pretty well show a rectangle from the side so it was letting some of these areas go back up to try to give them their appearance. But as you can see, compare the green outlines with the shading, and we're not doing a bad job of maintaining everything.
>
> There are some places, say down here on the edge of Fraley Field, the topography is such if you open that up you're probably setting off a lot of erosion. The decision was let's leave that in woods rather than in creating an erosion situation that we're going to have to fight to keep any grass to keep from being bare dirt.
>
> Larkin Bell field, we cleared a lot of that land and we established the orchard down here. That was all done. The Stacy Field and Larkin Bell would be the two places we were most successful with field restoration.[578]

Park Activities, 2013[579]

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2013 numbered 536,206, while total visitation to the park that year was 712,811.[580] The park recorded a total of 258,706 visitor contacts involving both personal and non-personal services. Personal services were afforded at the two visitor contact stations, which were visited by 89,754 people. Informal interpretation served 28,382 visitors, while formal interpretation programs provided by the park were attended by 7,126 visitors. Regarding non-personal services, twenty park-produced publications and five audio-visual/electronic media were available for visitors. In addition, 439,238 people were contacted via the park website/social media. Park employees were assisted by 315 volunteers contributing 2,366 hours of interpretive services.

The documentary *Shiloh – Fiery Trial*, which had premiered in April 2012, received a jury selection REMI Award at the Houston International Film Festival for best history short documentary film; took second place at the 2013 National Association of Interpretation in the long interpretive film category; and the park received the National Park Service Southeast Region 2013 *Keeper of the Light Award* for Interpretive and

578. Ibid.
579. The National Park Service discontinued the practice of Superintendent's Annual Reports in the 2010s. Information during the years that follow is incomplete due to a lack of a source comparable to the annual reports available for the 2000s.
580. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh; 2013 monthly visitor use statistics for Shiloh National Military Park.

Education Excellence in Interpretive Media for its role in producing the film.

One of the by-products of the Sesquicentennial was the new visitor orientation film, *Corinth Crossroads – A Town Amidst War*, prepared by the park in conjunction with Argentine Productions. Script and field production in 2012 was followed by post-production in 2013 and a premier held at the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center on June 20, 2013. Nearly 150 visitors attended the event.

Planning efforts. In 2013, the park continued to work with the Methodist Church to improve interpretation of the Shiloh Church site. As noted by Chief Ranger Stacy Allen about the status of the church parcel and projects in the works:

> There have been some previous opportunities – it just didn't really gel – where that four acres could have easily been acquired and come over to the National Park Service and be formally inside the park. It's considered being inside the park; it's just an inholding. The Methodists have been wonderful about letting the American public run all over the place…
>
> They've got a little interpretive plaque out in front of the church, but it was very small, and you can hardly read it. Okay, we got a grant where we've got that now in a large bronze. So, we're going to build a concrete wall, like we've got down at Corinth at the Contraband Camp site.
>
> We are going to mount that bronze plaque on it outside of the church. So, there is another act of partnership where we're assisting the church to preserve their history. They have been gracious enough to let things like the Savannah Rotary use the property to support their annual "Run through the Park" there. The church allows groups like that to use their property.
>
> It's been a good, solid partnership. From a priority standpoint, it won't show up on any land acquisition priority list, but that four acres is ground zero Battle of Shiloh. What the battle take its name from - the church. So, hopefully, one of these days, you could see that land becoming formally part of the park. But you will see no manager push for that…
>
> They're very good right now, in my way of thinking… They're still primarily taking care of their own property, in the sense that they're mowing it and maintaining it all, but we're always there as an active partner, and they've always been a willing player in park preservation, interpretation, and commemoration.
>
> Next to the Hagy family and the Fullwood family, they're the oldest continuous land owners in the area. They were there before the Civil War occurred.[581]

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Superintendent John Bundy, in an effort to reduce personnel expenditures based on an agency directive, removed the park historian position from the organization chart. His efforts followed an initiative conducted by the park to reorganize park staff to reflect the new needs resulting from the establishment of the Corinth unit. Stacy Allen notes that Bundy's efforts raised concerns amongst park staff:

> When Mr. Bundy was here in his first year, he took the org chart, and he slashed everything that was not encumbered off the org. chart. So, we lost the historian, we lost all the subject matter positions we wanted, and it would take a new organization a lot more hard money before we would ever see growth in staffing again.[582]

In a proactive measure to enhance the park's visitor and resource management protection program, given the funding inability to hire an additional permanent commissioned ranger for the continued law enforcement vacancy existing at the park, Superintendent Bundy and Chief Ranger Allen agreed to hire a seasonal commissioned park ranger. The positon was filled by Dwight Paulk II, of Savannah, Tennessee, who had worked several seasonal appointments for the National Park

581. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

582. Ibid.

Service at other parks since acquiring his Type II Commission.[583]

To address the increased work load, Allen notes that everyone on the park staff immediately stepped up, and

> . . . because park rangers amongst the interpretive staff are all subject matter experts in their own rights, and so, we make use of that. Ashley Berry, of course, one of my supervisory park rangers does collateral duty as our custodian, curator of museum collection. And so, a number of positions have all kinds of collateral duties assigned to them. . . Any planning, developmental activities for the park always bring in the history side.[584]

Park Activities, 2014

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2014 numbered 409,086, while total visitation to the park for the year was 524,778.[585] Visitation to the park, although still relatively high, had started to decline from its peak during the Sesquicentennial year. The park recorded a total of 229,224 visitor contacts, both personal and non-personal. Personal services were those involving efforts conducted at the two contact stations at Shiloh and Corinth to serve visitors. The recorded visitation at the two contact stations was 73,980 persons. Informal interpretation served 23,891 visitors, while 667 formal interpretation programs were provided for 8,826 visitors. The park also offered 149 demonstrations and performing arts programs for 5,427 visitors, 29 special events for 7,155 visitors, and 172 education programs for 9,934 students. A total of 1,741 children were reached via the park Junior Ranger program.

Non-personal services entailed distribution of 20 park-produced publications for 20,467 visitors and four audio-visual/electronic media that served 97,571 visitors. In addition, 452,336 people were contacted via the park website/social media. Park employees were assisted by 270 volunteers contributing 3,739 hours of interpretive services.

In April, the park hosted a Corinth Contraband Camp Symposium commemorating operation of the contraband camp from November 1862 through December 1863, established for 6,000 ex-slaves who fled into Union occupied Corinth. The symposium was held through a cooperative agreement with the Ulysses S. Grant Association and Presidential Library. Funds totaling $22,500 were received though the Southeast Region's Lower Mississippi Delta Initiative to conduct the event. The two-day symposium was one of the culminating events associated with Sesquicentennial activities. More than 1,100 people attended the symposium, which featured presentations by academic scholars, living historians, and musical performers. The park's sponsored Adopt a Class students, consisting of Corinth Middle School sixth graders, participated in an essay contest focused on interpreting the significance and relevance of the contraband camp experience to American History. The park organized ranger led tours of the contraband camp site, while local citizens portrayed historic residents of the camp. Another high point of the event was a discussion of the importance of the Emancipation Proclamation, need for contraband camps during the war, and the vital role being played by men of African descent serving in the United States Army, and civil rights. Park staff who participated in the planning of the symposium included Ashley Berry, Tom Parson, Rachel Winters, James Minor, and Chris Mekow.

Planning efforts. Plans for the installation of the Mississippi State Monument at Shiloh continued. The design was reviewed by 106 compliance officer Joe Garrison at the Tennessee SHPO.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. John Bundy completed his term as Superintendent on August 21, 2014. Tyrone Brandyburg was named Acting Superintendent, and remained in the post

583. Correspondence by the authors with Stacy Allen, 2016.
584. Ibid.
585. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh; 2014 monthly visitor use statistics for Shiloh National Military Park.

until November 30, 2014. Lisa Garrett followed as Acting Superintendent on December 1, 2014, and remained in the position until February 7, 2015

Park Activities, 2015

Visitation, events, programs, and ceremonies. Recreation visitation in 2015 numbered 356,535, while total visitation to the park for the year was 487,752.[586] The park recorded a total of 270,097 visitor contacts, both personal and non-personal. Visitors to the two contact stations at Shiloh and Corinth served 80,169 visitors. Park employees were assisted by 271 volunteers contributing 3,745 hours of interpretive services.

The park partnered with the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library, Mississippi State University, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and Vicksburg National Military Park in sponsoring a professional symposium titled "The Fifteenth Amendment: From U.S. Grant to Lyndon B. Johnson's Voting Rights Act," as part of the National Park Service *Civil War to Civil Rights Initiative*. The three-day symposium, held September 23–25, provided multiple educational, interpretive, and commemorative activities. It was held on the Mississippi State University campus.

Twenty-three professional papers and presentations formed the primary symposium agenda with speakers from academia, state and federal government service, including former Mississippi Governor William Winter, retired Rhode Island Chief Justice Frank J. Williams, Mississippi Chief Justice William Waller, and retired Mississippi Justice Fred Banks. In addition, professors from nine universities and seven National Park Service employees examined and interpreted the history of civil rights from the Civil War to the present, with specific focus on suffrage in America, including Supervisory Park Ranger Ashley Berry and Chief Park Ranger Stacy D. Allen from Shiloh National Military Park

Several hundred students, particularly those residing within the Shackouls Honors College, had the opportunity to explore a National Park Service exhibit. Many were surprised to discover the great diversity of national parks within which the relevant history, provocative landscapes and cultural resources relevant to suffrage and civil rights in America are preserved. The symposium offered an opportunity for civic engagement educational activities, continuing the productive partnership the agency had established with the Grant Presidential Library and the university throughout the *Civil War to Civil Rights Initiative*.

Participants in the symposium representing the National Park Service were Superintendent Tim Good of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site; Chief of Interpretation Dave Schafer of Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park; Park Ranger Theresa Hall of Selma to Montgomery National Historical Trail; Chief of Interpretation Enimini Ekong of Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site; Park Guide Will Wilson of Vicksburg National Military Park; Supervisory Park Ranger Ashley Berry of Shiloh National Military Park; and Chief Park Ranger Stacy D. Allen of Shiloh National Military Park. Also involved was Southeast Regional Manager Helena Adcock of Eastern National.

Interpretation and visitor-related improvements. The park installed the thirty-two new waysides that had been in the planning and design process for two years. The waysides featured large format graphics, maps, and text. Park staff were instrumental in the process of design, text development, map production, graphic selection, fabrication, and installation. Ashley Berry, Joe Davis, Chris Mekow, Lisa Casteel and Stacy Allen, and Facility Manager Randy Martin played a crucial role in planning and implementing exhibit installment, and addressing ADA needs for the outdoor exhibit project.

586. NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh; 2015 monthly visitor use statistics for Shiloh National Military Park.

Landscape management, maintenance, and construction projects. On October 11, the State of Mississippi Monument was dedicated at Shiloh National Military Park, representing the culmination of a twenty-year process and partnership with the state, and the Mississippi Monument Commission. The monument was placed in honor of the military service of the state's citizen-soldiers engaged at Shiloh by the Mississippi Veterans Memorial Commission. The monument was designed as a larger than life three-figure bronze sculpture mounted atop an inscribed granite and concrete base. It was placed in historic Rea Field, the scene of the awful carnage experienced by men in the 6th Mississippi Infantry, which lost more than 300 men out of the 425 engaged, while engaged in their initial attack on Union forces. The dedication ceremony was attended by 1,500 visitors.

Personnel, staffing, and outreach. Dale Wilkerson assumed the role of park Superintendent on February 8, 2015. Wilkerson came to the park following more than twenty years of service at Natchez Trace Parkway, including a stint as acting superintendent in 2012–2013.

In addition to Superintendent Wilkerson, Park Ranger James B. Davis joined the park staff on a lateral transfer of duty station from Gulf Island National Seashore. Davis's arrival eliminated the law enforcement vacancy created by the retirement of veteran Park Ranger Gary Henson. Thus, the park's compliment of commissioned personnel included Chief Ranger Allen, Ranger Davis, and seasonal Park Ranger Dwight Paulk II, who continued to work in his temporary employment capacity.

In 2015, a bill was passed that authorized the addition of up to 10,000 acres to Vicksburg National Military Park relating to campaign battles at Port Gibson, Raymond, and Champion Hill. Stacy Allen was an integral member of the team that prepared the Vicksburg Campaign feasibility study that guided the legislation.

Park Activities, 2016

Recreation visitation in 2016 exceeded 400,000 visitors, while overall visitation to the park exceeded 620,000 visitors. A total of 54,137 visitors participated in 1,640 interpretive programs led by park staff, while an additional 59,821 visitors were served through informal interpretive contacts with park personnel. An additional 12,107 participants attended 22 staff-provided community programs offsite. At the same time, the park social media program continued to expand, reaching 413,428 individuals through the park's website, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube posts.[587]

As noted, the National Park Service Centennial was featured throughout the year in park programs and events. One of the notable programs conducted during spring and summer 2016 was a concert series that highlighted different music genres. The concerts were successful in introducing many people to the park that had not visited in the past. Overall, the Centennial was considered a great success and helped to connect many Americans with the National Park System, including Shiloh National Military Park.

587. *Shiloh National Military Park 2016 Servicewide Interpretive Report* and Shiloh National Military Park 2010 visitor and attendance figures.

The Evolution of Interpretive Programming at Shiloh



FIGURE 64. War Department-era tablets were the first means for conveying the battle story to visitors.

Early Interpretation Efforts, circa 1894 to 1954[588]

War Department Administration

The act creating Shiloh National Military Park directed the Shiloh Park Commission ". . . to ascertain and mark with historical tablets or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, all lines of battle of the troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh and other historical points of interest pertaining to the battle within the park or its vicinity . . . ."[589] The intended purpose of establishing a national military park at Shiloh, and marking the lines of battle and troop positions, were not for interpretation as we currently understand the term under National Park Service administration of the battlefield. Rather, during the 1890s, national military parks were established for a range of purposes, notably for military history study and for the training of military officers in military tactics. To that end, the marking of the battlefield was intended to stand as an accurate record to support these purposes. The Shiloh Park Commission, like those appointed at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Antietam, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg, chose to mark the lines of battle and troop positions with the best source of information available—the veterans themselves. The resulting direct connection with battle veterans thus afforded a level of knowledge of the battle that would not otherwise have been possible.

The Shiloh Park Commission completed its efforts to mark the battlefield with the help of the

588. The summary of interpretation at Shiloh National Military Park circa 1894 through 1954 is adapted from Charles E. Shedd, Jr., *History of Shiloh National Military Park* (Shiloh, Tennessee: National Park Service, 1954).

589. Public Act No. 9 "An Act to establish a national military park at the battlefield of Shiloh, December 27, 1894.

veterans circa 1900. From that time until 1927, the Troop Position and Historical Information tablets placed in accordance with the enabling legislation remained the primary means of understanding the battle, with the exception of the personal tours provided to special guests and others by the Commission or superintendent, and local residents who offered tour services to visitors. The tablets were technical in nature, focusing on detailed delineation of battle events in the field.[590]

A helpful source of information available to visitors was a publication produced by the Park Commission in 1902. This short but minutely detailed history of the battle was written by Historian D. W. Reed and titled, "The Battle of Shiloh and the Organization Engaged." It consisted of a compilation of pertinent extracts from the official reports of officers of the armies involved in the battle. The book was distributed free of charge to veterans of the battle or their immediate survivors, and made available to other visitors for 45 cents per copy. In addition to text, the publication contained detailed Shiloh troop position maps and maps of the Civil War's Western Theater.

Also available to visitors to the park was a small collection of battle relics displayed at the Park Office Building and Headquarters. The collection continued to grow during the tenure of Superintendent DeLong Rice to include Confederate as well as Union uniforms.[591] There were also large-scale troop position maps prepared by the Commission engineer and the park historian on display; however, these were too highly detailed to be easily understood by the average visitor.

In 1903, the Commission expanded the audience for its work at Shiloh by displaying troop position maps, photographs, historical tablets, and other items in the Government building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

To ensure that the veterans could continue to recognize the battlefield, the Commission worked to restore and preserve its wartime appearance. Although its efforts were not entirely successful in clearing brush and woodland where open fields had stood in 1862, and in reforesting areas where woodland had been removed, this remained a goal of the Commission.

As noted, tours were available to visitors through community members who established themselves as knowledgeable experts. Until his death in 1916, Commission Historian David W. Reed is also known to have conducted tours for veterans and distinguished guests. His successor, Superintendent DeLong Rice, carried on the tradition of meeting and greeting guests when he took over in the 1920s.[592]

Veterans continued to visit battlefields and attend reunions and ceremonies at the national military parks through the early twentieth century. The veterans were generally ". . . interested in still-remembered regiments and brigades [rather] than in the broader picture the visitor desires to obtain today."[593] By the 1920s, however, the number of those with a personal connection with the Civil War had begun to dwindle, and the meaning of the national military parks to change. At the same time, society itself was undergoing rapid shifts in demographics, travel practices, and transportation methods, while standards for work and leisure time were also evolving.

At the time, the Superintendent DeLong Rice facilitated a new approach to the way in which visitors to Shiloh National Military Park learned about the battle. In 1920, Rice oversaw production of an official two-fold pamphlet that included a tour map, and made it available to visitors free of charge. In 1924, he authored a publication titled *The Story of Shiloh* that provided an interpretive narrative of the battle. This was the park's first attempt to place a general narrative in the hands of

590. Commission Annual Report, 1904, 6.
591. Rice to Asst. Secretary of War, March 27, 1915.
592. Otto Eisenschiml, *The Story of Shiloh* (Chicago: Chicago Civil War Roundtable, 1946), 9.
593. Shedd, 61.

the new generations of post-Civil War visitors to Shiloh battlefield.

Rice followed up his publication with the design of the park's first interpretive tour system in 1927. His tour featured twenty-seven stops or points of interest on the battlefield, which were indicated with numbered markers and illustrated in a "Battlefield Guide" issued by the War Department. This guide was more easily understood by the average visitor than the information available on the tablets and maps, and featured a broader understanding of events, and the heroics of individuals, which the public found more interesting. One of Rice's devices for telling the battle story was to focus on the monuments located throughout the park, which were the stopping points in the guide by which visitors could conduct a self-guided tour of the park.

Recognizing that problems had and might continue to arise with the policy of allowing local residents to offer their services as guides, the War Department issued regulations for the qualifications needed to serve as a guide in a federal military park. By the 1930s, however, the War Department had generally divested itself of managing the national military parks, and individual park administrators had some leeway in the way they interpreted such policies. In 1931, Shiloh took additional measures to ensure the quality of the visitor experience by limiting the number of official guides, making the examination for guides more comprehensive, and providing each guide with a uniform identification badge.[594]

National Park Service Administration of the National Military Parks, 1933

On June 10, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166 which, among other things, reorganized agency responsibilities for administering historic federal properties. The Act combined "all functions of public buildings, national monuments, and national cemeteries" in an Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations, which was in essence the National Park Service. This was not a radical innovation introduced by Roosevelt, but had been under consideration for some time. The transfer included the first five national military parks.

When Shiloh National Military Park became a unit of the National Park Service in 1933, interpretive planning became a focus of the new administration and a primary consideration in the park program of development. As noted by Shedd:

> In tracing the slow development of an interpretive policy for Shiloh, one factor predominates. Every interpretive development in the years prior to 1933 was related directly to the physical features of the battlefield itself; the movements and positions of troops, the location of campsites and the scenes of particular historical interest. This was the extent of interpretive development required by the original act creating the park, which for many years was the directing influence on park planning. While the battlefield was the park's reason for existence, and its interpretation still remains the primary goal of planning, no effort was made in these early years to interpret the background of struggle, to place it in its historical perspective or to present the battle story in broad, easily comprehended terms. As the Civil War receded in point of time, background and perspective became increasingly necessary for understanding of its battles. This was the interpretive challenge to the technicians of the National Park Service who, in 1933 and after, were responsible for bringing to the American people the story of one of the dramatic events of the nation's past.[595]

The importance of battlefield preservation, commemoration, and interpretation was clearly recognized; however, the rural nature of the park and its isolation within the West Tennessee countryside led the park and its supporters to develop programs and activities that would help to raise public awareness of the park. The need to raise public awareness has continued over the

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594. Personnel Files, Shiloh National Military Park and correspondence of Superintendent with Quartermaster, 4th Corps Area.

595. Shedd, 63.

years, as the isolated nature of the park has led park staff to assume an uncommon degree of innovation and leadership over the years; many of the interpretive programs and activities at Shiloh have been groundbreaking in conceptualization, and creative in their implementation.

In the 1930s, National Park Service technicians assigned to the park quickly recognized the need to provide enhanced interpretation, as well as to replace local residents with trained staff as tour guides. In a brief summary of the agency's responsibility to the public, Historical Technician Ronald F. Lee commented:

> We should not wait for the public to inform itself. It is our job to see to it that the parks are known, and used, and judged by their usefulness . . . the National Parks have educational functions to fulfill . . . . Education along this line is therefore necessary, and to be effective it must be strong and aggressive.[596]

Lee also commented on the lack of a proactive public relations policy in the past, to more fully integrate parks with their surrounding communities. This presaged the increasing role of partnerships that began in the 1990s.

Lee also later recognized some of the societal forces that would become the focus of agency initiatives in the future:

> For many years after the establishment of the park visitors were of this type, veterans and their families, coming by steamboat and going over the battlefield in carriages. States erected monuments to honor their troops. A national cemetery honoring the Union dead completed the cycle.
>
> All this has been changing in the last twenty years. Paved highways, the auto, the "tourist" idea, and additional leisure have changed the nature of this area and the services the public demands. Details regarding any one regiment have begun to lose interest. State monuments commemorate a cause many have forgotten, and in many cases touch a form of state or sectional patriotism now without meaning ... Modern "tourists" are looking for a park as well as a battlefield. Their historical interests are different. The history and science class field trip has added another element not present when the park was established. The problem at Shiloh has been to translate and interpret this marker and monument dotted battlefield to the modern "tourists."[597]

Lee's comments, and the concepts embodied in his reports, were soon used to transform the interpretive program at Shiloh. News releases on every phase of park development were widely reprinted throughout the Shiloh area, and letters were forwarded by the park to local schools and teachers. The park also contacted travel agencies, traffic managers, American Automobile Association officials, and other public service agencies to educate the public about "the use and enjoyment of the National Parks."[598]

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt worked with Congress to establish several programs, together referred to as the New Deal, to help put Americans back to work. Several of the programs were used to fund infrastructure and construction projects, including improvements to state and local parks. At Shiloh, the work completed during the 1930s was extensive and directly affected battlefield interpretation. Programs that impacted the park included the Civilian Conservation Corps, Public Works Administration, Civil Works Administration (CWA), and Bureau of Public Roads. New Deal funding resulted in the construction of a new, larger administration and visitor contact center, which allowed for greater visitor contact and displays, as well as smaller contact stations, and paving of the park roads used by visitors.

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596. Ronald F. Lee, Comments on Public Relations Policy, Shiloh National Military Park, n.d.
597. Ronald F. Lee, Memorandum Describing the Historical Work in the Shiloh Area, Shiloh National Military Park, February 7, 1934, 2.
598. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1934, 19.

By December 1933, official guide service began to be offered at Shiloh. By spring 1934, a five-page mimeographed interpretive guide was made available to park visitors. This was used in concert with the "Battlefield Guide" issued by the War Department in 1927. At the same time, federal funding supported an extensive program of research to document the battle and related subjects using CWA personnel under the direction of historian Ronald Lee. The researchers assembled material for orientation lectures, museum exhibits, and interpretive markers on the field. In the spring of 1934, twenty CWA enrollees were engaged in developing historical and interpretive projects and conducting guided tours of the battlefield.[599] Local writers worked to develop a series of short histories on many facets of the Shiloh story to be conveyed to visitors.

In April 1935, the park was assigned two agency museum assistants to develop exhibits and interior interpretive programs. The park's museum development policy emphasized visual education exhibits, including photos and other illustrative material, dioramas, and maps, and display of battlefield relics.

Several changes were made to the interpretive program in 1937. First, the guided tour program was greatly expanded by the use of amplifiers mounted on a park vehicle, so that tour information could be presented to large numbers of visitors in cars.[600] Second, temporary informational and directional signs were erected to assist visitors in conducting a self-guided tour. The park also developed a new printed information sheet for visitors to help them with wayfinding and orientation. Although the idea was not acted upon, Superintendent Charles S. Dunn proposed that a movie be produced about the Battle of Shiloh as a way to explain troop movements to visitors. Because of the cost involved, an electronic map was instead produced to meet this need. Dunn, however, remained convinced of the need for a motion picture, and submitted a request for the project to the director of the National Park Service.[601]

During the summer, Superintendent Dunn reported that the number of visitors had reached a new high and that registrations had increased by 100 percent over the course of the past year.[602]

The National Park Service also followed the War Department's earlier lead in conducting battlefield restoration efforts. In 1937–1938, restoration work was undertaken at Bloody Pond, the Sunken Road, and the Peach Orchard following extensive research into the condition of these sites at the time of the battle.

The 1940s also brought changes to the interpretive programs at the park. The first addition was a sixteen-page illustrated booklet, made available as a sales item, in 1941. In May 1942, the park expanded on the interpretive information available at the tour stops established by DeLong Rice in 1927 by installing a series of standardized interpretive markers to replace earlier bulletin-board style markers. New orientation maps were also provided at the most important stops on the park tour.

For the remainder of World War II, the number of park staff was reduced to a minimum as all available personnel were directed to support the war effort. Despite the availability of carefully prepared master plans that detailed proposed improvements to be implemented at the park during the 1940s, no funding or labor was available to accomplish the work. Nonetheless, park staff continued to suggest creative interpretive exhibits, such as an animated map and Dunn's film, to offset the problem of having limited staff available to meet and greet the public. In 1942, Superintendent Blair Ross reiterated the park's interest in a movie: "Due to a shortage in personnel used in

599. Ibid., 10.
600. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1935, 11.
601. Charles S. Dunn to Director, March 13, 1937, Series 1, Box 57, Folder 884, Shiloh National Military Park.
602. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1937, 6.

interpretive work, the film would be of great value."[603]

Funding remained limited even after the war ended, and little if anything new in the way of interpretive programs was implemented at Shiloh until the early 1950s. The first effort completed in the 1950s was the installation of new entrance and directional signs placed around the battlefield to guide visitors in 1951. This was followed by publication in the same year of the *Shiloh Historical Handbook*, which was offered for sale as an accompaniment to battlefield tours. Prepared by Park Historian Albert Dillahunty, it was part of a larger National Park Service initiative that resulted in the preparation of historical handbooks for many parks.

In 1952–1953, the existing trailside markers were replaced with a new system of individually designed markers that indicated the most important sites on the battlefield. Although each was distinct—for example, the marker at Bloody Pond featured a glass-covered section not found in any other exhibit—they were unified through the use of a two-soldier illustration system. The new exhibits were accompanied by a new park brochure and map of the tour route and stops. In the spring and summer of 1954, the park further refined the tour by enhancing the wayfinding system with routed directional and informational signage along the side of the tour road, and directional arrows painted on the pavement.

In 1953, the park's effort to enhance interpretation included the development of a new slide lecture titled "SHILOH - Portrait of a Battle," which premiered on November 9, 1953. The brainchild of Superintendent Ira Lykes, the slide lecture became the primary orientation feature in the park's interpretive program. Superintendent Lykes, a former U.S. Marine Corps major, who enjoyed preparing creative presentations of the Battle of Shiloh. Lykes was heavily involved in the production of the slide show, as was Park Historian Charles E. Shedd, Jr. Together they developed the presentation to include information about the battle as well as its context within the Western Theater and the Vicksburg Campaign. Lykes served as narrator of the twenty-four minute presentation, while also painting several of the slide images.[604] The slide show was portable and could be taken to events and schools. By November 1, 1954, more than 10,500 school children had attended the slide lecture in off-site presentations.[605] The first production of its kind within the National Park System, the slide show was later emulated by other parks.[606]

Lykes, however, was not completely satisfied with the slide show for two reasons: it required the involvement of park personnel to operate the complicated equipment, and it was relatively static in its presentation.[607] Within months of the premier, Lykes began to express his interest in producing a thirty-five-minute full-color film that could be shown in the museum as an improvement over the slide show, an idea that quickly garnered support among park staff. Lykes's proposal was not completely novel, as the value of offering a film as a way to educate visitors had first been suggested at the park in 1937, as noted above.

In the final section of the 1954 *Administrative History*, "Evolution of Policies Affecting the Interpretive Program," Charles Shedd recognized the importance of this project, which was just getting underway:

> Today, the policies of interpretation at Shiloh are keeping pace with new techniques and the needs imposed by steadily increasing visitation. In line with current trends toward expanded use of audiovisual aids, devices such as recorded slide lectures and motion pictures

603. Blair Ross to Director, February 19, 1942 and "Memo for Superintendent, Shiloh National Military Park," June 1, 1942, both in Series 2, Box 25, Folder 398, Shiloh National Military Park. For a survey of the master plans, see Map Drawer 6, Shiloh National Military Park.
604. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 150–151.
605. Shedd, 65.
606. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 151.
607. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 151.

have been or are being developed to meet visitor needs.[608]

In the 60 years since its establishment, Shiloh National Military Park has been the scene of vast change and progressive development. From an isolated rural wilderness, the park has become a memorial to American valor, preserving the story of an epic chapter of the Nation's past.[609]

The Evolving Nature of Interpretation at Shiloh National Military Park, circa 1954 to 2010

The Orientation Film and Later Interpretation Efforts

Production of the film progressed in 1954 and 1955 following the direction set by Superintendent Ira Lykes. Superintendent Lykes's idea was to create a compelling work that could be shown to visitors when they arrived at the park as a way to orient them to the history of the site and the experience that lay ahead. The movie, which, like the slide show, would be titled "Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle," was the first of its kind in the National Park System. The orientation film has since become a standard feature of most national park units.

The financial needs of the project were soon supported by two private organizations formed to support park operations: the Shiloh Historical Association and the Shiloh Park Citizens Association. The Shiloh Park Citizens Association essentially served as the first iteration of the park's Friends group. After learning about the project, the Citizens Association quickly reached out to the community to raise funds, eventually receiving donations from school children, families, businesses, and other organizations including the Tennessee Historical Commission in Nashville, which provided $2,500. Given their level of involvement, the members of the Association decided to incorporate to protect themselves legally. They also later copyrighted the film.[610]

Another organization formed to support the needs of the national parks—the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, established as a nonprofit organization to sell books and memorabilia, with proceeds returned to parks for special projects—also donated $1,000 to the project after forming an agency at the park.[611] By 1955, supporting groups had provided enough financial assistance that the park was able to begin production.

Filming followed a dedicated period of research conducted at the park to ensure accuracy, and preparation of the historical narration. For this, Lykes requested that Shedd prepare a script based on the expansion of the slide show. Park staff also worked to secure appropriate uniforms, arms, and other props to be used in the filming.[612] Lykes himself produced animated maps, and received assistance from the Bureau of Public Roads to record the large canvases on film. Lykes also built a scale model of Fort Sumter to illustrate the opening events leading to the Civil War, and models of the gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington* to illustrate river-related events associated with the Battle of Shiloh (Figure 65).[613]

To increase the accuracy of the production, Lykes also consulted other historians and technicians, and sought the support of the Third U.S. Army, while involving the U.S. Signal Corps to stage explosions in the movie and produce smoke for the battle scenes.

The movie was primarily filmed on the battlefield using local talent and cameras borrowed from the Washington office of the National Park Service beginning in spring 1955.[614] Filming was

608. Shedd, 61.
609. Ibid.
610. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 152.
611. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1956.
612. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1956.
613. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 153.
614. Capps, 71; Superintendent Charles Dunn to Director, March 13, 1937; Ned Burns, Acting Chief, Museum Division to Director, February 12, 1937; Press Release, May 31, 1954,

conducted in April to promote seasonal accuracy in terms of the battle. Some scenes were shot in Corinth and Baldwyn, Mississippi.[615] Filming was done as carefully as possible to avoid inclusion of tablets and monuments, which postdated the battle.

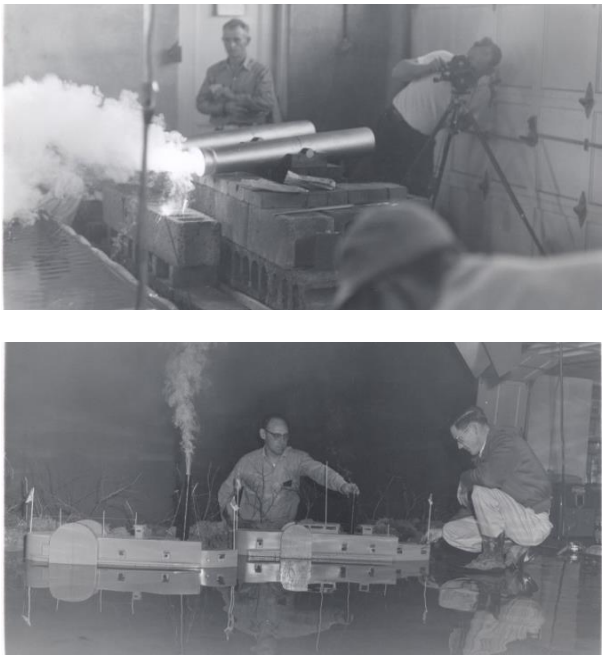


FIGURE 65. Views of park staff filming the movie, including firing on Fort Sumter, and adjusting gunboat models. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Volunteers who served as actors in the movie included members of the Brice's Crossroads Memorial Association, who traveled from Baldwin, Mississippi, and participated in scenes in the Peach Orchard; and a group of high school students and local residents led by local historian, Claude Gentry, who responded to newspaper ads and announcements (Figure 66).[616] Additional support was provided by students from the Memphis State University drama department and Mississippi and Tennessee National Guard troops. James W. Silver, a University of Mississippi history professor, remained on hand as an historical advisor, while physician Reuben B. Caldwell of Baldwyn, Mississippi, participated in the tent hospital scenes.[617]



FIGURE 66. View of young cast members, chosen from the local community and schools, to portray soldiers in the film. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Park staff borrowed rifles, horses, saddles, wagons, and uniforms from numerous sources; however, as noted by one of the actors, ". . . a lot of them just wore regular clothes and they told us fix up an old pack that came across our shoulders."[618] Lykes requested assistance from a historic uniform dealer in Philadelphia. He also borrowed several Civil War rifles from Fredericksburg National Military Park.[619]

The actors were allowed to camp within the park. Lykes arranged for them to have breakfast at Ed Shaw's restaurant nearby. Lykes is also described as barbequing half of a buffalo to feed the actors one night.

For the film production, Lykes narrated the film himself. In October 1955, the park engaged the music department at Memphis State University to help with the movie. Professors Raymond Haggh and Paul Eaheart wrote the score and directed the university band and chorus to produce the musical soundtrack.[620] Lykes, who was detailed to another park in the middle of the process, garnered

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Shiloh Park Files; "Work Underway on Color Film of Shiloh Battlefield," *Daily Corinthian*, March 17, 1955.

615. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 155.
616. Ibid., 154.
617. Ibid., 156.
618. James Lewis, interview with Tim Smith, April 29, 2005 in Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 155.
619. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 156.
620. Ibid., 153.

support to remain at the park until the film was completed.

Initial rough editing was conducted in Washington, D.C. Lykes borrowed a Moviola film-editing machine and continued the editing at the park, with additional support from Byron, Inc., in Washington, D.C., and local educational facilities. As the editing progressed, the musical score was synchronized. Jack Robertson of the University of Mississippi helped with this work. The Association paid the University of Mississippi more than $1,300 for film production.[621]

As noted by National Park Service Historian Ed Bearss:

> Getting ready for the Civil War Centennial, [Lykes] worked with the local community and got them interested in supporting the production of an audio-visual motion picture: *Portrait of a Battle.* It had been completed by that time because, one month before he was to be transferred, he had a preview for an interested audience, which would be at the mid-March meeting, annual meeting, of the Mississippi Historical Society held in Oxford and he showed it! He got a lot of rave reviews; they all applauded. And then, in the last week of October 1956, they had a meeting of the Chiefs of Interpretation, Chief Rangers, from all of the southeastern parks in Richmond, Virginia. And it is again shown and everybody applauds! Everybody liked it. Management liked it because it was done with volunteers and a budget of $5,000.[622]

The film was ready to show by April 1956. The premier was held for invited guests and donors at Shaw's Restaurant on Saturday, April 7, 1956, and the film was shown at the park for the first time the following week. "The film was first shown on a reel-to-reel projector in what are now offices in the visitor center.

The film was immediately recognized as a pioneering effort. In March 1957, Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton issued a Unit Citation for Meritorious Service to the park staff "for outstanding performance in producing the motion picture."[623] Director of the National Park Service Conrad L. Wirth sent a copy of the movie to each of the agency's regional directors, with a note that suggested that "the film was made entirely at the field level and with funds donated from private sources." He recommended that other parks might take on similar projects at the regional level, using Mission 66 resources.[624]

According to several years of Superintendent's Annual Reports, the park remained very proud of the film and considered it a particular draw for visitors. More than fifty years later, Lykes would be gratified to learn that most parks consider it essential to orient visitors using a film.

The orientation film continued to be shown to visitors at the Shiloh Battlefield Unit Visitor Center from the premier in April 1956 until April 2012. At the time it was retired on April 5, 2012, the movie was the oldest film of this type within the National Park Service. It had been the first park orientation movie produced for the National Park System when completed in 1956. The movie was seen by millions of visitors over the course of its fifty-six-year run. *Shiloh: Fiery Trial*, which replaced the original movie, premiered on April 2, 2012 at a park- and state-sponsored special event marking the Sesquicentennial of the battle, held at the Pickwick Landing State Park Inn. The new movie began daily viewing at the visitor center on April 6, 2012.

In discussing the park's history of resourcefulness, Chief Park Ranger Stacy Allen notes:

> We are remote, and we have a history of being resourceful. If you had entered this building after 1956, up until April of 2012, and walked into that auditorium and sat down and watched the old *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle*, first feature-length, live-action production created to be a visitor orientation film in the National Park

621. Ibid., 157.
622. Edwin C. Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
623. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 157.
624. Ibid., 158.

> Service, you saw a piece of history. Agency history. And that thing was totally developed conceptually, produced with park staff and its partners locally. There was no regional involvement, no Hollywood, no contractor – no big-time production contractors, no Harpers Ferry Center, of course, and no WASO, no Washington involvement. In fact, it sent a shockwave throughout the agency.
>
> Once the finished product was in place, "Oh my God, all these superintendents are going to want the same thing." And true, they are. I mean, you know, we had entered an age where we knew the power of the motion picture; we knew the power of the TV and digital media. And the National Park Service was just going into this Mission 66 program. And so, all of this was coming to fruition across the agency. But here's little Shiloh out there, on its own reconnaissance, this military veteran park superintendent and his historian produced this film. And you would have seen, then, that resourcefulness. I mean it won a meritorious service award from the Secretary of the Interior. The staff did for the production of that film. And it was hokey. I mean after – once you got to about 1970, it was hokey as heck. But we continued to live with it then – for what? – another – what? – 24 or 36 years. So, 56 years that thing played here.
>
> But that's illustrative of how often this agency is able to produce and stay up to date with technology and the new generations that are coming into the park. These new generations are coming into the park. I mean you can still go find Mission 66 exhibitory, and we've got some of it still here. You're sitting in a Mission 66 auditorium when you watch the new film.
>
> And, you know, one of the things about the new film (*Shiloh-Fiery Trail*) is Woody not only wanted the film, he wanted a revamped auditorium experience, because he knew you can't properly experience a new production without having the new atmosphere to accommodate the surround sound and everything else. You know, people want a lot of bells and whistles, but we couldn't afford to do that. We had to use the fee collection funds.
>
> And, you know, we had to use fee collection funds, because the park superintendents and administrative officers threatened to take the fee collection funds away, because they had been hoarding them and not spending them. But the funds available to the park could only pay for the production of a movie; it wouldn't pay for the auditorium. And we realized that, "Well, we better get the film now and wait for the auditorium later." And, of course, it was one of our 150 – it was our Civil War Sesquicentennial desire to have a new production. And we got it done, and it fit right in with the Sesquicentennial.[625]

Over time, as movies such as this became more sophisticated, the film would be criticized for the fact that some actors were seen wearing tennis shoes and fake beards. Produced as it was in the mid-1950s, before the advent of popular historical event reenacting as well as the modern academic study of the battle, the lack of accuracy in terms of the Civil War uniforms and equipment and other props used, and the inexperience of the actors, who were principally park personnel and local residents, is understandable.[626]

However, as Tim Smith notes:

> More important than the lack of accuracy with weapons and equipment was the liberty the film took with the story of Shiloh. Two major problems emerged, one being the extremely narrow view of the battle. The film did not make inaccurate statements so much as it left out a great deal of information. The film completely concentrated on the Hornet's Nest. In fact, one could leave a viewing of the film with the idea that the battle took place only in the Hornet's Nest and surrounding areas. Very little was said about the Peach Orchard and Shiloh Church, both of which saw as heavy or even heavier fighting than along the Sunken Road. Absolutely nothing was said of the Crossroads, Dill Branch Ravine, or Rhea Field, where very heavy and important fighting also took place and where some historians argue that the battle was won and lost. The movie tended to draw the viewer into the Hornet's

625. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

626. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 149–150.

> Nest and Sunken Road, thus propelling those locations into icon status.[627]

However, Smith has also noted that the script followed the accepted view of the battle at the time:

> The lack of any academic treatment of Shiloh and the resulting lack of research on which to construct the movie allowed several factual inaccuracies to creep in. For instance, the film made the assertion that the dawn Union patrol that encountered the Confederates on the first day was the result of Benjamin Prentiss's efforts, not Colonel Everett Peabody's, a fact which later research developed. The film showed incorrect tents for the Federals, who utilized Sibley tents instead of the pup tents shown in the film. The standard Confederate battle flag in the film was the Confederate battle flag rather than the individual corps flags actually carried in the battle. Some uniforms were better than others, but some infantrymen in the film were shown with red piping and stripes, which was used by the artillery; the infantry had blue trim. At one point, a cannon fired while the artilleryman was still holding the lanyard. Most important, tactical formations in the film were lacking. Due to the lack of a large pool of actors, the Union line in the Sunken Road looked more like a skirmish line than a standard two-rank, shoulder-to-shoulder line of battle.[628]

Nonetheless, the movie was a pioneering effort that offered visitors a new way to learn about history. The movie had a profound effect on visitor understanding of the Battle of Shiloh and interpretation in general at the park.[629]

In addition to the film, other aspects of the interpretive program changed in the mid-1950s. An interpretive prospectus for the period 1953–1959 recommended that, in addition to the museum, there should be one field contact station located on a key point of the battlefield tour where exhibits and a relief map would be displayed for the benefit of visitors. It also proposed that new outdoor exhibits be installed at Pittsburg Landing, the Iowa State Monument, the United Daughters of the Confederacy monument, the site of Ruggles Battery, the Confederate burial trench, the Shiloh Church site, the Hornet's Nest/Sunken Road, the Johnston tree and monument, the peach orchard, the war cabin, the Indian Mounds, the site of the gunboat operations, and the site of the field tent hospital.[630]

In another planning effort conducted prior to Mission 66, the park prepared a master plan update that featured a Development Outline for Interpretation as well as a General Development Plan.

Mission 66

In 1956, the National Park Service initiated the Mission 66 program, a ten-year planning and design effort aimed at enhancing park infrastructure, resource protection, and interpretation system-wide. At Shiloh, Mission 66-related planning efforts suggested the need for several projects relating to interpretation, including a new visitor center; expanded interpretation, accessibility, and historic scene preservation and restoration; and an increase in staffing to manage programs and activities.

The plan suggested that:

> While the battlefield alone is an impressive and significant site, its potential benefits to visitors can be fully realized only by carrying out a comprehensive program of development and services designed to preserve and protect the area and tell its story in the most effective manner possible. The extensive scene of battle is now accessible by a system of roads and trails. Roads built for the traffic of twenty years ago must be improved and brought up to the standard of modern vehicular traffic. Foot trails must be developed in those areas not accessible to vehicles. Present roads, for the most part, follow wartime routes. Improvements should be limited to these

627. Ibid., 159.
628. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 160.
629. Ibid., 149.
630. Capps, 72; 1953–1959 Interpretive Prospectus, Shiloh Park Files.

> original alignments where possible to avoid unnecessary changes in the historic scene.
>
> The visitor should be able to receive basic information on the battle, its causes and consequences, by means of museum exhibits and other educational presentations. Trained personnel must be provided to serve visitors, and to plan and carry out the expanded program of development, preservation and interpretation. The battlefield tour sequence, with points of interest clearly identified and explained. Additional facilities for the convenience and safety of the public must be provided, if the full values of the Park are to be utilized and appreciated. Until all of these facilitate can be adequately provided, the Park will only partially fulfill its obligation to the past, the present and the future.
>
> . . . Development must not detract from the primary purpose of the Park, which is to preserve the historic setting of the event and tell the battle story in terms meaningful to all the people. Development must aid the visitor in understanding and appreciating the conflict that occurred at Shiloh, but it must not distract him, nor encourage him to distract others who, for a short time, are looking into the past to seek enlightenment and inspiration.
>
> For these reasons, Park development must not go beyond providing facilities which aid the visitor in seeing, understanding and appreciating the scene of a great battle in the safest and most convenient manner possible.[631]

The specific actions indicated in the Mission 66 plan for expansion of interpretive exhibits included offering visitors more detailed information about key locations associated with the battle provided at stops sited along improved tour road facilities, that would be enhanced by scene restoration efforts that made the 1862 landscape more understandable in terms of battle events. Interestingly, the scene restoration concepts suggested an integrative approach to natural and cultural resource management that presaged later cultural landscape methodology developed by the National Park Service:

> On the battlefield itself, points of interest will be identified by appropriate roadside markers giving a brief account of the significance of the site. When followed in order, these points of interest will combine to form an outline picture of the battle on the ground where it was fought. Certain important locations, such as the historic Sunken Road, site of the original Shiloh Church and the pre-historic Indian mounds, will receive special care, to preserve and protect them from the ravages of erosion and restore them as nearly as possible to their original condition. Vegetation which has obscured historic fields will be eliminated, and forest will be restored to areas, now open, which were wooded at the time of the battle.
>
> In order to preserve and protect the forest cover which influenced so greatly the nature of the fighting at Shiloh, the growth of native trees will be encouraged through selective planting. Soil and moisture conservation measures will also be initiated, to stabilize the river bank adjacent to Pittsburg Landing, and preserve the soil in other portions of the field now threatened by erosion.[632]

Importantly, the plan also suggested the intended visitor experience:

> When you visit Shiloh in 1966, changes may not at first be apparent. A primary aim of the Mission 66 program is to preserve the battlefield in its wartime condition to the fullest extent possible, consistent with effective protection, maintenance and interpretation of the area. But, your visit in 1966 will be a more enjoyable and inspirational one than you can experience today.
>
> You will travel on modern roadways, without interference from commercial, non-visitor traffic. At the Visitor Center, trained personnel will be on hand to meet you personally and serve you. Without undue crowding or waiting, you can visit an expertly planned and executed museum. There, exhibits and historical

631. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," 2–3.

632. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," 7.

> programs will provide you with information on the park and its story, to enable you to derive the maximum benefit from your visit. On the tour route you will be able to follow the course of the battle, and at important points of interest parking facilities will be provided. Historical signs and markers will explain events in the battle on the sites where they occurred, and you will see the scene of the battle in a condition resembling as nearly as possible the original setting.
>
> Mission 66 for Shiloh does not mean radical or unwarranted change. Rather it means logical and carefully planned development and operation of the park to preserve the scene and tell the story of an epic chapter of the Nation's past for the benefit, enjoyment and inspiration of all the people, today, tomorrow and in the years to come.[633]

Despite these carefully considered plans, many of the proposed actions never came to fruition due to differences of opinion among park staff and other factors. As noted previously, the primary physical change resulting from Mission 66 at Shiloh National Military Park was the relocation of Highway 22 from the core of the park to a more westerly location. Once Highway 22 was rerouted, much of the busy local traffic was removed from the core area of the park, making it less dangerous for visitors walking the grounds. The change also contributed to the aesthetic quality and character of the battlefield. The removal of through traffic from the center allowed the park to close some through roads and reconsider portions of the auto tour route and associated signage. Although the change also opened the door to the park establishing a day-use area on the battlefield as well as a single point of entry, neither of these proposed actions were implemented. Thus, there continue to be nine public access points onto the battlefield that are open to public use twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. These include Highways 22 and 142, Pratt Lane, Shiloh Road, Hagy Lane, the Hamburg Road, the Eastern Corinth Road, and the main battlefield entrance on the Savannah-Pittsburg Landing road.

