Stones River National Battlefield

Historic Resource Study

February 2004

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The historic resource study presented here exists in two formats. A printed version is available for study at the park, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and at a variety of other repositories. For more widespread access, this historic resource study also exists in a web-based format through ParkNet, the website of the National Park Service. Please visit www.nps.gov for more information.

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About the cover: Silhouetted by sunset, the 1906 Artillery Monument is a 34-foot concrete obelisk built in the shops of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. Designed by Hunter McDonald, the Artillery Monument was the last monument placed on the Stones River battlefield before federal acquisition. Photo by Gib Backlund for NPS.

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic resource study for Stones River National Battlefield. This study is part of our ongoing effort to provide required historical studies for each National Park Service unit in the Southeast Region. We wish to extend our thanks to Stones River National Battlefield Superintendent Stuart Johnson and his staff for their assistance in preparing this study. Copy editors for this study were Mary Ratcliffe and Robert W. Blythe. The production editor was James Womack III, who also drew the maps. A portion of the research on this study was accomplished under a cooperative agreement with the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. We hope that this historic resource study will prove valuable to park managers and others in understanding the historic contexts and cultural resources of Stones River National Battlefield.

Dan Scheidt
Chief, Cultural Resources Division
Southeast Regional Office
February 2004

Chapter One: Introduction

Description of Stones River National Battlefield

Stones River National Battlefield (STRI) contains a portion of the site of the Battle of Stones River, the key Civil War battle in the struggle for middle Tennessee. The battle took place over two days, December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863, and resulted in a Union victory. The park was established through the efforts of private individuals, the Stones River Battlefield and Park Association, and the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway (after many mergers, now part of CSX Transportation), and, finally, by an act of Congress. In 1927, federal legislation authorized a national military park at Stones River under the jurisdiction of the War Department.

Land acquisition began in 1928 and was finished in 1934. In 1992, the park accepted the City of Murfreesboro's donation of an intact segment of Fortress Rosecrans within Old Fort Park. Stones River National Battlefield consists of several discontiguous parcels of land. The park's core area is a parcel south of the Stones River National Cemetery, encompassing the area where Confederate forces on December 31, 1862, turned the Union flank and were in turn checked by massed Federal artillery. STRI preserves only a small portion of the more than 3,000 acres over which the battle raged. The park also contains fragments of Fortress Rosecrans, the largest enclosed earthwork built during the Civil War.

The 570-acre park interprets the Battle of Stones River and the subsequent Union occupation of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, through museum exhibits, a videotape presentation, publications, wayside exhibits, ranger programs, and a self-guided tour of the park. The park is located in Rutherford County, Tennessee, three miles northwest of Murfreesboro and twenty-eight miles southeast of Nashville (see Figure 1). The largest portion of the national battlefield is an irregular parcel of 340 acres, which is a mile and one-quarter north to