One positive outcome of Mission 66 for the park interpretive program was the construction of an auditorium at the visitor center in the early 1960s. The auditorium provided a much larger and more comfortable area for viewing the park orientation film. The addition and general expansion of the visitor center helped alleviate congestion in the building, allowing visitors to spend more thoughtful time experiencing the interpretive exhibits and displays. Construction of a new picnic area at Sowell Field along the far western edge of the park also reduced the number of people in the headquarters area, further contributing to the visitor interpretive experience.[634]



FIGURE 67. A ranger-led tour for visitors. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Post-Mission 66 Interpretation

In 1966, as Mission 66 was winding to a close, the park finally began to reconsider the tour stop system that had been in place since 1927, with marker replacements having been made in the 1940s and 1950s. Based on plans prepared by park personnel, designed in conformance with new agency-wide standards, in 1968 the park removed all existing tour markers, reduced the number of tour stops to fourteen, and installed new aluminum signs that featured maps, illustrations,

633. Ibid., 9–10.

634. For detailed information on Mission 66 at Shiloh, see Series 1, Box, 57, Folder 879 and Series 2, Box 3, Folders 43-47, Shiloh National Military Park.

and text. The reduction in the number of tour stops reflected a purposeful shift away from monument-based interpretation, although park planners noted that the monuments would remain optional stops along the tour.[635]

Four of the new signs were set within masonry plazas constructed by Pettigrew and Finney Contracting at a cost of $9,980.74. The plazas housed combinations of seating and audio devices. Thirty-foot-high flagpoles were installed at the Sunken Road and Ruggles Battery to help direct and draw visitors along the route. Pettigrew also installed a total of thirty-seven aluminum mounting posts to serve as the base for new interpretive wayside markers. Audio devices were later installed at Pittsburg Landing, the Sunken Road, Ruggles Battery, Fraley Field, and Bloody Pond.[636] Their installation reflected a popular trend in interpretation during the 1960s and 1970s when audio stations were installed at many public parks and other outdoor facilities such as zoos. After Pettigrew and Finney had completed their work, the new uniform tour route and tour stop wayfinding signs were installed, while new park brochures were provided in the visitor center and headquarters area to illustrate the route. The new system would remain in place for more than twenty years. Park rangers also continued to conduct tours for visitors (Figure 67).

Environmental Study Areas

Another layer of interpretation added at the park during the 1970s was the Environmental Study Area. The Environmental Study Area was an agency-wide initiative that reflected the growing interest in ecology and the environment during the late 1960s and 1970s. The proposal that the agency take an environmental approach to interpretation was first raised by Bill Everhart in 1967 in the *NPS Interpreter's Newsletter*. As the agency struggled to respond to the environmental imperative that emerged from the Leopold and Robbins reports, Everhart suggested that interpreting park resources to visitors was not enough:

> First our interpretive programs have traditionally been limited to the parks themselves. We have concentrated mostly on telling the park story to visitors in the parks…
>
> Secondly, we have had a tendency to interpret a park in terms of its resources. We have not effectively carried out an educational campaign to further the general cause of conservation… Only through an environmental approach to interpretation can an organization like outs… achieve its purpose of making the park visitor's experience fully significant.[637]

In order to consider the role of environmental interpretation within the parks, the National Park Service began working with Mario Menesini, director of the Educational Consulting Service, on National Environmental Education Development (NEED) materials for schools in 1968. NEED was designed to foster environmental awareness and values through the application of five concepts to school curricula development:

1) variety and similarities
2) patterns
3) interrelation and interdependence
4) continuity and change
5) adaption and evolution

These topics were to be woven into all subjects taught in schools and into all park interpretive programs. Parks were then encouraged to establish places that would be referred to as Environmental Study Areas (ESAs) that could be visited by school classes using NEED materials. By 1970, sixty-three parks had ESAs.[638]

By 1972, Shiloh National Military Park had joined with area educators and civic leaders to form the

635. Edward J. Bierly, "Transmittal of Shiloh Tour Plan to Park and Region," May 1966, Series 1, Box 67, Folder 994, Shiloh National Military Park.
636. Capps, 54; Contract CX1410789161, Wayside Interpretive Units along Park Tour Road.
637. National Park Service, *Interpreters' Newsletter* (December 15, 1967), 2.
638. Capps, 73; Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (National Park Service, 1986), 68.

Shiloh Area Environmental Education Council, which sought to further environmental education in schools. One of the tasks of this group was to consider the park's ESAs. They scheduled a two-week program and invited participants, including 400 Head Start students, teachers, and parents, to develop the program. One of the outcomes, which was completed in time to mark Environmental Education Emphasis Week in September, was the opening of an Indian Mounds Loop Trail to the general public. To promote the trail, park staff presented programs in area schools, and placed posters in public locations around the county.

Indian Mounds Loop Trail

The Indian Mounds Loop Trail offered one of the first opportunities for visitors to appreciate the historic and cultural significance of the Indian Mounds. Although the park had requested funds from the Public Works Administration for an Indian Mounds museum in 1933, the facility had been dropped from the list when other projects directly related to the interpretation of the battle were identified as higher priorities. No additional efforts had been made to mark the site. The establishment of the trail signaled that the mounds were again considered valuable to the visitor experience.

The park's ESAs were developed by 1973, at which time students were able to imagine life as a Civil War soldier by participating in an ESA camp. In 1974, the program was expanded when the park hosted two workshops for the Students toward Environmental Participation (STEP) program.[639]

Living History

It was also during the 1960s and 1970s that interest in living history began to grow in the park, as well as nationwide. At first concerned with agriculture and the living farm, the movement expanded into other activities involving a variety of demonstration types involving period attire and traditional tools and lifeways. In 1973, the first living history program was established at the park in the form of a cannon-firing demonstration. The demonstration was carried out by costumed interpreters portraying Powell's Battery F of the 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, who afforded visitors a window into the life of soldiers in the Western Theater during the Civil War. A master plan prepared in 1974 described the visitor experience at this juncture:

> An interpretation of the battle events is presently offered visitors through facilities of the Visitor Center and a 10-mile self-guided auto tour (with 14 stops) of the battlefield. Hiking trails are available for more energetic persons . . . . Through expansion of interpretation for visitors, manifold facets of Shiloh —prehistoric, historic, modern, and future—could be brought out. . . . A potential exists to better acquaint visitors with the natural world around them and how that world affects their lives.[640]

Although the master plan suggested that a new visitor center was urgently needed, this proposal was again deferred:

> Vital to the success of this plan is the construction of a new Visitor Contact Station in the southwest corner of the battlefield where the Battle of Shiloh began and ended. This orientation facility will provide a logical starting point for the battlefield tour. The new facility will supplement the existing Visitor Center which will be utilized for expanded interpretation through detailed exhibits and living history demonstrations.
>
> The new Visitor Contact Station will be an architecturally attractive building containing an auditorium, an exhibit area, an information desk, and comfort facilities. A smaller building adjacent to the main structure will house a bicycle concession and the Shiloh Post Office moved from the Park Headquarters area.[641]

By 1976, the living history program had been expanded to include a complete Civil War

639. Capps, 73–74. Superintendent's Annual Reports 1972, 1973, 1974; *Savannah Courier*, September 21, 1972.
640. 1974 master plan, 2–4.
641. Ibid., 48–49.

encampment, demonstrations of musket firing, and costumed interpretation at the William Manse George (War) Cabin by the park's Women's Organization. Craft demonstrations, also a component of the living history trend, were provided by members of the Hardin County RSVP Senior Citizens Organization.

One of the participants in the program, Tennessee Wars Commission Director Fred Prouty, notes that he participated in several living history activities over the years:

> . . . it was a meaningful experience every time. In later years I participated with a unit called, "The 1st Arkansas Regiment," and we always tried to be as authentic as possible. We were invited back several times . . . . Living history at the company level is great way to engage the park visitors on a one to one basis and at the same time helps keep the original grounds from being contaminated with modern replica materials that just might confuse a future archeologist some 50 or 100 years down the road![642]

Through the mid-1970s, visitors continued to follow the 10-mile tour route with its fourteen stops and to conduct walking tours of the Hornet's Nest, after first visiting the museum to see the film and exhibits.[643] However, in 1976, Shiloh park managers determined the need to condense the film into a manageable length whereby it could be shown every thirty minutes on the hour and half hour, with time for visitors to enter and exit the auditorium in between showings." The beginning of the film, which provided background about the war, was considered unnecessary and became the target of the proposed cuts.[644] During the late 1970s, the park also prepared a taped tour of the battlefield that visitors could follow while driving the tour route.

General Management Plan Proposals

The next planning document to consider the park interpretive program holistically was the 1981 General Management Plan (GMP). The GMP suggested further expansion of the park's interpretive efforts in presenting the story of the battle, while also including information about the Indian Mounds and the environment. The GMP recommended that the Indian Mounds story be integrated into the tape and slide show at the visitor center and that wayside exhibits be established along the Indian Mounds Loop Trail. The environmental story, and the influence of the environment on the battle events and Indian Mounds, was to be woven into the telling of both stories. The GMP also recommended long-range preservation of the bottomland forest along Owl Creek and its use as a National ESA to serve local classroom needs.[645]

To effect the proposed enhancements, the plan recommended the construction of five new interpretive trails: the Sunken Road Trail, Three Stories Trail, Handicapped Trail, National ESA Trail, and bike trail. The 1-1/2-mile Sunken Road Trail would form a double loop, using much of the existing Shiloh Military Trail while expanding interpretation of the Hornet's Nest area. The 2-mile-long Three Stories Trail would incorporate the existing River Trail as well as trails through the Indian Mounds and the Dill Creek ravine in order to interpret the battle story, the mounds story, and the environmental story in a unified way. A figure-eight-shaped accessible trail would be located off Federal Road near the proposed entrance to the park. A National ESA trail would also be built in the area north of Highway 22, opposite Grant Road. Finally, a bike trail was proposed along the roads used for the auto tour.[646]

Despite these ambitious plans, the park immediately experienced funding cut-backs

642. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.
643. Capps, 74, 127. Statement for Interpretation, 1976, Shiloh Park Files; *Savannah Courier*, July 3, 1975; Superintendent's Annual Report 1979.
644. Smith, *Rethinking Shiloh*, 161. The full movie was later returned to service.
645. Capps, 75; *General Management Plan*, 1981, 67–69.
646. Capps, 57. *General Management Plan*, 1981, 71–76.

resulting from an economic downturn nationally, and, rather than grow, Shiloh's interpretive program began to suffer during the early 1980s. By 1982, the park was able to hire only five summer seasonal workers instead of ten. The interpretive program was reduced to the most minimal level possible in order that other park functions be maintained.[647]

New Tour Route Wayside Exhibits

In 1983, as economic conditions began to improve, the Superintendent's annual report notes that the park's interpretive program was extensively revised in order to provide more variety in the programs offered and to allow interpreters to be versatile. The result was the introduction of several new special programs involving living history that proved very popular with visitors.

In the meantime, plans to develop new waysides were underway. In this effort, the park was assisted by the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia, which completed a wayside exhibit plan for the park in 1984. This was followed in 1985 by the preparation of plans for new visitor center exhibits. By 1987, the new waysides had been installed. Although the basic tour route remained unchanged, older exhibits were replaced with contemporary exhibits representative of a new agency standard used throughout the national park system. The waysides were composed of highly illustrated fiberglass panels set in steel carriers. The plan also guided the addition of several new tour stops and the removal of the aluminum flagpoles at the Sunken Road and Ruggles Battery.[648]

New Visitor Center Exhibits

The exhibits in the visitor center were replaced in 1988–1989. The new exhibits emphasized interpretation of Civil War equipment and artifacts. Following the installation, which occurred in conjunction with renovation of the building, the park held a rededication ceremony. The event was attended by a group of Civil War enthusiasts who had been permitted to camp at the park the night before.[649]

Living history demonstrations remained popular through the 1980s and 1990s. In 1988, the 7th Tennessee Cavalry and the 7th Illinois began to conduct cavalry and artillery demonstrations in the park that continued for several years. This activity continued to expand to include summer interpretive programs, weapons-firing demonstrations, an annual battle anniversary living history weekend, as well as other smaller living history events conducted throughout the year.

The Tennessee River Museum

During the 1990s, the staff at Shiloh National Military Park once again acknowledged the need to broaden interpretation at the park and began to plan for new programs. The staff worked closely with gateway communities in Savannah, Tennessee, and Corinth, Mississippi, to protect and interpret key historic sites and resources. This work was indicative of the growing importance of partnerships in park administration and operations. These efforts resulted in a variety of collaborative studies, planning endeavors and

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647. Capps, 75. Superintendent to Associate Regional Director, Operations, April 13, 1982, Shiloh Park Files.

648. *General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan for Shiloh National Military Park* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 1981); Series 7, Map Cabinet Drawer 7, Folder 23, Shiloh National Military Park; D6215, "Museum and Exhibit Planning Preparation Maintenance and Preservation," Administrative Files, Shiloh National Military Park; 600 Shiloh HFC's "Upgrade Waysides Museum Exhibits and Lobby," Administrative Files, Shiloh National Military Park.

649. Capps, 76. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989.

interpretive projects, with the Tennessee River Museum among the notable achievements.

The Tennessee River Museum was established by local residents in the town of Savannah, with support from the park as well as the municipal government and state representatives. It was conceived in part as a way to draw tourism to the region, while also affording an opportunity to expand on the Civil War interpretive focus of the park by providing context in terms of American Indian heritage, European-American settlement, river commerce, and other topics relating to local history, including the Civil War. The park provided the group spearheading the effort to establish the museum with technical assistance in the development of museum exhibit design and collection management. The park also found the museum a good place to exhibit the effigy pipe that had been found at the Indian Mounds nearly 100 years earlier, but was not consistent with interpretive mission of Shiloh National Military Park. The museum opened in a former post office building in Savannah in 1992.

Tour Route Modifications Resulting from Riverbank Erosion

It was during this time that the tour road began to be affected by the ongoing erosion problem along the park's eastern margin as the Tennessee River bank was undercut, threatening roads and the cemetery wall. Riverside Drive had to be closed and thus removed from the prescribed tour route. A new loop route was established, and a new audio tape prepared to reflect the change.[650]

Indian Mounds

In 1997, Congress passed a substantial Omnibus Transportation appropriation to fund visitor access and interpretive improvements associated with the Indian Mound site following National Historic Landmark designation of the Native American village site.

The funding supported the development of the 1.3-mile Shiloh Indian Mounds Interpretive Trail that extends through the mounds complex and is marked with thirteen wayside exhibits. A kiosk and orientation panel is located at the trailhead, which edges a parking area designated for visitor use to the site. A one-page pamphlet is also available to visitors to learn more about the history of the site during their journey along the trail.

Corinth Unit

In 1996, Congress passed the Corinth Bill, which authorized the establishment of the Civil War Interpretive Center at Corinth, Mississippi. This would set in motion one of the most significant expansions of park interpretation since Shiloh National Military Park was established in 1894. Congress followed with additional legislation in 2000 that established the Corinth Unit of Shiloh National Military Park.

The addition of Corinth has benefitted park interpretation by helping to place the Battle of Shiloh into a broader military context and connect the battle with the objective of both armies—control of the rail lines passing through Corinth. The interpretive center at Corinth also helps visitors understand the political, social, and economic context of the events associated with Shiloh and Corinth in 1862 and 1863.

At Corinth, one of the highlights of the interpretive program is the surviving system of earthworks located throughout the battlefield supported by exhibits in the interpretive center that:

> Demonstrate the manner in which earthworks were constructed. The earthwork outside the northern end of the building offers an

650. "Shiloh National Military Park Driving Tape Tour," (Whittier, California: Finley-Holiday Films, 2001). For the changes in the tour route, see Shiloh's brochure handout for 1992 and 1993.

> impression of what a finished fortified battery position would have looked like.[651]

The park was involved in the preparing of an orientation film for the Interpretive Center at Corinth. As noted by former Superintendent Woody Harrell, making the film took two tries:

> There weren't any restrictions. We had a clean canvas, and I thought that was going to be a great thing but in fact it gave us too much freedom and we went down a primrose path. We had a contractor who was not the best in the world and we had a tough time communicating what we were wanting and he was trying to do too much with computer graphics and that sort of thing. The upshot of it was when he began giving us a final product it wasn't anywhere acceptable. We had tried to aim for a young audience, concentrating on some kids and how they would be impacted by the war, and it was a disaster. We'd spent a lot of money and had hardly anything to show for it.
>
> The good part of that effort was that's how Stacy and I learned how to not only make a movie. We learned how to make a movie through National Park Service contracts and the Harpers Ferry Center and all of that. So when we put that project on the shelf as being "oh Lord this is the most embarrassing thing we've ever seen and how are we going to take this across the finish line" and turned our attention to rush the Shiloh film through and get it done by the 150th, the success we had on the Shiloh movie is because we had learned our craft on this one. And then Ashley [Berry] and the other folks were able to find another contractor to come in and pick up the pieces. I'm real tickled with the job they've done on that.[652]

Also interpreted at Corinth is the site of a Civil War-era Contraband Camp. African Americans who fled Southern plantations and farms seeking freedom who allied themselves with Union army forces were known as Contraband. Following Union occupation of Corinth, and President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, there was a considerable migration of African American refugees into Corinth. By December 1862, Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant reported a population of more than 20,000 refugees being housed, fed, and protected by the United States Army in a camp at Corinth. Many of the refugees were enlisted to help with the war effort as teamsters, cooks, and laborers. On May 21, 1863, a group of camp residents enrolled in the U.S. Army, forming the 1st Alabama Infantry Regiment of African Descent. The contributions of the Contraband were many and important to the Federal military efforts in the South. As part of the acquisition, protection, and interpretation of Corinth area Civil War resources by the Siege and Battle Commission of Corinth and Friends of Corinth groups, the site of the Contraband Camp was acquired, studied, and interpreted as a park. Today, the site features a walking trail edged by bronze sculptures interpreting the activities of those housed in the camp.

At the Corinth Interpretive Center, another important interpretive feature is the fountain located within the courtyard of the building. It was envisioned by Superintendent Woody Harrell to symbolize the importance of freedom and democracy. The commemorative courtyard features a fountain, pool, and flowing water, representing

> First the birth and growth of the United States, and the accompanying rise of sectionalism; then the momentous events, and finally the continuing legacy of the American Civil War… This watercourse records the flow of events central to understanding the American nation's turbulent first century.[653]

Features of the fountain include Liberty Pool, with a fountainhead representing the wellspring of democracy and quotes etched in stone from the Declaration of Independence and Constitution;

651. National Park Service, "Corinth," one-page pamphlet.
652. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2016.
653. National Park Service, "Corinth; The Stream of American History: 1770-1870," one –page pamphlet.

several Compromise Markers that reflect the Missouri Compromise, Federalism, tariffs, and slavery, the Compromise of 1850, John Brown's raid, and the election of Abraham Lincoln; the Battle Blocks that represent the Civil War; Amendment Bridge that recognizes the three constitutional amendments passed as a result of the Civil War; and a Pool of Reflection that invites contemplation.

> Scattered around the edges of the reflecting pool, bronze leaves representing these 36 state trees symbolize the sacrifice of each state and the 200,000 soldiers who fought here during the War between the States; Fallen leaves; fallen sons.[654]

Visitors to Corinth can learn about other aspects of the war and the history of the community at the Crossroads Museum housed in a historic railroad depot, the Jacinto Courthouse, and the Verandah Curlee House Museum, and by following a walking tour of downtown Corinth developed by the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission. The Commission has also published a driving tour guide to the Corinth Campaigns of 1862. Shiloh National Military Park Supervisory Ranger Stacy Allen was instrumental in helping to design and develop the materials that support these tours.

Long-Range Interpretive Plan

In 2001, Shiloh National Military Park requested and received agency funding to support the development of a Long-Range Interpretive Plan to be prepared by the Center for Media Services in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Three planning workshops were held to support the development of the plan. National Park Service staff, including personnel from the park, Denver Service Center, Southeast Archeological Center, and Southeast Regional Office, met with park partners and other stakeholders to conduct a foundation workshop in August 2002. During the workshop, participants developed park purpose and significance statements and identified desired interpretive themes and visitor experience goals. Recommendations workshops were later held in March 2003 and February 2005.[655]

The Shiloh National Military Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan summarizes the results of these workshops and makes specific recommendations for facilities, interpretive services, media, and partnerships to support the delivery of the interpretive program. All of the recommendations supported the park's vision for celebrating the Sesquicentennial of the American Civil War between 2011 and 2015, the Centennial of the National Park Service in 2016, and the 125th anniversary of the establishment of Shiloh National Military Park in 2019.[656]

The Long-Range Interpretive Plan is compatible with all other park management documents. It was written to serve the needs of a broad audience—the interested visitor, National Park Service staff, park friends and advocates, and future contractors who might assist in the implementation of the recommendations. The vision articulated in the plan is to promote park resource values through specially planned visitor experiences and excellence in interpretation. The plan suggests the following means for achieving the vision:

1) engaging people to make enduring connections with park resources

2) making use of new technologies to support both personal and non-personal interpretive programming

3) embracing interpretation and education partners to support the NPS education mission

654. Ibid.
655. Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning and Shiloh National Military Park, *Shiloh National Military Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2009).
656. National Park Service, *Shiloh National Military Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, January 2009), 5–8.

4) implementing agency professional standards for interpretive programs and staff performance (i.e., employees, volunteers, and partners)

5) creating a culture/program of evaluation to achieve accountability and program improvement.[657]

The plan recognizes the need to update interpretation of specific locations to reflect new scholarship regarding the events of the Battle of Shiloh. For example, the Hornet's Nest and the Sunken Road are locations where the story told to visitors has changed over time. These landscape features have become legendary in the annals of Civil War history, along with Picket's Charge at Gettysburg and Bloody Lane at Antietam. Based on more recent scholarship, the evocative terms for these sites did not come into use until many years later, with the term "Hornet's Nest" coined by Confederate veterans during the 1870s or early 1880s, and "Sunken Road" introduced after park establishment in 1894. In part, it was the park commissioners who immortalized the importance of these two sites with evocative battlefield markers. During the twentieth century, the Hornet's Nest was further etched into the public's consciousness through its depiction in the park orientation film completed in 1956, *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle.* In order to address any inaccuracies, historians have returned to the period accounts to expand on veteran's recollections of the important areas of fighting and determine where interpretation is accurate, or apocryphal.

Today, as noted in a one-page pamphlet available to visitors to the park about the Hornet's Nest:

> The new interpretation of the Hornet's Nest and the Sunken Road do not minimize the role of the fighting in the center of the battlefield. The area was indeed important, especially later in the day when almost every Confederate unit on the battlefield concentrated at that point. Many Confederate charges swept forward into the grueling Federal fire, only to be turned away. Hundreds of brave men and boys lost their lives in the Hornet's Nest. For all these reasons, the Hornet's Nest was very important, but perhaps not as important as other, less well-known operations taking place simultaneously on other parts of the battlefield. Taken in the context of the entire battle, the Hornet's Nest may be more myth than reality.[658]

As part of the implementation of the Long-Range Interpretive Plan, thirty-two waysides were fabricated and installed on Shiloh Battlefield in 2014, incorporating enhanced interpretation and appreciation of the Shiloh battle story, and adding to the new information afforded by the fifteen wayside exhibits and kiosk panels produced and installed at the Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark in 2008 and 2009. These new exhibits incorporate up-to-date scientific methodologies, analysis, and interpretation information, and consider the archeology performed at the Indian Mounds between 1995 and 2005.

Tennessee Civil War Trails Program

Today, Shiloh National Military Park, as well as Fallen Timbers and Davis Bridge are stops on the Tennessee Civil War Trails program, included in a brochure that features a map of all interpreted trail locations. The National Park Service has prepared a one-page pamphlet for visitors to Shiloh interested in visiting Davis Bridge that is available in the visitor center.

Civil War Sesquicentennial

The United States recognized the Civil War Sesquicentennial between 2011 and 2015, with the National Park Service taking a leadership role in developing programs and events in which the public could learn more about this period in American history. Over several years leading up to 2011, National Park Service superintendents, historians, and chiefs of interpretation from park units throughout the nation, in conjunction with eminent scholars knowledgeable in Civil War history, met to discuss interpretation at Civil War

657. Ibid., 9.

658. National Park Service, "Shiloh, The Hornet's Nest," n.d.

battlefields and related historical sites. Their efforts resulted in the May 2004 planning document *Holding the High Ground: Interpreting the Civil War through the Sites of the National Park System.* The report stressed the importance of "sustaining the Service's invaluable tradition of resource based interpretation," and outlined the need to approach Civil War interpretation from a diversity of cultural perspectives.[659] The report also articulated the fundamental need to improve interpretation of Civil War history at the battlefields stewarded by the National Park Service. It acknowledged that, while an awareness of the military tactics and combat events that transpired on these cultural landscapes remains critical to the understanding of a particular battle, it is also important to address the broader and more complex issues of military history to present a complete picture of the Civil War. Park interpretation must thus also consider how the principal military events of the war unfolded within a larger context of evolving social dynamics and the turbulent politics of the period. The report goes on to suggest that:

> . . . effective battlefield interpretation provides opportunities to explore the complexities of the war, allowing park visitors to make enduring connections with its causes, consequences, and legacy for all Americans; and it embraces all of the participants—whether they were enslaved persons seeking freedom, civilians on the home front, or soldiers in the field.[660]

In addition to National Park Service planning for the Sesquicentennial, the state of Tennessee was also very active in recognizing the occasion. The legislature established the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission, which organized a program of events for each of the four years of the Sesquicentennial. Shiloh was featured extensively during 2012 in the Commission's Signature Event Programs.

Events held during 2012 relating to the park included the premier of a new orientation film—*Shiloh: Fiery Trial*—on April 4, and a forum on April 5, 2012, titled "Invasions by Rail and River: The Battle of Shiloh," in which Tennessee Governor Bill Haslam and Stacy Allen provided the introductory and keynote addresses respectively. The forum was recorded by C-SPAN3 for broadcast on April 14. On April 5, 150 school children participated in educational programs titled "Beyond the Battlefield: Shiloh Heroes and Legends" provided by park staff, state employees, and volunteers at Pickwick Landing State Park. The program covered numerous topics and activities associated with Civil War history, including the individual experiences of Union and Confederate soldiers at the battle of Shiloh, the experiences of women in the war, slavery and the issues of the war, and the African American experience during the war and the battle of Shiloh.

On April 5, ninety visitors attended an evening program at the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center by Joyce Henry on "Women as Soldiers in the Civil War." Another program was held on the evening of April 6 that was attended by 240 people that involved a music program presented by the popular Civil War musician/historian Bobby Horton at the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center.

On a daily basis between April 5 and 8, park staff and volunteers provided twenty-four "150th Battle of Shiloh Anniversary" interpretive programs and presentations that were attended by 3,675 visitors. A total of 16,444 people viewed the temporary museum exhibit on the war experiences of the 14th Missouri U.S. Infantry on April 6 to 8. Camps were also offered for young people that introduced them to the life of the soldier during the Civil War (Figure 68).
The park's new orientation film *Shiloh: Fiery Trial* premiered on PBS in Tennessee on April 5, and then throughout PBS affiliates across the nation during the remainder of April 2012. In addition, C-SPAN3 aired a filmed battlefield tour with the chief ranger on the night of April 7 and morning of April 8. Additional Shiloh programming created by C-SPAN3 aired April 14 and 15. Nashville Public Television aired a Shiloh-themed program statewide on April 7 titled *Shiloh: The Devil's Own*

659. Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 5.

660. Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 5–6.

Day in which the chief ranger again served as on-camera historian.[661]



FIGURE 68. Camps for children were among the interpretive programs offered during the Sesquicentennial. This view is of campers experiencing the park as members of the 70th Ohio Infantry on April 3, 1862. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

On the evening of April 7, an estimated 15,000-plus visitors participated in the commemorative Shiloh Sesquicentennial Grand Illumination, in which 23,746 candle luminaires were lighted to represent the total number of American soldiers, Union and Confederate, who were casualties of the Battle of Shiloh. The line of cars of visitors extended bumper-to-bumper across the battlefield for 12 miles.

A total of 39,028 visitors entered the park on April 6 and 7, 2012, the actual Sesquicentennial dates of the Battle of Shiloh. Of these, 24,028 people entered the park's contact centers at Shiloh and Corinth. These totals represent the highest visitation ever recorded for any two-day period in the park's history.[662]

Shiloh: Fiery Trial

As early as the 1960s, the park as well as the National Park Service began to realize that the agency's first orientation film, produced in 1956, might be dated and a new movie might be needed at Shiloh. As more people became involved in living history programs, and reenactments became more popular and more sophisticated, Civil War enthusiasts began to recognize some of the inaccuracies evident in the movie in terms of uniforms and props. For example, it was evident that some of the actors were wearing tennis shoes, while others were carrying M1 Garand rifles and carbines (30.06 caliber), which were in use during World War II and the Korean War rather than the Civil War. In recalling the movie, former National Park Service Chief Historian Edwin Bearss has also noted that "the beards [weren't] very good." He also commented that the original film made for Shiloh National Military Park suffered by comparison to the Mission 66-era movie created for Gateway Arch at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, which had a much larger budget, and movies created for other parks such as Gettysburg National Military Park. Bearss noted that although the park had recognized by the 1980s that a new film was needed, it was not realized until Woody Harrell became superintendent. Bearss considers Harrell's work on the film to be one of the crowning achievements of his tenure as superintendent.[663]

The majority of the funding for the film was secured through entrance fee funds collected at Shiloh between 1987 and 2011, and monies provided from the Eastern Association Donation Account.

As noted by Superintendent Woody Harrell,

> One reason our park [visitation] figures were low, if visitors had been to the visitor center before and they knew the movie was the same one we started showing in 1957 they weren't going to pay the three bucks, four bucks, whatever it was to come in, so we were losing our best opportunity to communicate with visitors because the fee was keeping them from coming in the building. We weren't making that much money off the fees anyway. The only way to correct that would have been to put up an entrance booth out on each road but with five or six entrances that would have been costly. I think considering Shiloh's location

661. Stacy Allen, "Signature Event Report."
662. Ibid.
663. Edwin C. Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

> sixty miles from the nearest interstate and in a county that up until 2000 had fewer people living in it than were killed, wounded, and missing at the battle, I thought our numbers were really good. We were probably the sixth most visited Civil War battlefields, and you gotta *want* to come to Shiloh.[664]

On April 4, 2012, approximately 850 people attended the premiere of the new Shiloh National Military Park orientation film, *Shiloh: Fiery Trial*, at Pickwick State Park (Figure 69). In attendance were Regional Director David Vela and Chief of Staff Gordon Wissinger. The premier was offered as part of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission's Signature Event Programs for 2012.



FIGURE 69. View of the filming of the new park orientation movie. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park)

Summary

As noted by Stacy Allen regarding park interpretation:

> We have this fascinating commemorative layer. And in our regards, of course, it dates right back to the battle participants, the survivors. You know, people can touch those monuments, and they're touching great-great-granddad and that generation, and that entire generation, the experiences of all. But we have a tendency to manage the battlefields like golf courses: immaculate. Grass cut ever seven to eight days, you know, as if you would manicure your lawn. And we always knew, you knew that that actually didn't look like it did in 1862, because it didn't look like that in 1862. We know it, and we know in the aftermath, you know, on April 8, 1862, this was a pretty ugly place. You wouldn't have wanted to be here.
>
> There was a lot of death, and there was a lot of pain and a lot of suffering. But there's this idea of park, and there's an idea of commemorative park, but we're getting away from that, and the agency's had to evolve its management concept. And you can see it today. Spaces that we would have been mowing on a weekly basis, we're now only cutting twice a year. That carries some benefits. It carries initial issues, because you have to explain to the public why you're no longer managing it in the same way. But once they understand what the goal is, usually they become converts, because when it does give a more historic look to the site, less human maintained, but there's still a human connection, and it resembles more of the historic pastoral character, the commemorative layer is – we see it as an enhancement to a visitor's appreciation of the site and understanding. Of course, I know the National Park Service has a general management policy now. There's no new monuments unless there's a law that says there'll be a new monument. Or where they're already authorized, because, see, it's in our enabling legislation.[665]

664. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2016.

665. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

Corinth Unit

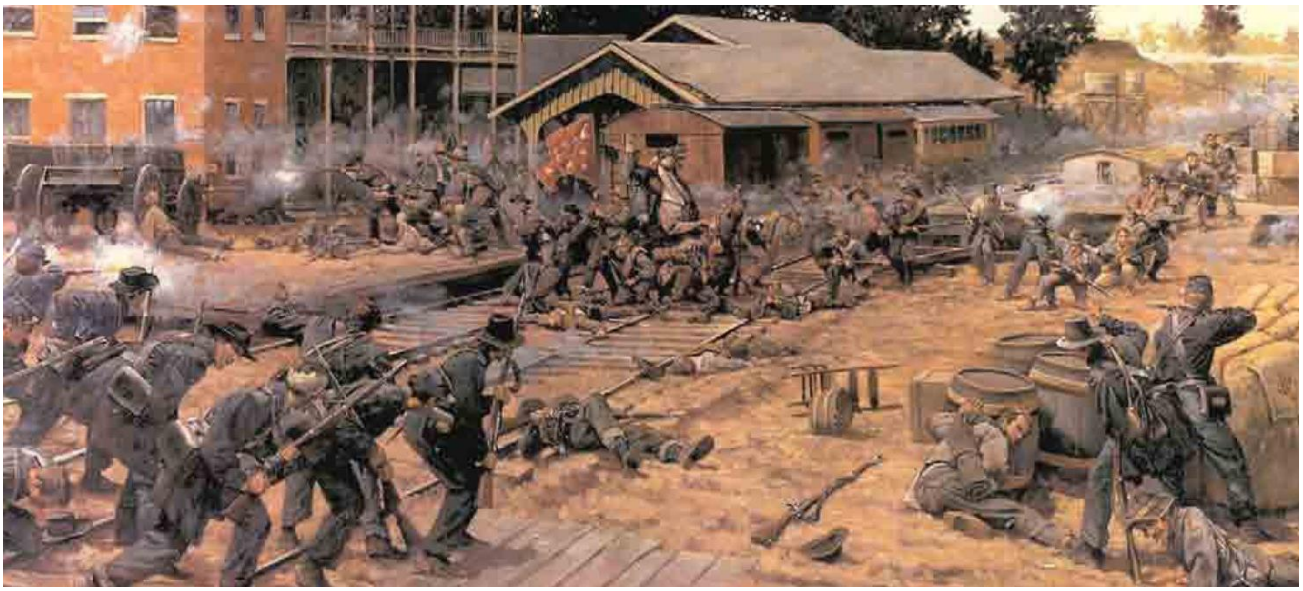


FIGURE 70. The Battle of Corinth. (Source: *Special Resource Study: Corinth, Mississippi*)

On November 12, 1996, Congress passed Public Law 104-33 (110 Stat. 4093, Sec. 602), an Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act that authorized the establishment of the Corinth Interpretive Center as part of Shiloh National Military Park. The Act authorized acquisition of a 20-acre site at Battery Robinett on which to locate the interpretive center. This act constituted a culmination of years of effort conducted by local residents in collaboration with politicians and the National Park Service.

As plans for and interest in the project grew, additional legislation followed. In November 2000, Congress passed the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act, which established Corinth as a unit of Shiloh National Military Park. The Act authorized the National Park Service to prepare a Special Resource Study to consider a boundary adjustment appropriate for inclusion of the Corinth unit.

The National Park Service completed the Special Resource Study and a boundary adjustment in 2004; in response, Congress passed the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2008 (H.R. 2764-279 Div. F, Title I, Sec. 127), which expanded the boundary of the Corinth unit to approximately 950 acres. The chapter that follows provides more detailed information about how this legislation came to pass.

Early Efforts to Assess and Recognize the Significance of the Battlefield and Surviving Related Civil War Resources

During the late 1980s, a group of civic leaders in Corinth, Mississippi, began to consider how they might revive a 30-year-old proposal to create a Civil War battlefield park in the region of Corinth that would highlight the important military history

of the region and its role as a key railroad crossroads. As noted by Rosemary Williams, President of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, and a leading proponent of establishing a historic site at Corinth:

> Corinth's national historical significance lies in its role as a strategic railroad junction during the American Civil War, and the armed engagements to either capture or defend the town. These engagements include the Battle of Shiloh and the Siege and Battle of Corinth, the outcomes of which proved to be pivotal in the course of the Western Campaign.
>
> The surviving earthworks from this period, found scattered throughout Corinth, are considered one of the largest and best-preserved fortifications groups in the nation. Historic significance is also derived from the formation of the Contraband Camp near Corinth during the years of Federal troop occupation, where thousands of African-Americans began life as freemen. This model town provided recruits for the organization of some of the earliest African American military units, including the First Alabama Regiment of African Descent. Along with its wealth of other historical and cultural resources, Corinth provides a unique opportunity to learn about often overlooked aspects of the Civil War.[666]

Rosemary Williams has become synonymous with the movement to recognize Corinth's importance by protecting Civil War-era resources associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth and establishing an interpretive center and national park property in the city. Williams's long-standing and tireless efforts to raise awareness about the significance of the battlefield and the need to preserve it were instrumental in the establishment of the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park. As noted by Mrs. Williams, her work built on the efforts of Corinth-native Lanny Griffith, the first person to suggest the importance of the battlefield and work to raise awareness about the need to protect it.

It was during the late 1980s that Griffith took the decisive step that set this process in motion by inviting a contingent of National Park Service representatives from Washington, D.C., to visit Corinth and tour the battle and siege land. The agency officials who traveled to Mississippi at Griffith's request left expressing a strong interest in the resources and a determination to learn more.

In the summer of 1989, the National Park Service followed up by sending military history specialist Paul Hawke to spend several weeks investigating the battlefield landscape through field and archeological survey. In his efforts to understand the battlefield and its resources, Hawke worked closely with Shiloh Historian Stacy Allen. Together, they documented the extensive system of Civil War earthworks that survive within and around the town of Corinth, among other resources.

Mr. Hawke's work energized the Corinth community. Several interested community members soon established a task force in 1990 that included Rosemary Williams, as well as Margaret Rogers, Mayor Edward Bishop, Jack Griffith, and Bailey Williams, to consider how they might support an effort to protect and recognize Corinth's Civil War heritage. The task force was the idea of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, representatives of which had also visited Corinth following Lanny Griffith's call to action. The state invited Shiloh National Military Park Superintendent Woody Harrell, who had just assumed a post at the park, to participate on the task force.[667]

Within a year or so, the task force, working with Stacy Allen at Shiloh and others, had identified several tracts of land and a historic house as of critical importance to the Corinth Civil War story. The national significance of Corinth's Civil War

666. Rosemary Williams, "Report from Corinth." http://www.civilwarnews.com/preservation/corinthwilliams.htm

667. Personal interview, Rosemary Williams, April 15, 2015.

heritage was affirmed in May 1991 when a property referred to as the Siege and Battle of Corinth was designated a National Historic Landmark. Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan attended an event to honor the designation.

It was also in 1991 that Frances H. Kennedy, Director of the Civil War Battlefield Campaign of the Conservation Fund, traveled to Corinth to assist the community task force with the issue of land and easement acquisition. The Conservation Fund is a nonprofit organization concerned with land conservation that promotes environmental and economic sustainability. Kennedy served as Director of the Civil War Battlefield Campaign for the Conservation Fund from 1988 until 2006. While in this position, Kennedy also served as author and principal contributor to *The Civil War Battlefield Guide*, and co-author of *Dollar$ and Sense of Battlefield Preservation*. Based on Kennedy's recommendations, the task force was transformed into a four-person commission to be appointed jointly by the city and county of Corinth in 1992. Rosemary Williams was jointly appointed and elected chairperson of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission in 1993.

One of the factors that contributed favorably to the work of the Commission was publication of the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* in 1993. This report provided an inventory of the nation's 384 Civil War battlefields, and an assessment of the level of integrity associated with each one. Current and anticipated threats to the integrity of the battlefields were also indicated as a way to prioritize protection efforts. The report listed Corinth Battlefield as a Priority 1 Battlefield, suggesting a Critical Need for Coordinated Nationwide Action by the Year 2000. Without immediate action, the report suggested there was a strong likelihood that the battlefield would be permanently lost. Residential development presented the most immediate threat to the Corinth battlefield.

As noted by Superintendent Harrell:

> When I got here, the folks in Corinth were getting interested in Civil War preservation. It seemed like once every generation there was somebody coming in with a proposal for a park in Corinth "just like Shiloh." We had the plans for the proposal before this one, and of course nothing ever happened on that. To the west of town was a new subdivision. There were a number of them being built when NASA was going to move the solid rocket booster plant for the space shuttle over to Yellow Creek in Tishomingo County. The speculation was because the Corinth schools were much better than the Tishomingo schools, many of the scientists and engineers would come over here. So this subdivision was being established, and all of a sudden people realize Battery F, one of the outlying Civil War forts, is right on the corner between three lots of the subdivision. So it was like, ". . . we can't let this happen. We've got to raise money for it." They had some success. Then probably the biggest thing was John Nau out at Houston, a big Anheuser-Busch distributor, and a big Civil War buff, contributed the $30,000 they needed to make that possible. The saving of Battery F got the Civil War preservation effort going, with people saying, "We need a park; we need a park; we need a park in Corinth just like Shiloh."[668]

Earthworks Preservation

One of the important surviving features of the Siege and Battle of Corinth landscape is an extensive system of surviving earthen field fortifications constructed by both Union and Confederate forces in 1862. The earthworks were constructed by soldiers and slaves, and were composed of mounded soil, sometimes reinforced with rock, gabion baskets, logs, bundled sticks, and bales of cotton, used to form a parapet wall, edged by a ditch. The parapet served to protect those defending the position, while the combined parapet and ditch presented an obstacle to an attacking force. Mounded earth was found to be the best material for construction of parapet walls

668. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

as it could defuse the power of incoming projectiles and was easily repaired following an assault. Earthworks were also often designed to include other obstacles to slow the approach of an enemy. These included sharpened sticks and logs known as or abates and chevaux-de-fris, pits and sinks, and cabled brush.

The Confederates built earthworks to fortify their control of Corinth, which was principally a way to protect two important rail lines that passed through the town. Later, when they were involved in a siege of the Confederate position at Corinth, Union forces added offensive earthworks from which to maintain pressure on the Confederate line.

The earthworks that survive at Corinth are considered some of the best-preserved in the country and are indicated as contributing to the National Historic Landmark designation of the Siege and Battle of Corinth property. The earthworks constructed by the Union Army have been described as:

> . . . one of the more elaborate displays of offensive entrenchments in the entire war. As the army advanced, it sent out skirmishers to clear the way, then constructed a new line of earthworks to occupy. This cautious strategy transformed the landscape between Shiloh and Corinth, and turned a 22 mile journey into a 30 day exercise in field fortification science. The strength of these fortifications, as well as the size of force, convinced Beauregard his Southern army could not defend Corinth. The use of offensive fortifications aided National forces in capturing Corinth on May 29, 1862, without the calamity of a large battle.
>
> Fortifications for the artillery were much more difficult to build. The size of artillery pieces as well as the number of men needed to operate them required larger, more complex structures. Six such structures were constructed through the summer of 1862 around the southern and western approaches to the town and named Batteries A through F. Following their completion, Union General William S. Rosecrans ordered a new series of seven fortifications built. These positions were meant to be an inner line of defense for the rail junction and depot in Corinth that could be garrisoned by a smaller force. These earthworks were located in a semicircle within roughly a half mile radius around the rail crossover, guarding the northern, southern, and western approaches into town.[669]

One of the important features of the Union line that became a particular object of preservation was Battery Robinett. This earthwork:

> . . . was built on the site just east of the courtyard behind the [present-day] Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center. This wedge shaped work, called a lunette, was roughly thirty-five yards wide by forty yards deep, and was open to the rear. It had seven foot tall parapets, a ten foot wide ditch in front, embrasures for heavy guns, and was armed with three twenty-pounder Parrott rifled cannon.
>
> The walls were reinforced by gabions (earth filled baskets and fascines (woven bundles of brush). A covered way, or communication trench, linked the fort with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad cut to the south. The approach to Robinett was obstructed by abates. Rosecrans further ordered the construction of breastworks between the seven redoubts that would offer positions in which infantry troops could fire from a protected position. During the Battle of Corinth, the fight for Robinett was bloody and desperate. A Confederate attack against the bastion resulted in a hand to hand struggle for the position. The strength of Federal defensive fortifications proved effective against the Confederate assault.[670]

Initial Land Acquisition

After its establishment in 1992–1993, the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission immediately formed a nonprofit Friends support group to assist with land acquisition and fund raising. The Friends group, which was also led by Rosemary

669. National Park Service, "Corinth" one-page information guide.

670. Ibid.

Williams, set about purchasing their first parcel of battlefield land, one that was imminently threatened by development. As noted by Williams:

> Two houses were being built on it. It was the last six or so rifle pits that guarded the city, located on these two lots in a subdivision. Then, the battery was just at the back of these two lots in the woods behind. So, we had to talk two families into stopping. One had the foundation already poured for the house. These people were good enough to sell our lots and then we were able to buy another parcel of land to make that whole area.[671]

The Conservation Fund provided support in the form of a loan that allowed the group time to raise funds for repayment. The money was raised over the course of several years from a combination of local commercial and industrial enterprises and private gifts.

> Williams notes that, although fund raising was a constant reality: . . . it all worked out that there was more interest in that period of time with saving battlefield lands Growing interest in Washington . . . growing interest in Virginia in particular. With the Civil War Trust, and there were a couple of other organizations all interested in it. I was invited to be on the board of the Civil War Trust. They grant money for that, and they gave us our first grant.[672]

The Civil War Trust was one of the organizations that was instrumental in helping the Commission to meet its goals of protecting battlefield land. In fact, based on their successful working relationship, Williams was later named to the board of the Civil War Trust and became its programs chairperson.

Also key to the success of the Commission's efforts was the State of Mississippi, which provided a large grant. As Williams noted, the state:

> . . . came up with several million dollars that they put in a fund to be granted for buying battlefield land only so we could match the Civil War Trust money against the state money. We took advantage of that opportunity just in that window of time and were able to buy what we have today with the exception of that school property. We had generous people here, too, who would let their land go for less than land value—would use it for a tax write-off—so that was very nice, on a couple of occasions.[673]

Other entities recognized by Williams for the support they provided to the cause were the Corinth Visitor and Convention Bureau, and the Alcorn County African-American Historical Association.[674]

Legislation

In addition to land acquisition, the Commission was instrumental in securing federal support for the creation of a public park at Corinth. At the heart of this effort was Rosemary Williams, who frequently traveled to Washington, D.C., to lobby Congress for the establishment of a National Park Unit at Corinth. Williams regularly spoke before Congressional subcommittees involved in conducting investigations into the need for new national park units, many time addressing public officials who were not in favor of the government securing additional park land.[675] In her efforts, Williams involved Mississippi Senator Thad Cochran and Congressman Roger Wicker in putting together the first bill, and later prevailed upon friend and colleague Trent Lott to support the effort. Based on the efforts of the Commission, reinforced by the National Historic Landmark designation of the property, legislation was introduced into Congress in 1996 to establish a center for:

> . . . the interpretation of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and other Civil War actions in the Region and to enhance public understanding of the significance of the Corinth Campaign

671. Rosemary Williams, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
672. Ibid.
673. Ibid.
674. Ibid.
675. Ibid.

> and the Civil War relative to the Western theater of operations, in cooperation with State or local governmental entities and private organizations and individuals.[676]

At the same time, as noted by former Shiloh Superintendent Woody Harrell,

> The National Park Service resisted kicking and screaming at doing anything. We've got Shiloh . . . that's everything we need. We are covering the whole story. We don't need anything else. Senator Lott initially put a bill in to build the interpretive center . . . a stand-alone building. The National Park Service testified against it at every opportunity. We don't need it, we can't take care of what we got, we give grants, we can give technical assistance but don't mention the 'P' word. No new parks. The first time I met Senator Lott, he came to town for something else but afterwards he was having a news conference and Rosemary Williams, with the Siege and Battle Commission, asked me to come down, "we'd like you to meet the senator."
>
> After they took care of whatever topic had brought him town, the very next question was "Senator Lott, we understand the National Park Service testified before the subcommittee yesterday against your interpretive center. What do you think that's going to do to the long-term chances of your bill?" And Senator Lott replied, "Well, since I'm going to keep working on my bill until I get it passed, I don't think it's going to affect the long term chances at all."
>
> So Senator Lott got the bill got passed in 1996.[677]

Section 602 of the 1996 Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act identified the purpose of the Act as:

- To identify, protect, and preserve surviving military and civilian features from the Civil War era in and around Corinth, including the role of railroads in the war, the Corinth contraband camp, and the development of field fortifications as a tactic of war; and
- Commemorate and promote interpretation and visitor use of the nationally significant resources associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth, including interpretation within the larger context of the Civil War.

Through the 1996 bill, an appropriation of $6 million was provided to establish the interpretive center.

Later that year, the Mississippi Congressional delegation submitted legislation to amend the 1996 act by designating an authorized boundary for a new "Siege and Battle of Corinth Unit of Shiloh National Military Park," and permit National Park Service acquisition of the Battery Robinett tract. The legislation authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire other lands from the State of Mississippi or Tennessee, or their political subdivisions, or from the "Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth" by donation. Privately owned lands or the interests therein could be acquired with the consent of the property owner. The Secretary was authorized to acquire the minimum federal interests necessary to achieve the objectives of the park.

In 1998, the twenty-acre property that contained earthworks referred to as Battery Robinett was donated to the National Park Service by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Within the tract, the National Park Service planned to select a specific site for construction of the authorized interpretive center. In June, National Park Service Director Robert Standon and Southeast Region Director Jerry Belson visited Corinth to view the historic Battery Robinett tract and discuss plans for the interpretive facility. Rosemary Williams and Jon Hill of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, along with Superintendent Harrell and Historian Stacy D. Allen of Shiloh National

676. Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996, Public Law 104-333, 110 Stat. 4172, November 12, 1996.

677. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

Military Park, assisted Directors Stanton and Belson during the visit. Although Federal Battery Robinett had been one of the key features of the battlefield in its role as gatekeeper of the western approaches to Corinth and as the scene of intense combat during the October 4, 1862 battle, the earthworks had been destroyed after the Civil War, suggesting that placement of the interpretive center on the site could occur if it did not destroy significant resources. To further guide site selection, the National Park Service conducted archeological investigations in 1999 to locate the site of the earthworks.

In 2000, Congress passed the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act, which increased the appropriations authorized by Section 602 of the 1996 act by $3 million. The legislation called for preparation of a Special Resource Study to consider the importance of properties in the vicinity of Corinth, Mississippi, and nearby areas of Tennessee to the Civil War Siege and Battle of Corinth in 1862. Properties under consideration for potential inclusion in the park unit were those under the ownership of the States of Mississippi and Tennessee, and their political subdivisions, as well as those owned by nonprofit organizations or private persons, for which the national significance, suitability, and feasibility of these properties for inclusion within the Siege and Battle of Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park could be determined. As many as 500 properties appeared to potentially qualify for inclusion, based on the calculation of Superintendent Harrell in his 2000 Annual Superintendent's Report.

The legislation required that the Special Resource Study be completed within 18 months of the date when funds were made available, and that the Secretary of the Interior submit the report to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives at that time.

Soon after the 2000 legislation passed Congress, the State of Mississippi approved its own bond referendum that added another $500,000 to the funding available to construct the interpretive center. These funds were designed for completion of an auditorium not included in the original interpretive center plan. Thus, funding for the Corinth Interpretive Center had now been appropriated in the amount of $9.5 million. The contribution by Mississippi, which essentially provided funds for a federal project, is one of the more unusual aspects of the Corinth story, and illustrates the high level of public and political interest and commitment to historic preservation and heritage tourism in Mississippi. In particular, it was the interest and support of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott that led to the success of the endeavor.

Work on the Corinth Special Resource Study was conducted during Fiscal Year 2001, and anticipated to be completed in March 2002 for submission to Congress. The study included evaluation of a boundary adjustment to the newly authorized Corinth unit, and examined site significance, suitability, feasibility of Civil War resources associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth in the states of Tennessee and Mississippi. Seventeen individual historic sites, associated with fourteen separate tracts of land located in Tennessee and Mississippi were determined to meet established criteria for inclusion in the National Park System. Several other sites were also examined to determine alternative mechanisms for their protection and interpretation.[678] Members of the team engaged to prepare the Special Resource Study included Bill Koning, Harlan Unrau, Sandy Shuster, and Phillip Thys with Denver Service Center, Shiloh Chief Park Ranger Stacy D. Allen, and consultants Tim Kissel with Trailhead Graphics, Inc., Rosemary Williams, Chairman of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, and Edwin C. Bearss, Historian Emeritus, National Park Service.[679]

Although the National Park Service completed the study within the required time frame, it was not immediately considered by Congress. In the meantime, the National Park Service prepared a second report—the Boundary Adjustment Study—

678. Ibid.; 2002 Superintendent's Annual Report.

679. 2002 Superintendent's Annual Report.

that more closely considered appropriate land acquisition. This study identified a preferred alternative that identified a park unit totaling approximately 950 acres.[680]

Despite extensive lobbying by Rosemary Williams and others, Congress was unwilling or unable to take up consideration of the Special Resource Study. Thus authorization of a boundary increase for Shiloh National Military Park to include the Corinth unit, and transfer properties owned by the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth to the federal government, could not move forward. It was not until 2007 that Congress finally considered the study and approved the park boundary change to include preserved Civil War acreage in Alcorn County, Mississippi. The boundary adjustment increased the size of the Corinth unit from 17.33 to 950+ acres.[681]

Interpretation

Throughout the time that the Commission worked to establish the interpretive center and Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park, it also spent much time and energy on developing public interpretation of the Civil War heritage of Corinth. In discussing the focus of these efforts, Rosemary Williams notes:

> It just felt like if you have the land you need to interpret it. If it's going to be public, people have to have access to the land that's public, it has to be safe, and you need to tell the story of what happened there. So, [one way we did this was to go] to Mississippi Wildlife Fisheries and Parks and we were able to get grants to go into these pretty remote woodland places—just walking trails and that sort of thing—benches, bike racks, and all that. Then I went to the Federal Highway Department through the state highway and got, I think, about a $2 million grant to build hiking and biking trails. We built those from downtown where the railroad crossing is located and put public rest rooms in there and a map stand—it became the starting place for the hiking and biking trails, and they go 20 miles. They connect up to these trails that go into the sites, for the most part. The other sites we did not put trails into were accessible anyway.[682]

The Commission was supported in its efforts by Superintendent Harrell and Chief Ranger Paul Hawke, who provided technical assistance while also regularly attending the Commission's monthly and special meetings. In 1998, Chief Ranger Hawke and Historian Allen provided assistance and subject matter expertise for the Commission's development of interpretive literature, exhibits, trails, and auto tours of Corinth and its Civil War resources.[683]

By 2000, the Commission had established interpretive programming for all of its land holdings, including erecting wayside exhibits to tell the history of the battle and to mark key military positions. The Commission also oversaw the production of maps made available to visitors at the Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau and elsewhere that they could use to tour the battlefield by automobile. It also helped develop a walking tour of the historic downtown area. The text included on the maps was prepared with the assistance of National Park Service personnel including Stacy Allen. The Commission secured funding for printing, sign fabrication, and other direct costs by applying for grants from organization such as the Appalachian Regional Commission, and private and corporate donations.

The Commission also contributed to the development of a comprehensive heritage tourism plan produced jointly by the city of Corinth and Alcorn County. As their work gained momentum and the support of residents, it helped inspire related projects such as restoration of buildings in historic downtown Corinth, development of a local museum in the historic railroad depot, and installation of interpretive signs at the 1854 Jacinto Courthouse. Partners involved in these efforts

680. 1998 Superintendent's Annual Report.
681. Stacy D. Allen, personal communication.
682. Rosemary Williams, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
683. 1998 Superintendent's Annual Report.

included the American Battlefield Protection Program; Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Conservation Fund; National Geographic Society; Mellon Foundation; Civil War Trust; Mississippi Wildlife, Fisheries, and Parks; Mississippi Department of Transportation; Corinth Convention and Visitor's Bureau; Main Street Corinth; The Alliance (a regional economic development entity); Corinth's "Keep America Beautiful" organization; Northeast Mississippi Museum Association; University of Mississippi; Mississippi State University; the Blue and Gray Education Society; Mississippi Development Authority's Division of Tourism; the National Trust for Historic Preservation; the Monticello Foundation; the Appalachian Regional Commission; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Sons of Confederate Veterans; and various volunteers, historians, and researchers.[684]



FIGURE 71. Rosemary Williams standing in front of the bronze bas relief sculptures outside the entrance to the Corinth Interpretive Center, 2015.

Interpretive Center Development

After funding was appropriated for the Corinth Interpretive Center, plans for its design were needed. The design process began in November 1999 with a National Park Service charrette held in Corinth. Three alternatives were generated during the workshop, and a preferred alternative selected. Because the 1996 legislation did not afford the agency authorization to acquire land, and the appropriation was insufficient for the project, the project was subsequently put on hold until the 2000 Act was passed. The design and construction planning for the interpretive center subsequently resumed in 2000–2001, with construction planned to begin in 2002 and end in 2003 or 2004.[685]

The National Park Service worked closely with the Commission on the design of the interpretive center and its interpretive program. As noted by Rosemary Williams (Figure 71). Shiloh Superintendent Harrell ". . . was good enough to take me to San Antonio where the architects were." Together, the agency and the Commission discussed what stories should be told and how they would be told. Superintendent Harrell also conceived of a fountain that would be built in the courtyard of the building.

Williams was particularly ". . . interested in having an auditorium. When the federal money came about for the building and architects were working with [the commission, it became clear that they] were going to have to leave the auditorium off." It was Williams who convinced the Mississippi State Senators to have the state provide money for the auditorium so that it could be included in the project.[686]

To articulate the ideas developed by park staff and the Commission in the charrette and afterwards, the National Park Service engaged a team of professional architects, landscape architects, and interpretive planners. Pre-construction work began in 2001, when draft architectural and landscape design plans were prepared by Overland Partners, Inc., of Houston, Texas, and EDAW, Inc., of Denver, Colorado. On May 1, 2001, the initial plans, which included a proposed location, were presented to the Development Advisory Board, but were not approved as the board required several changes.

684. http://www.preserveamerica.gov/awards08/corinth.pdf
685. 2000 Superintendent's Annual Report.
686. Rosemary Williams, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

After the designers made revisions, the plans were approved following a second presentation in July 2001; in the second iteration, the interpretive center was located 10 feet to the west of the first proposed site. The board then requested that the project team complete a value analysis for interior and exterior interpretive media.[687] The interpretive center exhibits were concurrently developed by The Planning, Research, and Design Group, Ltd., of Fairfax, Virginia. Mangi Environmental Group of Falls Church, Virginia, was engaged to prepare an Environmental Assessment for the project.

The construction contract for the interpretive center was awarded to Inman Construction Corporation of Memphis, Tennessee.[688] Construction of the new 15,000 square foot building, including an auditorium and courtyard, was initiated in December 2002.

In 2002, *Blue & Gray* magazine published its annual summer edition with an issue-length narrative history and tour of Corinth entitled, "Corinth—Crossroads of the Western Confederacy." The article brought further public attention on the Corinth project. The park has since expanded the issue and re-published it using Eastern National donation collection funds as a "Visitor Guide," sold at park Eastern National bookstore outlets.

In 2002, the park began to plan for the opening, staffing, and maintenance of the new Corinth facility. Superintendent Harrell's Annual Superintendent's Report noted:

> The problem of operational funding to open and staff the new Corinth facility by spring (May/June) of 2004 remains a critical need for the park. Program submissions were made for an OFS increase in funding, totaling $1.84 million. The overall park request was, at the directive of SERO, subsequently divided into three OFS submissions, which were programmed for receipt of funding over the course of three consecutive funding cycles, beginning with FY 05 and ending with FY 07. The bleak reality is SHIL will require a significant level of operational funding by the end of the second quarter of FY 04 to adequately open, staff, and care for the facility and grounds for the remainder of the first half year of operation, from May through September 2004.[689]

Extensive delays related to weather and incomplete architectural and engineering specifications affected the work schedule throughout 2003.[690] The planned opening of the center was delayed to spring or summer 2004.



FIGURE 72. The Corinth Interpretive Center, 2015.

As noted by Superintendent Harrell in his 2004 superintendent's annual report, the interpretive center finally opened on July 24, 2004 (Figure 72), with more than 1,250 visitors in attendance at a special ceremony:

> Amid fanfare and a host of dignitaries, the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, the first phase of Shiloh National Military Park's developing new park unit in Corinth, Mississippi, opened to the public July 24, 2004. The $9.5 million facility is the result of thirteen years of hard work and dedication by National Park Service, state, and local government officials, and numerous partners and stakeholders, to develop a state of the art facility to tell the story of the Civil War in north Mississippi and southwest Tennessee.

687. 2001 Superintendent's Annual Report.
688. Ibid.
689. 2002 Superintendent's Annual Report.
690. 2003 Superintendent's Annual Report.

> In his opening welcome, Superintendent Woody Harrell related how Senator Trent Lott on an early visit to the site had expressed a desire to see a unique building, and how Harrell believed the senator's goal had been met, stating, "After visiting 386 of the NPS's 388 units, I can say I haven't seen anything else quite like it."
>
> The opening program featured remarks from a number of figures instrumental in the development of the center. These speakers included United States Senators Trent Lott and Thad Cochran, Chairman of the Corinth Siege and Battle Commission Rosemary Williams, Chairman of the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation John Nau, NPS Chief Historian Dr. Dwight Pitcaithley, NPS Southeast Regional Director Pat Hooks, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History Elbert Hilliard, and President of the Civil War Preservation Trust Jim Lighthizer.
>
> Visitors reach the new center from the parking area by ascending a walkway strewn with what Civil War veteran and later journalist Ambrose Bierce described as all the "wretched debris of battle," bronze reproduction artifacts—uniform apparel, weapons, equipment, accoutrements, and various personal possessions of the soldier—that reflect the chaos of battle. At the center entrance, visitors pass six life-size bronze Civil War soldiers, filing forward at the double-quick into the center.
>
> The culminating event for visitors is a walk through the commemorative courtyard in the rear of the facility. There they encounter a water feature which provides a detailed representation of the birth and growth of the United States, the accompanying rise of sectionalism and key events of the Civil War itself.[691]

The interior exhibits featured a variety of media, such as interactive devices, audio-visual programs, full-scale models, and bronze statuary. In addition to the state-of-the-art facility, visitors were directed to other sites related to the Corinth story, such as 20 miles of hiking and biking trails leading to historic battlefield sites from downtown Corinth at Trailhead Park near the historic railroad crossing. The trails provided access to another new site developed by the Commission—the Corinth Contraband Camp site—and miles of earthworks dating from the 1862 siege and battle.[692]

The center is also located such that one of the important rail lines that was the focus of Civil War military activities is visible from the entrance drive.



FIGURE 73. Woody Harrell standing in front of the fountain that forms the core of the interpretive center courtyard, 2015.

One of the popular features of the interpretive center is the central courtyard garden. Although articulated in the architectural plans by the consulting architects, the courtyard was based on design ideas proposed by Superintendent Woody Harrell (Figure 73). Harrell's story of how he conceived of the courtyard was related in an interview conducted in 2015, where he remembered asking himself:

> "What are we going to do with this courtyard?" I would keep pounding the table and I would say, "If we could afford Maya Lin, what would Maya Lin do with the courtyard? We have all these 1890s monuments, but it's the year 2000 and how should we be interpreting the Civil

691. 2004 Superintendent's Annual Report.

692. Rosemary Williams, "Report from Corinth."

> War? What can we do? What would Maya Lin do?"
>
> Nobody was listening or at least nobody could come up with any ideas and the first plan that came back to us was very pedestrian. It was boring, it was nothing special about here, this courtyard in the center of the building. And just about that time there was a National Park Service superintendents' conference in Miami and so we all went down to Miami for the superintendents' conference. The day the conference started was 9/11/2001 . . . .
>
> . . . And as Jerry Belsen, the regional director, was starting to make some remarks . . . in fact we had somebody . . . it was like Southwest Airlines or something was going to be the first speaker and so Jerry comes in with this news of the plane crashes in New York and he was so flustered we thought it was part of the training exercise. Anyway, all of a sudden the superintendents' conference was of no importance and all of us wanted to get back to our parks as quickly as we could, but everybody had flown to Miami and the planes were all grounded and what were we going to do? So the superintendent of Abraham Lincoln birthplace had flown in but had gotten a rental vehicle and every car was already taken. But they had given him a 15-passanger van and all of a sudden he became everybody's best friend. So we loaded up a bunch of superintendents and then it's like a cross between a busman's holiday and whistle stopping as we left Miami and crisscrossed, dropping people off at parks and then heading on north.
>
> I took a legal pad and a handful of number two pencils and sat in the back of the van and started thinking about the courtyard. And when I got dumped off on the closest interstate, where somebody came over and picked me up, I had everything pretty well put together. The only change we made after that, I originally had a stone built into the wall and the fountains coming out of the stone next to the wall with the Declaration of Independence. Our contractor who did most of the exhibits inside the building said "What about the constitution?" So, we pulled the fountain away from the wall so we had the declaration on one side and the constitution on the other, so again how you come up with it? Well, it was this what would Maya Lin do and this idea that we will tell a hundred years of American history in a pretty restful contemplative kind of setting and to do it so there's a lot of symbolism that people might not see all the first time, but would bring them back again and again. It was like, "O.k., if the interpretive center was a golf course then this is the signature hole," and we want it to be special and that was the genesis of the idea . . . as I was thinking a lot about it on that drive back post 9/11 and all that was going on.
>
> We did go many places for ideas for the center. Rosemary got the Coca-Cola plane and flew the Commission to places I would suggest we needed to go. We went to Andersonville, to the prisoner of war museum down there.
>
> We went to the Atlanta History Center, which has really nice Civil War exhibits. I was in D.C. a couple of times around then so it was after the FDR memorial opened, and I think probably the FDR, all of that water and the stone there, that sort of got me thinking about it before we ended up doing it.[693]

During the first season, Eastern National staff assisted the park in hosting a Civil War seminar at Corinth, while ten special programs were presented by the interpretive staff onsite. Park Ranger Josh Clemons developed three site bulletins, a general information rack card, a draft Junior Ranger bulletin, and maps with driving directions between Shiloh Battlefield and the interpretive center.[694]

While the park awaited action on the boundary adjustment legislation, efforts continued during Fiscal Year 2005 to address construction deficiencies and complete the final punch list, such as landscaping and repair of cracked concrete sidewalks. The park also began discussing the need for an interpretive film with the Harpers Ferry Center.[695] At the same time, the park worked with the City of Corinth, the Mississippi Department of

693. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

694. 2004 Superintendent's Annual Report.

695. 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report.

Transportation, and the Harpers Ferry Center to design twenty-one new signs to assist visitors traveling to Shiloh from points to the east, west, and north.

In 2007, the park entered into a partnership with Harpers Ferry Center and Signature Films, Inc., to develop an interpretive orientation film for the Civil War Interpretive Center at Corinth.[696] Designed to "provocatively relate the story of the Civil War to the experience of the visitor," the film was estimated to require a budget of $498,000. Work on the orientation film, titled "Corinth—Crossroads of the Western Confederacy," proceeded in Fiscal Year 2008.Filming occurred between 2009 and 2011.[697]

The Corinth Contraband Camp

One of the most intriguing properties associated with the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park is the Corinth Contraband Camp. The camp is the site of a Civil War-era military enclave where escaped slaves and those who affiliated themselves with the Union army, who were referred to as "contraband," were housed after Union occupation of Corinth. During the Civil War, the Union Army was faced with the issue of how to address the interest of escaped slaves and freed blacks in allying themselves and being protected by the U.S. Army. By 1862, the U.S. decided not to return escaped slaves once they allied themselves with Union lines, but rather offered them paying work to support army needs. The camps that the former slaves set up near Union forces were known as contraband camps.

At Corinth, there were many African Americans who fled nearby plantations and farms where they had been enslaved, seeking freedom and protection by the Union army. Once Federal forces gained control of and began to occupy Corinth, escaped slaves increasingly began to move into the area, which they considered to be a secure location.[698]

Because Union Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, commander of the Corinth district, recognized the potential impact that the defection of these slaves would have on the Confederate War effort, he appears to have authorized the establishment of a camp in October or November 1862, and established jobs with which to enlist the escaped slaves. In addition, he established the contraband camp at Corinth and placed armed male refugees in charge of security. The camp was otherwise administered by Chaplain James M. Alexander of the 66th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Through his enlistment efforts, Dodge was able to form the 1st Alabama Infantry Regiment of African Descent, which included 1,000 members, after the Emancipation Proclamation effectively changed the status of the formerly enslaved.[699] This organization, created in May 1863 under the field command of Chaplain Alexander, who was promoted to the rank of colonel, was later re-designated the 55th United States Colored Troops in March 1864.[700]

The Corinth Contraband Camp was like a small town, complete with a church, commissary, school, hospital, frame and log houses, and named streets. The school was operated by the American Missionary Association.[701] Those living in the camp cultivated and sold cotton and vegetables in a progressive cooperative farm program. Over the term of its existence, the camp enabled 6,000 ex-

696. 2007 Superintendent's Annual Report.
697. 2008 Superintendent's Annual Report.
698. Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth website, available at http://www.corinthfriends.com/localsites.htm (accessed March 25, 2016).
699. Ibid.
700. Shiloh National Military Park website, "Corinth Contraband Camp" available at https://www.nps.gov/shil/planyourvisit/contrabandcamp.htm (accessed March 25, 2016).
701. Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth website, available at http://www.corinthfriends.com/localsites.htm (accessed March 25, 2016).

slaves to work to assimilate into free society.[702] The camp was relocated in December 1863 to Memphis, Tennessee, where the members resided in a more traditional refugee facility until the end of the war.[703]

Work to protect the Corinth Battlefield conducted by the Siege and Battle Commission included research and investigation into the history of the area and the military events of the Civil War. These research efforts led to work by Professor Cam Walker of the College of William and Mary in the 1990s that resulted in publication of "Corinth: The Story of a Contraband Camp."[704] Walker's work sparked an effort to rediscover this intriguing aspect of the city's history.

The Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission sought to locate the camp site in order to consider it for inclusion in protected lands. They were assisted in this effort by the Alcorn African-American Historical Association. In addition to research and preservation assistance, the Association provided the opportunity to apply for grants that could be used to develop the site as a park. Rosemary Williams notes in regards to the effort to locate the Corinth Contraband Camp:

> . . . finding it was like a needle in a haystack; it took several years . . . a local genealogist had done some work for a family that owned a farm here, and the farm had previously been owned by another family during the Civil War period. It's just east of town and a mile from the rail crossing, actually. We had thought it would be in a more outlying area, but here it was right under our noses. You had to imagine back in that time that the town was not developed in that direction and it was just a big Phillips farm, I believe it was. So, through her genealogy work for a family she ran across information that was a clue about that being there.[705]

The National Park Service was also involved and interested in locating the contraband camp. As noted by Superintendent Harrell,

> One of the biggest unanswered questions . . . when we started looking at Corinth would be where were all the Confederate bodies buried and I'm not sure we found that out. While we were looking at that, it was really a two-pronged effort by the community. You had folks like Stephanie Sandy who were taking the document approach and were looking at the paperwork for claims that local folks made against the federal government for the use of their land. That took us into land that had been used as the Contraband Camp. So we were looking at that. The other way was some of the local relic hunters looking to see physical remains of Confederate graves. So that sort of took us into some of the Contraband Camp as well. That was a story that had been pretty much forgotten, until we were doing the research of what ought to go into the Corinth Unit.
>
> I think there was a good bit of interest in the community to preserve it. Mayor Bishop was Corinth's first black mayor, and he was very interested in history. He was very interested in the Civil War. He said, "I may not agree with everything Civil War but we need to preserve it all." So Mayor Bishop, Rosemary Williams, a number of local folks that raised the visibility or the interest in the Contraband Camp so that when the special study came out it was certainly one of the items mentioned in there. It would be one of the sites. The big thing was Rosemary Williams was able to go back to the well one more time getting money to make the movie for the auditorium and getting money to develop the Contraband Camp. We were able to buy 7 or 10 acres from the Davis family on the west side of Phillips Creek. We were able to find some Civil War-era artifacts we could tie to that spot, so that was where we wanted to do it. But because there was nothing on the surface, everything was archeological,

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702. Shiloh National Military Park website, "Corinth Contraband Camp" available at https://www.nps.gov/shil/planyourvisit/contrabandcamp.htm (accessed March 25, 2016).
703. Ibid.
704. Cam Walker, "Corinth: The Story of a Contraband Camp" Corinth Information Database, version 1.3.
705. Personal interview, Rosemary Williams, April 15, 2015.

everything was below ground. The decision was made to have a commemorative park and by that time we had had so much success with Larry and Andrea Luger, the foundry folks who did all of the bronzes at the Interpretive Center, so we worked with Larry and to get some proposals to figure out what should we do over there. That I think has worked out really well and allows us to tell that full story and not just the siege and battle or the military conflict story but what was the impact on the town, and the former slaves' road to full citizenship. I think we captured that in the Corinth film as it finally came out. The film was probably the biggest disaster of anything while I was here. We had plenty of money from Senator Cochran to make the movie. The auditorium was already finished but because we didn't know the film was coming, we had covered just about every Corinth story somewhere in the building.

There weren't any restrictions. We had a clean canvas, and I thought that was going to be a great thing but in fact it gave us too much freedom and we went down a primrose path. We had a contractor who was not the best in the world and we had a tough time communicating what we were wanting and he was trying to do too much with computer graphics and that sort of thing. The upshot of it was when he began giving us a final product it wasn't anywhere acceptable. We had tried to aim for a young audience, concentrating on some kids and how they would be impacted by the war, and it was a disaster. We'd spent a lot of money and had hardly anything to show for it.

The good part of that effort was that's how Stacy and I learned how to not only make a movie. We learned how to make a movie through National Park Service contracts and the Harpers Ferry Center and all of that. So when we put that project on the shelf as being ". . . oh Lord, this is the most embarrassing thing we've ever seen and how are we going to take this across the finish line," and turned our attention to rush the Shiloh film through and get it done by the 150th, the success we had on the Shiloh movie is because we had learned our craft on this one. And then Ashley and the other folks were able to find another contractor to come in and pick up the pieces. I'm real tickled with the job they've done on that.[706]



FIGURE 74. Photograph of one of the bronze sculptures that help interpret the site of the Contraband Camp, 2015.

The site of the camp was later confirmed circa 1997 by National Park Service archeologists from the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), working in conjunction with state archeologists affiliated with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

After the site was identified, the Commission was able to secure a 21-acre parcel that encompassed the former camp site. After receiving additional grant funding, the Commission created a publicly accessible park on the site that features bronze figures located along the margins of a paved trail through the camp (Figure 74). The figures depict the lives of the people once considered the "contraband" of war who lived in the camp between fall 1862 and fall 1863.[707] National Park Service archeologists from SEAC conducted an archeological and geophysical survey of the Corinth Contraband Camp prior to construction of the trail and park to mitigate any potential impacts of the construction project. The report,

706. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

707. http://www.corinthfriends.com/localsites.htm

published in 2007, indicates that the project did not reveal much in the way of findings.[708]

Opening of the Corinth Contraband Camp site occurred on the same day as that of the Corinth Interpretive Center on July 24, 2004.

Davis Bridge Battlefield

The Battle of Davis Bridge immediately followed the October 3–4, 1862, Second Battle of Corinth, and involved the retreating Confederate Army under Gens. Sterling Price and Earl Van Dorn when they were attacked by 8,000 Union forces under Gen. Edward O.C. Ord. Ord was in command of a detachment of the Army of West Tennessee, which was advancing on Corinth to assist Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans. Ord had reached Pocahontas by the night of October 4, where he and his troops camped. The following morning, Ord and his forces encountered Union Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut's 4th Brigade, Army of West Tennessee. Ord took command of a combined army, and moved against Van Dorn's advance army, Maj. Gen. Sterling Price's Army of the West. The Union forces pushed the Confederate forces back for several miles until reaching the Hatchie River and Davis Bridge. While Price's men were engaged with Ord's forces, Van Dorn's scouts looked for other possible river crossing locations. After locating a site to the south near Holly Springs and Crum's Mill, the Confederates were able to retreat and cross the river without being captured.[709]

Davis Bridge Battlefield first became the target of preservation in 1987 when a group of members of the Bolivar, Tennessee, chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans Camp formed the Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation to acquire and protect associated land. The group soon acquired 5.6 acres on the west bank of the Hatchie River at the historic bridge site in 1987. The group managed and maintained the land for ten years before additional land was secured for preservation. In 1991, when Corinth and related battlefields were designated a National Historic Landmark, the 5.6-acre Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation parcel was included in the nomination. In 1997, the State of Tennessee, with the assistance of the Civil War Preservation Trust and the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust, was able to secure an additional 115 acres of the Davis Bridge Battlefield.

In 2000, Davis Bridge was indicated in the Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act, the Congressional legislation that established the Corinth unit of Shiloh National Military Park. The Act stipulated that the Secretary of the Interior could accept the donation of any of the sixteen properties deemed suitable and feasible for inclusion.[710] (As of 2017, legislation affecting the status of Davis Bridge was pending in Congress. The legislation will potentially expand Shiloh's authorized boundary to include Davis Bridge, which has its own authorized boundary of 1,090 acres.)

Beginning in 2009, the Civil War Trust began to spearhead an effort to acquire a significant portion of the Davis Bridge Battlefield on both sides of the

708. John E. Cornelison, Jr., Charles F. Lawson, and Tammy D. Cooper, with contributions by Robert K. Nickel. *Archeological and Geophysical Survey of the Civil War Contraband Camp, Shiloh National Military Park*. SEAC Accession No. 1689, SHIL Accession No. 3 (Tallahassee, Florida: National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, 2007).

709. National Park Service unigrid, Davis Bridge Battlefield, and Civil War Trust website.

710. The sixteen properties included in the National Historic Landmark designated property are: First Phase Battle of Corinth; Battery F; Battery Robinett; Fish Pond House; Curlee House; Oak Home; Duncan House; Railroad Crossover; Confederate earthworks between the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and the Purdy Road; Harper Road Union Earthworks; Confederate Rifle Pit; Corinth National Cemetery; Union Siege Line A (Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's and Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Davies' Divisions); Union Siege Line B (Army of the Tennessee - Brig. Gen. Thomas McKean's and Brig. Gen. T.W. Sherman's Divisions; Army of the Ohio-Brig. Gen. T.J. Wood's and William Nelson's Divisions); Union Siege Line (Army of the Mississippi); and Davis Bridge.

river. In his 2009 e-mail appeal for support from members and interested citizens, Civil War Trust President Jim Lighthizer noted:

> Civil War Preservation Trust currently has the chance to preserve essentially the rest of an entire Civil War battlefield, creating one of the largest Civil War state parks in Tennessee. CWPT has the chance to purchase an astounding 643 acres for $1,979,000-with just $166,400 of our own money! CWPT is applying for a federal battlefield matching preservation matching grant of $948,600, and has already secured a grant of $864,000 from the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund. In this era of bewildering stimulus packages, confusing bailouts, and unsteady consumer confidence, how about a plain, pure and simple good deal:
>
> If CWPT can raise $166,400, we will secure a whopping $1,812,600 in matching grants, turning every $1 of your generosity into nearly $12; save 643 pristine acres at one of the 384 most important Civil War sites, as decided by the U.S. Congress in 1993; and add to the 196 acres that have already been preserved there, creating, at 839 acres, one of the largest state Civil War parks in Tennessee.[711]

By 2013, Civil War Trust President Jim Lighthizer was able to suggest that the organization had been successful in this endeavor, acquiring or funding acquisition of another 720 acres—nearly the entire battlefield. Until Congressional legislation is passed, the land is jointly administered by the State of Tennessee as part of Big Hill Pond State Park and the National Park Service as part of Shiloh National Military Park.[712]

Post 2007 Developments and Perspectives

The Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission has remained involved and active in ongoing efforts to preserve Corinth's Civil War legacy. In 2008, for their contributions to the successful development of these programs, the Corinth and Alcorn County Mississippi Heritage Tourism Initiative that had spearheaded this effort was awarded a Preserve America Presidential Award.

From the perspective of the National Park Service, former Superintendent Harrell has noted that there remains some work to do:

> The numbers have disappointed me. I thought almost immediately we could generate the same visitation here as at the Shiloh Visitor Center, especially with us charging a fee up there. A couple of things, we wanted this to be a great starting place. You would come here, you'd get the background on the Civil War, the railroad junction, all of that, and then people would go up to Shiloh and hopefully come back and visit some of the outlying sites. That has not worked . . . again, post 9/11 there hasn't been a lot of interest in it. I think the National Park Service has probably missed an opportunity to have a Centennial, 'Roots,' Ken Burns-like spike. They have focused so much on tying together the Civil War and Civil Rights and when we come out of the Civil War Sesquicentennial, we are going to move immediately into the Civil Rights issue. I think that probably has alienated a lot of the core constituency. The battlefield folks. As the stone we have out there in the courtyard says, the United States as we know it today came not from the Revolution but rather from the new nation that came from the American Civil War.
>
> This idea to re-educate the public to the Civil War is the most important event in our history, the reuniting of the states and looking at the role of the veterans, the people that fought the battles in these parks, it's almost like we've brushed them aside. I'm afraid we're going to come out of this in five years (2011-2015) and the Civil War's kind of . . . it's going to be heading like the War of 1812 and the Revolution. We're going to lose that passion that so many people had for it. Anyway, all of that playing into that we've never had visitation here, I think its image as a stand-alone building has made it tougher to get people in. Ashley

711. http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/davis-bridge/davis-bridge-2009/a-message-from-jim-lighthizer.html

712. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

> was telling me the school board has agreed to sell that land across the street for ten bucks and that just happened last night.
>
> If we can put a battlefield footprint around this building and maybe advertise it more as Corinth Battlefield, Corinth Battlefield, Corinth Battlefield . . . and that was probably another mistake I made where we had the visitor center at Shiloh. The legislation called for an interpretive center. Well, o.k. Let's name it the interpretive center and then it'll be easy to distinguish it from the visitor center, but there is not a lot of sizzle and sex appeal in an interpretive center. So I can see us in ten years doing a lot of marketing as . . . the siege and battle of Corinth will . . . no one knows what a siege is, but Corinth Battlefield, that would probably bring more people in.
>
> Now is the time for somebody to come in and say o.k., we've got all of the building blocks. How are we going to interpret this? How are we going to connect it with a tour route, look for partnerships? The other thing we haven't talked about is this big change towards the end where Congress is doing away with pork barrel projects. When the Gulf War came around and we kicked all that out, then the support we had gotten from Hilleary on the Tennessee side and from the Mississippi delegation on this side dried up. So if we were starting over today, none of this would happen because we'd be competing against 400 other parks and there's no way we could get that attention. People would say I've done a good job, but I landed in the right place at the right time. It's just having folks like Collier, folks like Rosemary, and the stars just lining up right with folk's interest, and I was able to walk that fine line between the locals who wanted everything, and a regional office who didn't want anything, and tried not to aggravate anybody too much and get what you think the Civil War veterans would have wanted when they were setting up the park more than a hundred years ago.[713]

As of 2015 the Friends of Corinth, an organization that counts among its members many of the same people who serve on the Commission, continues to hold title to approximately 500 acres of the land acquired for donation to the Corinth unit. The Friends group and other local preservation partners and stakeholders are extremely desirous of congressional action that will complete the authorization of the permanent boundary for the Corinth unit and allow them to transfer their holdings to the federal government.

The land over which they maintain ownership was assembled during a period of approximately fifteen years, and includes several hundred acres of the land designated as a National Historic Landmark. The financial strain on the organization in maintaining the land is considerable, and Commission Chair Rosemary Williams continues to lobby the Mississippi congressional delegation for legislation authorizing transfer of these lands to the federal government for inclusion within Shiloh National Military Park, and for an appropriation of operational funding to adequately maintain and operate the authorized expanded Corinth unit.[714] The Commission also continues to contend with resource management issues such as protection of the earthworks and other resources from vandalism, all-terrain vehicle access, relic hunters, and the ravages of nature. The National Park Service helps to maintain the land by mowing open areas and patrolling Commission properties as possible with the ranger force available. Some open areas continue to be maintained through lease agreements with local farmers. The Commission takes advantage of the Civil War Trust's annual Park Day to engage volunteers in preservation projects on their land.

Interestingly, the Commission also continues to acquire land. In April 2015, for example, it acquired a parcel that had been of interest for some time due to its proximity to the Battery Robinett parcel and the interpretive center.

The Commission and Friends group have been proactive in their approach to management of their properties. To guide their efforts, the

713. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

714. 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report.

Commission hired consultants to develop a master plan in the 1990s. In 2015, Williams noted that the Commission has worked systematically through nearly all of the projects identified in the master plan. The one remaining challenge the Friends group is attempting to tackle is restoration of the Verandah-Curlee House in downtown Corinth. In addition to addressing structural problems involving the roof and foundation, the group is working to raise money for interior restoration. In all, the Friends group seeks private and public funding in the amount of $2,000,000 for this project.[715]

For Williams, the master plan was indispensable: "When we really appreciated it was when we got into the hiking and biking trails. People started complaining about that and we said, 'It's on the master plan and we have had all these public meetings and you didn't come to the public meeting.'"[716]

In summarizing her experience in shepherding the development of the Corinth unit over a twenty-five year period, Williams noted:

> The only thing I can say is that we happened upon this when the times were right, both here and with the people here and in Washington, and the people we had there to help us and in the state. That made a huge difference. The partnerships were extremely valuable, and I guess I can't even count at the moment the number of partnerships we had: sixty to seventy-five, or something like that, that we could list.
>
> Wonderful contributions came in from all around the country. That has dropped off some now. I think once people see the Interpretive Center built and things more in place they tend to not be as interested in donating as they once were.[717]

Also of interest is Williams's assessment of the changes that have occurred in communication practices over the time the Commission has been in existence. For example, when she began, most people were not using computers, and e-mail was not yet commonplace. She remembers typing scores of letters and that her husband had to install a second telephone line in their house to handle calls related to the Commission work. This aspect of the work has become much easier since the advent of personal computers, e-mail, and electronic files. Nonetheless, her enthusiasm, energy, resolve, and willingness to adapt were clearly an important factor in the success that was achieved at Corinth. She notes, for example:

> Once we started a mailing list that started things going. We did a newsletter that I got out, first once a month. That was wild, trying to get that mailed out when we were so busy. Then we dropped off to about one a quarter; we went to every other month—one a quarter. In the last few years we have not done a newsletter. It's just too expensive now. Postage started going up, and even though we used the non-profit, we just did a one-liner kind of newspaper. It was one page, folded, kind of like the Kiplinger Letter—if you're familiar with that—from Washington Once a year we asked for membership renewal.
>
> I think all of the help we needed was in the right place at the right time. I think here at home we had to persevere and just never give up. You lose some and you win some.[718]

Williams also recognizes the essential contribution of several organizations that she relied on to support the work of the Commission and Friends group with funds, promotion, and technical assistance. These groups included Civil War Roundtables, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Sons of Union Veterans, among others.

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715. "Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth," available at http://www.corinthfriends.com/localsites.htm (accessed August 10, 2016).
716. Rosemary Williams, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
717. Ibid.
718. Ibid.

Partnerships



FIGURE 75. The concessions building (present-day bookstore) in the park, May 13, 1936. (Source: National Archives)

Since the park's first partnering organizations—the Shiloh Park Citizens Association and Shiloh Historical Association—were formed in 1953 and 1955 respectively to support the production of a film about the Battle of Shiloh, the role of partners in park administration has increased and expanded in several areas. Partnering has become a tradition for many historic properties as a way to connect site history with a broader context, to share resources, and to attract larger visitation.

As noted by Stacy Allen regarding the growing importance and role of partnerships at Shiloh National Military Park:

> We've had to have partners and stakeholders to make it happen. I mean there's no way we could stabilize the riverbank without the Corps of Engineers and–in particular–the Tennessee Valley Authority, and all of our federal partners to make it happen.[719]

Allen also cited the effort to establish the Corinth unit and the Interpretive Center there as examples of the importance of partnerships in increasing the opportunities available to visitors, and the ability of the park to meet its mission. Given the number of partners that regularly participate in park programs and contribute to a variety of initiatives, it would certainly seem that to operate in the

719. Stacy Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

current realm of diminished federal funding it takes a village. The long list of partnering organizations, their origins, and ways in which they support Shiloh National Military Park are described below.

Eastern National Park and Monument Association

The Shiloh bookstore is operated by Eastern National Park and Monument Association, generally referred to as Eastern National, a National Park Service cooperating association. Revenues generated through bookstore sales are donated to the park for special projects and interpretive programs. Eastern National also manages a sales outlet at the Tennessee River Museum in Savannah, Tennessee, and operates the bookstore at the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center. The bookstore carries a large variety of thematic publications and inventory related to the Battle of Shiloh and the western campaign of 1862, the broad context of the Civil War, and the cultural and natural history of the southeastern United States. Interpretive publications are available for sale on individual battles and campaigns; famous personalities of the Civil War; personal soldier, civilian, and slave narratives; and regimental histories. The bookstore also offers an audio cassette/CD for sale that provides an in-depth Shiloh driving tour, and videos and thematic material for children.[720]

Eastern National Park and Monument Association was established in 1947 as the result of a meeting held at Gettysburg National Military Park that focused on park history. Among those in attendance were Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian of the National Park Service, Roy E. Appleman, Region One Regional Historian, and other notable agency historians, such as Charles W. Porter II, Rogers W. Young, Albert Manucy, Frederick L. Rath, Jr., Francis Wilshin, Edward Riley, Melvin W. Weig, and Charles E. Hatch. Also present were museum specialists Ned J. Burns and Ralph Lewis, while J. C. Harrington represented archeology. Several park administrators, most of whom had formerly served the agency as historians, were also in attendance, including Elbert Cox, Ralston Lattimore, Sutton Jett, Benjamin H. Davis, and J. Walter Coleman. Although the conference at Gettysburg considered many other topics, it is best known for spawning Eastern National.[721]

The idea of establishing a nonprofit cooperating association to sell locally produced publications, maps, post cards, and other useful items, with proceeds going to benefit the parks, was not new and was already practiced at Yosemite, Rocky Mountain, Yellowstone, Zion, and Custer Battlefield. The Southwestern Monuments Association, founded in 1943, a nonprofit that raised funds for the parks through sales, also served multiple parks by this time. The practice of partnering with nonprofits to raise funds was not yet recognized under federal law, however. Recognizing the value of these cooperating associations, Congress passed legislation on August 7, 1946, granting the National Park Service the authority to work with nonprofit private entities in this capacity.[722]

It was within the context of this legislation that Herbert Kahler suggested establishing a nonprofit organization to sell publications within the parks that would be in a position to donate the profits to support park operations, except in the case of parks where concessionaires already maintained operations.[723] Many of those in attendance elected to contribute money to initiate the project, while

720. *Shiloh National Military Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (National Park Service Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning and Shiloh National Military Park, January 2009), 32.

721. Robert M. Utley, "Eastern National Park and Monument Association; The First Fifty Years, 1947–1997" (Conshohocken, Pennsylvania: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1997), 3–4.

722. Utley, 4.

723. Ibid., 4.

Kahler was named Executive Secretary of the nascent organization.[724]

Eastern National Park and Monument Association was incorporated in Virginia in May 1948. By the end of the year, Kahler had recruited thirty-four charter members. The program involved the establishment of individual agencies at each park to underwrite the cost of sales stock and a display, estimated to cost approximately $1,000 at the time. Parks with larger agencies were encouraged to assist those with fewer resources, fostering a culture of sharing that has continued throughout the history of the organization.[725]

Roy Appleman served as director of the Association and was instrumental in establishing the first two agencies, which were located at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace and Colonial National Historical Park in 1949, and helping to select sales items. Five more agencies were formed in 1950 at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Morristown National Historical Park, Fort Pulaski National Monument, Petersburg National Military Park, and Vicksburg National Military Park.[726]

During the first few years of the program, Eastern National relied entirely on National Park Service personnel for its operations. These individuals served as agents, association directors, and officers. Herbert Kahler oversaw the program as a whole while serving as Chairman of the Board of Directors between 1948 and 1964.

Roy Appleman enlisted in the Army in 1951 to serve in the Korean War. He was succeeded by James W. Holland. Under Holland, the organization achieved tax exempt status in 1952 and launched a donation program, which resulted in a change from the use of profits to underwrite new agencies, to the acquisition of library books and museum specimens, improvement of interpretive programs and materials, and land acquisition on behalf of parks. Additionally, the organization hired its first paid employee, Joann Fontana, who was based at Independence National Historical Park.[727] Holland remained in a leadership role, and continued to serve the Association, until 1959. By that time, there were thirty-nine park agencies, the organization had grossed $900,000, amassed assets of $96,000, and donated $124,000 to park needs.[728] It was during the last part of Holland's tenure that the organization took on one of its most ambitious projects—assuming responsibility for the Jamestown Glasshouse operation, where skilled glassblowers produced replicas of colonial glassware for visitors, from the Jamestown Glass Foundation.

Holland was replaced by Dennis Kurjack, Assistant Superintendent of Independence National Historical Park, in 1959, suggesting a shift of focus from Richmond, Virginia, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Kurjack established a business office for the organization in one of the park's historic buildings. The Association remained in this location until 1991. Robert Smentek became the full-time business manager of Eastern National in 1965.

Mission 66, which resulted in a high level of growth within the National Park Service, led to new demands and challenges for Eastern National as a result of the tremendous expansion that occurred within the National Park System. Mission 66 planning also led to the advent of the visitor center as an agency building type, which would often feature a bookstore.

In 1964, Kahler retired as Chief Historian of the National Park Service and Chairman of the Board of Eastern National. He was then hired as the Association's first paid Executive Secretary, a position he held until 1973. During this period, he upgraded many of the sales facilities.[729] Kahler remained involved in the organization throughout his life. He died in 1993.

724. Ibid., 5.
725. Ibid., 5–6.
726. Ibid., 6.
727. Ibid., 6.
728. Ibid.
729. Ibid., 7.

Kahler was replaced as Chairman of the Board by Charles S. Marshall, Assistant Regional Director of the Southeast Region in Richmond. Marshall served until 1973, at which time he became Executive Secretary, a position in which he served until 1978. Under Marshall's leadership, the organization took on operation of the Electric Map at Gettysburg.[730]

By 1978, the organization boasted ninety-seven sales facilities and had grossed more than $2.5 million, while contributing $600,000 to park needs.[731] The number of paid personnel had grown to twenty full-time and thirty part-time employees.[732] As noted in Robert Utley's fiftieth anniversary history of the organization, by the late 1970s,

> Eastern staff and Eastern dollars sponsored, published, purchased, distributed, and sold an impressive variety of literature; acquired display items and equipment for museums and exhibits; supported special interpretive programs, such as craft demonstrations; powered many of the environmental educational programs spawned by the Hartzog administration; added to park libraries and special nature and history reference collections; underwrote historical, archeological, geological, biological, botanical, and other research projects; provided parks with equipment, supplies, and even parcels of land unobtainable with government funds; and sponsored events. As Board Chairman William C. Everhart remarked in 1982, he knew from his experience as a top Service official during the Hartzog years that "the instinctive reaction to an emergency need for funds is, 'Let's ask Eastern National.'"[733]

Despite these successes, there were several challenges faced by the organization. One was the perception by park concessionaires that they were in unfair competition with the nonprofit. Another problem arose when financial irregularities were discovered in the accounting system of the organization in 1977. As noted by Utley:

> In 1977 the Board discovered major cash shortages, business improprieties, and internal policy violations . . . . An outside audit authorized by the Board uncovered gross irregularities in the management of personnel, funds, and inventory."[734]

The financial improprieties were addressed by George J. Minnucci, Jr., who succeeded Robert Smentek in 1977 and took over business operations, and Frederick L. Rath, Jr., who succeeded Charles Marshall as Executive Secretary in 1979. Rath was instrumental in the establishment of the Eastern Acorn Press, which produced important publications for parks. Assisting these two men was William C. Everhart, who was elected Chairman of the Board in 1982.[735]

In 1979, the organization again became the focus of controversy when it agreed to establish agencies in National Wildlife Refuges administered by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Although debated, this action was later supported when it was pointed out that the profits were designated to support national parks.

Other problems arose in 1983, when Deputy Director Mary Lou Grier ruled that ". . . NPS personnel may not serve on the Board of Directors or other governing body of a cooperating agency except in an advisory and *ex officio* capacity." Given the fact that National Park Service personnel had founded Eastern National, this ruling was not well received.[736] In response the National Park Service Advisory Group to Eastern National was formed in 1984 to include those who would qualify as *ex officios* under the ruling. The group regularly sat with the Board of Directors to provide support and guidance.[737]

During the 1980s, the need for centralization and computerization led to additional changes in

730. Ibid., 7.
731. Ibid., 7.
732. Ibid., 8.
733. Ibid., 7.
734. Ibid., 8.
735. Ibid., 10–11.
736. Ibid., 11.
737. Ibid., 12.