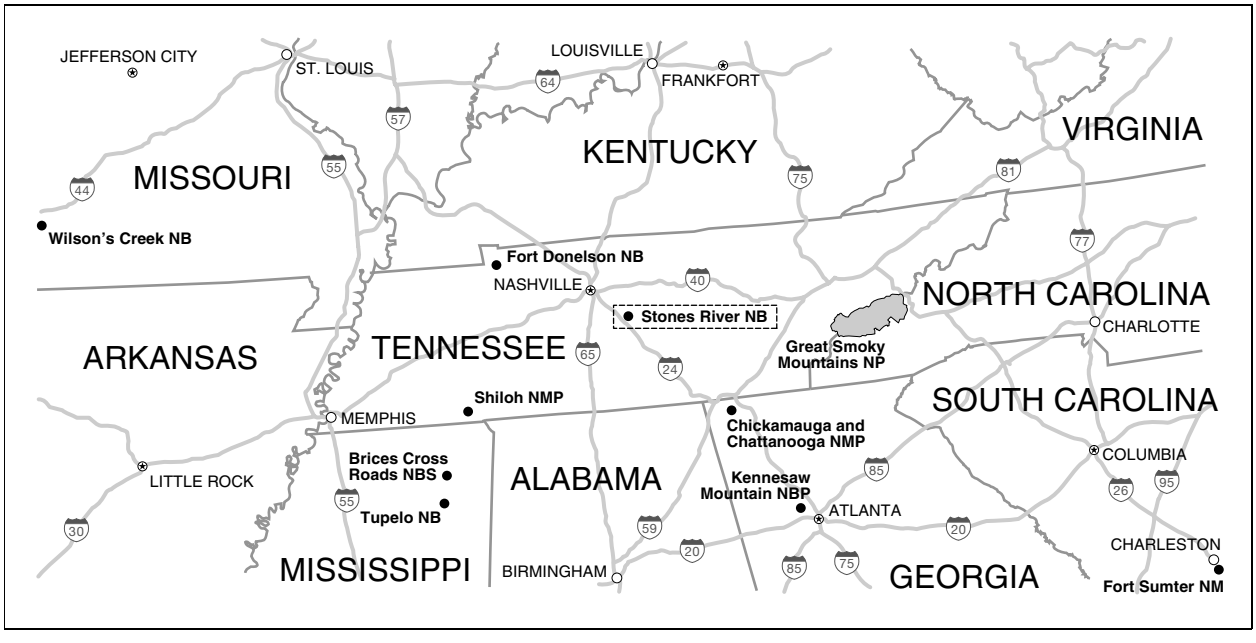


FIGURE 1. Location of Stones River National Battlefield.

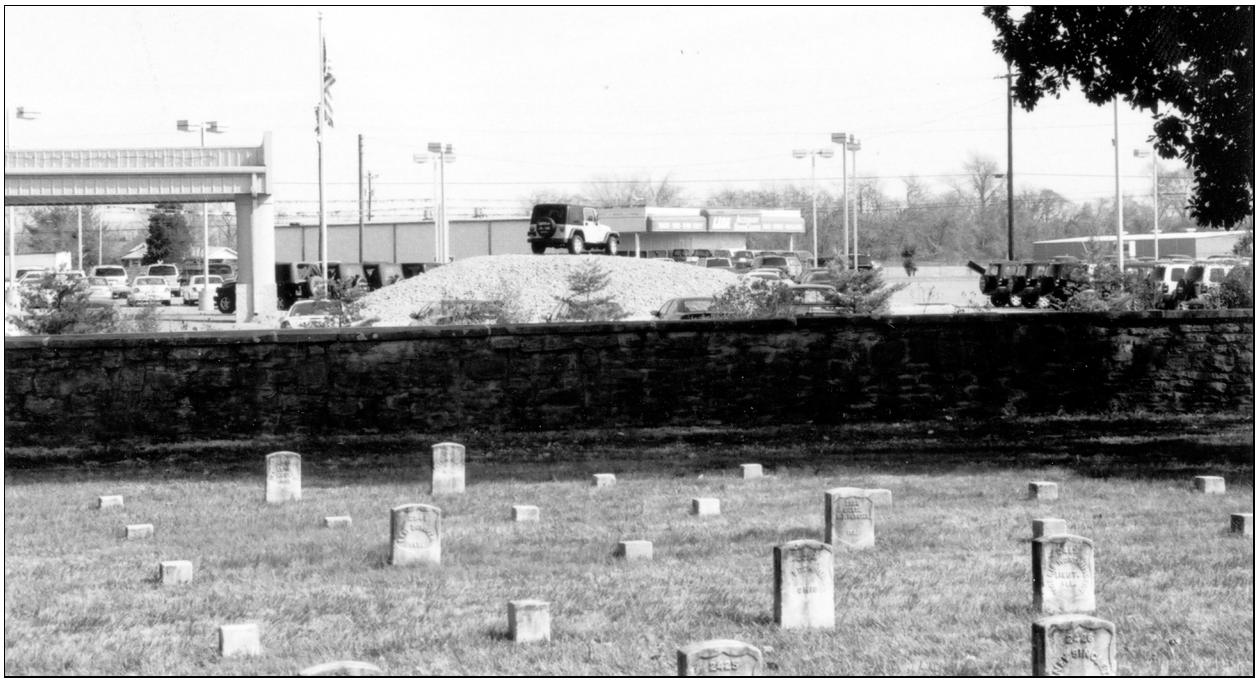


FIGURE 2. Development near Stones River National Cemetery.

south, and at its widest point, three-quarters of a mile east to west. Other discontiguous components of the park include the high ground near McFadden's Ford where Union artillery was massed; two remnants of Fortress Rosecrans, and two headquarters sites. All park units are in a corridor that parallels the Old Nashville Highway and the CSX Railroad tracks.