Eastern National. The organization moved to a "Sectionalization" model, in which small agencies were grouped around a larger agency that could support full-time staff. As the organization grew into a sizable corporate enterprise during the 1980s, business practices were scrutinized and broadly reorganized, along with the constitution and bylaws.[738] As part of a 1986 reorganization, George Minnucci assumed the title of President and took a seat on the Board of Directors. Robert Utley served as Chairman of the Board at the time. He was succeeded by Ross Holland in 1988.

Eastern National established the "Passport to Your National Parks" program in 1986. It featured the availability of spiral-bound booklets that included stamps bearing colorful views of national parks. Visitors could purchase a booklet and add a rubber-stamped cancellation at each visited park. The program proved very popular and profitable.[739] The introduction of a mail order catalogue around the same time also boosted sales.

In 1993, Eastern National assumed responsibility for the business office of the Employees and Alumni Association of the National Park Service, producing a newsletter and other resources for members.[740]

In 1997, the organization simplified its name to as Eastern National. At the time, the organization boasted revenues of more than $20 million per year, with park donations surpassing $3 million. The organization employed nearly six hundred people.

Eastern National regularly recognizes the contributions of individuals and parks through its Honor Roll program. Since the 1980s, Shiloh has been recognized as the agency of the year as a result of the improved service offered in its new bookstore, while the park has received Eastern National's Charles S. Marshall Unit award, and Superintendent Woody Harrell was given the organization's Superior Performance award.

Shiloh's Eastern National agency was established in 1956 and has contributed to many programs, intern staff positions, and projects within the park. One of the first funding efforts of the agency was a $1,000 donation to the production of a film about the battle. In 1967, Executive Director Herbert E. Kahler visited the park to review operations with Agent J. P. Barnett.[741] In 1986, the agency opened a bookstore in the former post office/concession building after the post office relocated, which remained in the same location as of 2016. The agency also supported various Sesquicentennial programs and the sale of commemorative memorabilia at the park in 2012.

At Corinth, Eastern National has also provided critical support to the National Park Service in meeting its goals and providing programs. For example, in 2002, *Blue & Gray Magazine* published its annual summer edition with an issue-length narrative history and tour of Corinth entitled: *Corinth—Crossroads of the Western Confederacy.* The article brought further public attention to the Corinth project. The park has since expanded the issue and re-published it using Eastern National donation collection funds as a "Visitor Guide," sold at park Eastern National bookstore outlets. In 2004, Eastern National staff assisted the park in hosting a Civil War seminar at Corinth.

Shiloh Battlefield Association; Friends of Shiloh

The Shiloh Battlefield Association continues the work initiated by the Shiloh Park Citizens Association and Shiloh Historical Association in the 1950s. These two groups were established in to support park needs both financially and with volunteer labor. The first contributions of the organization were to the interpretive film produced by the park beginning in 1955. In 1956, the Shiloh Park Citizens Association, working with the Shiloh Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, enhanced the appearance of the Confederate burial trenches by addressing erosion

738. Ibid., 13–14.
739. Ibid., 14.
740. Ibid., 15.
741. Superintendent's Monthly Reports.

and planting trees and shrubs. In 1957, the organization sponsored Shiloh Night at the Hardin County Fair, and promoted the park's ninety-fifth anniversary. As a result of its support for the film, the group served as owner of film rights, and took responsibility to distribute it widely throughout the National Park Service, while also promoting it locally at events like the Hardin County Fair, beginning in 1957. The organization changed its name to the Shiloh Association in 1960.

Little information about the organization appears in park documents again until 2001, when the Friends of Shiloh Battlefield Association is noted as helping to support acquisition of land targeted by the park as of interest. The Friends group appears to have worked with the Civil War Trust in this endeavor.

Kent Collier, Director of the Tennessee River Museum, serves as the chairman of the board and president of the group, and was involved in its establishment. He remembers in the early 1990s creating a 501(c)(3) organization and a board with a mission to help correct the eastern park boundary erosion issue related to river flooding:

> The first mission for Friends of Shiloh was . . . the park's washing off into the river. The only thing that's got any rip-rap on it is the little stretch right in front of the landing, which is nothing. Indian Mounds are falling off, roads are falling off, it's bad. So we form Friends of Shiloh. And Woody had a lot of missions for us, but for me that was number one. The park is your asset. You can't do anything with a park that's not there. So, I think we've got to fix the river bank thing before we go after other things.[742]

Collier described the Friends group as comprised of six to eight dedicated individuals. Learning about how active other park friends groups can be, however, he is interested in working with the park superintendent to increase membership and participation. One of the members Collier works with closely is Ronnie Fullwood, son of a former park ranger.[743]

One of the efforts undertaken by the group is fundraising. The money raised by the group has been used to acquire battlefield land for protection. Collier often serves as a liaison to the Civil War Trust in identifying land suitable for acquisition and in working with local landowners. He notes:

> Friends of Shiloh has managed to amass twenty something thousand dollars over the years which is not a lot of money but boy, it's been effectively used. I'm basically the bag man. I go out and buy options. The federal government works terribly slow on land acquisition and the Trust to a lesser degree, it may take months or a year. . . so if we've got a willing seller, I'll go out and take the Friends of Shiloh's money, buy an option, buy them some time. And then when they close the deal, they pay me back. So that money just keeps getting recycled over and over and over again. Does great work.[744]

Shiloh Military Trails, Inc.

The park maintains a long-standing partnership with Shiloh Military Trails, Inc., a group tied to the Boy Scouts of America. Shiloh Military Trails operates a series of organized hiking trails on Shiloh Battlefield where participants can earn a number of Scout patches. Participants obtain trail literature directly from the organization. This series of trails incorporates historic park roads into thematic trails. Trail users follow a prescribed route across the park, answering questions based on information obtained from monuments, markers, museum exhibits, and the park orientation film. Since 1960, almost 2,000,000 individuals have taken part in this program.

The Civil War Trust

The Civil War Trust is a 67,000-member national nonprofit battlefield preservation organization, with a mission to protect the nation's endangered

742. Kent Collier, personal interview, April 16, 2015.
743. Ibid.
744. Ibid.

Civil War sites and promote appreciation of these hallowed grounds through education and heritage tourism. Shiloh National Military Park has partnered with the Civil War Trust since 2001 to protect key parcels of the battlefield. To date, the Civil War Trust has secured and protected 1,152 acres at Shiloh, 854 acres at Davis Bridge, 350 acres at Parker's Cross Roads, and 710 acres at Corinth.

The Civil War Trust was formed in November 1999 as the Civil War Preservation Trust through the merger of two nonprofit groups involved in battlefield protection and preservation—the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites (APCWS), and the Civil War Trust. Both organizations were established during the late 1980s based on the imperative to protect battlefield lands resulting from an unprecedented period of commercial, residential, highway, and industrial development that occurred in the mid- to late 1980s. The APCWS formed in 1987 when twenty individuals met to discuss shared concerns about the rapidly disappearing battlefields of Northern Virginia. They determined that in some cases the only way to save these sites for posterity would be to purchase them. The first effort of the new organization involved raising awareness of the potential loss of battlefield land associated with Manassas National Battlefield Park, where the Marriot Corporation proposed a large development. The fight to save the land eventually led to sweeping battlefield preservation legislation, the formation of the American Battlefield Protection Program, and the establishment of the APCWS.

As noted by National Park Service former Chief Historian, Ed Bearss, when asked about this period in battlefield preservation history:

> Now, because of what you would call the *Eighth* Battle of Manassas, in which . . . [development is to occur on] 550 acres of the Stuart Hill Tract acquired by the Marriott [Corporation] . . . as a million and some square foot shopping mall is to be built, it . . . gets several congressmen very, very unhappy. Jerry Russell's around at that time stirring up the people to block the development and protect the battlefield along with Lee Snyder, and it's going to lead to a big battle. When it gets to the Hill, the Senate and John Warner and his staff . . . lead the opposition to the development of the Stuart Hill Tract . . . . Although a bill passed Congress to acquire the land for Manassas National Battlefield, the Senate version was more contentious. The . . . House and the Senate versions are very different, so they were forced to have a reconciliation, after which a two-thirds vote would be required to pass.
>
> And . . . Dale Bumpers' aides called me up to say, "We don't have the votes . . . so how many acres . . . draw a line for us of how many acres are critical." And I drew a line, which would be about 175 acres of the 550 acres in question. But then Warner made a mistake when it got to the voting because he assumed he only needed a majority. Acquisition then required a legislative taking without any price limit on it![745]

Bearss also described how Congressional frustration with a lack of clear methodology through which to evaluate the importance of the battlefield led to establishment of the American Battlefield Protection Program, which was initially funded for two and one-half years, with a mission to inventory the nation's battlefields and categorize them. Also around this time, as noted by Bearss, Congress authorized the Civil War Trust to receive coin money, passing a bill to sell commemorative Civil War coins, with the proceeds going to the Civil War Trust for use in acquiring and saving battlefields. However, Bearss noted, "They think they're going to get as much as they got for the Statue of Liberty, which is thirty million dollars. They get . . . seven or eight million."[746]

Over the course of several years, the APCWS soldiered on, without the same financial support enjoyed by the Civil War Trust, and managed to raise thousands of dollars with which to purchase land at threatened battlefields. As word of its

745. Edwin Bearss, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

746. Ibid.

efforts spread, membership and donations increased, although the organization continually found the need greater than the resources available.

In 1999, in an attempt to increase efficiency in their battlefield protection endeavors, the two groups merged to form the Civil War Preservation Trust. Since 1999, the Trust has continuously added to its membership and ability to raise funds, engaged in land transactions, and managed and interpreted battlefield lands. Among its numerous successes is the protection of the Slaughter Pen Farm at Fredericksburg in Virginia, which is considered the largest private battlefield protection effort in American history. In 2011, on the eve of the Civil War Sesquicentennial, the group simplified its name to the Civil War Trust and unveiled a new logo.

Since its formation, the organization has been headed by James Lighthizer, a former Maryland Secretary of Transportation and pioneer in the use of transportation enhancement highway funds for historic landscape preservation. Under Lighthizer, the Civil War Trust has worked with Shiloh National Military Park with a goal of acquiring all acres identified in the enabling legislation for inclusion in the park. This goal is also a priority at several other parks around the nation.

As noted by Lighthizer:

> It's a goal at a national level. For example, we're working to complete Gettysburg; we're working to complete Antietam; we're working to complete Frasier's Farm/Glendale; we're working to complete Gaines' Mill . . . and Malvern Hill . . . . Our objective is we've got thirty some that we're trying to complete. [Shiloh] would be the first one and will always be one of the most significant ones that we've completed because of the history that took place on the battlefield.[747]

In discussing the process of battlefield land acquisition, Civil War Trust Director of Real Estate Tom Gilmore notes:

> It takes years! Some of them you can do in fifteen minutes. It's up for sale; you come in; you work a deal. Some of them can take ten, fifteen years.[748]

Lighthizer also indicates:

> But, it varies! It's all over the lot. Real estate is totally unpredictable. We've learned that. That you cannot predict when the opportunity will occur because it's unique and so are the circumstances. And that you just never know. That's why the board, as an example, will ask for a budget: how many properties do you want to buy and what are they going to cost in the coming year? And we'll say, "We have no idea! We'll give you some numbers, but they're 80 percent inaccurate 'til the day we get 'em." And they can't get that through their heads that this is a different business.[749]

Based on their assessment of the process, Gilmore and Lighthizer estimate that 80 percent of battlefield land acquisition occurs through fee simple means, while the other 20 percent occurs through other strategies such as:

> . . . conservation easements, and life estates where we'll buy the remainder of the interest. Someone will have the right to live in the property for the rest of their lives and then, when they pass away, the property comes to us. Say, a lease back transaction where someone might be farming a property; they're fifty years old; they want to continue to farm it the rest of their lives. We can buy the underlying real estate, grant them a long-term lease to farm the property and they can continue to farm it for another twenty-five years, which is fine with us.
>
> Mostly what we've been doing at the Shiloh area has been fee simple acquisitions because the strategy, in most cases, is to acquire and get

747. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
748. Tom Gilmore, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
749. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

> it into the park. And if it can't be in the park in the near-term, and we've got, for instance, a few miles away from the park, the Fallen Timbers Battlefield, which was our other major acquisition at Shiloh a couple of years ago. That we'll acquire it and hold it with the possibility of boundary expansion, but we acquired it in fee simple, because we know that eventually it will be part of the park, or should be part of the park.[750]

Funds for land acquisition come from a combination of private donations and federal and state sources including conservation programs. The principal sources of federal funding for battlefield preservation have been the Civil War Battlefield Preservation Program, the Farm and Ranchland Protection Program, and the Transportation Enhancement Program. James Lighthizer notes:

> In fourteen years, we've raised about $120 million from the private sector and we've raised about $100 million from the public. So, slightly more than fifty percent has been private money and the other has been federal and state money.[751]

Public funds are appropriated through the budgeting process, which requires lobbying on the part of the Civil War Trust to identify and articulate the need. Despite the economic downturn that began in 2007–2008, the Civil War Trust has remained successful in securing funding for battlefield preservation. The downturn has even helped in some ways:

> The recession has helped us because it has suppressed, or kept the same, land prices. And we've been able, for whatever reason, to have our very best years in fundraising from the private sector in the last three years.[752]

The Civil War Trust has also worked to remain current in the realm of technology as a way to encourage support and membership, and to convey important information, including interpretive stories.

> We do everything. We do. If you look at our website, that website will have close to four million unique visits. Five years ago, four years ago, we had under four thousand. One of our goals is to have the best technology in the world for our business. And by technology, I'm talking about the internet; I'm talking about digital technology. So, we use all that stuff and we stay on the cutting edge.[753]

The process of identifying lands of value to protect has also been formalized by the Civil War Trust:

> We have about every significant battlefield, correct me if I'm wrong, we have it mapped down to the tax map level. We know every piece of ground . . . on every battlefield that we consider important and . . . how many would that be? Over a hundred! And we know who owns the land, we know what it's assessed at, and anything on the public record . . . . The Twenty Year Water and Sewer Plan, the Highway Plan . . . . We know as much about our targets as anybody knows . . . as the nonprofits know about their real estate targets.[754]

Tom Gilmore adds:

> We get the GIS data layers from, you know, in this case, it would be Hardin County and McNairy County—those are the two counties here in Shiloh. And when a landowner approaches us or we're targeting a landowner, you know, we can get the McNairy County tax map number and be able to map it. We've got on GIS, all the coordinates of the core and study areas.[755]

The Civil War Trust also works with a national network of historians as well as local groups to protect land and interpret it. Lighthizer notes:

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750. Tom Gilmore, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
751. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
752. Ibid.
753. Ibid.
754. Ibid.
755. Tom Gilmore, personal interview, October 22, 2013.

> We've even set up local groups . . . to get money to incorporate, to get 'em running because a local partner is so important. You know the people on the ground, they have a certain amount of legitimacy. And when people don't like too much land being saved . . . when we work with a partner, it's harder for them to say that, because they're local people![756]

At Shiloh, the Civil War Trust enjoys a good working relationship with the park's Friends Group, local landowners, and former Superintendent Woody Harrell, whom they considered to be one of the most effective park superintendents in America. Once Harrell would bring a parcel of interest to the Civil War Trust's attention, they would quickly ". . . supply the negotiating expertise through Tom [Gilmore] and access to national money and how to get it."[757]

Since 2001, the Civil War Trust has supported acquisition of other battlefields that relate to Shiloh, Corinth, and the associated military campaign for the crossroads rail lines (Table 1). Their efforts have helped to establish the park unit at Corinth and the Davis Bridge battlefield reservation, as well as other sites. In 2012, as part of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission's annual signature event, the Civil War Trust announced efforts to purchase 267 acres at Fallen Timbers, a discontiguous parcel tied to the military events of the Battle of Shiloh and the largest single battlefield preservation effort since the park's creation in 1894 (Table 2).

At the 2012 event, James Lighthizer noted:

> We believe that every acre we save is an investment in our country's future. There can be no more lasting and fitting a tribute than protecting the sites where the war's outcome was decided—the battlefields themselves. As a permanent and meaningful legacy of the sesquicentennial, we give our children and grandchildren the opportunity to walk these same fields unblemished and undisturbed.[758]

Former Superintendent Woody Harrell also praised the effort:

> Alongside our dedicated partners at the Civil War Trust, we have been able to enhance the experience of visitors to Shiloh in ways that neither of us would have individually. This is the type of outstanding partnership that enables our National Parks to thrive.[759]

The efforts to protect these and other lands have been funded in part by monies appropriated by the federal government for the Sesquicentennial. As noted by John Nau, immediate past chairman of the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and vice chair of the National Parks Foundation, related government funding as part of this initiative surpassed $5 million and resulted in the transfer of more than 536 acres of battlefield lands into the National Park System at Manassas, Richmond, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh. During the 2012 ceremony, the Civil War Trust also announced plans to acquire a 504-acre parcel adjacent to the Shiloh unit in the battlefield's southeast corner—land that constituted the final unprotected portion of the eastern edge of Shiloh Hill. Acquisition of this property, the Greer tract, was completed in 2013.

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756. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
757. Ibid.
758. James Lighthizer, personal interview, October 22, 2013.
759. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

According to Stacy Allen:

> Luckily, we've got a friend in the Civil War Trust. I have told the senior park managers since 1989, "You know, you can't not manage this place now and not know that one of your missions is to work towards completing it. It's an evolving situation. And sure, another acre acquired is another acre we have to manage." But I said, "Why are we fearful? Because the boys that dodged all the lead and iron out here, and the generation that suffered, and those that gained from it, that suffering," which is us, the entire nation as a whole gained from the suffering; we gotta put some positive on the negative. And surely we have. We're a product of it. And we're a much better nation because they resolved the issue. God forbid we have to do the same thing of making the same decisions they did, because they—you know, they were tragic decisions. But it's emotional, and you can't ignore it.[760]

Park Days

Another aspect of the partnership that the park enjoys with the Civil War Trust is its program to conduct Park Days annually within national park units. Since 1996, the organization has sponsored these hands-on volunteer preservation events first designed to help Civil War parks, and now including Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites, with maintenance projects. The endeavors are identified by the parks themselves, and can range from raking leaves to hauling trash, painting signs, or repairing structures.

Table 1. Shiloh Land Acquisitions, Civil War Trust

Tract Name	Closing Date	Acres
Browder	8/19/2004	11.12
Faulkner	12/13/2002	126.55
Bowden	4/1/2003	3.53
B&B	1/31/2001	2.00
Tim/Roberta Gardner	6/11/2003	40.00
Lena Gardner	6/11/2003	2.00
Harrison	6/11/2003	3.23
Terry	3/5/2004	7.10
Davison	8/29/2002	2.21
Glinda Mason	5/17/2002	4.01
Dave & Doris Mason	5/17/2002	3.70
Hidalgo	4/7/2007	5.90
Fullwood	5/28/2008	159.50
Eledge	4/10/2008	1.93
Green	10/12/2010	1.88
Shaw	4/18/2011	0.92
Greer	9/7/2012	504.00[761]

Table provided by Civil War Trust, November 2013.

Table 2. Fallen Timbers Land Acquisitions, Civil War Trust

Tract Name	Closing Date	Acres
Whitaker & Carroll	10/6/2011	150.53
Whitaker & Carroll	2/1/2012	0.58
Whitaker	2/1/2012	65.58
Carroll	2/1/2012	55.81

Table provided by Civil War Trust, November 2013.

760. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015, with revisions, May 18, 2016.

761. The Greer land was purchased using $1 million the park received via the State of Tennessee, which was awarded four Transportation Enhancement grants of $1 million each for battlefield acquisition. The Civil War Trust contributed necessary funds beyond the available $1 million, which amounted to $150,000 to $200,000, to secure the purchase.

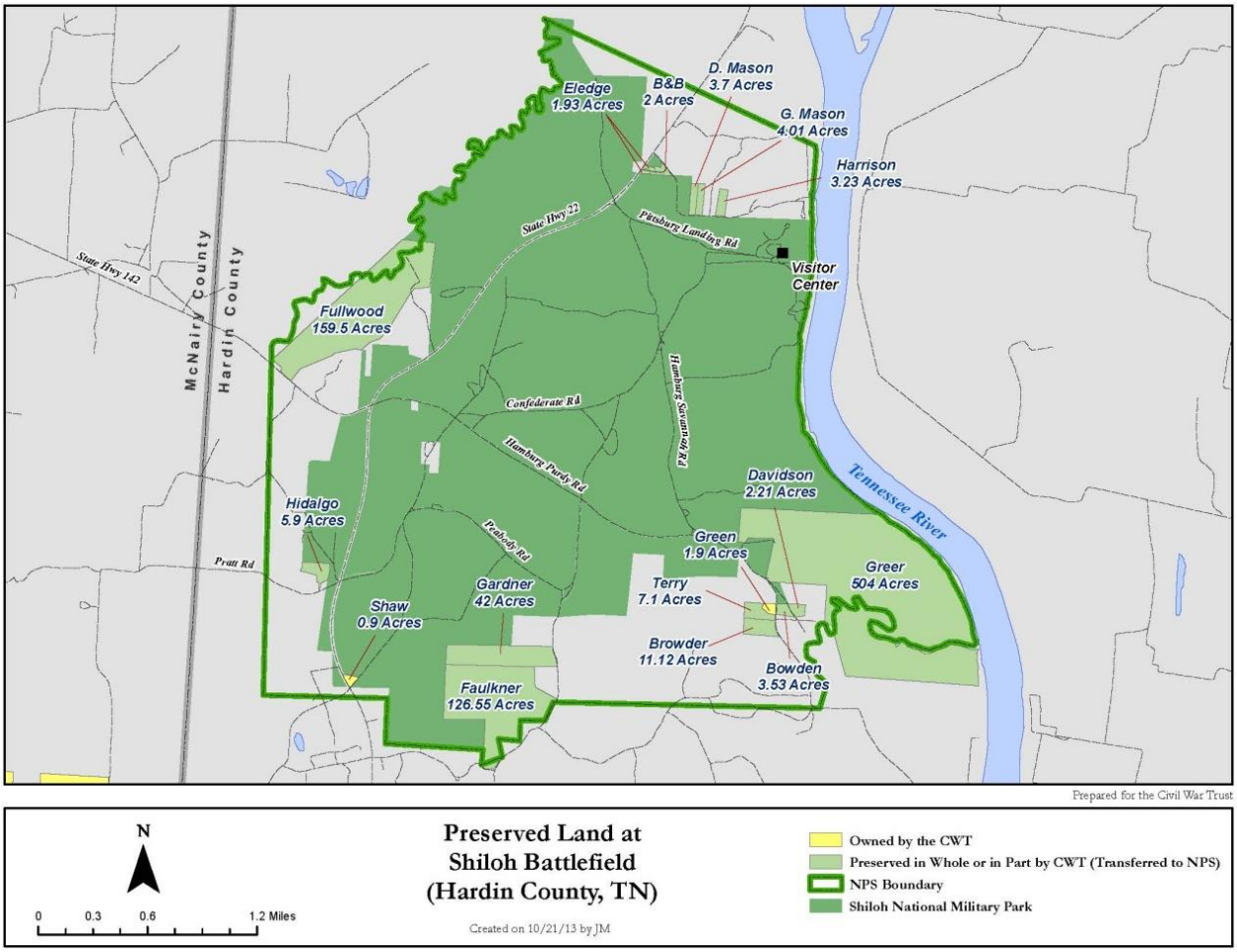


FIGURE 76. Battlefield land acquired and preserved at Shiloh Battlefield by the Civil War Trust since 2001. Source: Civil War Trust, November 2013.

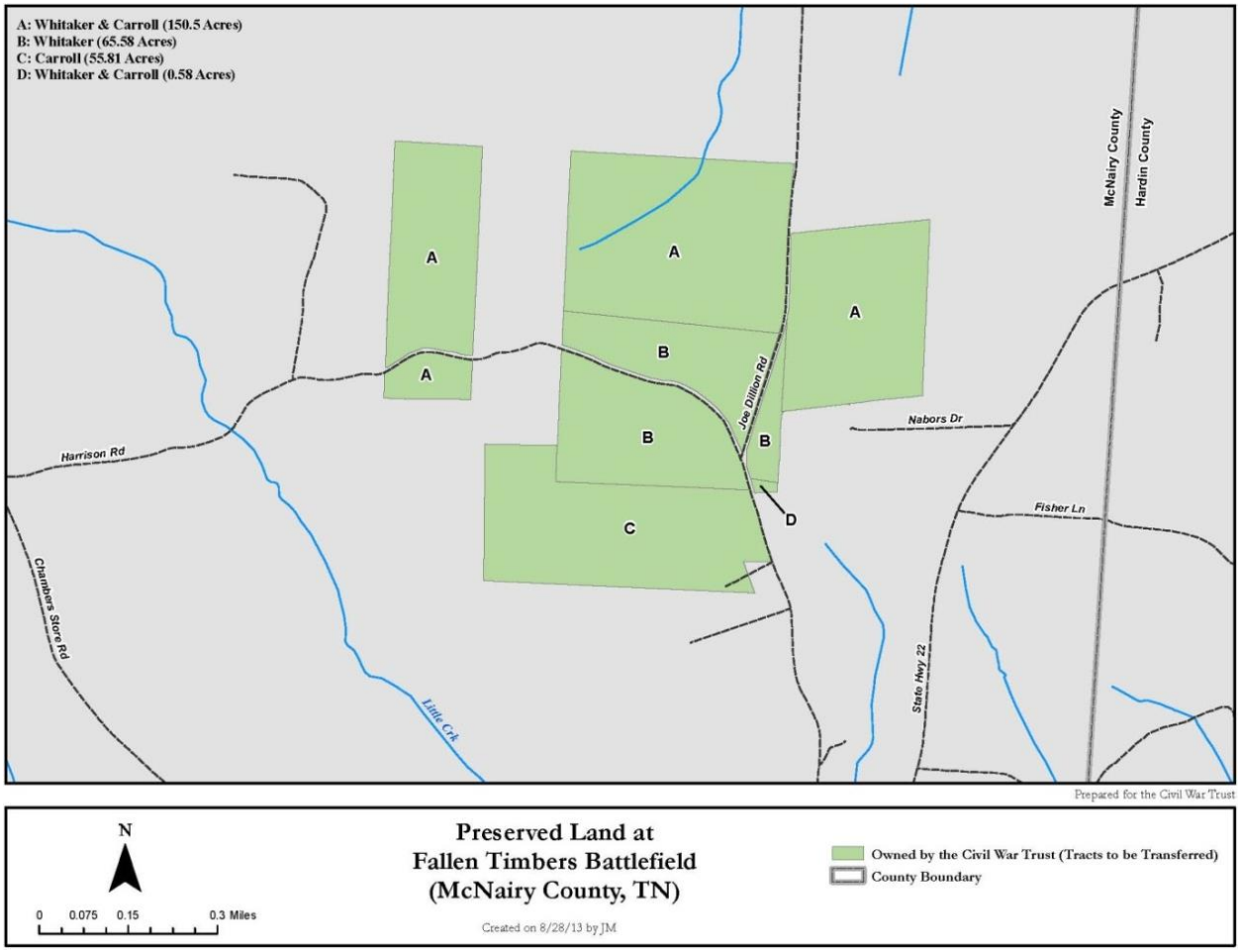


FIGURE 77. Preserved land at Fallen Timbers Battlefield. Source: Civil War Trust, November 2013.

Conservation Fund

The Conservation Fund was established in 1985 as an environmental nonprofit organization with a dual charter to pursue environmental preservation and economic development. The organization focused many of its efforts on battlefield preservation during the late 1980s and 1990s, a period when suburban development threatened many rural areas within proximity to cities and large towns, destroying the hallowed ground of battlefields in the process. The Conservation Fund favored fee simple acquisition of battlefield land that was threatened or desirable to protect. Once it had successfully acquired battlefield land, the Conservation Fund often donated it to federal or state government agencies for inclusion in their park systems. The Conservation Fund typically partnered with community, government, and corporate leaders to fulfill their conservation priorities, including protection of natural areas, working lands, and landscapes of historical value.

At Shiloh, the Conservation Fund was responsible in 1991 for acquisition of a 125-acre parcel, known as the Roberson tract, which was of interest to the National Park Service. Since the mid-1990s, the Conservation Fund has been less focused on battlefield preservation and is not known to actively partner with Shiloh National Military Park.

Frances Kennedy, wife of Roger Kennedy, Director of the National Park Service from 1993 to 1997, served as Director of the Conservation Fund's Civil War Battlefield Campaign from 1988 to 2006. While in this position, Mrs. Kennedy also served as author and principal contributor to *The Civil War Battlefield Guide*, and co-author of *Dollar$ and Sense of Battlefield Preservation.*

In 1991, Frances Kennedy traveled to Corinth to assist the community task force with the issue of land and easement acquisition. Based on Kennedy's recommendations, the task force was transformed into a four-person commission to be appointed jointly by the city and county of Corinth in 1992. Following Kennedy's visit, the Conservation Fund provided support in the form of a loan that allowed the Commission time to raise funds for repayment.

Tennessee River Museum, Savannah, Tennessee

The Tennessee River Museum is located 11.5 miles from Shiloh National Military Park in downtown Savannah, Tennessee. The museum features seven permanent exhibits and a gift shop. The Tennessee River Museum is a nonprofit organization founded in 1992 with the support of Hardin County and the city of Savannah, Tennessee, as well as the National Park Service and the staff of Shiloh National Military Park. For more than two decades, the park has partnered with Hardin County and the City of Savannah, Tennessee, to provide technical assistance to develop and interpret Native American and Civil War exhibits at the Tennessee River Museum, the Grant Headquarters Monument, and historic markers along the riverfront.

The museum is located in a historic post office building near the courthouse in downtown Savannah. The building was constructed in 1939 and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The museum is staffed by the Hardin County Convention and Visitors Bureau. It is dedicated to commemoration, preservation, and education, while promoting heritage tourism. The museum is part of an alliance that promotes opportunities to learn about the Civil War history at regional sites such as Shiloh National Military Park, the Corinth unit, the City of Savannah, Tennessee, the City of Corinth, Mississippi, and the Davis Bridge Battlefield as part of Big Hill Pond State Park.

The Tennessee River Museum is operated by a board of directors under Team Hardin County, which functions as a local tourism and economic development association. As early as 1958, Shiloh superintendents supported economic development in Hardin County by sitting on boards such as the Rural Development Program Committee. Park staff members have also supported heritage tourism by actively participating in the Hardin County Chamber of Commerce. In 1991, the idea for a Hardin County museum was first presented to the park by local residents. As noted in the 1991 Superintendent's Annual Report, the partnership opportunity presented itself when Hardin County residents requested that the National Park Service recognize local Civil War sites outside the park, and help mark Savannah as General Grant's headquarters at the time of the battle. After the park loaned a cannon for use as a monument to support the effort, the project grew into an effort to establish a Hardin County museum.[762] The park has remained committed to the partnership through a cooperative agreement ever since, helping to establish the Tennessee River Museum in the early 1990s.

The Tennessee River Museum is the realization of a community-shared vision that sought to preserve the history of the Tennessee River Valley while offering future generations a look into the area's rich historical past. The park worked with the museum board to plan and design the museum exhibits and has loaned several items from the park's collection, as well as arranged for a loan of objects from the USS *Cairo* gunboat collection at Vicksburg National Military Park. Visitors who pay the entrance fee at Shiloh may visit the museum without paying an additional entrance fee. A majority of museum visitors come to the museum after visiting Shiloh, and sales receipts indicate that two-thirds of the museum's revenue comes from their "Shiloh pass" visitors. The park's cooperating association manages the bookstore

762. 1991 Superintendent's Annual Report.

sales outlet for the museum. In 2008, the museum began construction of an additional wing dedicated to the area's prehistoric past.[763] Today, the museum serves as the primary public space to interpret the history of the lower Tennessee River Valley, especially in Hardin County and Savannah, Tennessee, and houses several permanent exhibits, each one spotlighting a different period in Hardin County's history: Paleontology, Archaeology, Pioneers, Trail of Tears, War on the River, the Golden Age of Steamboats, Musseling, Early Crossings, and War and Remembrance.[764]

Given the importance of partnerships to contemporary historic site operations, in addition to being a Shiloh National Military Park Cooperating site, the museum is also a Trail of Tears National Historic Trail designated site and a Tennessee Heritage Trail site. The museum has enjoyed partnerships with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Park Service, IBM, the State of Tennessee, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Geographic Society, among others.[765]

Hardin County Convention and Visitors Bureau

As noted above, one of the partnerships that the park has actively cultivated is with the Hardin County Convention and Visitors Bureau to support the establishment and promotion of the Tennessee River Museum. The Bureau also promotes the park and the region's Civil War history on its web site. Park superintendents have regularly served on county and regional tourism boards.

Hardin County School System

The park is also involved in developing educational units through the efforts of its interpretive staff that are provided to local schools in support of specific grade-level units. One of the initiatives that has emerged from the partnership between the park and the county school system is the Teacher-Ranger-Teacher program.

Alcorn County, Mississippi

The city of Corinth and Alcorn County regularly partner in the development of programs and services, and support the efforts of the Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau to attract tourism to the region.

Corinth was established in 1854 as Cross City. With its proximity to the Tennessee River and two rail lines, Corinth was the focus of strategic efforts conducted by both armies during the Civil War. With the railroads, Corinth played a major role in the April 1862 Battle of Shiloh, considered a turning point in the war. The Battle of Corinth was fought October 3–4, 1862, and led to Union control of the rail lines through the area. Corinth and Alcorn County consider the history of the area to be an important draw for tourists and a source of pride for residents. The city and county jointly support the Crossroads Museum at Corinth Depot, which interprets the history of the rail lines that pass through the area and their role in the Civil War. The city, county, and park partner to promote the interconnected interpretation afforded at the museum, throughout downtown Corinth, and at the Civil War Interpretive Center.

Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau

The Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau supports development of the tourism industry in Corinth and Alcorn County by advertising, tradeshow attendance, sponsorships, and special events. The bureau has been a key supporter of the efforts to establish the Corinth Unit of Shiloh National Military Park and the Interpretive Center. It has supplied funding for tour brochures and other efforts spearheaded by the Siege and

763. *Shiloh National Military Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (National Park Service Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning and Shiloh National Military Park, January 2009), 33.

764. Tennessee River Museum "Exhibits" available at www.tennesseerivermuseum.org/exhibits.html (accessed August 8, 2016).

765. Tennessee River Museum available at www.tennesseerivermuseum.org (accessed August 8, 2016).

Battle Commission of Corinth and its affiliated friends group. As such, the bureau has served as an important partner throughout the many years that the commission worked to secure federal support for the center and park unit. In return, the efforts to bring national awareness to the significance of Corinth in the Civil War has contributed to heritage tourism within the region.

Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, and Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth

The park has partnered with the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, the Corinth Visitor and Convention Bureau, the Crossroads Museum, and the Alcorn County African American Historical Association to research and promote the history of Corinth and Alcorn County, Mississippi. For a detailed discussion of this partnership, see the chapter of this report entitled Corinth Unit.

Davis Bridge Memorial Association

Davis Bridge Battlefield is located in McNairy County, Tennessee. The Battle of Davis Bridge was waged in early October 1862, following Confederate retreat from Corinth.

In 1987, a group of concerned citizens formed the Davis Bridge Memorial Association to protect land associated with the battle. Their initial purchase was a 5.6 acre tract on the west bank of the Hatchie River. Additional land has since been acquired by with the help of the Association as well as several other organizations and funding sources. The protected land totals approximately 839 acres. In 2009, the Davis Bridge Memorial Association offered to donate the original 5.6 acre tract to the National Park Service, and the Department of the Interior accepted. The Civil War Trust continues to work to secure the remaining unprotected battlefield land.

Iuka Battlefield Commission

Iuka Battlefield is located southeast of Corinth in the far northeastern corner of Mississippi. The Battle of Iuka was fought on September 19, 1862, as the opening battle of the Iuka-Corinth Campaign in which Union Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans stopped the advance of Confederate forces under the command of Maj. Gen. Sterling Price. It is tied to the story told at the Corinth Interpretive Center. The Iuka Battlefield Commission is a nonprofit group formed to preserve surviving battlefield land. Shiloh National Military Park supports the need to better understand the battle and to protect battle-related resources. As such, it partners with the commission as needed.

Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area

The entire state of Tennessee has been designated by the U.S. Congress as a Civil War National Heritage area. National Heritage Areas are places where natural, cultural, and historic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape. National Heritage Areas connect related stories through interpretation of historic resources, while celebrating America's diverse heritage.[766]

The federally administered program provides assistance to grassroots efforts at the local level. The National Park Service therefore serves as a partner to heritage areas, such as the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area.

The Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, established in 1996, tells the story of the Civil War as it evolved between Lincoln's election in 1860 and the end of Reconstruction in the 1870s. The heritage area is managed as a partnership unit of the National Park Service and administered by the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University. The partnership works to garner funding from a variety of sources

766. National Park Service, "National Heritage Areas" available at https://www.nps.gov/heritageareas/FAQ/ (accessed August 7, 2016).

that can be used to empower communities and individuals to serve as good stewards of historic places and stories, and to develop heritage programs and projects.[767] Through collaborative partnerships, organizations, local governments, and nonprofits can apply for 50/50 matching funds for projects including interpretive tours, exhibits, educational materials, and preservation planning.[768]

Representatives of the heritage area served on the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission, and the heritage area partners with the Tennessee Departments of Tourist Development and Transportation to implement the statewide Tennessee Civil War Trails marker and signage program.

Several of the heritage area's early projects remain in active use and serve as the foundation for current initiatives. In 2002, the Heritage Area partnered with Stones River National Battlefield to present the Legacy of Stones River Symposium, which featured prominent historian David Blight. The event's success spurred three subsequent symposiums with plans to continue the symposium series every eighteen months, and created a model for similar events. In 2005, the heritage area hosted the Alliance of National Heritage Areas' International Heritage Development Conference, an interactive forum on best practices, public-private partnerships, and new heritage tools, which drew national and international heritage development professionals and leaders to the state.[769]

In addition to Shiloh National Military Park, National Park units within Tennessee that relate to the heritage area themes include Chickamauga/Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Donelson National Military Park, Stones River National Battlefield, and Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area

The Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area (MHNHA) was designated by Congress in 2009. It encompasses a nineteen-county-area within northeastern Mississippi that represents a distinctive cultural landscape shaped by the dynamic intersection of Appalachian and Delta cultures. The area produced several nationally important icons including Elvis Presley, William Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, and Jerry Lee Lewis. The MHNHA is also home to the so-called "Crossroads of the Confederacy," where the Corinth unit is now located. This area, which included key rail lines and junctions, was the object of both the Confederate and Union armies.[770] The MHNHA promotes and interprets the Corinth unit as an important site, and similarly, the park provides information to its visitors about the broader stories being told by the heritage area.

Tennessee State Parks

The Tennessee State Parks department manages numerous properties throughout the state for public use, education, and recreation. One of these is Big Hill Pond State Park, located in the southwestern portion of McNairy County. The park extends over more than 4,000 acres of timberland and hardwood bottomland.[771]

Big Hill Pond State Park is located less than 5 miles from Davis Bridge Civil War Battlefield. Land associated with the battle has been acquired in several parcels since 1987 with the assistance of the Davis Bridge Memorial Association, the State of Tennessee, Civil War Trust, and Tennessee

767. Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, available at http://www.tncivilwar.org/who_we_are (accessed August 7, 2016).
768. Ibid.
769. Ibid.
770. Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area, available http://www.mississippihills.org/historyculture/ (accessed August 7, 2016).
771. Tennessee State Parks, "Big Hill Pond State Park," available at http://tnstateparks.com/parks/about/big-hill-pond (accessed August 7, 2016).

Heritage and Conservation Fund. More than 800 acres of the battlefield have been protected and the land is administered by the State of Tennessee as part of Big Hill Pond State Park, with assistance provided by Shiloh National Military Park.

Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association

The Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association (TCWPA) is a nonprofit organization with a mission to protect, interpret, and make accessible Tennessee's surviving Civil War battlefields and contributing landscapes for the benefit of present and future generations. Members are dedicated to preserving and interpreting Tennessee's large network of Civil War battlefields. The statewide organization identifies and recognizes Tennessee's most important battlefield sites and raises funds for their protection. It also works to build a statewide community of preservationists and collaborating organizations and agencies in order to effectively develop strategies and execute plans to meet this mission. The TCWPA was founded in 1994 as part of the Tennessee Wars Commission's efforts to address battlefield preservation needs within Tennessee. It became a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization in 1997.[772]

The TCWPA has worked to develop a GIS database of Civil War maps, aerial photographs, and other graphic materials linked to narratives from the Official Records, Tennessee Regiment Unit histories, census records, and other sources. Partnering organizations contributing to the project include the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, Middle Tennessee University's Laboratory for Spatial Technology, the American Battlefield Protection Program, and the Tennessee State Library and Archives.[773]

The organization is also developing a statewide plan to identify opportunities to preserve and interpret Tennessee's Civil War military story at more than 150 battle sites in Tennessee based on the 1993 Civil War Sites Advisory Commission report on the nation's Civil War battlefields.[774]

Kent Collier, who serves as President of the Friends of Shiloh, and director of the Tennessee River Museum, also serves on the board of the TCWPA.

Tennessee Wars Commission

The Tennessee Wars Commission is a branch of the Tennessee Historical Commission, which falls within the Tennessee state government. The Commission was formed in 1994 to preserve sites associated with military significance. Fred Prouty retired in 2015 as Director of Programs, a position he had held since the Commission was established. In an interview conducted prior to his retirement, Prouty noted:

> To date we have recorded and categorized the significance and endangerment of, over 500 Civil War era military sites in Tennessee. We have also surveyed over 125 sites related to the American Revolution and 101 potential sites related to that theme. There have been ten recorded sites for the War of 1812 and seven potential sites. It has been, at times, a daunting but always greatly rewarding experience and for me personally an extension of a life-long "hobby" that became the job of a lifetime.[775]

772. Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, "About TCWPA" available at http://www.tcwpa.org/about/ (accessed August 7, 2016).
773. Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, "Battlefields; The Tennessee Civil War GIS Project" available at http://www.tcwpa.org/battlefields/ (accessed August 7, 2016).
774 Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, "Tennessee Preservation Plan" available at http://www.tcwpa.org/battlefields/tennessee-preservation-plan/ (accessed August 7, 2016).
775. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.

The Commission has worked to inventory, assess, prioritize, and acquire battlefield land. At Shiloh, the Commission was involved in the effort to design and install the Tennessee Monument, and is involved in the land acquisition, management, and interpretation of Fallen Timbers as well as Davis Bridge.

(See chapter entitled Relationships with Other Government Entities.)

Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission

To recognize the Civil War Sesquicentennial, Governor Philip Bredesen of the State of Tennessee appointed a Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission with a mission to promote, fund, and preserve the complete story of Tennessee's Civil War and its legacy. Co-chairs of the commission included Dr. Carroll Van West, director of the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University, and Susan Whitaker of the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development. In describing the work of the commission, Van West noted:

> Tennessee is creating a national model for how to plan and to commemorate the Civil War Sesquicentennial by sharing how the war impacted families, farms and towns across the state as well as leaving tens of thousands brave soldiers dead on its 38 designated nationally significant battlefields.[776]

For each year of the Civil War, the commission organized and promoted a program of signature events that included tours, picnics, and presentations. For 2012, the focus was *Invasions by Rail and River: The Battle of Shiloh.* This event was held on the anniversary of the battle in April 2012 at Pickwick Landing State Park. The Civil War Trust was present at the event where the organization formally announced three preservation efforts associated with Shiloh: transfer of 167 acres of battlefield land to the National Park Service, the kick-off of a $1.2 million campaign to save an additional 504 acres (the Greer Tract) of battlefield land at Shiloh, and an update on progress to preserve 267 acres at Fallen Timbers.[777]

One of the Sesquicentennial initiatives was a Tennessee Civil War Trails program, which was designed to provide information about Civil War sites and other tourist destinations along a route connecting key historic sites. The program was part of a four-state initiative creating driving tours of both the great campaigns and the lesser-known Civil War sites.[778]

In addition, the state's National Public Television stations partnered with private entities to prepare and broadcast a series of documentaries about the Civil War and provide short films for use in the schools.[779] The Tennessee Historical Society published a ten-volume series drawn from the best of nearly 400 articles published in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* between 1942 and 2010 about the Civil War as an official project of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission.[780]

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776. Dr. Carroll Van West, as quoted on Tennessee State Government, "Tennessee Inaugural Civil War Sesquicentennial Event Announced" available at https://www.tn.gov/news/29414 (accessed August 7, 2016).
777. Tennessee State Government, "Tennessee's 2012 Civil War Sesquicentennial Signature Event" available at https://www.tn.gov/news/32283 (accessed August 7, 2016).
778. Tennessee State Government, "Tennessee Inaugural Civil War Sesquicentennial Event Announced" available at https://www.tn.gov/news/29414 (accessed August 7, 2016).
779. Civil War Sesquicentennial Kickoff in Tennessee" available at http://www.historynet.com/civil-war-sesquicentennial-kickoff-in-tennessee.htm (accessed August 7, 2016).
780. Tennessee Historical Society, "Tennessee in the Civil War" available at http://www.tennesseehistory.org/TennesseeintheCivilWar.htm (accessed August 7, 2016).

Middle Tennessee State University

Middle Tennessee State University is a long-standing partner of Shiloh National Military Park, as well as other regional Civil War parks, such as Stones River National Battlefield, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, and Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. The university supports research and planning efforts, as well as educational programming.

As noted above, the Center for Historic Preservation (CHP) at Middle Tennessee State University helps to manage the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area. CHP works collaboratively with the park through an exchange of resources, assistance, and planning.

Mississippi State University

In addition to Middle Tennessee State University, Shiloh National Military Park regularly works with other educational institutions as partners on projects and publications. An important partner of the park is Mississippi State University. One of the notable collaborations conducted in 2015 was the professional symposium titled, "The Fifteenth Amendment: From U.S. Grant to Lyndon B. Johnson's Voting Rights Act." Held as part of the National Park Service's Civil War to Civil Rights Initiative, the symposium was organized through a partnership between the agency; the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library, housed in Mitchell Memorial Library at Mississippi State University; the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Shiloh National Military Park; and Vicksburg National Military Park.

The three-day symposium offered a provocative program of multiple educational, interpretive, and commemorative activities presented on the Mississippi State University campus. Speakers included Shiloh's Supervisory Park Ranger Ashley Berry and Chief Park Ranger Stacy D. Allen.[781]

United Daughters of the Confederacy

The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) is a national membership organization comprised of the lineal and collateral female descendants of the soldiers, sailors, and statesmen of the Confederate States of America. Organized in 1894, it represents an outgrowth of many local memorial, monument, Confederate home associations and auxiliaries to local United Confederate Veterans Camps that formed after the Civil War. It is also the outgrowth of two statewide organizations—the Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri and the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Confederate Soldiers Home in Tennessee, both of which had been established by 1890.[782]

The objectives of the organization are to collect and preserve rare books, documents, diaries, letters, personal records, and other papers of historical importance relating to the Civil War period. The collection is housed at the UDC Memorial Building in Richmond, Virginia. The UDC also provides awards for scholarly work, offers benevolent aid to women in need, provides educational scholarships, contributes to memorial observances at burial sites, and provides service for patriotic needs, such as working with veterans in medical and nursing facilities.[783]

The Tennessee Division includes the Shiloh 371 chapter based in Savannah. The Shiloh Chapter 2538 of the Texas Division of the UDC is located in Plano, Texas. It is dedicated to the memory of

781. National Park Service, "Civil War to Civil Rights Initiative Partnership Sponsors Provocative 15th Amendment Symposium at Mississippi State University," available at https://www.nps.gov/shil/learn/news/civil-war-to-civil-rights-initiative-partnership-sponsors-provocative-15th-amendment-symposium-at-mississippi-state-university.htm (accessed August 7, 2016).

782. Daughters of Confederate Veterans, available at http://www.hqudc.org (accessed August 7, 2016).

783. Ibid.

all Confederate soldiers who fought at the Battle of Shiloh.[784]

The Confederate Monument located within the park was erected in 1917 by the UDC in memory of all Southern troops who fought in the battle.

In the 1990s, the UDC contributed funds to a monument restoration initiative established by the park.

In 1998, the UDC funded an interpretive exhibit for the Tennessee River Museum.

The Shiloh Chapter of the UDC was instrumental in establishing the Tennessee State Monument at Shiloh National Military Park. During the 1990s, the UDC decided to raise awareness of the need for Tennessee to place a monument on the Shiloh battlefield. Because the park's enabling legislation requires that states sponsor new monuments, the UDC, with help from Fred Prouty, Director of Programs, Tennessee War Commission, appealed to the state legislature to appropriate funds for the monument.

During the 2010s, the UDC was also involved in development of the Mississippi Monument erected on the battlefield in 2015, providing funds for its design and fabrication.

The Corinth Chapter of the UDC also contributed to the efforts to establish the park unit at Corinth and to raise funds to acquire land associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth property. In 1998, the UDC donated a 20-acre parcel that it had purchased that contained Battery Robinett to the National Park Service for the establishment of the Interpretive Center. In 2004, the UDC assisted the park staff in the opening ceremonies and related programs of the Interpretive Center.

Sons of Confederate Veterans

The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) is a national membership organization open to all male descendants of any veteran who served honorably in the Confederate armed forces. The organization is the direct heir of the United Confederate Veterans. Organized in Richmond, Virginia, in 1896, the SCV serves as a historical, patriotic, and non-political organization dedicated to preserving the history and legacy of Confederate soldier so future generations.[785]

The SCV conducts several programs at the local, state, and national level, including preservation work, marking Confederate soldiers' graves, historical reenactments, scholarly publications, and meetings to discuss the military and political history of the Civil War.[786]

Camp 1454 Battle of Shiloh is the local chapter of the SCV, formed in 1986 with members from Hardin and McNairy counties. The chapter has previously been involved in placing a flag over a Confederate burial site within the park, and finding and marking Confederate graves at Iuka, Mississippi.[787]

In 2005, the SCV was one of the organizations that supported development and installation of the Tennessee Monument within Shiloh National Military Park. Other contributors included the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The chapter's web site indicates that it has been granted permission to rebuild a replica of the Shiloh Log Church present at the time of the battle near the site of the original structure and the present-day Shiloh Methodist Church on church property.[788]

784. United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Welcome to Shiloh Chapter 2538" http://www.shilohtxudc.com (accessed August 7, 2016).
785. Sons of Confederate Veterans, available at http://www.scv.org/about/whatis.php (accessed August 7, 2016).
786. Ibid.
787. "History of Camp 1454" available at http://tennessee-scv.org/Camp1454/history.htm (accessed August 7, 2016).
788. "Shiloh Log Church Project," http://tennessee-scv.org/Camp1454/projects.htm (accessed August 7, 2016).

Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War

The Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War is a national membership organization comprised of the daughters, granddaughters, and great granddaughters of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors serving in the Union Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Revenue Cutter Service during the Civil War. Also eligible are female descendants of those who died or were killed while serving in the armed services between April 12, 1861, and April 9, 1865. Members of the organization work to preserve Civil War heritage for posterity and promote American patriotism.[789]

The organization was formed in 1885 as the National Alliance of the Daughters of Veterans of the United States of America. It was endorsed by the Grand Army of the Republic during the Thirty-fourth Annual Encampment held in Chicago, Illinois in 1900. The name of the organization was changed to the Daughters of Union Veterans in 1925, and Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War in 1944. The organization received a federal charter in December 1985 under Public Law 99-172.

Service efforts conducted by the Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War include undertaking projects to help preserve Civil War battlefields, historic sites, and monuments, and observing and participating in ceremonies on national and local holidays.[790] There is a Middle Tennessee chapter—Tent #4, Major Belle Reynolds—that meets in Savannah, Tennessee, on a monthly basis.

Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War

The Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War (SUVCW) is a national membership and fraternal organization dedicated to preserving the history and legacy of heroes who fought and worked to save the Union. Organized in 1881 and chartered by U.S. Congress in 1954, the organization is the legal successor to the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). The GAR had a similar mission, but was composed of veterans of the Union Army, Navy, Marines, and Revenue Cutter Service who served in the Civil War for the North. Once there were no longer any living veterans, the GAR ceased to function in its original form.[791]

The SUVCW engages in several programs that support its mission. These include developing a national grave registration database, locating and cataloguing GAR and Civil War memorials, and providing grant funding for the preservation and restoration of Civil War monuments and memorials, as well as supporting the production of new monuments. The organization is also active in supporting Memorial Day observances around the nation.[792]

789. Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, available at http://www.duvcw.org/about-us.html (accessed August 7, 2016).
790. Ibid.
791. Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, available at http://www.suvcw.org (accessed August 7, 2016).
792. Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, "Projects & Preservation" and "Memorial Day; History" available at http://www.suvcw.org/?page_id=272 and http://www.suvcw.org/?page_id=973 (accessed August 7, 2016).

Relationships with Other Government Entities



FIGURE 78. Employee Residence 5, July 11, 1935. (Source: National Archives)

In addition to working closely with groups, individuals, agencies, and nonprofit entities as partners in meeting its mission, Shiloh National Military Park also regularly engages in consultation, memoranda of agreement, review, and project implementation with other government entities. Among these are the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation, which serves as the state historic preservation office, the Tennessee Wars Commission, American Battlefield Protection Program, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Federal Highway Administration, local municipal governments, nearby units of the National Park Service and Tennessee State Parks, and the Southeast Archeological Center of the National Park Service. Additional information about the relationships maintained between the park and these other government entities is provided below.

Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation

The Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation ". . . exists to enhance the quality of life for citizens of Tennessee and be good stewards

of our natural environment."[793] The department oversees three program areas that regularly interact with Shiloh National Military Park—the Tennessee Historical Commission, Tennessee State Parks, and Tennessee Wars Commission.

Tennessee Historical Commission

The Tennessee Historical Commission is the State Historic Preservation Office for Tennessee. The Commission has a mission to protect, preserve, interpret, maintain, and administer historic places; to encourage the inclusive diverse study of Tennessee's history for the benefit of future generations; to mark important locations, persons, and events in Tennessee history; to assist in worthy publication projects; to review, comment on and identify projects that will potentially impact historic properties; to locate, identify, record, and nominate to the National Register of Historic Places all properties which meet National Register criteria, and to implement other programs of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended. The Tennessee Historical Commission administers multiple programs related to historic preservation and history, including Section 106 compliance. [794]

Shiloh National Military Park has a long-standing relationship with the Tennessee Historical Commission. As the State Historic Preservation Office, the Commission is responsible for reviewing all construction-related projects proposed for the battlefield to ensure that they meet Section 106 compliance requirements. The Commission is also available to the park for consultation as needed.

For many years, Dr. Joe Garrison has served as the Review and Compliance Coordinator for the Commission, and thus regularly interacts with Shiloh National Military Park. Although Garrison works with the park on Section 106 projects, a Nationwide Programmatic Agreement that exists between the National Park Service and the state historic preservation offices has diminished the amount of review required for smaller projects, due to the park's assumption of certain compliance responsibilities. Instead, the park is generally able to conduct certain aspects of Section 106 compliance in house. However, as noted by Garrison:

> The immediate predecessor of the current Programmatic Agreement was lousy. So, a lot of people worked really hard to get the current Nationwide Programmatic Agreement in place. Regional offices supported it; superintendents supported it… My individual interactions with various park units is really a lot less now than it was say ten years ago because with PEPC and with the new Programmatic Agreement, and with a fair amount of good will within the park service, they don't really bring me that much anymore.
>
> A lot of times what an agency will do—and the National Park Service is no exception—is they'll ask me a question that they already know the answer to. They'll ask me for support of something that they already know I'm going to support because it's reasonable to support it.[795]

In this way, Garrison suggests, parks can address concerns or suggestions that may be raised by the public with a definitive answer from an official source.

However, Garrison also notes that park management of historic resources can be challenging for all involved:

> So, park superintendents are just like everybody else. They want finite lists of things:

793. Tennessee Department of Environment & Conservation, "Tennessee Historical Commission; About the Department," available at http://www.tennessee.gov/environment/section/about-tdec (accessed March 28, 2016).
794. Ibid.
795. Dr. Joe Garrison, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

> "Thou may touch; thou may not touch." That's what they want.
>
> And the National Register is a dynamic process. It's a movable feast, and you can't do that. People use it as a planning document. It isn't; 106 is not a planning document. It's a dynamic document that looks at things as they are today.
>
> Now a thing like Shiloh, that doesn't change very much—I think the most intriguing thing that's happened to Shiloh in the last year is Mississippi finally decided to put their monument in.[796]

When asked to comment on management and meeting Section 106 requirements at Shiloh, Garrison noted:

> The problem with Shiloh is this, from my standpoint . . . protecting, evaluating, and interpreting the significant non battle-related resources, all that great palisade of archeology that they've got there on the river. [Superintendent Woody Harrell] did a pretty fine job of this . . . . Woody—and the Corps of Engineers got together and secured that bluff line. [It was] expensive and it took about five years to figure out how to do it . . . . Another superintendent would have said "It's not part of my brief."[797]

Tennessee State Parks

Tennessee State Parks protect natural, cultural, and historic heritage throughout the state while also provide access to these resources and recreational amenities to the public. One of the Tennessee State Parks—Big Hill Pond State Park—is located in close proximity to Davis Bridge Battlefield. Land associated with the Davis Bridge Battlefield has been acquired for protection since the late 1980s. Acquisition has occurred through private efforts, as well as efforts conducted by the Civil War Trust. The National Park Service currently administers 5.6 acres, while other entities have secured nearly 870 additional acres for battlefield protection. The State of Tennessee is currently responsible for managing the remainder of the land. The National Park Service works with Tennessee State Parks to address site management needs, which are administered through Big Hill Pond State Park. For example, the National Park Service assists with mowing operations and lends equipment to the state park on occasion. This relationship may be a short term solution, as legislation pending before Congress would allow the land to be transferred to the federal government for inclusion in Shiloh National Military Park.[798]

Tennessee Wars Commission

The Tennessee Wars Commission is also administered by the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation. The Commission was created in 1994 by the Tennessee General Assembly to address the fast-disappearing Civil War battlefields and related sites in Tennessee by coordinating the planning, preservation, and promotion of structures, buildings, sites, and battlefields of Tennessee associated with the French and Indian War (1754–1763), American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), War of 1812 (1812–1815), U.S.-Mexican War (1846–1848), and the War Between the States (1861–1865).799 Support in the legislature for the creation and ongoing work of the Commission was provided by Tennessee's Representative Steve McDaniel, Deputy Speaker of the House, and Senator Douglas Henry.[800]

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796. Dr. Joe Garrison, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
797. Ibid.
798. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.
799. Tennessee Department of Environment & Conservation, "Tennessee Wars Commission" available at https://www.tn.gov/environment/article/thc-tennessee-wars-commission (accessed March 28, 2016).
800. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.

Since 1994, the Tennessee Wars Commission has worked to preserve and restore battlefields and related historic sites by providing incentives to local landowners and governments, and by itself acquiring or providing funds to other organizations for the acquisition of battlegrounds, cemeteries, and other historic properties associated with the wars. The Commission:

> . . . has the authority to expend funds received from state appropriations, and other sources, to make grants to municipalities, counties, and nonprofit organizations for the purposes of maintaining and restoring existing memorials and cemeteries related to the wars. It is also authorized to receive and accept loans, gifts, grants, donations, or contributions of money, property, facilities, and services. The Commission may, with the consent of the landowner, acquire by donation, purchase, or exchange, lands and interests in battlefields, together with lands and interest in lands necessary to provide adequate public access to the battlefields and memorials. Subject to appropriations for such purposes, the Commission may make funds available for the maintenance and protection of battlefields and memorials. [801]

In addition to these duties, the Tennessee Wars Commission works to place Tennessee's military sites into a broader context. To this end, the Commission has published several brochures providing information about Civil War sites in Tennessee, as well as a comprehensive plan entitled Preservation and Interpretation Plan for Civil War Resources in Tennessee. In 2013, the Commission published a booklet titled *Ready to Die for Liberty: Tennessee's United States Colored Troops in the Civil War*.

Additional outreach efforts have included the production of an Emmy Award-winning video, *Hallowed Ground, Preserving Tennessee's Civil War Battlefields*. The video has been made available to more than 2,000 Tennessee public schools for use in their libraries and history classes.

The driving force behind much of the work conducted by the Commission over the past 20 years has been Program Director, Fred Prouty, who officially retired in January 2016 but remains involved in the program. Prouty is particularly proud of the accomplishment of the Commission in recording and categorizing the significance and endangerment of over 500 Civil War-era military sites in Tennessee. Prouty noted, "It has been, at times, a daunting but always greatly rewarding experience and for me personally an extension of a life-long 'hobby' that became the job of a lifetime."[802]

Prouty was the only paid employee of the Commission, but worked with a group of twenty or more Commission members appointed by the Governor, and a smaller War Commission Committee that helped develop proposals and projects.

The appointed members meet three times a year to approve the yearly budget and Tennessee Historical Commission federal and state grants. Daily work and activities of the Tennessee Historical Commission and Wars Commission are run and staffed by fifteen full time state employees, most of whom are degreed preservationists. Prouty notes that, ". . . state employed staff members of the Historical Commission are also consultants on all of the Wars Commission projects and yearly budget requests for our Wars Commission grant applications."[803]

When asked about the specific tasks conducted by the Commission, Prouty noted that they include:

> . . . interpretation and preservation planning of battlefield sites. I have a yearly budget and out

801. Tennessee Department of Environment & Conservation, "Tennessee Wars Commission" available at https://www.tn.gov/environment/article/thc-tennessee-wars-commission (accessed March 28, 2016).

802. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.

803. Ibid.

> of that fund we not only work to help acquire properties but also create interpretive and preservation plans for a wide range of historic military and related sites. We work to acquire and/or obtain conservation easements of sites as well as interpret them. A prime example is Parker's Crossroads Battlefield on U.S. 40 about 20 minutes east of Jackson, Tennessee. The battlefield is one of our state's thirty-eight most significant battlefields, as selected by the Congressional *Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields*, published in 1993 and revised in 2009.
>
> Fortunately, our state representative, Deputy Speaker Steve McDaniel, is from Parkers Crossroads and has been a valuable resource for the Commission. I have been working Representative McDaniel for over twenty-one years on this project and we have recently acquired the last battlefield acreage within the National Register boundary area of the battlefield that totals over 450 acres.[804]

One of the focuses of the Commission has been to acquire battlefield acreage relating to the thirty-eight most significant battlefields as identified in the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission report. Prouty himself was invited to participate in the survey and attended meetings in Washington, D.C. at American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) to determine core and study areas of Tennessee battlefields and make sure they were accurately recorded on USGS maps.

> The Tennessee Wars Commission has helped obtain a majority of the property available within the state's thirty-eight most significant battlefield sites. But, I've amassed a file cabinet of over five hundred additional sites that are just as worthy of preservation and interpretation! They are all "hallowed ground" . . . . The encampment sites connected with these additional five hundred locations were also real killing places, as more troops died of disease in camp than on the battlefields. We also have our state under water archeological sites that have received minimal attention. There is a virtual fleet of sunken Federal naval vessels in the Tennessee River next to Johnsonville Civil War State Park. The Wars Commission has funded and completed five underwater archeology investigation and surveys on those sunken ships and portions of recovered artifacts are now being conserved for display in the recently built Johnsonville State Park Visitor Center. We've been doing a lot but there is so much more to be done.[805]

In targeting property acquisition, the Commission can seek 50 percent matching funds from the American Battlefield Protection Program, while also garnering support from the Civil War Trust (or previously the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites), the Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, and other 501(c)(3) organizations. As Prouty notes, the Commission also works

> . . . with many local "Friends of" groups who help promote and raise funds and attention for their endangered battlefield sites. A case in point is the City of Franklin and their downtown battlefield property. Their non-profit Franklin's Charge Association has become a partner with the Tennessee Wars Commission in obtaining grants for archeological investigations and interpretive planning for battlefield property. The Franklin's Charge association is working with other 501(c)(3) non-profits in Franklin to recover and interpret the reclaiming significant portions of the down town Franklin Battlefield properties. There are many such organizations across Tennessee who working hard to save and interpret their own battlefield properties and/or related sites.[806]

Another key partnering organization is the Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association (TCWPA), with a mission ". . . to protect, interpret and make accessible Tennessee's surviving Civil War battlefields and contributing landscapes for

804. Ibid.
805. Ibid.
806. Ibid.

the benefit of present and future generations.[807] For many years, the TCWPA has been headed by Ms. Mary Ann Peckham. Prouty, who serves on the board, credits Peckham with assembling an active board of directors and an advisory board, creating a Tennessee Civil War battlefield preservation award, conducting a yearly "Three Star Civil War Tour" of different, seldom-visited historic locations across the state, launching the organization's website as well as the successful, "Save Our Battlefields" state license plate program, and many other accomplishments. The on-line battlefield site created by TCWPA is now administered by the Tennessee State Library and Archives. It is a statewide GIS project that locates Civil War site components statewide, such as contraband camps, headquarters, earthworks and fortifications. The TCWPA has also developed the "Looking Back Program" that enables citizens to have their Civil War artifacts evaluated, scanned, archived, and made available to researchers online.[808]

Despite the great success of the Commission's work, and the fruitful partnerships it has enjoyed, Prouty suggests that ". . . we must do much more to preserve the smaller endangered sites that languish without state or federal assistance to help save them. Tennessee currently contains miles of pristine Civil War field fortification and entrenchments, scattered across the state, most of which are not eligible for federal assistance. These endangered sites are the next properties that must be preserved and should be linked with the goals of the Tennessee Department of Tourism and other local nonprofit organizations. Most of these sites are still in rural settings and would be of great significance to those smaller communities as prime tourist destinations."[809]

More recent partnerships have included the Tennessee State Tourism Development office. As noted by Prouty:

> Being appointed by the governor to the board of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission allowed me to begin a great partnership with the Tennessee State Tourism Development office and staff. The folks at Tourism have made the process of connecting with all Tennessee's local governments and nonprofits, a wonderful method for getting our preservation and interpretation information out to the general public.[810]

The Commission has also supported the tourism initiative by working on the Civil War Trail System. Tennessee has more than 400 interpretive waysides and trail maps to direct visitors to sites of interest.

Also key to these efforts is the fact that the entire state of Tennessee has been designated part of the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area. With offices at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro, administrators of the heritage area administration help with interpretation and preservation planning. The Tennessee Wars Commission works with the heritage area administration as a consultant and has granted funds for several heritage area projects.[811]

Prouty also notes how important it has been to work with historians and Civil War enthusiasts throughout the state to understand the importance of the battlefields. With a background in archeology, Prouty also recognizes the importance of protecting information potential and sensitive resources such as earthworks. He has been able to understand the role of certain lands in battles by talking with collectors who have learned where

807. Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, "About TCWPA" available at http://www.tcwpa.org/about/ (accessed March 28, 2016).
808. Fred Prouty, personal interview, April 13, 2015.
809. Ibid.
810. Ibid.
811. Ibid.

such features as combat and encampments were located based on their findings.



FIGURE 79. Prouty and his family visiting Shiloh National Cemetery, circa 1958. (Source: Fred Prouty)

When asked about his enthusiasm for his work and the Civil War, Prouty noted, ". . . my father drove me to Shiloh National Military Park from Memphis in 1958 and that experience 'clinched' it for me, as the beginning of my life-long hobby (FIGURE 79)."[812]



FIGURE 80. Prouty as a Boy Scout at Shiloh, circa 1960. (Source: Fred Prouty)

Later, as a Boy Scout, Prouty was one of the first scouts to hike and complete the Shiloh Civil War Battlefield Trail, receiving a badge. Prouty later achieved the rank of Eagle Scout (Figure 80).

Prouty's enthusiasm was cultivated by his parents who, in 1961:

> . . . drove me to Manassas Battlefield in Virginia for the very first Civil War Centennial reenactment that was held on the actual battlefield (I was a 16 year old drummer for a Confederate infantry company). By 1965 I had participated in most of the major Centennial reenactments and ended my reenacting hobby some 30 years later, as a staff official for the Battle of Chickamauga reenactment in 1993 with over 14,000 participants. It has been a passionate hobby for many years and I hope we as living history participants have help "enlist" young future battlefield preservationists. My passion for history became my career.[813]

When asked about his experience at Shiloh, Prouty noted:

> . . . my involvement with Shiloh Battlefield actually started with my first visit at age 13 and as a 17-year-old I participated in the 100th anniversary of the battle in 1962. Those battlefields had a tremendous impact on me as I watered my horse in a mist shrouded "Bloody Pond" and rode through those "powerful" open spaces, where several of my ancestors had fought and died.
>
> Many years later, as a member of the Tennessee Division of Archeology, I would again be at Shiloh National Military Park consulting with Park Historian and later Chief Ranger Stacey Allen, on possible sites to preserve connected with the Battle, but not then with in the Park boundary. The recording of several endangered sites in the Shiloh area became part of our first state Archaeological thematic survey and report, *A Survey of Civil War Period Military Sites in Middle Tennessee* (published in 1990). With the help of Ranger Allen and Shiloh Superintendent Woody Harrell, we eventually surveyed several sites, one of them being the significant "Fallen Timbers Battlefield" (considered a part of the Shiloh campaign and located just below the southwestern park boundary).

Recent efforts to support land acquisition associated with Shiloh have resulted in several successful projects. As Prouty explained:

> A subcommittee on Federal Lands recently held hearings in Washington, D.C., and one of

812. Ibid.

813. Ibid.

> the bills introduced is for the expansion of Shiloh National Military Park boundaries (Bill; H.R. 87, Rep. Marsha Blackburn). The Tennessee Wars/Historical Commission now holds easements on two battlefield properties that are significant to the Battle of Shiloh. When this bill is passed, the Tennessee Wars Commission will transfer our Conservation Easements on the two properties to the National Park Service at Shiloh who will create interpret waysides and trails for the two sites. The Fullwood tract, which we acquired for the state, contains the important Battle of Fallen Timbers (200 acres), just outside the south west portion of the current Shiloh park boundary. The Battle of Davis Bridge (800 plus acres), 20 miles southwest of Shiloh, is considered the last engagement of the Shiloh Campaign and over 1,000 men became casualties.[814]

Prouty also noted that the initial purchase of 150 acres was made by the Commission, but that the Civil War Trust has since purchased additional battlefield land using a 50/50 match from the American Battlefield Protection Program. Because federal funds cannot be transferred directly to a nonprofit organization like the Civil War Trust, they are managed through the Tennessee Wars Commission and Historical Commission offices:

> The Wars Commission director of programs presents the proposed property acquisition to the Tennessee State Lands Commission Board and if approved it then goes before the State Building Commission for their approval. Once approved the Tennessee Historical Commission will hold the conservation easement on the property in perpetuity or until the National Park Service takes ownership of the property for inclusion in the Shiloh Battlefield Park system.[815]

At Davis Bridge, the Tennessee Wars Commission, with help from the Civil War Trust, American Battlefield Protection Program, Tennessee State Lands Acquisition Commission, and legislative appropriations of state funding, has acquired over 98 percent of the battlefield; in this, the Commission has been required to acquire land at fair market value. The Commission also uses conservation easements as a preservation tool. To ensure that the transactions are considered fair, the Commission works to set up local friends' groups to work with area residents on the benefits of preservation.

Today, the state owns the 800 plus acres of Davis Bridge Battlefield, but the property is not currently open to the public as a park. The state will transfer the land to the National Park Service for inclusion in Shiloh National Military Park once legislation is passed authorizing the transaction. Fred Prouty, who remembers participating in the Boy Scout trail program at Shiloh in the 1960s has suggested that a similar trail be established at Davis Bridge. He also envisions the benefits associated with clearing some of the trees on the site to restore the open character of the battlefield landscape, adding parking, a trail, replica cannon, and interpretive signage will draw visitors, and business to the small town of Pocahontas nearby. The work is being conducted in part by the Tennessee State Parks, which maintains Big Hill Pond State Park about 5 miles north of Davis Bridge.

Another recent focus of Commission work that involved Shiloh National Military Park was assistance in erecting the Tennessee State Monument within the park, which occurred in 2005. The monument was the result of efforts conducted by the Shiloh Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), led by Mrs. Bettye Stanley, to raise funds and awareness for the need for the monument. Because the erection of a state monument at Shiloh required legislative approval, the UDC worked to gain the support of Tennessee officials. By the early 2000s, they had the support of State Representative Randy Rinks and State Senator Steve McDaniel. The two politicians secured $125,000 for a Tennessee monument at Shiloh; as noted earlier, initial park legislation allowed each state to erect a monument in honor of its troops involved in the Battle of Shiloh, which Tennessee had never done. Excited about honoring past Tennesseans, the Sons of

814. Ibid.

815. Ibid.

Confederate Veterans joined Stanley and the UDC in securing funds and soliciting designs.

The monument, dedicated in honor of all Tennesseans who fought at Shiloh, is titled "Passing of Honor." It features three soldiers–a fallen flag-bearer, a soldier picking up the flag, and a third standing by watching. The soldiers are dressed in historically accurate accoutrements and uniforms, many of which were provided by Fred Prouty from his own personal collection for reference by sculptor G. L. Sanders. Prouty worked closely with Stacy Allen at the park to ensure that the monument was appropriately and accurately designed. They worked closely with the sculptor, traveling to Wyoming to review a full-scale clay model for review before it was cast in bronze.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

In 2016, Jim Woodrick of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History noted:

> We have a very good working relationship with the park staff, and the information we receive has always been first rate and complete. Mississippi's interagency relationships, unlike many other areas of the country, are extremely good and we've never had anything other than a very productive partnership with Shiloh/Corinth.
>
> I think the biggest change in the past twenty years is the availability of funding. Congress is no longer providing the type of funding needed to acquire property, so we've had to rely more and more on local and national 501(c)(3) organizations to carry the load, and in general interest seems to have waned in local communities. So, I think the approach to battlefield preservation has been more reactive than in the past; luckily, we do not have much development pressure in Mississippi, so in that respect we are fortunate.
>
> In Mississippi, we've always considered the cultural landscape to be a significant feature of battlefields, despite the fact that the enabling legislation of NPS sites are generally very narrowly interpreted. From the perspective of NRHP significance, however, the SHPO has always considered other periods of significance at battlefield properties, along with landscape design as NR-eligible components.[816]

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

The principal coordination and consultation that has occurred between Shiloh National Military Park and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has involved the need to address severe riverbank erosion along the park's eastern boundary. With the Tennessee Valley Authority, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was responsible for altering the hydrology of the river by establishing dams designed to address flooding and to generate hydroelectric power in the 1940s.

Riverbank erosion first became a problem at the park during the 1950s. It was exacerbated during several flood events that occurred in the 1970s. Efforts to work with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to devise a strategy to stabilize the river banks and diminish the impact of the erosion were conducted during the 1970s and 1980s, with little success.

> . . . we've had to have partners and stakeholders to make it happen. I mean there's no way we could stabilize the riverbank without the Corps of Engineers and – in particular–the Tennessee Valley Authority, and all of our federal partners to make it happen.[817]

Despite early efforts, little happened to address the problem until Woody Harrell joined the staff of Shiloh National Military Park as Superintendent. Harrell made stabilization a focus of his administration. As noted by former maintenance supervisor Gerald Skaggs:

816. Jim Woodrick, personal interview, August 17, 2016.

817. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.

> We had worked –actually, we had a project started before Woody ever came–to stabilize the riverbank erosion. I worked on that my whole career . . . and finally, I can't remember what year that was, but the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers finally got the stabilization project completed. When Woody came in, he jumped into it, and he was very heavy in to it. And he worked on it just about his entire career also . . . .
>
> Woody got senators and congressmen and other persons involved in it, and finally got some emergency funding to work on that. The program that the Army Corps of Engineers did with the money that Woody secured was part of the final stabilization.[818]

Harrell described the process in a 2015 interview as follows:

> I'd say the biggest issue [of concern to me when I arrived] was the stream bank erosion of the Tennessee River on the eastern edge of Shiloh Battlefield. The erosion had really started in the 1940s with the impounding of the Tennessee River by the Corps of Engineers at the Kentucky lock, and it really put the river out of equilibrium from 1940 up till the 1990s. Just about every five-year period in there, we were losing eight inches to over a foot a year, eating away at the river bank.
>
> There had been a really bad flood in 1977, and it became an accelerating issue after that. We had plans, but there had never been any money to do anything to implement them, so I guess if I had marching orders from the Atlanta office it was to do something with that problem. The particular sites, the erosion had gotten within six feet of the wall around the National Cemetery. It was eating away at the causeway across Dill Branch, and it was eating away at the largest of the Indian Mounds. We have about 2,200 linear feet along the river that is elevated in most places about 100 feet above the river level, and it was those steep bluffs where we were having the most problems.
>
> The Corps was certainly willing to solve our problems as long as we had the money to solve it. We relied on the Corps as the experts. Other than that, it's a very tight correlation between when the problem started, i.e., the dams, and the erosion up till today. If the Corps had done anything to help us, it would have been admitting to private landowners that a lot of other erosion issues started with the impoundment.
>
> We had to try to find some way to get the funding, and it was working with local folks who had some congressional contacts. We knew we weren't going to be a high enough priority through the regular National Park Service budget, so it was going to have to be through an add-on or a line item . . . .
>
> We worked with Kent Collier over in Savannah. He had not been in town that long. He operated several McDonald's franchises, and was a big history bluff. He was also personal friends with Congressman Van Hilleary. They had gone to school together and Kent was able to get his ear, which really got us started on the project. Another name that comes to mind is Jerry Lessenberry, who was with the Sons of Confederate Veterans up in Jackson, Tennessee. He's now deceased, but he would write anybody and call anybody, and make a general nuisance of himself until people came around to doing things, finding some money for the park.
>
> Ultimately we would spend over $6 million, $6.2 million on this stream bank stabilization and it came in a million here, a million there. There would be some standoffs with Congress putting pressure on the National Park Service to change their priorities and find some money somewhere, some soft money that they could put in there. Over the course of five or six years, we were finally able to get enough money to get started on it.
>
> We used the Corps to do all the riprap, the rock placement, and then we were able to fold a number of other things into that project. Mound A in the Indian Mounds complex was the single most threatened site. The earliest maps of Mound A showed at the base of it there was an apron of land before you got to

818. Gerald Skaggs, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

the riverbank. The erosion over the years had eaten away at that natural profile and brought the bank back to completely vertical, so that every additional flood would eat away at the bank and then it would begin sloughing off, so it had eaten away the apron and it also cut into the Mound itself. Trying to pin the Corps down for an estimate of what else was going to happen, about the best they could say was over the next 25 years we could lose as much as 25 additional feet and it could all happen in year 1 or it could all happen in year 25.

That put us into mitigation archeology to go back that full 25 feet and learn as much as we could because that was so threatened. And then the plan was to harden the riverbank up to the 100-year flood line, which was 402 feet above sea level. And then if we could protect up to that 100-year flood line, hopefully the cliff would reach a state of equilibrium before we lost too much additional ground. Lots of issues with that project, things you would not expect. Before we could put the filter cloth and the riprap to come up with a way of attacking the erosion, there were several places where old chunks of concrete had been dumped over the years and these in fact had made the erosion worse than just leaving the natural riverbank there because eddies formed as the flood waters came up.

Anyway, there were restrictions about where you could dump that material. Of course the further you had to carry it to dump it the more expensive it would be. During some previous work, there had been dredging out in the Tennessee River and that was a great place to dump things because it was very sterile. This was an ideal site, so we were looking at permission to dump it just downstream from the park. However, it was determined we needed to send divers down just to make sure before we started. During the period since the original dumping of that rock material, that sterile location was the perfect habitat for fresh water mussels so it had changed over just a few years from nothing there of any consequence to this nursery of mussels, and we had to find other way to dispose of excess material.

In the Corps' initial plans, we used a lot of gabion baskets made out of wire and then filled with rock material, so you could stack them up as a wall, and there were at least two times when we were almost finished and the whole gabion wall gave out and slid into the river, and we had to go back and then try to build on top of that and come up with alternative plans.

Probably 40 feet with the wall, and then we had 60 feet above that. Lots of issues with that. We brought all the material in on barges from a quarry on the river downstream and moved a lot of stone to get that protection.

I guess that's what, ten years, maybe close to fifteen since the Corps did any work. We did surveying on the riverbank, several places two or three times a year after that to make sure there wasn't going be any more settlement. As far as I know still up to the day everything seems to be going good on that.[819]

Tennessee Department of Transportation

The rerouting of Tennessee Highway 22 from the core to the western edge of the park during the late 1950s and early 1960s required coordination between the National Park Service, particularly park staff, and the Tennessee Department of Transportation (Tennessee State Highway Commission). The project was proposed as a way to relocate through traffic from the core visitor tour area of the park. The ground work for this project had already been laid by the time the first Mission 66 master plan was prepared for the park. The plan called for construction of a "Belt By-Pass" road that would diminish the number of road miles passing through the park, thereby also decreasing maintenance costs and park protection duties. Later, it was proposed that title to and jurisdiction over these roads be transferred from the federal government to the State of Tennessee. As part of the proposal, the National Park Service offered to provide funds in the amount of $414,750 to assist the state in bringing the roads up

819. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

to appropriate standards. As this proposal gained traction, a bill was introduced into Congress in January 1957 recommending the transfer to the State of Tennessee lands totaling approximately 200 acres for the purposes of constructing a new road along the western edge of the park and the development of an adjacent wayside park.

On May 16, 1958, HR 4115 was passed by Congress and became Public Law 85-406. The Act provided for the Secretary of the Interior to convey lands within Shiloh National Military Park totaling approximately 51 acres to the State of Tennessee for the rerouted road, and another 151 acres for recreational purposes. The transfer of the 151 acres was intended to support a park goal of removing incompatible recreational uses from the park. In exchange, the state agreed to build the new road. Although the proposed 151 acre area was never conveyed to the state, a picnic area was established south of Sowell Field along the new highway in fulfillment of the plans. The Act also released to the park parts of State Routes 22 and 142 for exclusive park visitor use.

The land transfer was effected in November 1958, and was followed by a written agreement regarding the state's pledge to build the new road and release portions of old Highways 22 and 142 for exclusive park visitor use. With this agreement in place, construction of the long-awaited bypass could begin.

Work entailed field survey of the proposed new road by an engineering party of the Tennessee State Highway Commission, and consultation between the park and the Tennessee State Highway Department on the road plans and profiles. After the park staff traveled the proposed route on the ground, the superintendent noted that ". . . all in all, it appears that in general the interest of the park will be served very well by the proposal." Then Superintendent Floyd Taylor also visited the Nashville office of the highway department to discuss the project. The highway commissioner indicated that the project would most likely be scheduled for the next few years. The National Park Service was asked to provide the State with technical data concerning land transfer and conditions. Floyd also met with State Park Director Gordon H. Turner to discuss the wayside park development included in the legislation. Construction of the bypass road was initiated in 1961 and completed in 1962.[820]

American Battlefield Protection Program

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) was created by the Secretary of the Interior in 1991 with a mission to promote the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars conducted on American soil. Since the early 1990s, the program has focused on guiding appropriate land protection, land use, cultural resource and site management, and public education.

One of the first projects completed by ABPP staff was preparation of a National Register Bulletin entitled *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields.* Authored by Patrick Andrus in 1992, the bulletin provided the first federally documented process for delineating and documenting the importance of Civil War battlefields. As such, the bulletin provided essential guidance to the growing number of entities working to raise awareness about the significance of American's battlefields and the increasing threat of loss.

Soon after the ABPP was established, staff were engaged by the National Park Service in the Southeast Region to assist in the assessment of the Siege and Battle of Corinth landscapes. One outcomes of a collaborative effort conducted by the region and the new program to investigate and assess the property was a study titled *The Siege and Battle of Corinth: A Strategy for Preservation,*

820. Capps, 53, 102, 125. Superintendent's Annual Report - FY1958, FRC Box 85558.

Protection and Interpretation.[821] Shiloh National Military Park personnel, including Chief Ranger Reaves and Lead Park Ranger Allen, were also brought in to serve on a task force established by ABPP to consider ways that the battlefields associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth, Mississippi, might be preserved. One of the immediate outcomes of their efforts was preparation of documentation leading to designation of the property as a National Historic Landmark on May 31, 1991. Authors of the nomination for Corinth included Edwin C. Bearss, Paul Hawke, Tom Hensley, and Cecil McKithan of the National Park Service, and Jack Elliot of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

The ABPP later funded a study of the Corinth Contraband Camp prepared by Joseph Brent. Published in 1995, the study—*Occupied Corinth: The Contraband Camp and The First Alabama Regiment of African Descent 1862–1864*—was instrumental in raising awareness of this significant property, and helped to guide future protection and interpretation of the site. The Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission and the related Friends group regularly applied for ABPP grants to complete projects involving access and interpretation of battlefield lands.

Paul Hawke, who had divided his time between the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service and the American Battlefield Protection Program, accepted the position of Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management at Shiloh National Military Park in 1995. Hawke's transfer to the park from the region was in part due to a decrease in National Park Service funding by Congress that suggested the region downsize its staff. By shifting his full time employee position to Shiloh, the Atlanta office was able to meet downsizing quotas. At the same time, Shiloh benefitted from the addition of a proven cultural resource manager in the field. Hawke brought his Southeast Region American Battlefield Protection Program responsibilities to Shiloh.

During the program's early years, the ABPP struggled to keep up with the public's need for technical assistance due to a lack of funding. In 1996, however, Congress signed into law the American Battlefield Protection Program Act, which officially authorized the program.

Since 1996, ABPP has promoted battlefield protection through the distribution of grants to local and state governments and nonprofit organizations to fund a range of projects involving battlefield documentation, protection, and interpretation. ABPP has also funded theme studies and other investigations that help to place individual battlefields and associated lands into a framework for decision-making.

In January 2000, Paul Hawke left Shiloh National Military Park to accept the position of Chief of the ABPP. Stacy Allen assumed Hawke's responsibilities as Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management.

In 2002, the 1996 Act was amended by the Civil War Battlefield Preservation Act (Public Law 107-359, 111 Stat. 3016, December 17, 2002), which directed the Secretary of the Interior to update the 1992 Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields.* The Act had two purposes:

- To act quickly and proactively to preserve and protect nationally significant Civil War battlefields through conservation easements and fee-simple purchases of those battlefields from willing sellers; and

- To create partnerships among state and local governments, regional entities, and the private sector to preserve, conserve,

821. National Park Service, Southeast Region and American Battlefield Protection Program, *The Siege and Battle of Corinth; A Strategy for Preservation, Protection and Interpretation* (September 1991).

> and enhance nationally significant Civil War battlefields.[822]

The ABPP supported this effort by preparing a *Battlefield Survey Manual* that outlined the field methods to be employed for the re-survey, and made reference to the National Register bulletin, which did not become available until after the first CWSAC survey was completed. One of the important additions to the information afforded in the re-survey was the delineation of potentially eligible National Register historic districts associated with the battlefields surveyed.[823] Using the refined methodology, the re-survey entailed validating or adjust the original CWSAC study and core area boundaries to encompass the extent and key resources of each battlefield.[824] Shiloh personnel were involved in the re-survey project at many levels, including conducting several of the individual battlefield surveys themselves.

Relationship with nearby Related Park Units—Vicksburg National Military Park, Fort Donelson National Battlefield, Stones River National Battlefield

Shiloh National Military Park regularly interacts and shares resources with other National Park Units within the region, particularly those that are directly related in terms of Civil War heritage, such as Fort Donelson National Battlefield, Stones River National Battlefield, and Vicksburg National Military Park. With Vicksburg, Shiloh shares a special heritage as two of the first five national military parks established by U.S. Congress during the 1890s that contain a direct legacy of military site documentation involving veterans of the battles. Stones River National Battlefield, which also protects land associated with a Civil War battle, is located only two-and-one-half hours away in Middle Tennessee, while Fort Donelson is also located less than three hours from Shiloh. Staff of the three parks often serve together on Civil War related boards and commissions. For example, Park Historian Stacy Allen has served as a subject matter expert for the Mississippi Battlefield Commission, along with Terrence J. Winschel, former park historian at Vicksburg National Military Park.

In the 1965, the park Superintendent's Annual Report indicates that the park historian was invited to attend a Kentucky-Tennessee National Park Service Interpretive Conference at Stones River, sharing the park's program of interpretation with those in attendance.

In 1989, the park's lead park ranger position was filled by Stacy D. Allen, who transferred to Shiloh after four years at Vicksburg National Military Park. Allen notes that Terry Winschel at Vicksburg was an important influence on the direction of his own career with the National Park Service. There are other examples of personnel moving between positions at Shiloh and Stones River National Battlefield as well.

One of the examples of cooperation between the parks involves the sharing of artifacts during the 1990s that were associated with the gunboat USS *Cairo* that was at Pittsburg Landing until three days before the Battle of Shiloh, but later was later sunk in the Mississippi while involved in Grant's campaign to capture Vicksburg. Artifacts have been loaned between the two parks to support naval exhibits.

In the early 2000s, following passage of the Vicksburg Campaign Trail Battlefields Preservation Act of 2000, the park participated in a

822. National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields; Commonwealth of Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, July 2009), 4.

823. Ibid., 13.

824. Ibid.

feasibility study mandated by the legislation that entailed examination and evaluation of sites in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee for potential inclusion in the National Park System.[825] Stacy Allen served as a member of the core study team, making field surveys and drafting the report. Shiloh Superintendent Harrell co-managed the Vicksburg study with Superintendent William O. Nichols of Vicksburg National Military Park. Other principal team members of the Vicksburg study included historians, Terrence J. Winschel of Vicksburg National Military Park; and James Jobe of Fort Donelson National Battlefield.

Another example of the cooperation among these parks is staffing for special events. During a special event held in October 2015 to dedicate the Mississippi State Monument at Shiloh, both Stones River National Battlefield and Mammoth Cave National Park provided law enforcement and ranger personnel on detail to the park to help with the large crowds.

In 2011, Vicksburg and Shiloh co-sponsored a Civil War Educator Workshop in June 2011, with assistance from the Ulysses S. Grant Association, and Mississippi State University. The workshop initiated Shiloh's Civil War Sesquicentennial program. The week-long workshop, held on the MSU campus, included thirty-two educators focused on development of Civil War curricula for secondary school children. Discussions entailed a series of classes and programs relating to the diversity of the Civil War experience, including discussion of the Civil War as both myth and reality; the use of the computer and internet for locating Civil War sites and resources; how to evaluate Civil War sites for curriculum needs; exploring printed Civil War resources, their preservation and use in secondary education; a presentation of scenes from the Civil War films *Birth of Nation* and *Glory*, with discussion focusing on the roles of African-Americans; the role women played in the war; Civil War music and participation in a Civil War musical concert; the experiences of United States Colored Troops in Mississippi; and field tours of Shiloh Battlefield, the Corinth Civil War Interpretative Center, Vicksburg Battlefield, and the Old Courthouse Museum in Vicksburg. The workshop provided the opportunity to discuss, understand, and appreciate the role of public history in interpreting the Civil War within the National Park System.[826]

Additionally, Shiloh and Vicksburg co-sponsored a symposium held at Mississippi State University titled "The Fifteenth Amendment: From U.S. Grant to Lyndon B. Johnson's Voting Rights Act" in 2015.

Also in 2015, after Congress passed a bill authorizing the addition of up to 10,000 acres to Vicksburg National Military Park for their association with other battles of the Vicksburg Campaign, Stacy Allen served as an integral member of the team that prepared a feasibility study that guided the legislation.

Relationship with Local Government—Hardin County and City of Corinth

The park also works regularly with Hardin County departments, including Tourism, the Sheriff's Department, and Fire Department to address several issue of mutual concern. Among these are fire protection, law enforcement, and economic development.

For example, in 1980, the park signed a cooperative agreement with Hardin County that outlined a program for providing mutual aid in fighting fires.[827] Around the same time, Hardin County received a grant from the Tennessee Valley Authority that allowed it to establish a fully operative volunteer fire department, which was tasked with supporting park fire suppression needs. Three human-caused fires occurred in the

825. Public Law 106-487.
826. Stacy D. Allen, written summary of Sesquicentennial events.
827. Capps, 128.

park over the course of the year; park personnel also responded to six fires outside the park.[828]

Since establishment of the Corinth unit, the park has also developed a similar relationship with the City of Corinth.

Southeast Archeological Center

The Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), located in Tallahassee, Florida, is the principal archeological center for the Southeast Region of the National Park System. The center has a mission to provide the best archeological and collections management assistance possible to national parks and partners. The center achieves its mission by conducting and disseminating high-quality anthropological research and interpretation, based on cutting edge, multidisciplinary methods, technologies, and science. SEAC maintains high ethical standards by reporting timely research findings to park managers, the public, and professional audiences. SEAC fulfills federal requirements for the protection of cultural resources by performing archeological research, promoting education and outreach, providing collections and information management services, and offering technical support for national park units located in the Southeast Region. Additionally, SEAC provides interagency support to help carry out the Secretary of the Interior's responsibilities to other agencies for cultural resources compliance, archeological site stabilization, resource planning, and public education and outreach.[829]

SEAC is responsible for conducting all evaluation and mitigation of proposed ground disturbing activities at Shiloh National Military Park, ranging from monitoring installation of new water and electrical lines to locating and documenting sites of significance.

Supervisory Archeologist John Cornelison is one of SEAC's most experienced staff members in terms of work conducted at Shiloh. Cornelison has been involved in three major projects at Shiloh, and two additional efforts conducted at Corinth. These have included systematic metal detector and GPR survey, shovel testing, and excavation of Battery Robinett at Corinth circa 1998, research design, logistical planning, and excavation of the Indian Mounds between 1999 and 2004, and concurrent systematic metal detecting survey of the Shiloh Battlefield, and an archeological and geophysical survey of the Contraband Camp in Corinth.

Cornelison notes that while SEAC will continue to provide mitigation services, there are currently few plans to conduct additional investigations at the park. This is because the battlefield ground was so well marked by the veterans that knowledge of where things happened is already relatively accurately known. He also noted, however, that new technology may continue to play a role in the information base. An example is LiDAR (Light Technology and Ranging), which uses near infrared light transmitted from an aircraft to image objects and can depict topographic anomalies even through tree cover. LiDAR technology recently allowed for the accurate mapping of the perimeter palisade of the village that was associated with the Indian Mounds. The success of this effort led to plans to conduct a ground penetrating radar survey of the Indian Mound plaza area in 2016.[830]

828. Superintendent Annual reports.
829. National Park Service, "Southeast Archeological Center; Mission Statement" available at https://www.nps.gov/seac/about/mission.htm (accessed March 28, 2016).
830. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.

Government-to-government program with the Chickasaw Nation (Memorandum of Understanding)

In 1999, the Southeast Archeological Center was engaged to consider the threat to the mounds and suggest a strategy for mitigating their potential loss. Prior to and during the archeological mitigation work at the Indian Mounds, the park engaged in a memorandum of understanding with the Chickasaw Nation, which is a consulting party of the park, due to the fact that park land is part of the Chickasaw's traditional homeland.

After considering the site, representatives of the National Park Service held:

> . . . a major meeting where we invited tribal members, state historic preservation officers, Native American consultants, and a bunch of people from the region and the park. We met over two days and worked out the research design. We worked out whether we were going to cut a cross shape in the mound and sample all four quadrants, or just stick to the part that was endangered. By the end of the meeting, the consensus was that we would stick to the endangered part. Tony Parades, who was a National Park Service employee at the time, but had just retired from Florida State University, and was representing NAGPRA, said that it would be the equivalent of putting a trench through the Sistine Chapel so we wanted to limit what we disturbed.[831]

> At the two-day meeting . . . we came up with the MOU. This was a model for a very successful MOU because we had already determined that the CCC trenches were where, if we had any burials, that is where they would be reburied. That was already determined. We had a great relationship with Mr. Kirk Perry of the Chickasaw Nation and we had one Chickasaw archeologist who worked with us every year, Donna Rausch.[832]

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

In 2016, Jim Woodrick of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History noted:

> We have a very good working relationship with the park staff, and the information we receive has always been first rate and complete. Mississippi's interagency relationships, unlike many other areas of the country, are extremely good and we've never had anything other than a very productive partnership with Shiloh/Corinth.

> I think the biggest change in the past twenty years is the availability of funding. Congress is no longer providing the type of funding needed to acquire property, so we've had to rely more and more on local and national 501(c)(3) organizations to carry the load, and in general interest seems to have waned in local communities. So, I think the approach to battlefield preservation has been more reactive than in the past; luckily, we do not have much development pressure in Mississippi, so in that respect we are fortunate.