The patchwork of open fields and wooded areas that characterized this agricultural area in 1863 remains clearly readable, with brakes of cedar between cultivated fields. The open fields maintained by the National Park Service (NPS) approximate the position of fields in existence at the time of the battle. Likewise, the cedar brakes maintained by NPS exist in their approximate historic locations, although the existing plant materials are not historic. The park's largest individual parcel, the core battle area, is maintained to simulate the historic appearance of the landscape. Other fields that are proposed for acquisition but not currently owned or maintained by NPS may retain some of their historic vegetation patterns.

During the last thirty years, residential and commercial development has occurred on the battlefield as Murfreesboro has expanded (see Figure 2). Most of this development is along U.S. Highway 41, across the CSX Railroad tracks from Stones River National Cemetery. The accompanying traffic increase on the boundary of the park prompted the construction of the intrusive Thompson Lane Connector by the Tennessee Department of Transportation (DOT) across a section of the battlefield adjacent to the park. Development also has introduced light pollution to the park, particularly from the floodlights of nearby automobile dealerships. Other more serious threats include transportation and infrastructure projects and associated development. Traffic noise from as far away as Interstate 24 to the southwest is audible within the park

Scope and Purpose of Historic Resource Study

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) uses National Register criteria to identify and evaluate the park's historic resources. Section 110 (a)(2) of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, requires federal agencies to:

> (i) Establish historic contexts by which to identify and evaluate historic properties;
>
> (ii) Use historic contexts to organize data and to develop goals, objectives, and priorities for the identification, evaluation, registration, and treatment of historic properties; and,

(iii) Make the results of preservation planning available for integration into broader planning processes.[1]

This study fulfills this mandate by establishing and documenting the historic contexts associated with the park and determining the extent to which the surviving historic resources represent those contexts. The completed HRS will serve as a tool for site planning, resource management, and the continued development of park interpretive programs.

Although the Battle of Stones River has been examined by scholars in detail, there has not been a comprehensive examination of the park's historic resources, particularly the features from early park development, within suitable historic contexts. The battlefield, including the Artillery Monument and Redoubt Brannan, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NR) on October 15, 1966. Fortress Rosecrans was listed on June 7, 1974.[2] STRI is classified as a discontiguous NR historic district, following the guidelines established in NR Bulletins 16 and 40.[3] The NR district boundary matches the boundary of Stones River National Battlefield.

A 1958 administrative history addressed the creation of the park, the history of the park's interpretive programs, and the construction of park infrastructure to that date.[4] It did not include the majority of the extant NPS infrastructure, which was constructed during the 1960s under the Mission 66 initiative. This HRS will provide park management with additional information on historic structures, an interpretive framework for the park, and the basis for updated NR documentation.

Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Survey Methodology

The researcher initially examined building records, maintenance records, historic research compiled by park staff, and maps located at park headquarters. The field survey yielded information on the present condition of historic resources. Additional archival research was conducted in the files of the Southeast Regional Office of the NPS. Research with primary and secondary sources was conducted at the park library, Linebaugh Public Library in Murfreesboro, Pullen Library of Georgia State University, and the Emory University General Library to obtain information about the park's historic appearance and development. The Montgomery County [Ohio] Historical Society provided electronic copies of archival photographs of Stones River and surrounding environs from the Albert Kern Collection. The Indiana Historical Society mailed copies of primary narrative sources to the Cultural Resources Stewardship Division. The survey also relies heavily on unpublished manuscripts and materials located at the park.

Determination of Historic Contexts

This study evaluates the historic integrity and assesses the eligibility of the park's historic structures within three historic contexts, which correspond to historic themes identified by the National Park Service in its 1993 revised thematic framework. The Tennessee State Historical Commission (the State Historic Preservation Office, or SHPO) does not have distinct historic contexts for Tennessee history that could be applied at Stones River National Battlefield. Other cultural resources (archeological sites, ethnographic resources, cultural landscapes, and museum collections) are addressed in Chapter Six.