> In Mississippi, we've always considered the cultural landscape to be a significant feature of battlefields, despite the fact that the enabling legislations of NPS sites are generally very narrowly interpreted. From the perspective of National Register significance, however, the SHPO has always considered other periods of significance at battlefield properties, along with landscape design as National Register-eligible components.[833]

831. Ibid.
832. Ibid.
833. Jim Woodrick, personal interview, August 17, 2016.

Shiloh National Cemetery

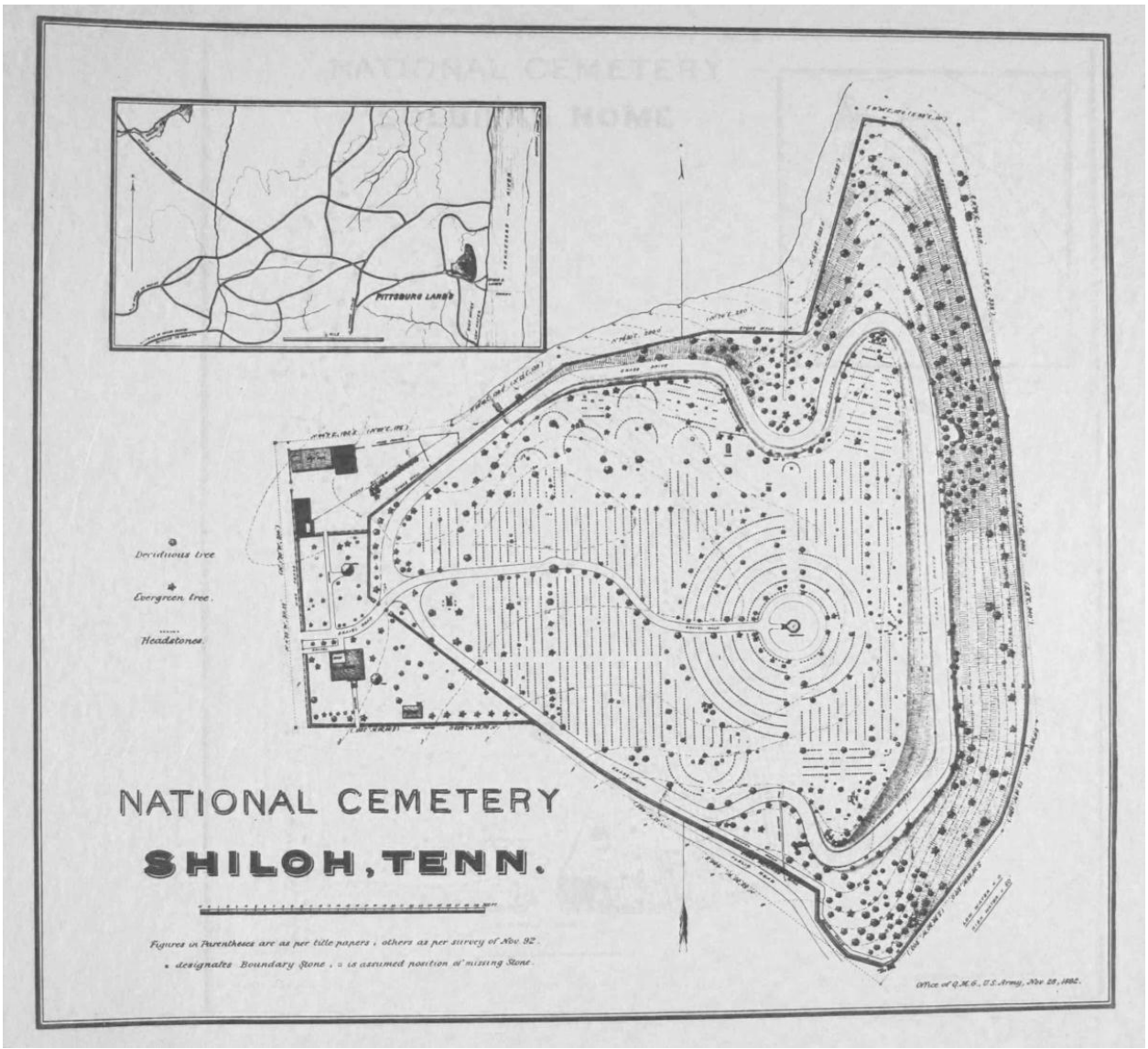


FIGURE 81. Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery, 1882. (Source: National Archives)

Establishment and Development of the National Cemetery System

National cemeteries were first established by the United States government during the Civil War in response to the growing number of casualties associated with the conflict. On September 11, 1861, the War Department issued two General Orders that made the Quartermaster General responsible for military personnel burials; ordered that a register of burials be kept; and required that a marker be placed at the head of each grave. The

first markers were wooden headboards with information recorded in paint or chalk.

On July 17, 1862, Congress passed additional legislation relating to the need to bury Union soldiers by authorizing the President to purchase land suitable for the establishment of national cemeteries to be securely enclosed and used for the interment of soldiers who died in service to the country. This legislation was in response to the large number of soldiers who died in military hospitals or were casualties of Civil War battles. Prior to the Civil War, military personnel were typically buried at the site of death, at a military post cemetery, or in a private cemetery selected by the soldier's family. In the unique circumstances of the Civil War, Congress determined that those fighting to preserve the Union deserved special burial grounds to adequately honor their sacrifice, forming the basis for the national cemetery concept. Because the legislation did not include any financial appropriation or specific legislative policy, it at first resulted in the somewhat random establishment of cemeteries near places of need, such as military hospitals. The first fourteen national cemeteries were established in 1862. These were located at Alexandria, Virginia; Annapolis, Maryland; on the Antietam battlefield near Sharpsburg, Maryland; at Camp Butler near Springfield, Illinois; at Cypress Hills in Brooklyn, New York; Danville, Kentucky; Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; Fort Scott, Kansas; Keokuk, Iowa; Loudon Park near Baltimore, Maryland; Mill Springs near Nancy, Kentucky; New Albany, Indiana; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Soldiers' Home National Cemetery was also established in Washington, D.C.[834]

As the war progressed, national cemeteries began to be established for the dead of a particular battle. These cemeteries were intended to memorialize those who had given their lives to the cause and to celebrate the nation's fallen heroes. One of the best known national cemeteries is Soldier's Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, located on the Gettysburg battlefield. It was during the dedication of the cemetery that President Abraham Lincoln presented the Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863. The speech was instrumental in establishing a vision for the future of the United States that would reflect "a new birth of freedom," and a government that was "of the people, by the people, for the people." In the dedication, Lincoln suggested that the nation "dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the nation might live," and that the cemetery "be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced," while also noting that "these dead shall not have died in vain."

Immediately following the Confederate surrender in April 1865, the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department began a Federal Reburial Program intended to locate and identify the remains of all Union soldiers for proper burial. Following this effort, the War Department published the twenty-seven volume *Roll of Honor: Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defense of the American Union Interred in the National Cemeteries.*[835]

Over a period of six years, units of northern soldiers searched battlefields and prisons for Union dead as part of a massive reburial program. As the Reburial Program proceeded in 1866 and difficulties in identifying remains became clear, a Joint Resolution of Congress required the Secretary of War "to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in hospitals; to secure suitable burial places in which they may be properly interred; and to have the graves enclosed so that the resting places of the honored dead may be kept sacred forever."

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834. "General History" and "Dates Established," United States Department of Veterans Affairs. http://www.cem.va.gov/CEM/hist/history.asp, accessed February 2013.

835. U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps, *Roll of Honor: Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defense of the American Union Interred in the National Cemeteries* 27 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1865).

The Reburial Program would prove challenging due to the chaotic nature of the war and the years that had elapsed since many of the battles. After most battles, burials were made hastily, often with little or no marking of the gravesites, while death and burial records were not always well maintained. Government-issued identification tags did not exist during the Civil War, and makeshift identification marks fashioned by the soldiers themselves often did not survive. As a result of these challenges, many bodies were never identified.

In 1866, U.S. Congress authorized the establishment of national cemeteries on Southern battlefields. One of these was Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery (the name was changed to Shiloh National Cemetery in 1889). Pittsburg Landing was established to bury the dead associated with the Battle of Shiloh on April 6–7, 1862, as well as several other military engagements that had occurred along the Tennessee River.

Seventy-four new national cemeteries were established to reinter the remains of the Union soldiers, leading to the creation of the national cemetery system through passage of the first National Cemetery Act of February 22, 1867. The Act provided funds and specific guidance for the creation of national cemeteries, including construction of features such as superintendent's lodges, perimeter walls, and headstones. It also funded purchases of land to serve as national cemeteries and provided for salaried cemetery superintendents. Later that year, the federal government established twenty-six additional national cemeteries on or near Civil War battlefields.[836]

The Reburial Program ended in 1870, after 303,536 Union soldiers had been reinterred in national cemeteries.[837] Only about 58 percent of the remains recovered could be identified, resulting in the later placement of many grave markers for unknown soldiers.

During the 1870s, the original cemetery legislation was amended to allow veterans of the Civil War to be buried in national cemeteries. With this expansion of the system, forty-seven new national cemeteries were established outside of the areas where Civil War battles had occurred. Later, veterans who died while in residence at homes established by the federal government such as the Asylums for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, later referred to as National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, were buried in cemeteries developed on sites that were later designated as national cemeteries.

It was also during the 1870s that improvements were gradually made to the cemeteries. Carefully designed features were added to enhance the respectful character of the cemeteries and to render them peaceful settings for remembrance. One of the first improvements, beginning in 1877, was the replacement of wooden headboards to mark graves with more permanent and durable headstones fashioned from marble. Permanent superintendent's offices and quarters, known as "lodges," were built to support management and oversight of the cemeteries. Although some cemeteries had received lodge buildings prior to 1870, these were typically simple one-story wooden structures with two to three rooms. The new lodges were larger masonry structures designed under the supervision of Quartermaster Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs.

In 1870, General Meigs consulted with noted landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted regarding the appearance of national cemeteries. Olmsted suggested that the cemeteries be "studiously simple . . . the main object should be to establish permanent dignity and tranquility . . . a sacred grove—sacredness being expressed in the

836. See "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration" on the Department of Veterans Affairs National Cemetery Administration website, www.cem.va.gov/pdf/history.pdf

837. Drew Gilpin Faust, "Death and Dying" available at https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/death.html (accessed August 5, 2016).

enclosing wall and in the perfect tranquility of the trees within." As a result of Olmsted's recommendations, trees, shrubs, and flowers beds embellished the sacred grounds of national cemeteries. Greenhouses were constructed at some cemeteries to supply ornamental plantings. Wooden rail fences were replaced by masonry walls. Plaques and monuments were also erected to honor the dead.

During the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the Philippine Insurrection of 1900–1901, the bodies of military personnel who were killed abroad were generally shipped home to the United States for burial and families were offered the opportunity to use national cemeteries. National cemeteries were also established overseas for those who died in service fighting in wars on foreign soils, including First and Second World Wars.

All national cemeteries remained under the administrative responsibility of the U.S. Army until 1933, when eleven were transferred to the Department of the Interior to be administered by the National Park Service. This transfer was part of a broad redistribution of historic military sites under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Executive Order. The cemeteries transferred to National Park Service administration included Antietam, Battleground, Chattanooga, Fort Donelson, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Poplar Grove, Shiloh, Stones River, Vicksburg, and Yorktown. Of these, Chattanooga National Cemetery was later returned to U.S. Army administration during the 1940s due to the volume of interments. The National Park Service acquired four additional national cemeteries in later years, including Andrew Johnson National Cemetery (1935), Chalmette National Cemetery (1939), Custer Battlefield/Little Big Horn National Cemetery (1946) and Andersonville National Cemetery (1971). In 1973, most of the cemeteries still managed by the Army under the Department of Defense were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Veterans Administration (now the Department of Veterans Affairs). Today, there are 128 national cemeteries extending over 16,000 acres of land and containing more than three million burials.

Establishment and Early Years of the National Cemetery at Shiloh

The Battle of Shiloh on April 6–7, 1862, was one of the bloodiest in American history. Nearly 3,500 individuals lost their lives in the confrontation between Grant and Johnston's armies. Following the Confederate retreat toward Corinth, Mississippi, on April 7 and 8, the job of burying the dead fell to the Federal forces that controlled the field of battle, and Gen. Ulysses S. Grant issued the orders for burial.

Work parties placed the Union dead in shallow graves. Where possible, they grouped fallen members of a unit near each other and their campsite. The 28th Illinois recorded placing deceased members of their brigade in an abandoned Indian mound. A large number of burials occurred individually near where the soldiers had fallen. Wooden headboards, with the names of individuals, as known, inscribed on them, were used to mark grave locations. Far less care was taken with the enemy's dead. The work parties are thought to have deposited individual Confederate casualties in ravines and ditches, sometimes covering them only lightly with earth. Larger groups of Confederate dead were placed in trenches and buried in mass graves.[838] Despite these efforts, evidence of battle casualties continued to resurface for months and even years to come, due to soil erosion, the rooting action of hogs, and agricultural cultivation when local farmers returned to their fields. The wooden headboards were often quickly lost due to deterioration of the wood, or to fire as local

838. Timothy B. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh; the Battle and the Battlefield* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 85–86.

farmers were in the habit of clearing brush by setting fire to their fields.[839]

As noted above, the War Department established a cemetery near Pittsburg Landing in 1866 to serve as a final resting place for the Federal soldiers killed in the Battle of Shiloh, as well as others who had perished during military operations along the Tennessee River.[840] Influenced by the popularity of the nineteenth century Rural Cemetery Movement, national cemeteries were designed to honor and memorialize war dead to a degree not seen before.[841]

As part of the process of locating the cemetery, Quartermaster Department inspector E. B. Whitman traveled to the region to review the battlefield and other locations along the Tennessee River. It was Whitman who suggested that the bluff overlooking Pittsburg Landing would be a site suitable to honor the Union soldiers who had died at Shiloh. After Meigs gave his approval, Gen. George H. Thomas gave the order for reburial work to begin.[842]

Under Whitman's direction, work parties began as early as March 1866 to investigate the 12-square-mile battlefield, recording burials as they were found using coordinates derived from a compass, measuring device, and a known station point. The work parties took care to rebury exposed bodies.[843] In the fall of 1866, the 25th United States Infantry Regiment began removing the remains of Federal soldiers from 178 locations on the battlefield and 565 locations along the Tennessee River from as far north as Fort Henry, Tennessee, and as far south as Muscle Shoals, Alabama. The remains were placed in strongboxes after taking care to try and identify each individual. The remains were reinterred on the plateau overlooking Pittsburg Landing that had been selected by Whitman.[844]

A parcel totaling 10 acres was ceded to the federal government on March 9, 1867, for the cemetery by the legislature of the State of Tennessee. However, ownership was immediately contested by the heirs of Thomas B. Stubbs, owners of the property, who did not accept the sale price for the land offered to them by the federal government. The issue moved to the courts, where the title to the land was awarded to the government by the United States District Court of the District of West Tennessee on January 6, 1869, for the sum of $500.[845]

Those involved in planning the layout and design of the cemetery considered it "the handsomest cemetery in the South."[846] One of the planners, Bvt. Lieut. Col. A. W. Willis, created a series of sections marked by avenues along their edges. The avenues were surfaced with shell and gravel. The sections included grouped regimental plots as possible. The final design featured twenty-nine regimental plots organized in a circle around a central area marked by a rostrum to be used as a speaker's platform for ceremonies. A brick-paved path led from gates at the cemetery entrance eastward to the regimental plot circle, which overlooked the Tennessee River.[847] Four paths, one of which was the entry path, extended from the circle. Graves were generally placed in lines extending from north to south, although the graves adjacent to the circle deferred to its geometry.

Six Wisconsin color bearers who were killed in action are traditionally thought to have been laid to rest east of the circle, near the riverbank, in a location marked with a group of headstones. Capt. Edward Saxe of the 16th Wisconsin, the first Federal officer killed in the battle, is also said to be buried nearby. The current arrangement of graves, however, may be more commemorative than accurate. Little evidence exists to corroborate that those buried in the color bearer section match the names on the headstones. Review by park

839. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh*, 86.
840. Park website.
841. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh*, 87.
842. Ibid.
843. Ibid.
844. Ibid., 88.
845. Ibid.
846. Ibid.
847. Ibid.

personnel of quartermaster exhumation accounts that span the war grave recovery project of 1866 to 1868 suggests that the remains of six color bearers from the 16th Wisconsin Infantry were recovered from the western section of Spain Field. The penciled notations in the exhumation ledger suggest, however, that the color bearers were found in a mass regimental grave that contained at least thirty-one bodies. Of these, eight bodies were buried in a separate section from the large group grave that included a wooden marker with information indicating that six bodies were color bearers of the 16th Wisconsin. The marker documented the rank, name, and age of each color bearer, but did not differentiate the six color bearers among the eight bodies present. (This suggests that the further identification of individuals had not been possible at the time of their burial.) Interestingly, the grave numbers assigned to the color bearer graves are one to six, while the bodies appear late in the ledger.[848]

The buildings used to administer and maintain the cemetery were located outside the area used to establish gravesites, in the western portion of the property. They were enclosed with a wire fence.[849] The first building was completed in 1866 when cemetery workers converted an existing wooden building into a makeshift cemetery lodge and Superintendent's residence. The building replaced the earlier use of tents to house cemetery personnel.

In 1867, A. W. Willis authorized the placement of a grave marker in honor of a drummer boy near the entrance, possibly due to its interest to visitors. The soldier in the grave, however, was not an official military drummer.

Also in 1867, workers constructed a limestone wall around the perimeter of the cemetery. The stone for the wall was brought to the site by steamboat from a quarry located eleven miles away. The wall enclosing the cemetery measured 4 feet in height, 2 feet thick, and 2,818 feet in length.[850] In 1871, workers also planted an Osage orange hedge around the cemetery. The 3,172 linear foot planting encircled the burial ground for many years, but is no longer present.[851]

By 1869, 3,584 Civil War soldiers had been reinterred in the cemetery. Of these, 2,359 could not be identified and were marked as unknown.

The first grave markers were wooden headboards painted white with black lettering, to indicate a grave number. On March 3, 1873, Congress passed legislation that required permanent markers be used to replace the wooden headboards, due to the difficulties associated with maintaining them. At Shiloh, the original wood headboards were replaced with marble headstones, of varying shapes and sizes, in 1876 and 1877. Headstones, approximately 40 inches in height and inscribed with personal information about the deceased and the grave number, marked the graves of the known dead, while 8 inch high, square stones marked the grave number of the final resting place of unknown soldiers.[852]

With the exception of at least three Confederate soldiers who died as prisoners of war, all of the Civil War dead interred in the national cemetery were Union soldiers. The graves of the Confederate soldiers are marked with pointed headstones, rather than the rounded headstones that mark the graves of Union soldiers. Confederates were not buried in the cemetery for several reasons: regulations require that only veterans of the United States military be buried in national cemeteries, and Confederates were technically not United States personnel; the practice of burying Confederate soldiers in national cemeteries was nearly nonexistent when the Civil War ended; and, although Congress stipulated in 1956 that Confederate soldiers be treated the same as United States soldiers, the practice of burying Confederate remains in places

848. Stacy Allen, personal communication.
849. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh*, 90.
850. Ibid.
851. Ibid.
852. Ibid.

other than national cemeteries still exists.[853] Confederate dead remained in the large mass graves established in 1862 by the Union army. When Shiloh National Military Park was established in 1894, the commission in charge of marking the battlefield were only able to relocate nine of the purported eleven or twelve mass grave sites. Today, five are marked, and the locations of the others are not currently known.[854]

In 1876, the early lodge was replaced with a new building based on the design of Quartermaster Gen. Montgomery Meigs, which featured brick construction, a limestone foundation, and a mansard roof. The earlier building was moved several hundred feet to the north to serve as a tool shed. The new lodge stood one and one-half stories in height. It contained six rooms, which served as office and residential space. The cemetery was also served by a second storage building and a stable. The earliest stable was later replaced with a brick structure. Water for the complex was provided by wells.[855]

The name of the cemetery was changed to Shiloh National Cemetery on July 30, 1888.

In 1891, a set of iron steps and a 154-foot brick walkway were built to connect the cemetery with the boat dock at Pittsburg Landing. In the same year, the perimeter wall also required shoring up. A 450-foot-long reinforced section was added along the southern perimeter. In 1892, a rostrum was erected within the cemetery, while a flagpole was added atop the river bluff where the flag could be seen by those passing along the Tennessee River.[856]

In addition to the grave markers used to locate burial sites, the War Department allowed for the erection of monuments within the national cemetery. The earliest monuments were composed of cannon shafts placed upright in a base. A stone memorial was dedicated within the cemetery in June 1896 to honor the unknown dead and wounded of the 9th Illinois, which lost 366 of its 578 regiment members on the battlefield in April 1862.[857] In 1914, a pyramid of cannonballs was placed in the cemetery to mark the location of General Grant's headquarters. Artillery pieces are also located within the cemetery, pointed outward toward the river. These include a 24-pounder brass naval howitzer salvaged from a sunken ship near Diamond Island, and an 8-inch howitzer. The guns sit on platforms of stone and concrete.[858]

The tree plantings in the cemetery required ongoing maintenance to allow for enough light to support grass, and to protect the gravestones from damage and staining. As they settled, grave sites regularly required the addition of fill dirt and grass seed to maintain the character of the cemetery.[859] Another ongoing problem was erosion. By 1871, washouts had become a regular occurrence. By 1903, the eastern section of the wall had been undercut so badly that it had washed into the river and had to be replaced.[860]

Trees were damaged during wind storms, such as a severe event that occurred on June 3, 1904, and hurricanes, such as one that struck the area on June 21, 1884. The tornado of October 1909 was by far the most damaging weather event in the history of the cemetery. The storm destroyed the nearby hotel, blew the cemetery tool shed and barns away, and inflicted heavy damage on the lodge (Figure 82). Many original records were lost when the south wall of the building was torn away. All of the trees in the cemetery were affected,

853. Park website. The Confederates who died at Shiloh were not disinterred from their battlefield graves, and remain on the field in several large mass graves—referred to as the Confederate burial trenches—and many smaller individual plots. As many as eleven or twelve mass graves exist, but the park commission that created the battlefield could only locate five, which are now marked.
854. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh*, 89.
855. Ibid., 90.
856. Ibid.
857. Ibid., 91.
858. Ibid.
859. Ibid., 93.
860. Ibid.

while many headstones were broken or dislodged, and the 9th Illinois monument was blown along the length of the terrace. A tree that marked the location of Grant's Headquarters was also lost.[861] The cemetery was subsequently re-landscaped, the headstones reset, the 9th Illinois monument repositioned, and a new lodge building constructed following the tornado.

With completion of the new lodge in 1911 (Figure 83), a concrete wall was added to enclose the building precinct, while a new tool shed, barn, and pump house were added to the area. Ornamental iron gates were also installed at the entrance to the cemetery in 1911.[862] In 1912, two well houses and a restroom were also added to the cemetery property nearby.[863]

Administration of the cemetery remained under the office of the Quartermaster General until 1933. The cemetery functioned as a separate administrative unit from Shiloh National Military Park, with its own superintendent and maintenance force. One of the most notable cemetery superintendents was George P. Dean, who served as superintendent between 1906 and his death in 1926. He was responsible for the rebuilding of the cemetery following the tornado. Dean and his wife are buried at Shiloh National Cemetery. [864]

Prior to the establishment of Shiloh National Military Park, veterans began to gather for Civil War reunions on battlefields during the 1880s. Most of the formal reunion gatherings occurred at Shiloh National Cemetery until the park was established in 1894. Speeches were presented at the rostrum. Cemetery staff adorned the graves in anticipation of the events. The practice of recognizing the contribution of servicemen and women during an annual Memorial Day event also grew during the 1880s. Nationally, many national cemeteries began to host a Memorial Day event annually on May 30. Shiloh National Cemetery was no exception. The Adamsville Grand Army of the Republic chapter often marked each grave with a United States flag in honor of the occasion.

The cemetery flag was lowered to half-mast for these occasions. [865]



FIGURE 82. The Shiloh National Cemetery Lodge following the 1909 tornado. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park archives)



FIGURE 83. The new Shiloh National Cemetery Lodge, circa 1911. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park archives)

Although the establishment of Shiloh National Military Park in 1894 expanded the opportunity for reunions and other events to occur on the battlefield nearby, traditions established earlier at the national cemetery continued, while its location near Pittsburg Landing assured that visitors would experience the national cemetery as part of their visit. As such, the national cemetery remained an

861. Ibid., 93–94.
862. Ibid.
863. Ibid., 94.
864. Ibid.
865. Ibid., 91.

important pilgrimage site for Civil War veterans and others interested in the battle.

As the park developed, the cemetery superintendent and his staff worked closely with the park commissioners, and allowed them to use the cemetery offices on occasion. During the period in which the battlefield commission was working to survey and mark the lines of the battle in the field, the cemetery superintendent loaned the commissioners gravestones after they ran out of markers.[866] Some of the interactions were less positive, such as the cemetery superintendent's response to the ongoing presence of park commission tents within the cemetery before sufficient battlefield land had been acquired to house survey teams. Commission tents were not relocated until 1902.[867]

By 1905, tensions had mounted to the degree that the cemetery superintendent indicted his interest in moving the park commissioners out of the offices they used within the cemetery lodge. The commission was subsequently forced to take a room at a hotel near Pittsburg Landing.[868]

The National Cemetery under the Administration of the National Park Service

On June 10, 1933, President Roosevelt signed the Executive Reorganization Order that transferred administration of Shiloh National Military Park from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, and the National Park Service. Administration of Shiloh National Cemetery was also transferred to the National Park Service at this time.[869]

During the 1930s, maintenance of the cemetery was supported by the labor afforded through President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs, including the Works Progress Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps. Funding and labor provided through these programs supported construction of new brick walkways (Figure 84) throughout the cemetery and a new brick wall along the western margin of the cemetery in 1940.



FIGURE 84. View of the cemetery's main brick walk, central circle, and flagpole, circa 1950s. (Source: Fred Prouty)

The national military park and national cemetery each had its own superintendent to oversee care and maintenance of the two properties until July 31, 1943, when the cemetery was placed under the administrative oversight of Shiloh National Military Park, and Superintendent Blair Ross.[870]

After World War II, Shiloh National Cemetery was one of the participating units in a program to return American soldiers who died abroad to the United States. Through this program, soldiers who had been buried in foreign countries were reinterred in national cemeteries in the United States. The first reburial under this program took place on October 31, 1947; the program was completed on September 2, 1949.[871] The cemetery has continued to serve as a final resting place for American military personnel who have lost their lives in other wars, including Korea and Vietnam.

By November 1, 1954, however, an inventory conducted by the park indicated that only 288

866. Ibid., 91–92.
867. Ibid.
868. Ibid., 92–93.
869. Ibid.
870. Ibid.
871. Shedd, 67.

grave sites remained available for interments. This number had dropped to 36 by 1981.

The tradition of honoring American military personnel on Memorial Day continued with National Park Service administration of the national cemetery. American flags were regularly placed at each grave site prior to the event. Local and regional service and military groups as well as politicians were generally invited to speak at the observance, to serve as the color guard, or to play music.

One of the maintenance issues of concern that grew during the 1950s, and continued for several decades, was flooding of the Tennessee River, which undercut the bank that served as the park and cemetery's eastern boundary. One of the first instances occurred in January 1954, when Tennessee River flooding caused severe damage to Pittsburg Landing and undercut the cemetery wall as well as the road along the eastern edge of the park. A second devastating flood occurred in March 1965, forcing the park to close Riverside Drive after a large section of river bank broke away and fell into the water, leaving a section of the cemetery wall suspended 6 feet in the air above the surrounding ground level. Despite the park's efforts to conduct emergency wall stabilization and repair, and to backfill where the bank had been undercut, the problems continued.[872] One of the stabilization efforts actually exacerbated the problem, when placement of broken concrete as riprap on the river bank in 1965 was found to accelerate the erosion.

Flooding of the Tennessee River occurred again in 1973, further damaging the bank below the east wall of the national cemetery. In 1980, a Tennessee Valley Authority grant provided funds to place riprap along the bank of the river along the eastern edge of the park, which served as another temporary fix to the problem. Superintendent Woody Harrell began working with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to address the problem more comprehensively soon after he joined the park in 1990. With grit and determination, Harrell eventually succeeded in convincing Congress to allocate funds to the effort, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to devise an appropriate plan. As noted by Harrell:

> Ultimately we would spend over $6 million, $6.2 million roughly on this stream bank stabilization and it came in a million here, a million there. There would be some standoffs with Congress putting pressure on the National Park Service to change their priorities and find some money somewhere, some soft money that they could put in there. Over the course of five or six years, we were finally able to get enough money to get started on it.[873]

Maintenance of the features comprising the national cemetery—plantings, turf, headstones, commemorative markers, the perimeter wall, and walks—has also been an ongoing responsibility of park administration since the 1950s. Maintenance practices have evolved to a great degree as environmental protection, historic preservation, and materials conservation have influenced maintenance practice. Based on review of park records, examples of some of the physical changes that occurred within the cemetery beginning in the 1950s reflect these trends.

Mission 66 plans for Shiloh National Military Park indicate that a sprinkler system was added within the cemetery in the 1950s or 1960s to ". . . preserve lawn cover during the hot, dry summer months."[874]

Vandalism affected the cemetery in 1965 when one of the metal "Bivouac of the Dead" plaques, a headstone, and a cannonball were stolen. Protection and maintenance of the cemetery markers, tablets, and monuments was a key component of park administration. In the 1980s, Superintendent Zeb McKinney introduced a comprehensive program of tablet, monument, and

872. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1965.
873. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
874. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Shiloh National Military Park," 8.

marker conservation that improved the care and appearance of these features.

In 1977, the brick walks within the cemetery were evaluated and determined to require repair. New walks were subsequently laid with dry-laid bricks in a basket weave pattern.[875]

Later repair projects included repainting of the comfort station in 1980, and an upgrade of the heating system and renovation of the Superintendent's residence interior in 1983.

In 1983, park Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management George Reaves represented the park at a national cemetery managers' conference. The conference was designed to foster uniformity in National Park Service oversight of the national cemeteries in the agency's care.

In 1985, the final gravesite within the cemetery was allocated. The cemetery remained open to burials, however, for soldiers and their spouses who had previously reserved gravesites.[876] As of 2016, the cemetery, with a total number of interred standing at approximately 3,900, still averages two or three burials a year, mostly widows of soldiers already interred.[877]

In 1992, park administrative offices were transferred to the cemetery lodge, which was renovated to accommodate the new use.[878]

Throughout this period, vegetation management was a regular focus of park staff, including fertilizing and aerating the turf, implementing measures to address moles, and attending to issues associated with hazard trees. In 1993, an inventory of the vegetation within the national cemetery was completed that included information, as known, about the date of origin of individual plants. This was followed in 1994 by a severe ice storm that killed twenty-eight trees. The storm also resulted in damage to one of the troop position tablets. Only one headstone was broken; this occurred during the follow-up tree work. A vegetation management plan was prepared later that year.

Since the 1990s, several additional repair and maintenance projects have been completed. In 1994, a large section of the cemetery wall was repointed, while the cast-iron markers and gates were painted. A troop of Boy Scouts cleaned the marble headstones. In 1998, conservation of the brick walkways in the cemetery was undertaken. Over 6,000 square feet of brick walkway was repaired, with the original pavers salvaged and cleaned. Following the repair of the walkway bed, the old pavers were reinstalled with new mortar.[879]

In 2000, all of the iron features of the cemetery were repainted, while the cemetery lodge, concession building, and comfort station were reroofed. The gate was again repainted in 2002, while the bricks in front of the gate were cleaned. A new flagpole was acquired for the national cemetery in 2003. In 2004, the 1,688 marble headstones were pressure washed, while plans were prepared to repair the deteriorated wall. These repairs were completed in 2010. A database was also prepared for the cemetery burials in 2004.

One of the issues to emerge during the 2000s was the need to develop guidelines for the care and maintenance of national cemetery properties. In 2009, the National Cemetery Administration established the *National Shrine Commitment*, which articulates an overall vision for national cemeteries as national shrines:

> A national shrine is a place of honor and memory that declares to the visitor or family member who views it that, within its majestic setting, each and every veteran may find a sense of serenity, historic sacrifice and nobility of purpose. Each visitor should depart feeling that the grounds, the gravesites and the environs of the national cemetery are a beautiful and awe-inspiring tribute to those who gave much to

875. Field Inventory Report. Series I, Folder 876, Box 57.
876. Ibid.
877. Ibid.
878. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1992.
879. Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1998.

> preserve our Nation's freedom and way of life.[880]

The *National Shrine Commitment* assumes a high level of care and maintenance for all cemeteries within the system. The current standards provide detailed direction on the treatment of headstones, buildings, and grounds. They outline the requirements for maintenance, including the percentage of lawn that must be weed-free and the percentage of headstones that must not show evidence of debris or objectionable accumulations.

Following publication of the *National Shrine Commitment*, the National Park Service completed an update to its own national cemetery management policies, reflected in *Director's Order No. 61: National Cemetery Operations* (July 2010) and *Reference Manual 61: National Cemetery Operations* (November 2011). These documents are intended to guide administration of the fourteen historic national cemeteries administered by the National Park Service.[881] Although the cemeteries administered by the National Park Service are excluded from National Cemetery Administration oversight, these documents reference the regulations and standards established for the National Cemetery System by the National Cemetery Administration, and the National Park Service shares in its mission to honor the dead and keep their burial places sacred forever, as embodied in a Congressional Joint Resolution of April 3, 1866. In addition to the desire to honor the sacrifice of those buried in Shiloh National Cemetery, treatment of its historic resources needs to be consistent with the existing legislative framework established by the federal government for cultural resources, burial grounds, and national cemeteries, and federal historic preservation guidelines. Treatment must also be consistent with National Park Service agency standards and park planning documents. *Director's Order No. 61* also provides general direction on visitor use; interment eligibility, limitations, facilities, and services; disinterment; headstones, markers, and commemorative markers; and ceremonies and special events.

Superintendent Harrell, who served at the park from 1990 to 2012, discussed management of the Shiloh National Cemetery within the context of the National Cemetery Administration following his retirement:

> Towards the end we were having a lot of interaction with the Veteran's Administration (VA) and National Cemetery Administration. The superintendent down at Andersonville had the most issues because there are many, many burials and room for a lot more, so he became our National Park Service liaison and we had several joint meetings. When I got here it was "OK. We'll follow the VA's guidelines as much as we can," and then over time realizing that the National Park Service and VA's vision go completely in different ways. The VA would not look at the tombstones as a historic resource. We do everything to repair them, fix them, keep them for as long as we can. If the VA had Shiloh National Cemetery, they would be working on taking all the trees out and they would have the cemetery opened for more burials. They would be putting graves in on a lot of the old carriage roads.[882]

When asked to elaborate on the difference between National Park Service management of cemetery resources, as compared with the Veteran's Administration, Harrell noted:

> The big thing is the whiteness of the tombstones, and of course anything you use to

880. National Cemetery Administration, *National Shrine Commitment: Operational Standards and Measures,* Version 4.0 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, October 2009), 4.

881. As reorganized in 1973, the National Cemetery System is comprised of 146 important national cemeteries under the jurisdiction of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and 14 national cemeteries associated with historic sites and battlefields managed by the National Park Service.

882. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

> clean is abrasive. On the VA side, if they have a problem they will just take it out to do it over. But the historic look of the original plan, we would certainly want to keep it that way. Politically the only thing you would hear would be we want to enlarge it. We want to open it back up.[883]

When asked about ongoing burials in the cemetery, Harrell noted:

> I was giving a tour up in the cemetery the day before yesterday. I noticed there had been a December burial. The last spot was spoken for in '87, but we're still having spouses of veterans dying—two or three a year—and being buried in the same grave. But the pressure to expand it... and then on the other side we would have folks that were incensed over the uneven treatment of the mass graves of the Confederates. "We want those disinterred and given an individual grave and space in the cemetery," so those are the political issues, the complaints we would receive.[884]

883. Ibid.

884. Ibid.

Archeological Resources and Investigations

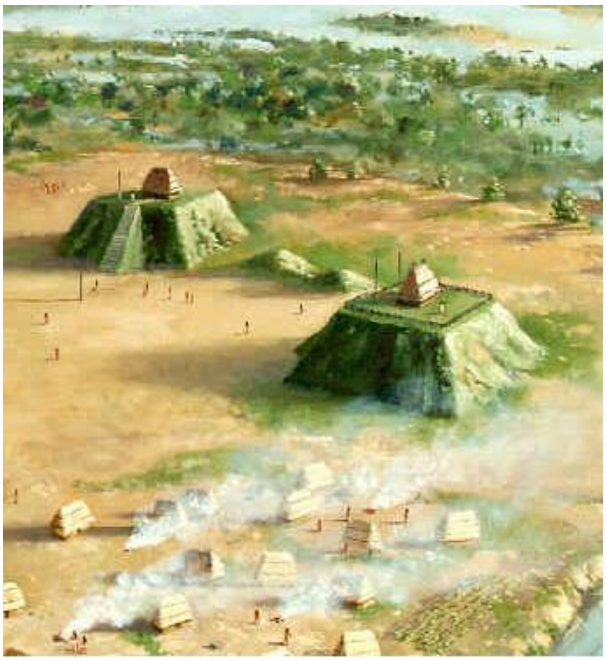


FIGURE 85. Artist's rendering of a Mississippian culture village with two mounds. (Source: NPS)

Shiloh Archeology

Shiloh National Military Park protects the site of several important engagements of the Civil War, including the Battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Fallen Timber, and Davis Bridge. Archeological sites and artifacts associated with these battlefields are significant cultural resources and afforded protection under several federal acts, including the Antiquities Act of 1906, National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, and Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979. These laws are important to the preservation and maintenance of fragile archeological resources.

Shiloh also contains highly significant evidence of pre-European-Contact occupation of the region in the form of a village site that features several ceremonial mounds. Resources related to this site are also potentially covered by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.

In describing the importance of the mound site, Shiloh National Military Park Chief Ranger Stacy Allen has indicated that it is considered:

> . . . the most pristine, unaltered Mississippian village in the entire nation, nestled in the heart of this battlefield . . . now, of course, in its own right, it could be its own national park, had it not been residing in one. In 1989, of course, it got its national landmark designation, and rightfully so. So, interpretation (e.g., personal and non-personal) in that regard has greatly expanded (e.g., Shiloh Indian Mounds Trial Shelter and hiking trial exhibits) and improved over time to permit people more of an interaction (e.g., relevant meaningful connection) with that resource. And there's been quite a bit of archeology performed out there, the analysis and conclusions—and what we know—to provide back to the public (e.g., through exhibits, publications, and formal interpretive programs) so they can get much more of an understanding of it.[885]

Archeological investigations have been conducted at the park in several phases, with the earliest efforts conducted during the nineteenth century, followed by New Deal-era investigations in the 1930s, and additional work conducted between the 1970s and 2000s. The most extensive investigations have focused on the Indian Mounds

885. Stacy Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015, with revisions, May 18, 2016.

site, which is threatened by Tennessee River bank erosion. Since the 1990s, much of the archeological work conducted at the park has been completed by the National Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), located in Tallahassee, Florida.

The Indian Mounds

Pre-European Contact occupants of the Tennessee River region left a lasting mark on the landscape in the form of several mounds and house sites constructed on the steep bluffs at the eastern edge of the Shiloh plateau. Constructed approximately 800 years ago, the site is thought to have been composed of a wooden palisade enclosing seven earthen mounds and dozens of houses. Six of the mounds, rectangular in shape with flat tops, are believed to have served as platforms for structures such as a council house, religious buildings, and residences for the village leaders. The seventh, and southernmost, mound is oval in shape with a round top. It served as the burial site of leaders or other important people.

The village at Shiloh formed the center of a society that occupied a 20-mile-long stretch of the Tennessee River Valley. Residents were farmers who grew corn (maize), squash, and sunflowers, among other crops, and gathered a variety of wild plants, such as nuts and acorns. Members of the village also hunted deer, turkey, and small mammals, and caught fish in the streams and rivers. In addition to the village at Shiloh, the chiefdom included six smaller towns and isolated farmsteads on higher ground in the river valley. Another palisaded town, which has been lost due to development, was located at the current site of Savannah, Tennessee. Similar chiefdoms were located in major river valleys of present-day Alabama, Mississippi, and western Tennessee; the chiefdom that included Shiloh maintained political connections with some of these towns.

Circa AD 1200 or 1300, inhabitants of the chiefdom are believed to have moved out of this part of the Tennessee Valley, perhaps to upriver locations.

Archeological Investigations

In his 1954 Administrative History, Shedd described the mounds as ". . . mysterious and brooding reminders of forgotten peoples and cultures, whose origin and fate have been obscured by the passing of the centuries."[886]

As noted by Superintendent Woody Harrell,

> Local folks had known about the Mounds for years. The Civil War soldiers knew about them, with the proof being the 28th Illinois after the Battle of Shiloh buried their dead comrades atop Mound G. (They were moved to the national cemetery four years later.)
>
> So a lot of folks knew about them. The first scientific look would have been in the 1880s just before the park was established. Then by happenstance they were protected within Shiloh National Military Park in the early 1900s.[887]

The Indian Mounds located at Shiloh National Military Park have since been assessed as some of the best preserved examples of prehistoric ceremonial mounds in the United States. Most mounds of this type were lost to European-American farming and other destructive activities, and the mounds also constitute a rare example of this resource type. As noted by Harrell, inclusion of the mounds within Shiloh National Military Park led to their protection. In addition to soldiers making note of the mounds in some accounts of the battle, they were recognized as important by the early Park Commissioners. Knowledge of the mounds has emerged over time, principally through four periods of excavation and investigation.

886. Gates P. Thruston, *The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States and the State of Aboriginal Society in the Scale of Civilization Represented by Them* (Cincinnati, 1897), 62.

887. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.



FIGURE 86. Photograph titled "Opening pre-historic mound. Shiloh Battlefield. June 1899" featuring Cadle, Reed, and Ashcraft at Mound C. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park archives)

The first archeological investigations of the mounds were conducted in 1899, soon after the establishment of Shiloh National Military Park, under direction of the Park Commission. Cornelius Cadle, chairman of the Commission, along with commissioners D. W. Reed and James H. Ashcraft, dug a 4-1/2-foot-wide trench into the hillock known as Mound C and found what was to become perhaps the most famous relic discovered at the site—a large stone pipe carved in the shape of a kneeling man that is referred to as the effigy pipe.

This artifact was later displayed in the park museum. It has been loaned for exhibit several times, including to Brussels, Belgium. A mold was later taken of the effigy pipe to fashion replicas for display. The artifact is currently on display at the Tennessee River Museum in Savannah, Tennessee.

Following Cadle's work, digging in the mounds was largely discouraged.

As noted by Harrell:

> For many years the Shiloh Indian Mounds were like the park's red headed orphaned stepchild. The first park superintendent, Superintendent Cadle, did some digging there. It wasn't scientific archeology, it was more like pot hunting. He uncovered the Shiloh effigy pipe, which is the most important artifact of any in the park study collection. We had it on display for several years, but we were treating it more as a trophy find, because we didn't have any other objects to put it in context.[888]

In 1915, C. B. Moore recorded the dimensions of the mounds and had a plan of the seven largest made, but was not allowed to excavate them.[889] The cultural importance of the mounds was recognized during the early twentieth century when they were designated a national monument in 1923.



FIGURE 87. Photograph of archeology being conducted at the Indian Mounds in 1933–1934 by CWA personnel. (Source: Shiloh National Military Park archives)

More extensive archeological explorations of the area were undertaken in 1933–1934 as part of a federal Civil Works Administration (CWA) project under the direction of Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, archeologist of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology.

The work conducted by Dr. Roberts included excavation of a series of trenches across the entire site and into a number of the mounds.[890]

Despite the recognized importance of the mounds, no major effort was made to interpret them for many years. A mounds museum was listed as a

888. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

889. Capps, 76–77. *An Archeological Overview and Assessment of Shiloh National Military Park*, David Brewer, National Park Service, July 1987, 22.

890. Capps, 77; Brewer, 22.

potential project in 1933 when proposals for Public Works Administration funds were made, but it was soon dropped from the list after other projects directly related to interpreting the battle were identified as higher priorities.

By the 1970s, the National Park Service had determined to incorporate the mounds and village site into the park interpretive program. In support of this effort, the National Park Service engaged Dr. Gerald P. Smith of Memphis University in 1975 to conduct an archeological project. Smith's work consisted of three phases of investigation: 1) analysis of the work done by Roberts in 1933–1934; 2) limited testing to determine the limits of the site; and 3) stratigraphic testing to determine the culture chronology of the site.

In February 1976, John W. Walker of SEAC inspected Mound A. The investigation was initiated in order to obtain information regarding the cultural and chronological placement of the site.[891]

During the summer of 1979, John Ehrenhard and Lindsay Christine Beditz of SEAC carried out archeological investigations of Mound A to determine its internal composition. A deep test was made from the summit and a smaller excavation was placed in the south face to provide information related to a possible ramp. A topographic contour map of Mound A was also produced. In conjunction with this work, testing was carried out along the approximately 900 foot river bluff of the mound complex.

This project was initiated in response to the erosion of the mounds site by the Tennessee River.[892] Due to the location of the mounds along the Tennessee River shoreline, particularly where they edge nearly vertical bluffs that rise some 100 feet above the river, ongoing problems with erosion resulting from construction of Pickwick Lake by the Tennessee Valley Authority threatened the three mounds and central plaza located closest to the river.

In February and March of 1981. John Ehrenhard and Randy Bellemo of SEAC conducted a limited magnetometer survey of the site. Preliminary survey results were analyzed by computer and a magnetic contour map was produced. The contour map indicated a number of anomalies that needed further investigation to determine whether they represented subsurface archeological features. Testing of those anomalies was proposed for 1982 and ten soil core samples were recovered.[893]

Based on the work conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, the Indian Mounds site was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1988.[894]

Despite extensive efforts to control riverbank erosion, including the addition of several tons of riprap, the park and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers were unable to protect the Indian Mounds site from being undercut by the river. By 1999, the problem threatened a large section of the mound closest to the river. In order to consider its options, the National Park Service contracted with archeologist Paul Welch in 1999 to conduct investigations and documentation of the problems as well as propose a mitigation strategy. One of the methods that Welch used to investigate the property was to conduct a field school on site. Field school participants first assembled all of the research and field material that had been produced in the 1930s and formulated a clear understanding of what was known about the mounds.

As noted by SEAC Supervisory Archeologist, John Cornelison:

> While he was there with his field school in 1999, we came up to Shiloh with a few people from SEAC and our contract GPR operator and started trying to get a handle on where some of their lines were, rectifying the information with the maps, and seeing what

891. Capps, 78; Brewer, 23.
892. Capps, 78–79; Brewer, 23.
893. Capps, 79; Brewer, 24.
894. Capps, 76. Delong Rice to Quartermaster General, October 30, 1923, RG79, Box 57, NA, WDC.

> work was being done. I believe that Woody Harrell, the park Superintendent, offered Paul the opportunity to excavate the mound but Paul did not want to take it on at that time. So that is why they selected David Anderson, who was with the National Park Service at the time, but is now at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, for the project.[895]

By 1999, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which had already attempted to correct the erosion problem but remained unable to engineer any successful solutions, recommended to the National Park Service that a good portion of at least one of the mounds would almost certainly be lost before the problem could be completely corrected. The National Park Service then determined that it would be necessary to conduct additional investigations as a mitigation measure, while

> . . . the Army Corps of Engineers undertook a huge, huge project below the mound down at the river's edge. They created what could best be described as a gigantic gabion wall, a large amount of rip rap in wire mesh cages, to arrest active erosion of the river bank there. Due to a couple of unforeseen things geologically, previous work had begun to slip and so concurrently with our excavations, the whole time we were there, the Corps was also down below trying to do what they could to stop that.[896]

Thus in 1999 and 2000, SEAC archeologists began a major project at Shiloh that offered an unparalleled opportunity to excavate a pristine prehistoric mound as a way to protect the information potential of a resource that was imminently threatened with loss. Superintendent Harrell noted that federal transportation project stimulus grant funding, afforded through the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (Public Law 105-178), enacted in June 1998 and referred to as 'TEA-21,' was used in part for the archeology and Indian Mounds exhibits that followed.

As noted by Cornelison, who partnered with another SEAC archeologist, David Anderson, to lead the project, the first effort entailed

> . . . a major meeting where we invited tribal members, state historic preservation officers, Native American consultants, and a bunch of people from the region and the park. We met over two days and worked out the research design. We worked out whether we were going to cut a cross shape in the mound and sample all four quadrants, or just stick to the part that was endangered. By the end of the meeting, the consensus was that we would stick to the endangered part . . . .
>
> It was estimated that 25 feet would slough off across the face of the mound, which measured about 100 feet. So the area that was endangered and that we were working on was 100 by 25 feet.[897]

The National Park Service entered into a Memorandum of Agreement with the Chickasaw Nation to guide the work before any excavation was conducted. John Cornelison remembers regularly engaging with the Chickasaw Nation throughout the project to discuss the investigations, including regular consultation with Kirk Perry, and on-site collaboration with Chickasaw archeologist Donna Rausch. The project also attracted several tribal visitors, including a group of elders who took a tour of the site.[898]

Superintendent Harrell noted about this phase of the project:

> We worked with the State on all of that erosion control and especially in the Indian Mounds. We talked about all the consulting with the

895. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.
896. Steven Kidd, personal interview, December 3, 2013.
897. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.
898. Ibid.