The first context, "Stones River and the Campaign for Middle Tennessee, 1861-1865" (Chapter 3) relates to the NPS themes "Shaping the Political Landscape" and "Expanding Science and Technology." The latter is particularly relevant when interpreting the construction and use of Fortress Rosecrans. The second context, "Stones River National Military Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1866-1950" (Chapter 4), is associated with the NPS themes "Creating Social Institutions and Movements," "Expressing Cultural Values,"

1. Section 110 Guidelines, *Federal Register*, February 17, 1988, 53 FR 4727-46.
2. The National Register accepted Ssupporting documentation was accepted by the National Register on January 26, 1978.
3. *National Register Bulletin 16A: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms* (Washington: National Park Service, 1991), 56-57; *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington: National Park Service, 1992), 13-16.
4. Ann W. Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," (M.A. Thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958), passim, 41-124, passim.



FIGURE 3. Stones River National Cemetery, circa 1890s.

"Transforming the Environment," and "Shaping the Political Landscape."

Historic resources within the park represent both contexts. NPS-owned resources associated with "Stones River and the Campaign for Middle Tennessee, 1861-1865" are the battlefield itself, Bowen Lane/McFadden Lane, Manson Pike, Old Nashville Highway, the former Nashville & Chattanooga [CSX] Railroad, and the remnants of Fortress Rosecrans, including Curtain Wall No. 2, Lunette Thomas, Lunette Palmer, and Redoubt Brannan. Stones River National Cemetery (see Figure 3) and the Hazen Brigade Monument were constructed during the Union occupation of Murfreesboro, prior to the end of the war. They are therefore evaluated under this context. Resources that are identified with "Stones River National Military Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1866-1950" include monuments and other features added to the Stones River National Cemetery after 1865 (cemetery markers, Bivouac of the Dead tablets, cemetery wall, standing cannon markers, the 43rd Wisconsin/180th Ohio Marker, the U.S. Regulars Monument, and the cemetery flagstaff) the Cannonbal Pyramid, General Bragg's Headquarters Marker, General Rosecrans's Headquarters Marker, and the Main Entrance Gates.[5]

The majority of the existing NPS infrastructure was constructed during the 1960s under the Mission 66 initiative. The Mission 66 visitor center has been evaluated under registration requirements established for this building type. Registration requirements for other Mission 66 building types, such as residences, have not been articulated. When these are available, the NR eligibility of the remaining Mission 66 structures at STRI should be evaluated.

Historical Base Map Discussion

The park's first Historical Base Map (HBM) is a combination campaign/battlefield map drawn in 1952. The campaign portion shows Union and Confederate troop movements between Murfreesboro and Nashville. The battle map portion depicts the topography, roads, structures, water features, woods, and troop lines at the close of fighting on December 31, 1862, with a superimposed dashed line marking the park boundary. Curiously, this map identifies a twentieth-century structure, the Artillery Monument, but fails to identify any other postbattle structures. The map also fails to

5. A Gettysburg Address plaque from the cemetery is damaged and the pieces are in the maintenance area.

identify which resources existed at the time of its preparation.[6]

NPS documented the 1863 battlefield again in 1959 and 1960 with three historical base or troop movement maps that document the Stones River campaign and illustrate the topography, water features, towns, railroads, and military departments affected, in addition to the troops' lines of march.[7] Additional documentation was introduced when historian Ed Bearss created a "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan" for the park's 1962 Master Plan. This map is accompanied by a report that explains the methodology of the its preparation and quotes official records concerning terrain features. Because of its solid scholarship, the "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan" has served as the primary source of information for this investigation concerning the location and configuration of roads, railroad tracks, earthworks, structures, and vegetation patterns of the 1864 battlefield.[8]

While the "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan" is exhaustive, it is neither definitive nor comprehensive. Bearss notes the existence of a blockhouse north of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad mentioned by no other researcher. The presence of a fortified blockhouse near the railroad would likely have been a salient point remarked upon by both sides when writing the post-battle reports. It is mentioned by only one participant who notes the presence of a "block house," which likely was a stylistic description rather than military terminology. The "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan" also lacks the topographic lines of the 1952 HBM. (Note: The blockhouse is a postbattle structure associated with Fortress Rosecrans.)