> Chickasaw. Well, we were hand in glove with the State as we were doing that, too.[899]

A crew of eight archeologists began work in 2001. The effort continued during the spring, summer, and fall of 2002, 2003, and 2004, with the number of people involved in the project growing each year until it reached twenty-five paid SEAC personnel, some of whom were contract archeologists, and a similar number of volunteers. Housing, which is often a limiting factor in such projects, was afforded through recent property acquisitions donated to the park by the Civil War Trust that included residences.[900]

One of the SEAC archeologists, Steven Kidd, remembers:

> The goal was to excavate the mound down from the top and collect all the information possible on what the engineers were telling us—that if nothing else was done, we could expect to lose one-third of the mound.
>
> So, we made that clear to the Chickasaw and all parties in consultation that we could scientifically excavate the one-third of the mound that was closest to the river, which was known to be a temple mound and not to contain or not thought to contain burials, to recover information before it was lost to the river . . . .
>
> It was the largest excavation SEAC had ever undertaken, I think, in their twenty-five or thirty years of existence; 4,000 person days of field work took place from 2001 to 2004 . . . .
>
> We began by putting a central trench along the top of the mound and down both sides of it just to take a peek into it . . . before beginning full excavation . . . .
>
> One of the things that became immediately apparent is that this was the largest mound in the complex. Most likely it was a ceremonial mound which is where you would think a chief lived, the paramount chief of this area, and perhaps maybe some of his extended family, perhaps someone else important, what people would refer to as the spiritual leader . . . .
>
> There was no thatch as you expect. It was like swept earth, and as we moved down through the mound, it became apparent that the people who created the mound were selecting colors to put on the finished mound. As you can imagine this isn't just build overnight, people have to bring in basket loads of earth from elsewhere to build up a mound, and they don't start as big as you see them, they start off smaller . . . .
>
> When the mound stage was completed to the satisfaction of the builders, they would select clay to cap it in, and I mean not just cap it on the top, but surround it . . . .
>
> So one of the colors that seem to be very common is a red, a brightish orange red. Another one is gray. You see those two colors appear quite frequently and it seems that those colors meant something to the people who created it, they were sending a signal covering the mound in that and certainly as I mentioned 80 feet up from the river's surface, if you're from a neighboring group, or outside the area all together, you're coming up the river, traveling by canoe or whatever, when you see a giant red or gray mound, you know the people there have the manpower to control or someone has the power to control enough people to build it, you instantly recognize that this is the center of power for this area . . . .
>
> There was also evidence of a number of structures up there. So maybe three or four at any one time just along this strip, which you would indicate or extrapolate out could mean up to nine or twelve structures up there, a lot more than I think people had thought before.[901]

As noted by Cornelison, the excavation was a "fast-slow-fast-slow" process, as the teams

899. Haywood S. Harrell, personal interview, April 15, 2015.
900. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.
901. Steven Kidd, personal interview, December 3, 2013.

investigated the living surfaces of the mound at each level, and then were able to extract the fill in between more quickly due to a paucity of information:

> Picture somebody piling up soil to make the mound. When they get it to 5 feet high, they may leave it that way for a generation. In that layer you find posthole stains from houses that were built there, artifacts that were dropped from people going around there, people making lithic flakes and stuff like that. Then they would add another 5 to 7 feet of dirt and build the mound bigger and then live on the next surface. So all the fill in between is not very interesting.[902]

Cornelison also elaborated on what was found in the living surfaces:

> The mound was red at one time and they colored it with red clay. This was a type of symbolic communication. Since this mound would have been visible to anyone coming down the river or up the river, visiting people would recognize the message that was trying to be sent. One living layer cap was white with rocks in it, another brown. On one surface we found two smaller mounds; we called them the gray-capped mounds. What our soil scientist, Sarah Sherwood, who is at University of the South in Sewanee now, said that they had taken the soil and cleaned the rocks and the twigs out of it and made it into a slurry and patted it onto the surface with their hands. She could actually see the microscopic pull-away of the hands in the soil. We do know from historic times that red villages represented war and white villages peace. But we can't really directly project into the past and know what these colors meant. But whatever they meant, it was part of their symbolic communication system, because they were having to go out and seek out a source for this colored soil. So it wasn't just what was available locally.[903]

> We found about 300,000 artifacts during the whole process. The majority of those were pot fragments, some lithics, but we did not find any human remains and we feel very fortunate about that that we did not have to disturb anybody's burials. We did find chunky stones, evidence of game-playing, and deer scapula, a few deer bones. But the main thing we found other than the stratigraphic colors is the overlapped houses. So on that edge of the mound like we have seen done in parks where there is one large house in the middle of a green lawn… They will have one big house on top of the mound which was otherwise covered with grass. But the reality is that there were multiple houses close together, side by side, overlapping over time. We found evidence of a lot of structures, a lot of buildings.[904]

The archeologists also conducted a pollen reconstruction from samples taken from the mound borrow pits, now water-filled depressions. From the pollen cores, they learned when chenopodium was brought in, when the seeds that became corn were introduced, and when the area burned and was cleared.

In addition to this important knowledge, the project has led to several other important outcomes. Due to the large number of people involved, Cornelison feels that this project helped to train a generation in Southeast archeological practices. A movie was also made about the project titled *The Colors of Shiloh* that conveyed the exciting findings. Because of the project, Cornelison also feels that

> What is happening now is that people are going back and looking at the older records on mound investigations to reinterpret the findings. They are reconsidering the color changes now from what we found. They are helping move us away from the view of the mounds as a single hut on a grass covered platform, and the use of colors. We have had people go on to do master's work on colors on mounds and stuff like this.[905]

902. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.
903. Ibid.
904. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.
905. Ibid.

Findings

Overall, the archeological investigations conducted at the Shiloh Indian Mounds identified six large domiciliary mounds and one large burial mound, as well as many low mounds about 1-foot high and 10 to 20 feet in diameter where smaller wattle-and-daub dwellings stood, each with a fireplace in its center. An embankment to the west of the mound area was identified as the remains of a wattle-and-daub palisade wall that protected the site. Global Positioning System (GPS) survey of the alignment of the palisade yielded limited results. Since then, the National Park Service, using LiDAR technology as part of an effort to investigate the sites of four Confederate burial trenches, successfully indicated the located of the palisade circa 2015.[906]

Excavations undertaken in undisturbed levels of the mounds did not reveal any goods obtained from contact with Euro-Americans, indicating that occupancy of the mound area pre-dated the eighteenth century. The date of the mound dwellers was speculatively established as approximately 800 years ago.[907] Inspection of skeletal remains located at the site has confirmed that the mound builders were members or ancestors of the same tribes that inhabited the region when Euro-American explorers arrived in the area.

There appear to have been several villages located along both sides of the Tennessee River within a two-mile radius. Investigations suggest a fairly lengthy period of occupation of these villages. However, the Shiloh group appears to have been occupied for shorter periods than many of the other villages. As many of the nearby villages were situated on bottom land and subject to flooding, it has been suggested that that the Shiloh site, on high protected bluffs, may have served as a place of refuge during periods of high water. It was further suggested that the "temple," larger than the other buildings and different in form, was a permanent location for religious ceremonies, chosen for its security from the floodwaters of the river.[908]

Archeological investigations have also revealed evidence of later cultures of explorers and settlers superimposed on the earlier levels of occupation. Following the Battle of Shiloh, the dead of a Federal regiment are known to have been buried in one of the large mounds.

River erosion has continued since the project was completed in 2004, and has started to undercut the 25-foot section that was excavated. No further work is currently planned at the site, with the exception of a study of the plaza area using ground penetrating radar (GPR), conducted in 2016.

In considering the importance of this project, Tennessee Historical Commission Compliance Office Dr. Joe Garrison notes that given the fact that the park's primary mission is to protect Civil War battlefield resources, it is extraordinary that the National Park Service was able to undertake such an extensive effort. Garrison attributes the success of the effort to Harrell and Allen:

> The National Park Service—through Woody—and the Corps of Engineers got together and secured that bluff line . . . . That's expensive and it took about five years to figure out how to do it. Another superintendent would have said, "It's not part of my brief."
>
> But, they brought down archeological summer school programs. They mapped out that whole plaza. It's a lot bigger than even we knew about when we started it. From an SHPO point of view, that was big medicine, because they didn't have to do that. But Woody said, "It's an important resource; it's part of the bigger story.

906. Ibid.
907. "Shiloh Indian Mounds, National Historic Landmark." National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
908. M. W. Stirling, "Smithsonian Archeological Projects Conducted Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1933-34", in Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1934, Pub. 3305 (Washington, 1935), 398.

> Not too many people are going to come here to see it, but the ones that do, we want to do it right." So, that was a big deal.[909]

Archeology Associated with the Shiloh Battlefield

The majority of the archeological investigations relating to Civil War resources conducted during National Park Service administration of the battlefield have been the result of mitigation associated with ground disturbing activities. There have, however, been a few investigations conducted over the past twenty-five years that have focused on battle-related events and associations, both at Shiloh and Corinth. These efforts have included archeology conducted to mitigate excavation related to the installation of septic tanks, utility lines, and road work, as well as a ten-site battle integrity study, and investigations of the Cantrell home site, Larkin Bell home site, and the two cabins east of peach orchard, the Contraband Camp, Battery Robinett in anticipation of the construction of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, the ground where the Tennessee monument was installed, and GPR survey of the Confederate burial trenches at the Shiloh unit.

As noted elsewhere, the Shiloh Battlefield Commission was tasked with locating on the ground the military events of the battle. In essence, the Commission employed surface or landscape archeology to identify defining battlefield features, including Union encampments, as they remained visible on the ground in the field in 1895 and 1896.

Later, under National Park Service administration, archeological investigations were completed as noted to address ground disturbance relating to the relocation of Highway 22, and to utility system work.

In 1998, as work progressed to establish an interpretive center at Corinth, the National Park Service conducted investigations to locate Battery Robinett in order to avoid disturbing the Civil War earthwork resource when constructing the building and related landscape features. Archeologist John Cornelison recalls that the effort to locate the battery entailed systematic metal detector survey, shovel testing, and excavation. Using these techniques the National Park Service archeologists were able to locate the outline of the original battery and its ditch. They also found two Union burials on the site.[910]

In 2000, SEAC completed a metal detector survey of ten pre-selected locations on the battlefield to collect baseline data regarding the context integrity of the 1862 battle in which to compare wooded and open field conditions, as well as a remote sensing project at Battery Robinett at the Corinth unit. SEAC also conducted field testing using metal detection, shovel test, excavation units used to locate a historic cabin site east of the peach orchard.

At Shiloh, Archeologist John Cornelison has also been involved in a five-year effort to conduct a systematic metal detecting survey of the battlefield. Although the lines of the battle were accurately marked by the veterans, the survey revealed such information as what type of equipment the combatants used, the armaments they used, and the intensity of fire:

> Because you can look at the amount of dropped bullets in relationship to the bullets that are coming in, you can get a sense of how intense the fire was and compare it across that battlefield. You can't really compare it with other battlefields, but you can look and say, this was a much worse position to be in than that. So we got a lot of information like that. One thing we got definitive proof that there were still flintlocks being used in the Civil War.[911]

Although the survey also entailed investigations to locate the hospital that had been there, which is

909. Dr. Joseph Garrison, personal interview, April 15, 2015.

910. John Cornelison, personal interview, March 24, 2016.

911. Ibid.

considered to be the first army-level hospital ever, they did not find any direct evidence of the site.

Investigations to locate the Contraband Camp at Corinth were similarly unsuccessful. In this project, John Cornelison and Charles Lawson conducted investigations at the site. While they did not find evidence of the Contraband Camp, they did find a Civil War-era practice or firing range.[912]

As noted above LiDAR survey has been conducted in an attempt to locate four of the original Confederate burial trenches that were described in battle accounts, but never relocated. The data revealed the location of the pre-Contact palisade, but appears not to have indicated the location of the burial trenches.[913]

Mitigation projects have included evaluation of the ground where the Tennessee and Mississippi monuments were installed in 2013 and 2015 respectively.

912. Ibid.

913. Ibid.

Contemporary Park Goals and Planning



FIGURE 88. A view of the battlefield, January 27, 2011.

Current Park Planning Initiatives

The planning initiatives at Shiloh evolved to a great degree between the initial work conducted to complete this Administrative History and its final printing. During the time period in which the Administrative History was developed, one of the important planning initiatives identified in the project scope—recognizing the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War—has been completed. The very successful programs that resulted from the initiative are discussed in earlier chapters of this report. The National Park Service Centennial, which falls within the same year that this report is published, is discussed below, following a synopsis of the park's contemporary planning initiatives as identified in the 2016 Foundation Document.

Park Foundation Document

In April 2016, the park completed its Foundation Document as part of an agency-wide initiative designed to replace the need for the General

Management Plan.[914] The National Park Service describes the role of the foundation document as follows:

> To effectively manage a national park unit and plan for its future, a basic understanding of a park's resources, values, and history is needed - a foundation for planning and management. These are called foundation documents. Foundation documents are at the core of each park's planning portfolio. The NPS is working to complete foundation documents in all 401 park units by 2016, the 100th anniversary of the National Park Service.
>
> Each foundation document aims to answer critical questions such as:
>
> What is the purpose of this park?
>
> Why was it included in the national park system?
>
> What makes it significant?
>
> What are its fundamental resources and values?
>
> What legal and policy requirements, special mandates, and administrative commitments apply to this park?
>
> What are the park's key planning and data needs?[915]

Shiloh Unit, Shiloh National Cemetery, and Corinth Unit

Shiloh's Foundation Document is an important record of the park planning and data needs that includes the identification of key issues as they pertain to planning. It records several conditions within the park units that are likely to drive future planning initiatives as follows:

> **Shiloh Unit**
>
> - Some historic fields are not as large as they were at the time of the battle, and some fields no longer exist. Tree growth is encroaching on the historic fields of the battlefield landscape.
> - Forest successional growth creates challenges for maintaining the landscape.
> - Undergrowth has naturally proliferated in forested areas, which does not align with the historic setting and character of the battlefield.
> - There are several nonnative plant species in the park including thistles, sage, and grasses.
> - Park staff actively works to identify and address any hazard trees as part of landscape maintenance.
> - Vegetation communities in the park, including forest, wetland, and lichen, may be sensitive to the acidification and nutrient enrichment effects of excess sulfur and nitrogen deposition, which warrant significant concern based on NPS Air Resources Division benchmarks. Sugar maple trees are particularly sensitive to acidification from sulfur deposition.
> - Foliar injury from ozone to blackberries and sweet gum trees has been documented in the park. Ground-level ozone warrants moderate concern for vegetation health based on NPS Air Resources Division benchmarks. Ozone can cause injury to at least 13 ozone-sensitive plant species in the park.
> - There has been erosion near drainage areas; issues with sloping and drainage need to be considered for field restoration. Erosion/drainage mitigation efforts by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Civilian Conservation Corps are aging and deteriorating.
> - Mitigation and removal of noncontributing structures of newly

914. National Park Service, "Foundation Document; Shiloh National Military Park Tennessee/Mississippi" (April 2016).

915. National Park Service, "Foundation Documents for National Park Units," available at https://parkplanning.nps.gov/foundationDocuments.cfm (accessed August 12, 2016).

acquired parcels is needed to reduce potential for vandalism/arson.

- Views from Pittsburg Landing and other battlefield views are often obscured by pollution-caused haze. Visibility warrants significant concern based on NPS Air Resources Division benchmarks. Coal fired power plants and mobile sources such as highway vehicles are believed to be major contributors to regional air quality impacts. Emissions have been significantly reduced in the past decade to reduce ozone and fine particles, which should also improve air quality conditions in the park.
- There is the potential for incompatible development adjacent to the park.
- The park is actively trying to acquire land on the southern, northern, and western boundaries and needs to determine how that space would be programmed.
- There have been incidences of poaching and looting as well as vandalism.
- Unauthorized use of all-terrain vehicles and off-road driving has caused multiple resource impacts and has damaged signs.
- Trash and littering have been a problem at the park.
- Speeding has been an issue within the primary battlefield area.
- Cellular towers could impact historic viewsheds.
- An increase in mean annual temperature is projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency/intensity and drought events due to climate change, could increase invasive species and erosion/sedimentation on the historic landscape.

Shiloh National Cemetery

- The wall (especially the west side) is in poor condition, and has serious structural issues.
- Impacts from storms are a threat to the cemetery, including trees that have been blown down.
- There are fire ants, woodchucks, and other wildlife that damage headstones and grave sites, threatening stabilization and preservation of cemetery headstones, monuments, walks, and walls.
- Visitors, particularly large groups, have impacts on cemetery resources and grave sites. They also create auditory disturbances.
- Use of maintenance equipment can impact headstones and other contributing features of the cemetery landscape.
- There have been issues with visitors leaving trash in the cemetery.
- Air pollutants are likely causing damage to cemetery headstones and monuments leading to increased maintenance costs and reduced cultural value. Acidification from air pollution can cause damage to stone, painted, and metal monuments and other cultural resources.
- Increase in mean annual temperature projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency/intensity and drought events due to climate change, could increase erosion and tree damage and increase nonnative species and pests (e.g., fire ants) in the cemetery.

Corinth Unit

- The earthworks at Corinth are in good condition; however, given their recent acquisition, they are not currently listed on the List of Classified Structures.
- A boundary adjustment study has been completed for the Corinth unit. Nearly 800 acres containing the parcels authorized in 2007 are currently being added to the park.
- Due to the discontiguous nature of the sites and resources at Corinth, visitors often do not see all the resources at Corinth.

- There has been damage to the earthworks at Corinth caused by unauthorized entry of all-terrain vehicles. This has occurred outside of the original NPS property (e.g., Battery Robinett), on lands currently owned by the friends group.
- There is limited law enforcement at the Corinth unit due to the dispersed nature of the resources, and vandalism has been an issue.
- The driveway for the interpretive center uses portions of the railroad right-of-way.
- Illegal hunting has been an issue on both park and friends lands.
- Urban development in the city of Corinth could impact historic sites and earthworks.
- There are perceived public safety concerns related to the Corona Female College site.
- Increase in mean annual temperature projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency/intensity and drought events, due to climate change could increase invasive species and erosion/sedimentation on the Corinth landscape.

The Foundation Document also suggests the opportunities afforded to address these issues:

Shiloh Unit

- The park battlefields could be restored to historic conditions.
- Prescribed burning could be used to address issues surrounding overgrowth of understory in the forest.
- The park could use more volunteers to help with maintenance.
- There is the potential to reach out to the Pickwick area. This could generate increased interest in the park.
- Additional orchards could be restored, though soil conditions and deer present challenges.
- Additional parklands could be acquired.
- Work cooperatively with other federal and state air quality agencies and local stakeholders to potentially reduce air quality impacts in parks from sources of air pollution. Partnering with potential nearby developers or planners could similarly help increase awareness about the importance of park air quality and viewsheds.[916]

Shiloh National Cemetery

- Park staff could do repointing of the stone wall (structural and capstones).
- Signs and interpretation could be improved for the cemetery lodge.

Corinth Unit

- The earthworks could be listed on the List of Classified Structures.
- The monuments could be listed on the List of Classified Structures.
- The park could develop needed waysides at sites throughout the park.
- The park could work more closely with the community to provide educational opportunities.
- The school site adjacent to the park is located within the historic battlefield, and could be acquired as part of the park.
- The battlefield could be better protected through an increase in park land holdings.
- Archeological investigations could be conducted for the Corona Female College site.

916. Foundation Document, 11–12.

- The park could develop a mobile tour or use social media for visitor outreach.[917]

Resulting from this assessment of issues and opportunities is a list of data and GIS needs, as well as planning needs as follows:

Shiloh Unit

- Cultural landscape inventory for Shiloh Battlefield landscape.
- GIS data for boundary of Shiloh National Military Park (update).
- Historic resource study for Corinth unit (underway).
- Location and documentation of Civil War-era historic house sites.
- Location and documentation of Confederate mass grave sites.
- Visual resource inventory.
- Shiloh Battlefield restoration plan.
- Cultural landscape report for Shiloh Battlefield.
- Development plan for newly acquired lands, as appropriate.
- Scenery conservation plan.
- Climate change scenario planning.
- Monument maintenance and preservation plan.[918]

Shiloh National Cemetery

- Wayside exhibit/signage for national cemetery lodge.
- Administrative history of national cemetery.
- Update software systems for national cemetery database and monument inventory.
- Study of wildlife impacts on national cemetery.
- Cemetery management plan for Shiloh National Cemetery.
- Cultural landscape report for Shiloh National Cemetery (update).

Corinth Unit

- GIS data for boundary of Corinth unit.
- Cultural landscape inventory for Corinth unit.
- Collect natural resource data and expand monitoring to Corinth unit.
- Historic resource study for Corinth unit (underway).
- List of Classified Structures records for the Corinth unit.
- Wayside plan for Corinth unit.
- Cultural landscape report for the Corinth unit.
- Trail management plan for Corinth unit.
- Land protection plan.
- Earthworks management plan.
- Monument maintenance and preservation plan.[919]

Davis Bridge Battlefield

The Foundation Document also frames a program of planning to address needs associated with the Davis Bridge Battlefield based on the following issues:

917. Ibid., 14–15.
918. Foundation Document, 13.
919. Foundation Document, 15.

- The park owns 5 acres of the Davis Bridge site, but the majority (more than 800 acres) is owned by Tennessee State Parks. Legislation has been introduced in the 114th Congress to add these parcels to the park.
- There are historic markers at the site.
- The Tennessee Department of Transportation received grant money for a trail system. They would like to cross NPS property, but there are issues regarding impacts on historic grounds and the archeological record.
- The Tennessee Department of Transportation designed a bridge that was intended to meet pedestrian needs based on highway design principles. There is more complexity regarding trail design.
- The Davis Bridge site is an approximately 45-minute drive from park headquarters at Shiloh, and roughly 30 minutes from the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.
- Visitation is unknown at the Davis Bridge site.
- Erosion has occurred along the river. There are sandy soils along the bank that easily wash away. This problem has been compounded by annual flooding of the Hatchie River.
- The site managed by the National Park Service is located in a wetland area, so there are many mosquitos. This is not ideal for park visitors.
- The state would like to do some forest cutting in the area.
- There is potential for inappropriate development on and near the site. The state parks would like to expand tourism infrastructure.
- There has been minor vandalism at the site.
- Littering and looting have been issues at the site, which could be attributed to lack of regular staff presence.
- Increase in storm frequency/intensity projected for the region due to climate change could increase erosion/sedimentation along the Hatchie River.[920]

Data and planning needs are identified as follows:

- Archeological survey of Davis Bridge Battlefield site.
- Hatchie River elevation study and mapping of land at Davis Bridge Battlefield site.
- Cultural landscape inventory for Davis Bridge Battlefield.
- Visitor use study/survey at Davis Bridge site.
- Development concept plan for Davis Bridge Battlefield site.
- Land protection plan.[921]

State of the Park

Also completed by the park in 2016 was a *State of the Park Report.* The report summarized three key issues and challenges for consideration in future park management and planning as follows:

> **Improving Park Interpretation.** In general, park interpretation is excellent. A new award winning film, "Shiloh – Fiery Trial," recently replaced the 1956 production film, 32 new waysides are in production for Shiloh Battlefield, and auto signage is up to date. However, the exhibits in the Shiloh Battlefield Visitor Center are very dated (circa 1989), and

920. Foundation Document, 16–17.

921. Ibid., 17.

the facility is in dire need of upgrade to incorporate modern interpretive standards and themes. In addition, a new access plan with signage for all properties located in the Corinth Battlefield Unit is needed to orient visitors to the various discontiguous sites that make up the unit.

The park social media program is strong. Shiloh leads all National Park Service Civil War sites in visitors served by social media, with Total Park "followers" on Twitter approaching 3,000, and over 20,000 likes on Facebook. The park continues to seek expanded opportunities in the social media arena, with ideas such as park web-based tours, on-demand video, and QR-code links at interpretive sites actively being pursued.

Following the September 1862 announcement of Lincoln's intent to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, the Union Army established the Corinth Contraband Camp, where formerly enslaved people took their first steps from slavery to citizenship. The park preserves a small portion of this camp, and the site includes a walking trail, a small parking area, and life-sized bronze sculpture, but has had difficulty attracting an audience to the site to present the Civil War-to-Civil Rights story. Improvements to parking, site security, and interpretive programs are all needed.

Improving Park Protection and Integrity. As the second oldest national military park, the existing commemorative landscape on the Shiloh battlefield reflects the contributions of both Union and Confederate Civil War veterans to mark the field of battle in a manner that honors the shared sacrifice and courage of all those present. Not all of the land authorized within the park boundary is owned by the federal government, and acquisition of the remaining parcels is critical to protection of the integrity of the park. Potential sites that could be added to the park include: additional sites, historic houses, and resources in and around Corinth; 1,100 additional acres at Davis Bridge; 660 acres at Russell House; 440 acres at Fallen Timbers; and sites associated with Parkers Crossroads as an affiliated area. Any future land acquisitions would present operational and stewardship challenges given the limitations of current staffing levels and existing funding.

The park manages historic sites and resources in both Tennessee and Mississippi, resulting in the challenge of working with multiple local law enforcement agencies. Building better working relationships with local law enforcement agencies, addressing jurisdictional challenges, formalizing jurisdictional agreements, and seeking joint training are all important needs to address these challenges.

The park would benefit from the completion of a Cultural Landscape Inventory and Report. No formal, specifically themed, cultural landscape inventories exist for Shiloh or Corinth, and proper management and protection of these resources require better data related to the historical cultural context of the sites.

Improving Partnerships. The Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark (NHL) located within the boundary of the park preserves one of the finest examples of a complete Mississippian-era archeological village site in the nation. The park has a Memorandum of Understanding in place concerning archeological investigations and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act protections, but the relationship with the Chickasaw Nation has waned, primarily due to the change of key personnel within the tribe and the park. The park needs to rekindle this relationship and cultivate a closer bond to provide for greater cooperation and mutual benefit.

The park maintains productive partnership programs with a multitude of groups, and actively participates in and provides technical assistance and support for planning and designing of interpretive exhibits, brochures, social media, symposiums, special events, and historic preservation of sites and commemorative features. The importance of partners and partnerships at Shiloh National Military Park continues to grow and is important to the park's success. Additional growth in partners is possible by reaching out to the Pickwick area, communities surrounding the Davis Bridge and Fallen Timbers sites, and private organizations with an interest in the Civil War (such as the Sons of Confederate

Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy).[922]

National Park Service Centennial

The National Park Service celebrated the 100th anniversary of its founding on August 25, 2016.

Planning efforts conducted by the agency in anticipation of this important milestone were initiated on August 25, 2006, the ninetieth anniversary of the National Park Service, by Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne. The National Park Centennial Initiative was designed also to prepare national parks for another century of conservation, preservation, and enjoyment. As part of the initiative, the National Park Service engaged citizens, park partners, experts, and other stakeholders to craft a vision for the second century of national parks.

Emerging from the process were five Centennial goals:

- to lead America and the world in preserving and restoring treasured resources;
- to demonstrate environmental leadership to the nation;
- to ensure that national parks are superior recreational destinations;
- to foster exceptional learning opportunities that connect people to parks; and
- to demonstrate management excellence.

The goals and vision were presented to President George W. Bush and to the American people on May 31, 2007, in a report called *The Future of America's National Parks.*[923]

The four "themes" outlined to support the vision were: Connecting People to Parks through recreation, education, volunteerism, and job opportunities; Advancing the NPS Education Mission using leading-edge technologies, social media, and collaboration with partners; Preserving America's Special Places by increasing resource's resilience to climate change and other stressors, cultivating excellence in science, scholarship, and stewardship, and collaboration with other land managers; and Enhancing Professional and Organizational Excellence.

On August 25, 2011, five years prior to the agency's Centennial, the National Park Service published *A Call to Action: Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement.* This document served as "A call to all National Park Service employees and partners to commit to actions that advance the Service toward a shared vision for 2016 and our second century." It laid out a vision for future that included recommitting to the exemplary stewardship and public enjoyment of these places, and suggesting that "A Second-Century National Park Service Connects People to Parks, Advances the Education Mission, Preserves America's Special Places, and Enhances Professional and Organizational Excellence."[924]

The staff of every national park unit was to take their lead from this report and create local Centennial strategies to describe their vision and desired accomplishments by 2016.

At Shiloh National Military Park, plans to celebrate the Centennial were developed by park staff under the leadership of Superintendent Dale Wilkerson. Special events began with the

922. National Park Service, *State of the Park Report; Shiloh National Military Park* (Washington, D.C.: State of the Park Series No. 25, 2016), x–xi.

923. National Park Service, *The Future of America's National Parks; A Report to the President of the United States by the Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne* (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, May 2007).

924. National Park Service, *A Call to Action: Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement* (2011), 5.

anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh in April 2016, through the anniversary the following year, with a large living history event in which 200 to 300 reenactors portrayed a combination of infantry, cavalry, and artillery soldiers. The event attracted 4,000 to 6,000 visitors.

The park scheduled a series of five spring and summer concerts of music ranging from Civil War era to New Orleans jazz and Memphis blues, to new bluegrass, held on Memorial Day, in June, on the Fourth of July, on the National Park Service Centennial of August 25, and on Labor Day. On November 5, 2016, a luminary event was held at Corinth. The Centennial programs were to close in April 2017 with a luminary event at Shiloh.

Future Planning Needs

Since acquisition of the Roberson tract in 1991, land acquisition has accelerated and has included parcels within the authorized boundary of Shiloh National Military Park, the Fallen Timbers area that is beyond the authorized boundary, the addition of the Corinth unit, and land associated with the Battle of Davis Bridge, among other parcels. At the same time, although these acquisitions have resulted in the protection of battlefields from development, as noted by Superintendent Dale Wilkerson in 2016, one of the greatest challenges faced by Shiloh National Military Park going forward is planning for how to manage the land and make it relevant and its stories accessible to visitors.[925]

Park Superintendent Dale Wilkerson considers future park administration to be concerned with three key issues: determining how best to manage park land; ensuring that land within the park is made relevant to the public and its role in the Civil War understandable and clear; and updating park interpretive materials and museum collection.

In anticipating the future, Stacy Allen notes:

> Well, we probably won't see a big general management plan, because the agency's been stepping away from those because they're quite expensive and they take a long time to produce. You're looking at anything from a half-million to a million dollars, depending on the complexity of the park.
>
> So let's say the immediate issue is wayfinding and the associated visitor access infrastructure. I could see a plan for that. Where that takes care of people being able to locate the place and reaching it, including each unit and all its various scattered sites and resources. And then, from that point, experiencing it with maybe not thoroughly improved trails or whatever, but at least having an opportunity to begin to explore the area. And maybe the next plan is, "Okay, we've got wayfinding in place, and we have the access at least to the point of contact, such as the trailhead pullout, with these various pieces of property. Now what do we need? Well, we need a nice trail system, and we need the non-personal interpretation to go hand in hand with that. And so, that's the next phase and the next plan.
>
> So, where you used to have a general management plan to kind of take a look at the entire park and then find wherever the shortcomings are and it's going to govern the management of this site for the next quarter of a century or more, you've now got to work it in smaller chunks of development and still reach a point of completion and being successful. . . .[926]

This study concluded with the events associated with marking the Centennial of National Park Service establishment in August 2016. As part of the activities marking the Centennial, the agency took the opportunity to identify goals and measurable actions to chart a new direction for its second century. The National Park Service Centennial Act, passed and signed on December 2016, provides new tools anticipated to help the agency advance its mission in the future.[927] These initiatives are expected to provide additional support for the

925. Dale Wilkerson, personal interview, August 18, 2016.
926. Stacy D. Allen, personal interview, April 16, 2015.
927. National Park Service, "Centennial Initiatives," Available at https://www.nps.gov/subjects/centennial/nps-centennial-programs.htm (accessed May 14, 2018).

stewardship of our nation's heritage, including notable parks such Shiloh National Military Park.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Shiloh National Military Park
Selected Chronology of Notable Events

April 6–7, 1862	Civil War Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee.
April 28–May 30, 1862	Siege and Battle of Corinth, Mississippi.
1866	Shiloh National Cemetery established.
Dec. 27, 1894	Shiloh National Military Park (NMP) established by Congress.
1895	Col. Cornelius Cadle is named the park's first Commission Chairman.
1910	Cadle retires and is replaced by Maj. David W. Reed as commission chairman.
1914	The park's first superintendent, DeLong Rice, is appointed.
1929	Robert A. Livingston replaces Rice as Superintendent of Shiloh NMP.
1933	Shiloh NMP and Shiloh National Cemetery transferred to the National Park Service (NPS); Livingston continues as Superintendent.
1936	Charles S. Dunn fills in as Acting Superintendent, and then is later appointed Superintendent.
1937	Dunn is replaced by William W. Luckett, who serves as Acting Superintendent for two years.
1940	Blair A. Ross is named Superintendent of Shiloh NMP.
1945	James W. Holland becomes the park's superintendent.
1951	Ira B. Lykes is named Superintendent of Shiloh NMP.
1954	Shiloh NMP Administrative History published by NPS.
1954	The park's water system is completed.
1955	The park enters into an agricultural lease program with local farmers in partnership with the County Agricultural Extension Agency and Soil Conservation Service.
1956–1966	Mission 66 (Several iterations of a master plan and site plans are prepared; Shiloh serves as a pilot park and is the focus of a 1956 prospectus).
1956	The film "Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle" is produced, and is immediately put into service at the museum as the first National Park orientation film.
	James W. Holland serves as Acting Superintendent for three months, at which point Floyd B. Taylor is named Superintendent.
	Park recorded half a million visitors for the first time in history.
	Floyd Taylor joined the park staff on July 10 as the new superintendent.
	Visitors participated in events, programs, celebrations included the April 7 and & battle anniversary and Memorial Day ceremonies, Campfire Day, and Park Establishment Day on December 27.
1957	Park Historian William Kay promoted to a position at Natchez Trace Parkway and replaced by Donald Dosch.
1958	Congress passes Public Law 85-406, HR 4115 that provides for transfer of park land to the State of Tennessee for construction of the Bypass Road.

1959	Bernard T. Campbell is named Superintendent of the park.
1961	Mission 66 edition Master Plan prepared.
	Shiloh school building was demolished.
	Designs are prepared for an addition and alterations to the visitor center.
	Designs are prepared for updated water and sewer utilities.
1962	The park celebrates the Centennial of the Battle of Shiloh.
	The State Highway 22 Bypass Road is constructed along the west side of the park, replacing Corinth Road.
	Drawings are prepared to update the park entrance road, tour route, and parking areas, and to obliterate roads in response to changes in park circulation relating to completion of the Bypass Road.
	The William Manse George Cabin is stabilized.
	215 trees and shrubs are planted around the visitor contact facility parking addition.
	Proposed planting drawings prepared for improving the appearance of the Confederate burial trenches.
	Construction of the new comfort station, water well, pump house, water lines, and drinking fountains were completed at the picnic area by the Pettigrew and Finney Contracting Company of Adamsville, Tennessee.
1963	Ivan J. Ellsworth becomes the new superintendent of Shiloh.
	A headquarters area utilities plan is prepared.
	Hamburg Road Bypass drawings prepared.
	A picnic area is developed at Sowell Field to accommodate visitor recreation when the state determines not to create a new roadside park along the Bypass Road.
1964	A sign plan for the entrance and visitor center prepared.
	Congress passed the Wilderness Act.
1965	Drawings are prepared for a new shop and fire house.
	The Land and Water Conservation Act was passed by Congress.
	The connection of the water lines between Quarters No. 50 and the well on the former Benny property was complete.
	Renovation of Quarters No. 3 was complete.
	Congress passed the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act.
1966	Drawings prepared for to update the park's sewage treatment plant.
	Drawings are prepared to build additions associated with park residences.
	The federal government pass the national Historic Preservation Act, which resulted in the administrative listing of Shiloh National Military Park in the National Register of Historic Places.
	Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act.
	Shiloh was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places based on passage of the NHPA.
1967	Herbert Olsen is named Superintendent of Shiloh NMP.
	Congress passed the Clean Air Act.

1968	Congress passed the national Trails System Act.
	Design drawings were prepared for the construction of a new surface utility area.
1969	Congress passed the National Environment Policy Act.
1970	Alvoid L. Rector becomes the park's new superintendent.
	A Management Objectives report is prepared by the park.
	Congress passed the General Authorities Act.
1971	A General Development Plan is prepared for the park.
	Plans are prepared for screen fencing at the Concession Building.
1972	A Management Unit Review is prepared for the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.
1973	Ed Bearss prepares a Historical Base Map report for Shiloh.
	The park requests permission to demolish Quarters No. 1, the Superintendent's Residence, due to its deteriorated condition.
	U.S. Senate passed S.268, a land use planning act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make annual grants to each State to assist them in developing and administering a state land use program.
	One of the federal programs enacted to support the work of the National Park Service was the Youth Conservation Corps.
1974	A master plan, and associated environmental assessment (EA), are prepared for the park by Miller, Wihry & Lee1976 Zeb V. McKinney is named the park's superintendent.
	Shiloh NMP is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).
	Miller, Wihry, and Lee, master planning firm, consults with Geologic Associates regarding the need for River Bank Stabilization.
1976	Superintendent Alvoid Rector was reassigned to Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield.
1977	Some of the brick walks are rehabilitated within the National Cemetery.
1978	Congress passed the Civil Service Reform Act.
1979	Plans are prepared to enhance circulation around the visitor center and park trails, and to restore historic vegetation patterns as part of a General Development Plan.
	The NPS begins the legal process of acquiring the Blanton-Roberson (ex. Shaw's) Tract, and continues negotiations to acquire the Shiloh Church property.
	The park's Indian Mounds are listed in the NRHP.
	The park prepares a Resource Management Plan.
1980–1981	The park's first General Management Plan (GMP) is prepared by the Denver Service Center.
1981	A Vascular Flora of the park is prepared.
	A report on the Exotic Woody Plants of the park is prepared.
	Southeast Archeological Center continued archeological work within the park to document the Indian Mounds.
	The new Missouri Monument was installed on the battlefield and dedicated ceremony was held.
	James Wycoff joined the park staff as an interpretive technician as a replacement for Julie Adams.

1982	Park entered into an agreement with U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to perform a study of the erosion problems along the banks of the Tennessee River.
	Park completed a Resource Management Plan, which was reviewed and approved by the Southeast Regional Office.
	Headstones and Markers Manual M40-3 completed.
1983	Installed new water line that would serve the picnic area.
	Shiloh became an official weather station unit for the National Weather Observations Network.
1984	The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (COE) completes a study of Tennessee River erosion that features a stabilization plan for park land.
	The park changes its agricultural use permit program to a historic field leasing program. Included are Integrated Pest Management requirements, soil erosion control policies, and forest encroachment guidelines to promote historic park appearance.
	Park Superintendent Zeb McKinney initiates an extensive monument conservation program.
	Plans are completed for new wayside exhibits to accompany the historic driving tour, and for the visitor center.
	Operations of National Cemetery Manual M40-2 completed.
1985	Shiloh National Cemetery allocates its final gravesite.
	Landscape restoration, including removal of 6 acres of forest encroachment on historic fields, is undertaken. Goals include tree removal without contributing to soil erosion.
	The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) conducts erosion control along the river by placing more than 2,000 sandbags along the shoreline.
	Harpers Ferry completes a new wayside exhibit plan for the park.
	A Landscape Architect for Natchez Trace prepares landscape plans for the tour road stops National Park Service issued release No. 1 of NPS-61, "Guidelines for National Cemeteries."
1986	The Resource Management Plan for the park is rewritten, and the park's Land Protection Plan is updated. Emergency operations plans for the park are completely revised to address fire, flood, tornado, hazardous spills, and other contingencies.
	The park develops a new standardized system for right-of-way permits, agricultural use permits, and special use permits.
	Universal access modifications are completed at the park visitor center and picnic area, including standardized access ramps and restrooms improvements.
	The YCC improves the Indian Mounds Trail, including implementing erosion control measures intended to reduce resource loss.
	Employees of Shiloh NMP attend a computer training courses at the Area Vocational Technical School. Training includes instruction in NPS data systems, such as d-Base 111, SuperCalc, and Wordstar. The training helps the park maximize the use of new computerized NPS data management systems.
	The Eastern National Park and Monument Association (ENPMA) opens a new bookstore in the building previously occupied by the Shiloh Post office.
1987	The Southeast Regional Management System is implemented at Shiloh. The computer management workbook and work plan concept developed at Shiloh in 1985 closely parallels the system.

The Statement for Management is completely rewritten, bringing it into compliance with NPS guidelines.

A new museum exhibit plan is approved and scheduled for installation in 1988. It is expected to improve interpretive programming and afford much needed universal (handicapped) access to the park's primary message.

Fee collection begins in February. The $38,000 collected is used for artifact storage needs.

A Bally building is purchased for storage of park artifacts, and installed in the basement of the visitor center. The facility helps bring the park's artifact storage system into compliance with NPS standards.

Six army groups are given staff rides within the park. This activity is described as on the increase. The park has trained three ROTC students from the University of Alabama to assist in this activity. They are employed as VIPs.

New interpretive wayside exhibits are installed along the driving tour.

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail was designated by Congress.

1988

The Shiloh Indian Mounds Site is listed as a National Historic Landmark (NHL).

All performance standards are reviewed. Those in need of revision are identified and work begins on the revisions. The first to be updated is the 1988 Performance Appraisals.

Work begins to convert all cultural museum items to the new computer management system known as Automated National Catalog System (ANCS).

A draft Museum Management Plan is completed.

Fabrication drawings are prepared for new visitor center exhibits.

The state of Kentucky proposes complete rehabilitation of its monument due to deterioration of the plaque and the stone pillars.

The Indianapolis Civil War Roundtable takes on the effort of raising the money for the necessary cleaning and repointing of the Indiana monuments using specifications developed by the Southeast Regional Office (SERO) Cultural Resources Office and the park.

Vegetation management problems encountered during the year include the loss of many older southern red oaks due to drought, and colonization of large areas of the park by Johnson grass (an invasive alien plant-context that flourishes under drought conditions.) The park notes that considerable spraying and field management will have to be done in 1989 by lessees to overcome the Johnson grass problem.

Silt has accumulated in Bloody Pond. The park has made arrangements for the YCC and/or Boy Scouts to remove silt and other sediments from the pond.

Initial discussions are conducted with Ed Bearss and the audiovisual division of Harpers Ferry to consider replacement of the park film.

A walking tour is developed for the Dill Branch, Indian Mounds area.

Shiloh identifies a problem with meeting NPS standards and requirements of the Maintenance Management System and the Operations Evaluation Handbook given available funding and full time employees (FTEs).

City water lines are extended to the picnic area, which is taken off of the well water system there.

Erosion problems along the west bank of the Tennessee River south of Pittsburgh Landing, and to the south, east, and west boundary are identified as a threat to historical and cultural resources, and a safety hazard to park visitors and employees.

The park uses fee enhancement funds to rehabilitate the Ruggles Line trail, Burial Trench trail, and three footbridges, and builds steps to the top of the Indian Mound.

The footbridge and trail at Fraley Field is relocated to the edge of the wood line to afford a better view of the "historical area."

A computer room is added for the maintenance management system in an under-utilized storage room.

1989 The park corresponds with U.S. Army COE regarding Tennessee riverbank erosion.

The park visitor center is renovated.

The Kentucky Monument is renovated. Inlaid (Kentucky limestone) pilasters on the monument are replaced with single stone pilasters of Georgia granite. The interpretive plaque is returned to the foundry—Sewah Studios—and restored.

The visitor center and monument are rededicated during a ceremony held on the 127th anniversary of the battle.

Over 200 Civil War artifacts, which have been on loan to the Shiloh collection for thirty-five years, are returned to the Borrum family in Corinth, Mississippi.

Preparations are made to update the park's Resource Management Plan.

Historic Preservation Specialist Nick Velox from George Washington Memorial Parkway conducts a 40-hour training course in monument rehabilitation and preservation. Members of SERO Cultural Resource Preservation Team participate. The team proceeds to rehabilitate many monuments within the park, especially bronze statues and adornments, which are cleaned and waxed.

The Conservation Fund works to acquire a 143-acre parcel, known as the Roberson tract, for the park.

Cultural resources at the Indian Mounds and National Cemetery are in jeopardy due to erosion along the riverfront. Plans are in place to conduct an erosion control project in 1992. Riverside Drive is of particular concern where visitors and automobiles could plunge into the river. Warning signs and fences are erected but may not adequately protect visitors.

Superintendent McKinney notes that "each year at Shiloh begins with an in-house operations evaluation. This appraisal of our needs is then incorporated into goals, objectives, work plans, operating program, and work calendars for each division. Regular reviews by the management team keep the park effort in focus and assure timely responses to most pressing issues. The Administrative Division has been busily engaged in learning and implementing new data management systems, H-2 Flags, PROPS, Travel Lightning, and Quarters-Housing, to name a few. We eagerly anticipate the day when we begin to stabilize and realize the time saving benefits which are supposed to accrue from computerization."

New interpretive displays and furnishings are installed at the visitor center.

Trees are removed from one of the Indian Mounds to reduce displacement of archeological resources by maturing root systems. The mound is cleared of timber and seeded with red fescue.

Installation of a municipal water supply at the picnic area continues to be delayed. The picnic pavilion roof is recovered with asphalt, replacing the original wood shingles that deteriorate too rapidly under the shady and moist conditions.

1990 Superintendent Zeb McKinney retires after a 14 year tenure at the park. George Reaves serves as acting Superintendent for 2-1/2 months. Haywood S. ("Woody") Harrell becomes the park's superintendent later that year.

A state historical marker commemorating African-American Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) workers is erected.

Shiloh implements the Federal Financial System (FFS), replacing the P&FM system.

A draft revision of the Shiloh GMP is completed. The park's updated Resource Management Plan is approved by WASO.

Two additional Indian Mounds are cleared of heavy brush and seeded.

Shiloh and Wilson's Creek National Battlefield conduct a cannon exchange. Shiloh gains another Confederate type tube to mark the Ruggles Line.

The park staff assists the Regional Curator in the development of standards for cannon carriages.

Erosion problems exacerbated by flooding caused the park to limit access to river-side roads to buses and recreational vehicles.

The Grand Illumination, a new program, proposed by Superintendent Haywood Harrell.

A universal access ramp is built to the bookstore entrance.

1991

SERO and the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) prepare "The Siege and Battle of Corinth, A Strategy for Preservation, Protection and Interpretation."

Monument conservation occurs with the help of a preservation student.

Funding shortages result from lessees not paying for their field leases.

Park maintained fields are analyzed for revitalization needs.

The park is approached by the Greer family about a land exchange that has been under discussion since the 1960s. The Greer property includes a tent hospital site. The Greer family would receive Tennessee River bottomland for their parcel. WASO land office indicates that the exchange is not possible until a legislative boundary change is made.

The Conservation Fund purchases the Roberson Tract, a 125-acre parcel that edges the park's northwestern boundary. The parcel was the site of the staging area used by the Confederates for their final attack against the Union right flank. Title to the land is transferred to the NPS in November during a ceremony.

The park supports a task force established through the ABPP working to preserve the battlefields associated with the battles and siege of Corinth, Mississippi. Earthworks ringing the city are the objective of preservation. NHL status is conferred on the sites by the Secretary of the Interior on May 31, 1991.

The park closes the group camp in April that has served recreational needs in the area for 25 years. Establishment of a campground near the park replaces the need for this facility.

Flooding contributes to erosion problems along the river. Riverside Drive is permanently closed. An 8 by 40 foot section of Shiloh Indian Mound A sloughs off. Erosion brings the river bank to within 7 feet of the national cemetery wall. SERO allocates $500,000 to alleviate the problem.

The park initiates efforts to restore the battlefield's 1862 vegetative cover. Restoration follows the historic base map prepared by Ed Bearss. The goal is to restore vegetative cover by the park's centennial in 1994.

Hardin County residents request help from the park in recognizing local Civil War sites outside the park, including marking Savannah as General Grant's headquarters at the time of the battle. After the park loans a cannon for use as a monument, the project grows into an effort to establish a Hardin County museum.

The Shiloh Grand Illumination introduced as a new program.

1992

The U.S. Army COE and Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) successfully obligate funds for Tennessee riverbank stabilization from Pittsburg Landing to the park's northern boundary. Work is scheduled to begin in October 1992.

The Roberson Tract transfer is completed.

The 1894 authorized boundary is clarified by the Regional Solicitor.

The park completes a Preservation Guide for the treatment of cultural resources.