Two additional maps of the battlefield, based largely on the "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan," were drawn in 1976. The "Historic Conditions" map outlines the park boundaries over the historic battlefield and features topographic lines in addition to roads, structures, water features, and vegetation patterns. This map was updated two years later with a key that fails to account for all features. The second version darkened the area within the park boundaries and increased the shading of the map's other sections.[9] Two additional troop movement maps, titled "Battle Plan," were drawn in 1976 and 1978. These denote the course of the troop movements using darkened arrows but lack detail on small-scale features and provide no new information on historic resources.[10]

The Historical Base Maps accompanying this study (see Appendix) show the location of existing historic structures and their relationship to modern park infrastructure features. The maps were prepared by James Womack III of the Cultural Resources Division staff. Because the park is composed of discontiguous units, historic structures are shown on a series of maps, all keyed to an overall map of Stones River National Battlefield.

6. National Park Service, "Historical Base Map, Part of the Master Plan," NPS map Number NMP-SR-2003 (Richmond, VA: Division of Planning & Construction, 1952).
7. National Park Service, "Troop Movement Map, 1862-63," NPS map Number NMP-SR-3003 (Richmond, VA: Eastern Division of Design and Construction, 1959); National Park Service, "Historical Base Map," NPS map Number NMP-SR-3005 (Richmond, VA: Eastern Division of Design and Construction, 1960); National Park Service, "Troop Movement Map, 1862-63," NPS map Number NMP-SR-3006 (Richmond, VA: Eastern Division of Design and Construction, 1960).
8. National Park Service, "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan, Part of the Master Plan," NPS map Number NMP-SR-3011 (Richmond, VA: Eastern Division of Design and Construction, 1962).
9. National Park Service, "Historic Conditions," NPS map Number 327-20,031 (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1976); National Park Service, "Historic Conditions," NPS map Number 327-20,031A (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1978).
10. National Park Service, "Battle Map," NPS map Number 327-20,032 (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1976); National Park Service, "Battle Map," NPS map Number 327-20,032A (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1978).

Chapter Two: The Battle of Stones River and its Place in the Civil War

The Battle of Stones River (fought on December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863) was a decisive Civil War clash in the struggle for control of middle Tennessee. Located twenty-five airline miles southeast of Nashville, in Rutherford County, Murfreesboro in late 1862 was the base of operations for the Confederate Army of Tennessee. Control of the town was essential to the Federal 14th Army Corps (later renamed the Army of the Cumberland) because of its proximity to Nashville, a forward supply depot for Union forces advancing into the South. Murfreesboro was the base of Confederate cavalry raids against Union supply lines in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama. It was also astride the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad and of necessity would have to be occupied before the Federals could make a direct thrust on Chattanooga from Nashville. The war was concluding its second year, and despite Union success in blunting Confederate invasions of Kentucky and Maryland during the fall, a recent disaster at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and destructive Rebel cavalry raids in Kentucky, western Tennessee, and northern Mississippi had caused many on the Northern home front to question President Abraham Lincoln's choice of generals. The Battle of Stones River gave Lincoln a badly needed victory during a low point in the Union war effort. This chapter places the battle within the broader context of the Civil War.

The Coming of the War

Political tensions between North and South had continued to rise in the decade before the war. Differences over import tariffs, internal improvements, and particularly the expansion of slavery inflamed passions on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. The presidential election of 1860 was a contest between four candidates whose platforms represented their sectional outlooks. Abraham Lincoln (see Figure 4), an Illinois Republican, was elected president by carrying the North when the Democratic party split its vote between two candidates. The southern Democratic candidate, John C. Breckinridge, would later command a division at the Battle of Stones River. Interpreting Lincoln's election as an act of hostility toward the slave-holding South, seven southern states—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—seceded from the Union before his inauguration and organized the Confederate States of America. On February 9, 1861, Confederate delegates elected Jefferson Davis their provisional president.[1] The seceding states had taken over almost all Federal facilities within their boundaries. Two exceptions were Fort Pickens in Florida and Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. When Lincoln assumed office on March 4, 1861, he reluctantly dispatched ships carrying nonmilitary supplies to Fort Sumter. Gunners of the Palmetto Republic of South Carolina turned away the supply ship *Star of the West* with several shots across her bow, then trained their guns on the fort on April 12, 1861.The fall of Fort Sumter prompted Lincoln to call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the rebellion on April 15. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina replied by joining the Confederacy rather than furnishing troops to subdue their political allies and neighbors.

Southerners began the war at a severe numerical disadvantage; they had sixteen million fewer white citizens than did their adversaries, a number that translated into a 2.5-to-1 manpower advantage in the field.[2] The South also expected its nearly four million slaves to supply the agricultural bounty

1. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 259.

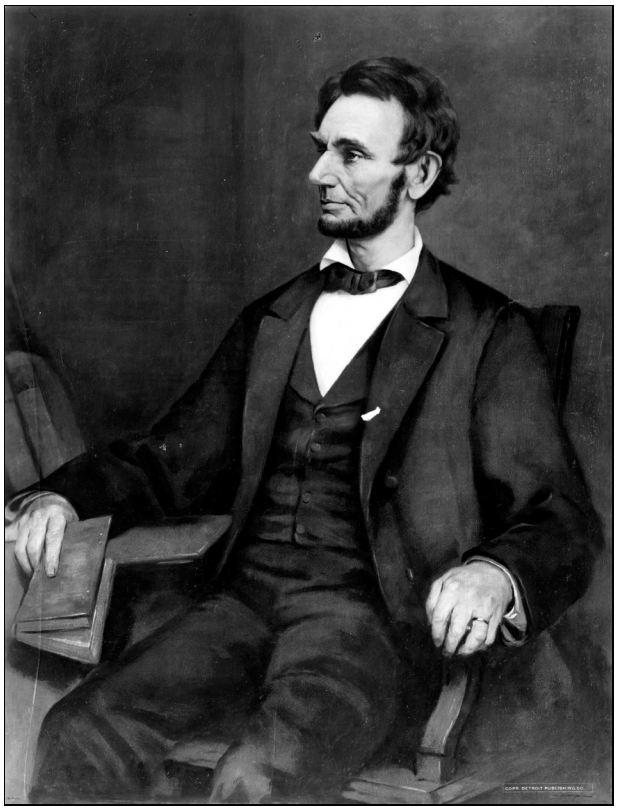


FIGURE 4. Abraham Lincoln.

necessary to sustain its armies in the field. In part because the slave population remained largely illiterate and unskilled, it was no substitute for the southern industrial workers that volunteered to fight. Immigration declined during the war, but Europeans continued to flow into the North, providing fresh troops to replace battlefield losses. The North also far surpassed the South's industrial capacity to make war. According to the 1860 census, it possessed more than 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing capability. While it did develop an industrial base during the war, the South found it necessary to import machinery, gunpowder, and manufactured goods from the outset.

Transportation also proved a challenge for the South, which possessed less than half the railroad infrastructure of the North and a proportionately smaller number of locomotives and cars. Control of railroads played a critical role in the campaigns of the Civil War; indeed, it was impossible to keep large armies in the field without them. Rivers, too, were vital to the movement and supply of both armies. Domination of the Mississippi River was a war aim for each side. The South wished to maintain communications and trade between cities and hinterlands on opposite banks of the river, while denying Midwestern farmers access to foreign markets via the Gulf of Mexico. Restoring the Midwest's outlet to the sea and breaking the Confederacy in two were the respective political and military goals the North would realize if it could gain complete control over the Mississippi. In addition to their economic value, rivers served as avenues of invasion or defensive barriers, depending on whether they ran north to south or east to west.

Several advantages lay with the South, and the first to be recognized was its outstanding officer corps. This leadership edge was the result of the region's tradition of martial education; it was home to seven of the nation's eight antebellum "military" colleges. The cause was supported by alumni of these "cadet" schools, as well as by 313 U.S. Army officers who resigned their commissions to fight for the Confederacy.[3] The South also had the benefit of interior lines; in theory the Confederates could move troops between threatened points along shorter lines of communication, generally railroads, than their northern counterparts. This worked most effectively in Virginia, where the Confederates shifted forces from the defensive on the Tidewater to the offensive in the Shenandoah Valley on several occasions. Longer travel over the Confederacy's rickety railroad network lessened the strategic value of interior lines. Southern counteroffensives into Kentucky and at Chickamauga each suffered because troops arrived too late to take part in combat. By far the largest Rebel advantage was the sheer size of the territory–750,000 square miles–that Union forces would have to occupy. The deeper an army drove into the South, the smaller it would become as it detached units to guard communications and rear areas from cavalry and partisan attacks. This enabled the Confederacy's main field armies to closely approximate the size of Union armies for the first three years of the war.