One-third of the park's 450 historic plaques are repainted.

A sign inventory of non-historic signs is completed. Twenty-four are removed.

A donation box is installed in the lobby of the visitor center.

Five nearby Civil War battlefields are surveyed for ABPP.

The park's Statement for Management is revised.

A mowing plan is developed and implemented that presents a well-kept appearance along the tour road while following the general 1862 historic vegetation pattern.

The Confederate burial trenches mown and landscaped to the standards of a national cemetery.

One thousand five hundred trees are planted to further reforestation and scene restoration.

The curtain of cedar trees that forms a backdrop for UDC monument is replanted.

Historic Stacey Field cleared in 1991 by the YCC is restored.

All buildings are converted to septic tanks. The sewage lagoon is eliminated.

The cemetery caretaker house is converted to administrative office space. All ranger activities are now housed in one building for the first time.

YCC enrollees clear brush and vistas at the Indian Mounds and riverbank.

The park supports the creation of the Tennessee River Museum in Savannah.

A park library is established in the visitor center as recommended in the Operations Evaluation after administrative offices are transferred to the cemetery caretaker residence.

"Friends of Shiloh Battlefield" formed.

Clearing of hazard trees and branches for the safety of visitors and park personnel.

"Friends of Shiloh Battlefield" formed.

1993

The park entrance fee is doubled to $2 per person. Visitation at the visitor center declines

One-third of the 450 historic cast iron markers are repainted.

YCC crew clears underbrush along river, national cemetery ravine, Pittsburg Landing, opening a view from a wayside exhibit.

Mowing maintains well-kept appearance along the tour route, and 1862 vegetation pattern.

The Preservation Guide is used to address monument conservation needs.

Tennessee establishes concurrent jurisdiction with NPS over park lands.

Shiloh partners with Hardin County's Tennessee River Museum.

Peabody Road is reopened to automobile traffic. Surplus gates moved to Roberson Tract.

Flooding diverts boat traffic on the Mississippi River to the Tennessee.

A prototype for the computerized Civil War Soldiers System in placed in the park for a one-year trial.

A new storage building for the museum collections is installed in the maintenance area.

The Winter Oaks pond area is restored by Boy Scouts.

National Cemetery vegetation is inventoried, and tied to a provenance.

Restoration of the Peach Orchard is conducted through the plantings of new trees.

River bank stabilization plans are developed by the U.S. Army COE that includes the placement of riprap.

Inventory and inspection of all historic plaques is completed.

Superintendent Harrell develops a plan to separate driving tour route from commuter traffic and national cemetery visitation.

The park's Land Protection Plan is revised to address changes to the authorized boundary.

The park's Statement for Management is updated.

Park seeks approval to conduct a prescribed burn on land difficult to mow.

New plantings added to the Peach Orchard to replace trees lost to weather and deer browse.

1994 Chief Park Ranger George Reaves dies.

The park celebrates its centennial.

Park offices are linked by Novell Local Access Network using fiber optic cable. Wiring is added to the cemetery house, visitor center, chief of maintenance office, maintenance shop, and the Bally building.

Monument conservation continues, including cleaning of 154 stone and bronze monuments and 21 artillery pieces, restoration of 6 of the 15 concrete and cast-iron headquarters and mortuary monuments, and repainting of cast iron markers and gates at the national cemetery. Boy Scouts clean 1,627 cemetery headstones.

A large section of the national cemetery wall is repointed.

Park staff and cultural resource management interns assist the Tennessee River Museum in the design and construction of museum exhibits for the Savannah facility. The park secures U.S.S. *Cairo* gunboat artifacts from Vicksburg for an exhibit on naval activities during the Civil War.

Park staff prepare a brief Historic Structures Report for a historic log home in Kossuth, Mississippi.

The List of Classified Structures (LCS) is updated by park staff using the new computerized format.

Water quality monitoring begins in April.

Exotic vegetation control continues with grant funding.

Exotic fire ant invasion continues. No funds are available for control.

National cemetery vegetation management continues with development of a management plan.

Boundary signs are erected at each entrance, replacing some earlier signs.

A new road is constructed over the historic trace connecting Pittsburg Landing Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Road.

Road signs within the park are replaced, and reflect a reversion to historic road names.

1995 Conservation and cleaning of stone and bronze monuments continues.

A GPS field school is sponsored by the park. Data is collected for more than 500 features and Civil War resources. The project is funded by the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission.

An NHL nomination for Brice's Cross Roads is completed.

The park works with the city of Savannah to design the Trail of Tears Interpretive Trail.

Exotic vegetation and fire ant control continues.

The park assumes maintenance of historic fields that where the lessees are found to be non-compliant. The boundaries of several fields are reestablished.

A new gate is installed at Roberson Tract.

Several headquarters monuments and cast iron plaques are cleaned and painted.

A new drain system is installed around the visitor center.

Boundary clearing occurs over three miles, while fences are repaired and replaced.

Cannon carriages destroyed by an ice storm are replaced.

Accessibility ramps are added at the visitor center and bookstore.

An ice storm kills many of the older trees in the national cemetery. Elsewhere along the tour road, 383 trees are blown down or damaged.

Indian Mounds maintenance progresses.

A 1,500-gallon underground fuel tank is removed near the visitor center. It is replaced with a 1,000 gallon aboveground vaulted tank. A 2,000 gallon underground fuel storage tank is removed at the maintenance shop and replaced with a 1,000 gallon aboveground vaulted tank. A 750 gallon pedestal gasoline tank and a 450 gallon diesel fuel pedestal tank are removed and replaced with a dual 1,000/500 gallon aboveground vaulted tank for gasoline and diesel fuel storage.

Water quality monitoring continues. The identification of high acidity levels in park streams lead to investigations to determine whether there are rare, threatened, or endangered species associated with the waterways. University of Memphis proposes to study stream macroinvertebrates, fish, and morphology.

Joseph Brent prepares "Occupied Corinth: The Contraband Camp and The First Alabama Regiment of African Descent 1862-1864" on behalf of the City of Corinth and The Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission." The study is funded by the NPS and ABPP.

1996 Congress authorizes the establishment and construction of a center for interpretation of Corinth Exotic vegetation control includes efforts to eradicate mimosa and privet. Funding reductions limited the amount of work that could be done. Thistle control in leased fields conducted by lessees.

Peach orchard management includes the planting of 100 trees.

With Memphis University's Biology Department, the park surveys aquatic resources. Scientists discover high biological diversity in the park's waters.

Tennessee riverbank erosion is monitored, including the recent stabilization efforts.

Indian Mounds A, E, and D are washed and eroded by spring rains. Numerous prehistoric artifacts are discovered in eroded areas.

Missing components of the Shiloh Confederate Monument are replaced.

A flagpole is donated by two camps of the Southern Confederate Veterans and erected in March-April at the largest of five Confederate burial trenches. The flagpole flies the First National flag of the Confederacy.

Part of the 77th Pennsylvania Monument is vandalized and stolen.

Downed mature trees are removed from along historic field boundaries. A new mowing pattern is devised for Duncan field and other historic vegetation patterns and views are restored.

A new radio tower is built on the site of an old water tower east of the maintenance area.

A 2,000 gallon septic tank is installed at the visitor center.

Portions of the park boundary are cleared and fences constructed.

Congress passed the Corinth, Mississippi, Battlefield Act, which authorized the establishment and construction of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.

1997 A Strategic Plan is prepared for the park.

The Sherman Headquarters Monument is restored.

A Collection Management Program is established.

The fish and aquatic invertebrate study continues.

Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping of the park is developed.

Battle of Shiloh featured in *Blue and Gray* Magazine. Park historian Allen writes articles and develops maps for the issue. Allen and Park Ranger Brian McCutchen author several feature articles for *The 135th Anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh Reenactment Program.* Allen also contributes to *Thousand Mile Front: Civil War in the Lower Mississippi Valley.*

Tennessee riverbank stabilization continues based on a new U.S. Army COE evaluation. A budget of $2 million is authorized to fund mitigation work at the Shiloh Indian Mounds NHL.

Deer kill all of the Peach Orchard trees planted in 1996. Rangers work on deer control.

Exotic emus escaping from local farms become a problem in the park.

Rangers clear a portion of the southeast park boundary as a fire break.

A rare endemic species of lichen is found growing in the park.

A reptile and amphibian inventory is planned.

Section 106 compliance allows for the removal of the 1918 War Department Quarters No. 1 (old Superintendents Residence).

Unsatisfactory field lessees are removed, resulting in the reduction of weed problems. Two new fields are added to the list of field leases.

Larkin Bell field is restored to 1862 conditions by removing woody plants.

Two temple Indian mounds are cleared of brush and trees.

Conservation programs are conducted on park monuments. Cemetery headstones are cleaned. Tennessee state prison inmates are involved in the work.

The LCS is updated through comprehensive survey.

Vandalism damages the inscribed vertical stone section of the Confederate Burial Trench Monument.

A communications shack is built to house radio repeaters.

1998 Cemetery walks are repaired.

A Spill Prevention and Facility Response Plan is prepared.

Legislation to establish a center for interpretation at Corinth is submitted by the Mississippi Congressional delegation.

Battery Robinett, a 20-acre Civil War site, in Corinth is donated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to the NPS. Corinth ranks as a priority 1 battlefield in the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's (CWSAC) *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields.* Harrell and Hawke continue to participate in the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission.

The Shiloh Indian Mounds NHL is dedicated on August 16.

An interpretive exhibit funded by the UDC is developed for the Siege of Corinth Museum.

A Riverbank Stabilization Plan that features various alternatives prepared by the U.S. Army COE is examined for impacts to natural and cultural resources.

A freshwater mussel inventory is prepared for Tennessee River.

Integrated pest management strategies applied to the control of exotic plant and animal pest species.

Archeological excavation conducted of a prehistoric Mississippian house site at the Shiloh Indian Mounds NHL.

Conservation of William T. Sherman Headquarters monument is conducted. The concrete base is removed and replaced with new material.

Conservation of national cemetery walkways includes repair of 6,000 square feet of brick walkway. Original pavers salvaged and cleaned, damaged walkway beds repaired. Old pavers reinstalled with new mortar. More areas need similar treatment.

The site of the old Superintendent's Residence is landscaped.

Five open historic wells are filled for public safety. They are located at the Old Superintendent's residence site, John Glover homestead, within the Roberson Tract, and on the historic Larkin Bell farm.

The Resource Management Plan is partially updated. Vital resource problems/concerns/needs are entered and edited in the new PMIS system.

Park GIS information compiled using GPS material.

Markers and monuments are cleaned and painted.

Vegetation is cleared at Cloud Field for parking.

Parking lot concepts are prepared for Brown's Landing Road.

1999 The Corinth Unit of Shiloh NMP is established by Congress.

The park prepares A "Peach Orchard Management Plan."

Environmental and Section 106 compliance forms are filed in anticipation of implementation of the Tennessee River Streambank Protection Project.

Archeological investigations conducted by SEAC include Battery Robinett, a field school at the ante-bellum Noah Cantrell house site and curtilage, the ongoing work at the Shiloh Indian Mounds, and the Confederate burial trenches. Some feature use of Ground Penetrating Radar.

Water quality research continues.

Integrated Pest Management used to control fire ants, cats, dogs, plant pests.

Eight lessees manage 20 historic fields totaling 265 acres.

Historic markers are cleaned and painted.

In support of historic firing demonstrations, the black powder storage bunker (magazine) is enclosed with a chain link fence.

Veteran Shiloh employee Lowell K. Higgins retired after a long career with the National Park Service.

2000

Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act of 2000 creates the Corinth Unit of Shiloh. The act authorizes a Special Resource Study to determine if other properties should be acquired.

Tennessee River streambank erosion stabilization project phase I initiated with a $3.2 million budget. The plan is to armor or harden the river bank and bluff up to the 500-year flood line for a distance of 1,200 feet, from Brown's Landing to a point south of the mouth of Dill Branch, which fronts the Indian Mounds NHL. Stone rip rap is used to form a bench on which to construct a gabion wall. Gabions begin to slip or settle and construction is halted.

Construction drawings for a new comfort station are prepared.

Several important archeological projects are completed. Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) conducts two investigations: metal detector survey of 10 pre-selected locations on the battlefield to collect baseline data regarding the context integrity of the 1862 battle and comparing woods to fields; remote sensing of the Battery Robinett unit in Corinth; Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey of the eroded fortification to locate subsurface evidence; and field testing using metal detection, shovel test, excavation units used to locate a historic cabin site east of the peach orchard.

Tennessee sculptor Russ Faxon restores missing bronze features on seven Iowa monuments.

The William Manse George Cabin undergoes structural stabilization and preservation maintenance.

Forty-seven iron troop position markers and all iron features of the cemetery are painted.

Twenty-five peach trees are planted in the Sarah Bell orchard.

Park water quality monitored by Memphis University.

An endangered bat survey is initiated.

Park staff support projects conducted by the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, including technical assistance and recommendations for site/resource preservation and public access for seven of fifteen properties in Alcorn County, and development of ABPP and Transportation Equity Act (TEA)-21 grant proposals.

Plans are prepared to reconstruct Brown's Landing Road, replace Dill Branch culvert with new bridge, reconstruct Pittsburg Landing Road, reconfigure the visitor center parking area, and rehabilitate Reconnoitering Road.

Paul Pardue prepares "In Search of the 1st Regiment of African Descent and the Contraband Camp of Corinth, Mississippi."

2001

Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center pre-construction work proceeds.

The Special Resource Study for Corinth is under development.

Plans to repair the park tour road are bid.

A Value Analysis for Interior and Exterior Exhibit Media at Corinth is conducted.

U.S. Army COE shoreline revetment work continues to settle. This problem is anticipated to have a serious impact on bridge design to replace Dill Branch Causeway. Archeological clearance and an EA is completed on the road and bridge construction.

Pickwick Electric Cooperative approaches the park about rehabilitation of the existing power line right-of-way across the park. The park negotiates relocating the existing lines on to the Tennessee Highway 22 right-of-way, and trenching and burial of the lines along the route from SR 142 northward to the park's north boundary.

General Management Analysis and Law Enforcement Needs Assessment are prepared.

Archeological mitigation at the Indian Mounds NHL continues.

Five acres of historic Larkin Bell field are cleared and restored.

Seventy-two peach trees are planted at the Bell orchard.

The tree that marked the mortal wounding site of Gen. Albert Sidney is removed.

Park interpreters and University of Mississippi students design and develop a web-based Shiloh Monument Location System.

The park works with local battlefield preservation and heritage tourism efforts that include Team Hardin County, Hardin County Tourism Commission, Corinth Area Tourism Promotion Council, and the Alliance of Corinth to promote and encourage Heritage Tourism, Davis Bridge Foundation, Friends of Parkers Crossroads, and Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission on counsel regarding preservation and interpretive planning efforts, as well as land acquisition.

Park participates in feasibility study mandated by Vicksburg Campaign Trail Battlefields Preservation Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-487) to examine and evaluate sites in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee for potential inclusion in Nation Park System, and determine mechanisms for site protection.

The park's Land Protection Plan is revised.

The Civil War Preservation Trust (CWPT) and Friends of Shiloh Battlefield Association support acquiring a 2-acre tract. These groups identify other willing sellers with land within the authorized boundary of the park.

2002

A Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) is prepared for construction and operation of Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center.

A Draft Special Resource Study/Boundary Adjustment is completed. The study indicates that seventeen local individual historic sites on fourteen tracts of land identified as meeting criteria for inclusion in the National Park System.

A concept design workshop is held for "Interpreting and Commemorating the Contraband Site" at Corinth.

The Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) awards $2.3 million contract for repairing the park tour road system. Work includes accessibility improvements to the entrance of the visitor center, realignment of the entrance road, improvements to the visitor center parking lot and sidewalks, replacement of 250 concrete pads along the Corinth Road, headwalls along Pittsburg Landing, cleaning of bricks in new section of walkways constructed at the front entrance of the cemetery, and landscaping of roads and grounds damaged by construction.

U.S. Army COE revetment work continues once settlement issues addressed.

Electrical line relocation and burial begins.

Greenways resource preservation projects funded from Federal Highway Administration TEA-21 funds.

The park enters into a cooperative agreement with the State of Tennessee for erection of a Tennessee State Monument adjacent to Sherman Road on the battlefield.

The park acquires 40 new ductile steel cannon carriages.

Archeological mitigation of Indian Mounds continues.

The vista at the Pittsburg Landing overlook is cleared.

The Sunken Road Trail is improved with new bridges.

Work begins on a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan with Harpers Ferry.

Revision of the Shiloh Land Protection Plan completed.

Comprehensive Interpretive Plan completed by Harpers Ferry.

2003

An EA and FONSI are prepared for the road improvement plans.

The Special Resource Study is published for the Corinth Unit.

Construction on Civil War Interpretive Center at Corinth initiated.

Indian Mound mitigation continues to yield important findings.

A Boundary Adjustment Study is finalized, with issues needing resolution identified.

With the CWPT, the park initiates a proactive land protection program. Six properties totaling 200 acres of core battlefield land are acquired. Additional negotiations target 1,000 more acres.

Phase 1 of the FHWA road improvement project is completed.

TEA-21 and other funds used on SEAC mitigation, riverbank stabilization, restoration and repair of trails, hazard tree and limb removal along tour road and trails, emplacement of new artillery carriages, planning of wayside exhibits, design of the 1-mile long Shiloh Indian Mounds NHL Interpretation Trail.

Working with the CWPT and other groups, the park continues to address land acquisition needs of parcels containing historic roadways and paths used by the contesting armies during the battle.

The historic cabin on the Sunken Road Trail is restored.

The underground electrical work is completed. Ninety-eight percent of lines are buried.

Iowa State Monument Preservation work is conducted by contractor.

The Confederate Monument undergoes conservation repair and cleaning.

Several other monuments receive maintenance work.

Additional preservation work is conducted at the William Manse George Cabin.

A bird inventory and herptofauna distribution study are conducted.

Wildland/Urban Interface fuels reduction program is completed.

A draft Fire Management Plan is completed.

2004

The Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center opens.

The Corinth Special Resource/Boundary Adjustment Study is sent to Congress. The preferred alternative suggests setting a boundary limit of 2,595.40 acquired acres, composed of 11 historic parcels to be directly managed by NPS, and an additional 2,439 acres associated with 7 parcels managed by partners.

The park provides technical assistance to the Friends of the Siege with design of 1-mile interpretive trail to provide access to the best preserved section of fortifications prepared by Confederate States forces in 1862 (Burns Tract).

The park also supports the work of the Iuka Battlefield Commission, Britton Lane Battlefield Association, and Friends of Parkers Crossroads. Park personnel serve as advisor to Tennessee Wars Commission, Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Mississippi Battlefield Commission, and Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation.

Drawings for a trail shelter are prepared for the Indian Mounds Trail.

Park personnel prepare Preservation Plan for the Wm. Manse George Cabin.

With the help of the CWT, 184.18 acres of land are acquired within the park's authorized boundary.

Park now totals 4,116 acres with the addition of the Gardner and Faulkner tracts

Funding used to replace computers and printers, repair and restore trails, rehabilitate concrete portions of the Gladden Mortuary monument and Stuart headquarters monument, build French drains for monuments, replace 12 or more than 40 missing cast iron War Department historic markers, and plan for preservation of historic William Manse George cabin. The park also uses funding to maintain the volunteers in parks program.

TEA-21 funds are used to acquire new acreage, complete the Indian Mound mitigation project, study and cataloguing new artifacts from the project, design and install the Indian Mound trail and an associated parking area and shelter. Harpers Ferry designs new wayside exhibit panels to support the trail.

The park completes development and administrative program requirements for Facility Management Software System (FMSS), Project Management Information System (PMIS), and Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA).

More than 700 historic markers are sandblasted, primed, and painted.

Phase I of replacement of missing markers begins.

Historic roads and trails are surveyed to note deficiencies for maintenance.

A new flagpole is erected to fly the Prisoner of War (POW)/Missing in Action (MIA) flag.

The park permits observance of Tennessee Confederate Memorial Day as special event, which is tied to ground breaking ceremony for a new Tennessee State Monument.

Computerization continues to support park operations including establishment of Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates for each monument and marker on the field, photography of tablets, map system for markers and monument, cemetery database, improvement and expansion of park website, and placement of bulletins on web site. Most previous work was made obsolete by agency adoption of Content Management System "Commonspot" system. All electronic material will need to be transferred to the new system.

The park reorganizes its library and establishes and organizes a Corinth library.

The William Manse George Cabin undergoes phase 1 preservation maintenance.

More than 1,500 marble headstones in the cemetery are pressure washed.

The cemetery wall is deteriorating and becoming critical in some places.

Administrative History research conducted.

Additional trees are planted in three peach tree orchards Gabion wire enclosures are placed around the trees to protect them against deer browse.

A mammal study is planned.

An Ozone Exposure Monitoring Test is conducted.

2005 No action taken by Congress on the Corinth Unit boundary adjustment.

Owners of 1,000 acres of land on Shiloh Hill consider sale to CWPT.

Corinth Interpretive Center construction is completed.

Signage to direct visitors to Corinth are designed.

Entry of data into PMIS, FMSS, and GPRA occupy park personnel.

Several monuments undergo conservation treatment.

Larkin Bell field is restored.

Cultural Landscape Preservation continues with stump removal from a 6-acre section of newly-cleared Larkin Bell field, and clearing of a 3-acre woodland south and adjacent to the Corinth Interpretive Center.

	Cemetery wall continues to deteriorate.
	The bird and herptofaunal inventories are completed.
	The mammal study begins.
	An aquatic insect study begins.
	Hurricane Katrina caused minimal damage to Shiloh.
	The park helped design five interpretative waysides for a trail on the Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth property at Alcorn.
2006	Congress again does not consider the Corinth Special Resource Study.
	CWPT continues to help acquire land, including 17 acres in Alcorn County. The Hidalgo property is identified as a possible addition to the park.
	An appropriation received for SBCC to fund design and installation of commemorative and interpretive features at Corinth Contraband Camp.
	Facility asset work continues, including reporting in FMSS, PMIS, and GPRA.
	Several monuments are conserved.
	A feral dog problem is addressed.
	Mammal and aquatic insect studies continue.
2007	The park anticipates that Congress will act on Corinth Boundary Adjustment. The unit is anticipated to increase from 17.33 to 950-plus acres.
	Land acquisition continues with CWPT assistance.
	The film for the Corinth Interpretive Center is contracted.
	The park receives one-time funding to replace cannon carriages and restore markers.
	Hazard trees and invasive plants removed.
	The historic orchards are maintained, but have been adversely affected by drought.
	Seven, 100 year-old cast iron carriages are replaced and 22 missing markers are restored.
	The park prepares its Centennial Strategy statement in conformance with Shiloh Centennial Strategy on behalf of the agency-wide Centennial Initiative (1916-2016). The strategy indicates that the primary goals for meeting park mission is implementation of the Shiloh Land Protection Plan (acquiring key parcels within the 1894 authorized boundary) and achieving a natural topographic border along the edges of historic Shiloh Hill. Also included are landscape restoration plans, invasive plant control, restoration of damaged or missing monuments and markers, replacing artillery carriages, rehabilitating historic roads critical for public access. Use of appropriate current technologies to enhance interpretation is also indicated as a goal (along with replacement of the 50-year-old orientation film), rehabilitate wayside exhibits, install new exhibits at the Indian Mounds. Complete development of Corinth Unit. Remain a leader in planning and observing the sesquicentennial of the Civil War. Continue to promote partnerships.
	Final drawings prepared for road construction projects at Brown's Landing/Dill Branch Road and the Indian Mounds Trail parking area.
2008	After 17 years of closure due to severe streambank erosion along the river, historic Brown's Landing Road (Riverside Drive) is reopened to vehicular traffic, and provides visitor access to the Shiloh Indian Mound NHL, Dill Branch ravine, and Tennessee River. New parking facilities are located at the access point for the new Shiloh Indian Mounds Interpretive Trail and along Dill Branch.

Congress approves park boundary adjustment to add sites in Alcorn County, Mississippi. A friends group secures ownership of 800 acres of NHL properties and related lands as per the recommended alternative in the study. Park management works on fee simple transfer of the FSBC lands.

Bald eagles take up residence on the Shiloh battlefield.

The Civil War Contraband Camp Memorial Park continues to evolve.

Accessibility to the visitor center is improved.

Replacement fruit trees are planted in the two historic orchards.

Metal painted, carriages contracted, missing markers contracted.

The SERO office prepares a Determination of Eligibility (DOE) for the park's administration-museum building, four employee residences, and concession and post office building (built during New Deal era between 1933 and 1941). SERO indicates that they are eligible for listing on the NR.

2009

Rehabilitation and construction of Sherman and Cavalry roads and public access to Pittsburg Landing continues.

The auto tour loop at the Tent Hospital site is redesigned.

A bridge crossing of Tilghman Branch is constructed.

Congress approved boundary – land acquisition continues.

Bald eagles again nest in the park.

CWPT acquires the Eledge tract (2.2 acres), Owl Creek tract (169). The Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation offers to donate 4.7 acres of land to the NPS along the west side of the Hatchie River bridge site on the Davis Bridge battlefield. The Department of the Interior accepts. CWPT land will encompass 80 percent of this battlefield. Additional preserved lands are managed by the State of Tennessee, which operates a nearby state park facility at Big Hill Pond.

Funds are used for volunteer program, cannon carriages, equipment, and rehabilitation of the visitor center museum.

The Corinth Contraband Camp is dedicated.

Replacement fruit trees planted.

Cannon carriages continue to be replaced.

Iron features and commemorative markers are painted.

A Long-Range Interpretive Plan for the park is completed by Harper's Ferry.

2010

Sherman and Cavalry Road improvements are completed, while public access to Pittsburg Landing is rehabilitated. The Savannah to Hamburg Road is repaved.

Since Congress approved adjustment to Corinth Unit boundary in 2008, the park has worked to finalize fee simple transfer of the land. The transfer is complicated due to the Mississippi Conservation easements that were placed on the parcels. It is possible that the land will have to be returned to the state so that the legislature can eliminate the easement through passage of a bill.

The park's resident pair of bald eagles continues to nest in the park.

Sesquicentennial planning is becoming more a more prevalent part of park administration in anticipation of the battle anniversaries. Partners begin planning events at the park and elsewhere in the region. Superintendent Harrell serves on several planning committees. With Park Historian Stacy Allen, Harrell attends meeting at regional, national, state, and local levels to aid agency strategic planning, programs and events.

	CWT acquires several parcels: Rafael Eledge tract, Jamie Fullwood tract, John Hidalgo tract, Joe Green tract. CWT is in the process of negotiating acquisition of 250-400 acres of the Fallen Timbers Battlefield site, location of the final combat action during Battle of Shiloh. CWT also targets an additional 318 acres in Alcorn County, Mississippi for expansion of the Corinth Unit. Congress expands the authorized area for the unit by another 500 acres.
	Riverfront development is increasing and of concern to the park.
	Forty new trees are planted on the two battlefields.
	Fifty-four historic markers are painted, bronze monuments are cleaned, three new replacement markers are installed, three cannon carriages are repainted, and a section of the national cemetery wall is repointed., signage for 20 new tour stops along Shiloh Battlefield tour route are installed.
2011	Much time spent on the new park orientation film, *Shiloh – Fiery Trail.*
	Shiloh National Military Park sponsors Civil War Educator Workshop.
2012	Shiloh National Military Park celebrates the Sesquicentennial of the battle.
	The park embarks on a three year planning and design process to develop new battlefield waysides with the assistance of contractors.
	On April 9, 2012, Superintendent Woody Harrell retires after twenty-two years at Shiloh.
	Stacy Allen serves as Acting Superintendent of the park from April 10, 2012 to June 2, 2012, until John Bundy tenure as Superintendent began on June 3.
2013	The park continues to work within the Methodist Church to improve interpretation of the Shiloh Church Site.
2014	The park hosts a Corinth Contraband Camp Symposium commemorating operation of the contraband camp.
	The park organizes ranger-led tours of the contraband camp site.
	Plans for the installation of the Mississippi State Monument at Shiloh continues.
	John Bundy completes his term as superintendent on August 21, 2014.
	Tyrone Brandyburg serves as acting superintendent from September 8, 2014, until November 30, 2014.
	Lisa Garrett serves as superintendent from December 1, 2014 until February 7, 2015.
2015	The park installes the thirty-two new waysides.
	On October 11, the State of Mississippi Monument is dedicated at Shiloh National Military Park.
	Dale Wilkerson assumes the role of park Superintendent on February 8, 2015.
2016	A series of events is held throughout the year to commemorate the National Park Service Centennial, including a large living history event in April, a concert series in the spring and summer, and a luminary event and fall festival at Corinth.

Appendix B

Shiloh National Military Park
List of Superintendents

War Department Park Commissioners and Superintendents

Name	*Title*	*Period of Service*
Colonel Cornelius Cadle	Commission Chairman	1895–1910
General Don Carlos Buell	Commissioner	1895–1898
Colonel Robert F. Looney	Commissioner	1895–1899
Colonel Josiah Patterson	Commissioner	1899–1904
Major James H. Ashcraft	Commissioner	1899–1920
General Basil W. Duke	Commissioner	1904–1916
Major David W. Reed	Commission Chairman	1910–1916
DeLong Rice	Superintendent*	1914–1929
Robert A. Livingston	Superintendent	1929–1933

National Park Service Superintendents

Name	*Title*	*Period of Service*
Robert A. Livingston	Superintendent	August 10, 1933, to May 14, 1936
Charles S. Dunn	Acting Superintendent	April 11, 1936, to May 14, 1936
Charles S. Dunn	Superintendent	May 15, 1936, to December 31, 1937
William W. Luckett	Acting Superintendent	January 1, 1938, to March 15, 1940
Blair A. Ross	Superintendent	March 15, 1940, to May 12, 1945
James W. Holland	Superintendent	June 4, 1945, to August 14, 1951
Ira B. Lykes	Superintendent	August 15, 1951, to April 14, 1956
James W. Holland	Acting Superintendent	April 15, 1956, to July 9, 1956

Floyd B. Taylor	Superintendent	July 10, 1956, to April 11, 1959
Bernard T. Campbell	Superintendent	April 12, 1959, to November 30, 1963
Ivan J. Ellsworth	Superintendent	December 1, 1963, to June 3-67
Herbert Olsen	Superintendent	June 18, 1967, to January 10, 1970
Alvoid L. Rector	Superintendent	January 25, 1970, to March 27, 1976
Zeb V. McKinney	Superintendent	March 28, 1976, to June 1, 1990
George A. Reaves	Acting Superintendent	June 2, 1990, to August 25, 1990
Haywood S. "Woody" Harrell	Superintendent	August 26, 1990, to April 9, 2012
Stacy D. Allen	Acting Superintendent	April 10, 2012 to June 2, 2012
John Bundy	Superintendent	June 3, 2012, to August 21, 2014
Tyrone Brandyburg	Acting Superintendent	September 8, 2014, to November 30, 2014
Lisa Garrett	Acting Superintendent	December 1, 2014, to February 7, 2015
Dale Wilkerson	Superintendent	February 8, 2015, to present

* From March 16, 1920 to July 1, 1921, DeLong Rice held the title of "Director" of the area. Prior to March 16, 1920, and from July 1, 1921 to March 1, 1922, his full title was Secretary and Superintendent—the former position referring to his first appointment on the Shiloh Commission.

Appendix C

Shiloh National Military Park
Copies of Federal Legislation
(Establishing Act, Boundary Change and Map)

Public Law No. 9, 28 Stat. 597, December 27, 1894

AN ACT TO establish a national military park at the battlefield of Shiloh.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order that the armies of the southwest which served in the civil war, like their comrades of the eastern armies at Gettysburg and those of the central west at Chickamauga, may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought, the battlefield of Shiloh, in the State of Tennessee, is hereby declared to be a national military park, whenever title to the same shall have been acquired by the United States and the usual jurisdiction over the lands and roads of the same shall have been granted to the United States by the State of Tennessee; that is to say, the area inclosed by the following lines, or so much thereof as the commissioners of the park may deem necessary, to wit: Beginning at low-water mark on the north bank of Snake Creek where it empties into the Tennessee River; thence westwardly in a straight line to the point where the river road to Crumps Landing, Tennessee, crosses Snake Creek; thence along the channel of Snake Creek to Owl Creek; thence along the channel of Owl Creek to the crossing of the road to Purdy, Tennessee; thence southwardly in a straight line to the intersection of an east and west line drawn from the point where the road to Hamburg, Tennessee, crosses Lick Creek, near the mouth of the latter; thence eastward along the said east and west line to the point where the Hamburg Road crosses Lick Creek; thence along the channel of Lick Creek to the Tennessee River; thence along low-water mark of the Tennessee River to the point of beginning, containing three thousand acres, more or less, and the area thus inclosed shall be known as the Shiloh National Military Park: Provided, That the boundaries of the land authorized to be acquired may be changed by the said commissioners.

SEC. 2. That the establishment of the Shiloh National Military Park shall be carried forward under the control and direction of the Secretary of War, who, upon the passage of this Act, shall proceed to acquire title to the same either under the Act approved August first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, entitled "An Act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings, and for other purposes," or under the Act approved February twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, entitled "An Act to establish and protect national cemeteries," as he may select, and as title is procured to any portion of the lands and roads within the legal boundaries of the park he may proceed with the establishment of the park upon such portions as may thus be acquired.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to enter into agreements whereby he may lease, upon such terms as he may prescribe, with such present owners or tenants of the lands as may desire to remain upon it, to occupy and cultivate their present buildings and roads and the present outlines of field and forest, and that they only will cut trees or underbrush under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, and that they will assist in caring for and protecting all tablets, monuments, or such other artificial works as may from time to time be erected by proper authority.

SEC. 4. That the affairs of the Shiloh National Military Park shall, subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War, be in charge of three commissioners, to be appointed by the Secretary of War, each of whom shall have served at the time of the battle in one of the armies engaged therein, one of whom shall have served in the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by General U. S. Grant, who shall be chairman of the commission; one in the Army of the Ohio, commanded by General D. C. Buell; and one in the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by General A. S. Johnston. The said commissioners shall have an office in the War Department building, and while on actual duty shall be paid such compensation out of the appropriations provided by this Act as the Secretary of War shall deem reasonable and just; and for the purpose of assisting them in their duties and in ascertaining the lines of battle of all troops engaged and the history of their movements in the battle, the Secretary of War shall have authority to employ, at such compensation as he may deem reasonable, to be paid out of the appropriations made by this Act, some person recognized as well informed concerning the history of the several armies engaged at Shiloh, and who shall also act as secretary of the commission.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of the commission named in the preceding section, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to open or repair such roads as may be necessary to the purposes of the park, and to ascertain and mark with historical tablets or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, all lines of battle of the troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh and other historical points of interest pertaining to the battle within the park or its vicinity, and the said commission in establishing this military park shall also have authority, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to employ such labor and services and to obtain such supplies and material as may be necessary to the establishment of the said park under such regulations as he may consider best for the interest of the Government, and the Secretary of War shall make and enforce all needed regulations for the care of the park.

SEC. 6. That it shall be lawful for any State that had troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh to enter upon the lands of the Shiloh National Military Park for the purpose of ascertaining and marking the lines of battle of its troops engaged therein: Provided, That before any such lines are permanently designated the position of the lines and the proposed methods of marking them by monuments, tablets, or otherwise shall be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War, and all such lines, designs and inscriptions for the same shall first receive the written approval of the Secretary, which approval shall be based upon formal written reports, which must be made to him in each case by the commissioners of the park: Provided, That no discrimination shall be made against any State as to the manner of designating lines, but any grant made to any State by the Secretary of War may be used by any other State.

SEC. 7. That if any person shall, except by permission of the Secretary of War, destroy, mutilate, deface, injure, or remove any monument, column, statues, memorial structures, or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the grounds of the park by lawful authority, or shall destroy or remove any fence, railing, inclosure, or other work for the protection or ornament of said park, or any portion thereof, or shall destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush, or shrubbery that may be growing upon said park, or shall cut down or fell or remove any timber, battle relic, tree or trees growing or being upon said park, or hunt within the limits of the park, or shall remove or destroy any breastworks, earthworks, walls or other defenses or shelter on any part thereof constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles on the lands or approaches to the park, any person so offending and found guilty thereof, before any justice of the peace of the county in which the offense may be committed or any court of competent jurisdiction shall for each and every such offense forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offense, of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars, one-half for the use of the park and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered before such justice in like manner as debts of like nature are now by law recoverable in the several counties where the offense may be committed.

SEC. 8. That to enable the Secretary of War to begin to carry out the purpose of this Act, including the condemnation or purchase of the necessary land, marking the boundaries of the park, opening or repairing necessary roads, restoring the field to its condition at the time of the battle, maps and surveys, and the pay and expenses of the commissioners and their assistant, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, or such portion thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and disbursements under this Act shall require the approval of the Secretary of War, and he shall make annual report of the same to Congress.

Approved, December 27, 1894.

Public Law 104–333, November 12, 1996

Note: only the text relating to Shiloh National Military Park has been included.

An Act to provide for the administration of certain Presidio properties at minimal cost to the Federal taxpayer, and for other purposes.

SEC. 602. CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI, BATTLEFIELD ACT.

(a) PURPOSE.—The purpose of this section is to provide for a center for the interpretation of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and other Civil War actions in the Region and to enhance public understanding of the significance of the Corinth Campaign in the Civil War relative to the Western theater of operations, in cooperation with State or local governmental entities and private organizations and individuals.

(b) ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY AT CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI.—The Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this title as the "Secretary") shall acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, such land and interests in land in the vicinity of the Corinth Battlefield, in the State of Mississippi, as the Secretary determines to be necessary for the construction of an interpretive center to commemorate and interpret the 1862 Civil War Siege and Battle of Corinth.

(c) PUBLICLY OWNED LAND.—Land and interests in land owned by the State of Mississippi or a political subdivision of the State of Mississippi may be acquired only by donation.

(d) INTERPRETIVE CENTER AND MARKING.—

(1) INTERPRETIVE CENTER.—The Secretary shall construct, operate, and maintain on the property acquired under subsection (b) a center for the interpretation of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and associated historical events for the benefit of the public.

(2) MARKING.—The Secretary may mark sites associated with the Siege and Battle of Corinth National Historic Landmark, as designated on May 6, 1991, if the sites are determined by the Secretary to be protected by State or local governmental agencies.

(3) ADMINISTRATION.—The land and interests in land acquired, and the facilities constructed and maintained pursuant to this section, shall be administered by the Secretary as a part of Shiloh National Military Park, subject to the appropriate laws (including regulations) applicable to the Park, the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), and the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings,

objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes", approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated $6,000,000 for development to carry out this section.

Public Law 106–271, September 22, 2000

CORINTH BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION ACT OF 2000

An Act to establish the Corinth Unit of Shiloh National Military Park, in the vicinity of the city of Corinth, Mississippi, and in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE. This Act may be cited as the "Corinth Battlefield Preservation Act of 2000".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) in 1996, Congress authorized the establishment and construction of a center—

(A) to facilitate the interpretation of the Siege and Battle of Corinth and other Civil War actions in the area in and around the city of Corinth, Mississippi; and

(B) to enhance public understanding of the significance of the Corinth campaign and the Civil War relative to the western theater of operations, in cooperation with—

(i) State or local governmental entities;

(ii) private organizations; and

(iii) individuals;

(2) the Corinth Battlefield was ranked as a priority 1 battlefield having critical need for coordinated nationwide action by the year 2000 by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission in its report on Civil War Battlefields of the United States;

(3) there is a national interest in protecting and preserving sites of historic significance associated with the Civil War; and

(4) the States of Mississippi and Tennessee and their respective local units of government—

(A) have the authority to prevent or minimize adverse uses of these historic resources; and

(B) can play a significant role in the protection of the historic resources related to the Civil War battles fought in the area in and around the city of Corinth.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to establish the Corinth Unit of the Shiloh National Military Park—

(A) in the city of Corinth, Mississippi; and

(B) in the State of Tennessee;

(2) to direct the Secretary of the Interior to manage, protect, and interpret the resources associated with the Civil War Siege and the Battle of Corinth that occurred in and around the city of Corinth, in cooperation with—

(A) the State of Mississippi;

(B) the State of Tennessee;

(C) the city of Corinth, Mississippi;

(D) other public entities; and

(E) the private sector; and

(3) to authorize a special resource study to identify other Civil War sites in and around the city of Corinth that—

(A) are consistent with the themes of the Siege and Battle of Corinth;

(B) meet the criteria for designation as a unit of the National Park System; and

(C) are considered appropriate for inclusion in the Unit.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS. In this Act:

(1) MAP.—The term "Map" means the map entitled "Park Boundary-Corinth Unit", numbered 304/80,007, and dated October 1998.

(2) PARK.—The term "Park" means the Shiloh National Military Park.

(3) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

(4) UNIT.—The term "Unit" means the Corinth Unit of Shiloh National Military Park established under section 4.

SEC. 4. ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—There is established in the States of Mississippi and Tennessee the Corinth Unit of the Shiloh National Military Park.

(b) COMPOSITION OF UNIT.—The Unit shall be comprised of—

(1) the tract consisting of approximately 20 acres generally depicted as "Battery Robinett Boundary" on the Map; and

(2) any additional land that the Secretary determines to be suitable for inclusion in the Unit that—

(A) is under the ownership of a public entity or nonprofit organization; and

(B) has been identified by the Siege and Battle of Corinth National Historic Landmark Study, dated January 8, 1991.

(c) AVAILABILITY OF MAP.—The Map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service.

SEC. 5. LAND ACQUISITION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may acquire land and interests in land within the boundary of the Park as depicted on the Map, by—

(1) donation;

(2) purchase with donated or appropriated funds; or

(3) exchange.

(b) EXCEPTION.—Land may be acquired only by donation from—

(1) the State of Mississippi (including a political subdivision of the State);

(2) the State of Tennessee (including a political subdivision of the State); or

(3) the organization known as "Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth".

SEC. 6. PARK MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall administer the Unit in accordance with this Act and the laws generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including—

(1) the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.); and

(2) the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes", approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

(b) DUTIES.—In accordance with section 602 of the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996 (16 U.S.C. 430f–5), the Secretary shall—

(1) commemorate and interpret, for the benefit of visitors and the general public, the Siege and Battle of Corinth and other Civil War actions in the area in and around the city of Corinth within the larger context of the Civil War and American history, including the significance of the Civil War Siege and Battle of Corinth in 1862 in relation to other operations in the western theater of the Civil War; and

(2) identify and preserve surviving features from the Civil War era in the area in and around the city of Corinth, including both military and civilian themes that include—

(A) the role of railroads in the Civil War;

(B) the story of the Corinth contraband camp; and

(C) the development of field fortifications as a tactic of war.

(c) COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—To carry out this Act, the Secretary may enter into cooperative agreements with entities in the public and private sectors, including—

(A) colleges and universities;

(B) historical societies;

(C) State and local agencies; and

(D) nonprofit organizations.

(2) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.—To develop cooperative land use strategies and conduct activities that facilitate the conservation of the historic, cultural, natural, and scenic resources of the Unit, the Secretary may provide technical assistance, to the extent that a recipient of technical assistance is engaged in the protection, interpretation, or commemoration of historically significant Civil War resources in the area in and around the city of Corinth, to—

(A) the State of Mississippi (including a political subdivision of the State);

(B) the State of Tennessee (including a political subdivision of the State);

(C) a governmental entity;

(D) a nonprofit organization; and

(E) a private property owner.

(d) RESOURCES OUTSIDE THE UNIT.—Nothing in subsection (c)(2) authorizes the Secretary to own or manage any resource outside the Unit.

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—To determine whether certain additional properties are appropriate for inclusion in the Unit, the Secretary shall conduct a special resource study of land in and around the city of Corinth, Mississippi, and nearby areas in the State of Tennessee that—

(1) have a relationship to the Civil War Siege and Battle of Corinth in 1862; and

(2) are under the ownership of—

(A) the State of Mississippi (including a political subdivision of the State);

(B) the State of Tennessee (including a political subdivision of the State);

(C) a nonprofit organization; or

(D) a private person.

(b) CONTENTS OF STUDY.—The study shall—

(1) identify the full range of resources and historic themes associated with the Civil War Siege and Battle of Corinth in 1862, including the relationship of the campaign to other operations in the western theater of the Civil War that occurred in—

(A) the area in and around the city of Corinth; and

(B) the State of Tennessee;

(2) identify alternatives for preserving features from the Civil War era in the area in and around the city of Corinth, including both military and civilian themes involving—

(A) the role of the railroad in the Civil War;

(B) the story of the Corinth contraband camp; and

(C) the development of field fortifications as a tactic of war;

(3) identify potential partners that might support efforts by the Secretary to carry out this Act, including—

(A) State entities and their political subdivisions;

(B) historical societies and commissions;

(C) civic groups; and

(D) nonprofit organizations;

(4) identify alternatives to avoid land use conflicts; and

(5) include cost estimates for any necessary activity associated with the alternatives identified under this subsection, including—

(A) acquisition;

(B) development;

(C) interpretation;

(D) operation; and

(E) maintenance.

(c) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year and 180 days after the date on which funds are made available to carry out this section, the Secretary shall submit a report describing the findings of the study under subsection (a) to—

(1) the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate; and

(2) the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 8. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out this Act, including $3,000,000 for the construction of an interpretive center under section 602(d) of title VI of the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996 (16 U.S.C. 430f–5(d)).

Approved Septeber 22, 2000.

Appendix D

Shiloh National Military Park
Historic Park Visitation Statistics

Data provided by park based on NPS IRMA database system, agency visitor use data for Shiloh National Military Park, except as otherwise noted.

1934: 50,000 recreation visitors

1935: 18,424 recreation visitors

1936: 14,618 recreation visitors

1937: 320,240 recreation visitors

1938: 346,069 recreation visitors

1939: 327,504 recreation visitors

1940: 203,987 recreation visitors

1941: 232,681 recreation visitors

1942: 93,526 recreation visitors

1943: 55,689 recreation visitors

1944: 55,735 recreation visitors

1945: 98,225 recreation visitors

1946: 255,340 recreation visitors

1947: 265,184 recreation visitors

1948: 293,540 recreation visitors

1949: 328,946 recreation visitors

1950: 350,410 recreation visitors

1951: 342,352 recreation visitors

1952: 342,479 recreation visitors

1953: 443,535 recreation visitors

1954: 481,000 recreation visitors

1955: 505,900 recreation visitors

1956: 644,300 recreation visitors

1957: 634,000 recreation visitors

1958: 211,600 recreation visitors

1959: 225,400 recreation visitors

1960: 803,800 recreation visitors

1961: 927,400 recreation visitors

1962: 803,200 recreation visitors

1963: 745,700 recreation visitors

1964: 471,000 recreation visitors

1965: 382,700 recreation visitors

1966: 443,200 recreation visitors

1967: 501,300 recreation visitors

1968: 536,700 recreation visitors

1969: 587,600 recreation visitors

1970: 616,400 recreation visitors

1971: 608,900 recreation visitors

1972: 549,988 recreation visitors

1973: 552,300 recreation visitors

1974: 554,800 recreation visitors

1975: 345,500 recreation visitors

1976: 373,300 recreation visitors

1977: 230,600 recreation visitors

1978: 332,088 recreation visitors

1979: 318,934 recreation visitors

1980: 299,615 recreation visitors

1981: 529,257 overall visitors

1982: 449,010 overall visitors

1983: 478,696 overall visitors

1984: 275,345 recreation visitors

1985: 264,428 recreation visitors

1986: 325,958 recreation visitors

1987: 336,129 recreation visitors

1988: 690, 468 overall visitors

1989: 319,000 recreation visitors (Superintendent's Annual Report, 1989)

1990: 325,692 recreation visitors (Superintendent's Annual Report, 1990)

1991: 400,893 recreation visitors (Superintendent's Annual Report, 1991)

1992: 407,986 recreation visitors

1993: 341, 220 recreation visitors

1994: 363, 441 recreation visitors

1995: 330,432 recreation visitors

1996: 318,936 recreation visitors

1997: 345,310 recreation visitors

1998: 329,067 recreation visitors

1999: 357,532 recreation visitors

2000: 261,472 recreation visitors

2001: 356, 787 recreation visitors

2002: 371, 118 recreation visitors

2003: 391,346 recreation visitors

2004: 311, 149 recreation visitors

2005: 315,296 recreation visitors

2006: 335,657 recreation visitors

2007: 368,742 recreation visitors

2008: 357, 340 recreation visitors

2009: 404,134 recreation visitors

2010: 317,046 recreation visitors

2011: 387,816 recreation visitors

2012: 587,620 recreation visitors

2013: 536,206 recreation visitors

2014: 409,086 recreation visitors

2015: 356,535 recreation visitors

2016: 400,000+ recreation visitors