The First Battles

In the spring of 1861, few predicted a long war, and many Union volunteer units enlisted for ninety days. Confederates often underestimated their

2. McPherson, 322.
3. McPherson, 328.

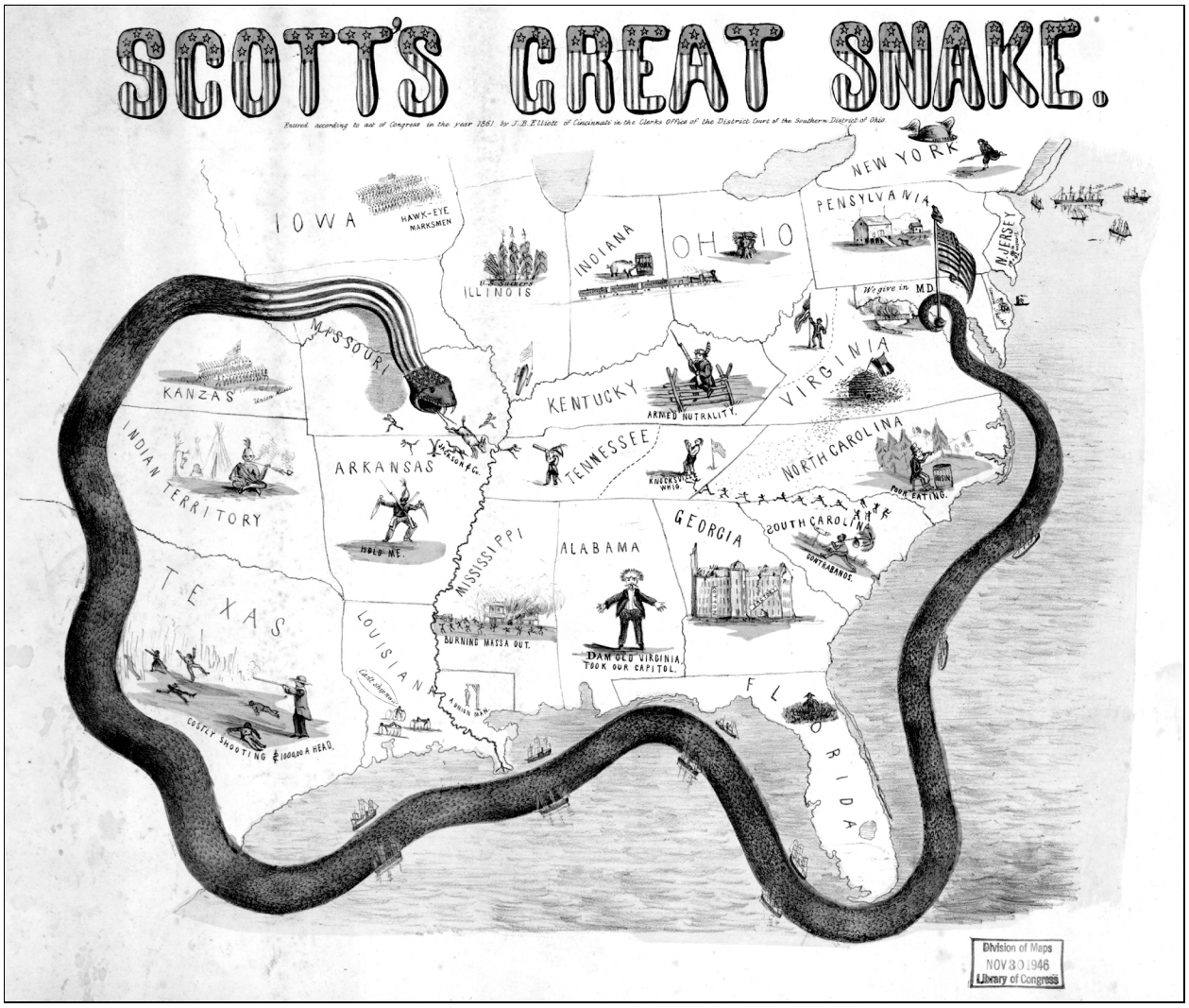


FIGURE 5. Winfield Scott's plan to blockade and strangle the South.

opponents; one wrote home "I think I can whip 25 [Yankees] myself."[4] Unionists similarly envisioned a quick war won with a lightning thrust on the Confederate capital, and Yankee papers echoed the cry "On to Richmond." Union Gen.-in-Chief Winfield Scott advanced a plan of blockade and envelopment of the Confederacy by the U.S. Navy that was greeted with derision by northern newspapers, which dubbed it the "Anaconda Plan" (see Figure 5). Though Scott would not live to see it, the ultimate success of his plan proved pivotal to Union victory. The North's superior navy crippled the South with a successful blockade of ports and control of the navigable rivers. Any hopes for a quick war collapsed on the plains of Manassas, Virginia, in June 1861, when a southern army routed its enemy after a day-long battle. The result was a strategic draw. Although the Confederates lacked the resources to follow the beaten army as it fled to its Washington defenses, they acquired an air of martial invincibility as the Federals steeled themselves for a long conflict.

Because the hostilities spanned such a large area, operational command of the contending armies was divided into three theaters: eastern, encompassing Virginia and the coast of North Carolina; western, covering most of the territory from Kentucky to the Gulf of Mexico and east of the Mississippi River; and the massive trans-Mississippi, which stretched from New Mexico to the western bank of the Mississippi River. While the major battles in the eastern theater were the bloodiest, the western theater encompassed the Confederacy's

4. Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, *Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982), 170.

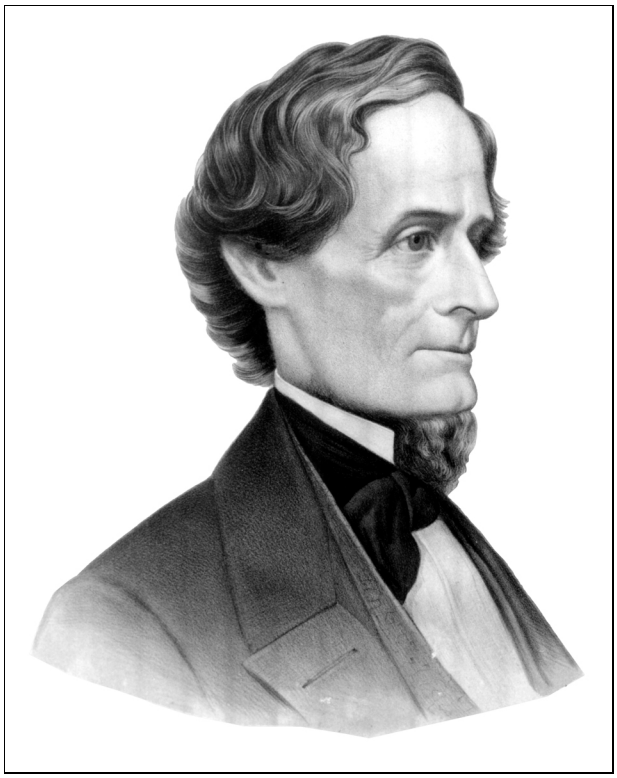


FIGURE 6. Jefferson Davis.

breadbasket and its loss would offset Southern victories in Virginia.[5] The trans-Mississippi theater furnished manpower and great quantities of livestock to the Confederate war effort. A Union-controlled Mississippi River would open world markets to Midwestern farmers and deny supplies to Confederate armies to the east.

Both wartime leaders faced monumental organizational challenges that seemed to favor long-time senator and former Secretary of War Jefferson Davis (see Figure 6), who assembled a cabinet of talented men representative of each state in the Confederacy. Political pressures caused wholesale changes in its makeup, however; five men would serve as his secretary of war. Davis's inability to suffer criticism and a refusal to delegate also weakened his health and by extension his presidency.

Lincoln, by contrast, had not held an executive position before being elected president. He built a cabinet that included several of his Republican challengers for the 1860 nomination, many of whom still considered him unworthy of the office. He also contended with a Congress whose members had differing war aims. Abolitionists urged the president to use the war to free the slaves, while many Democrats supported a war to restore the Union but opposed emancipation. Echoing and shaping public opinion were powerful newspaper editors such as Democrat Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, who vilified Lincoln for military reverses. Despite his handicaps, Lincoln proved a master politician who shaped the cabinet into an instrument of his will and deftly steered legislation through a wartime Congress that would change the structure of the country.[6] Unlike Davis, who remained loyal to his favored generals, win or lose, Lincoln regularly replaced defeated leaders with lower-ranking officers of proven ability.

Two Union generals who had earned larger commands were George B. McClellan and William S. Rosecrans. In the fall of 1861, these men had defeated two separate Confederate armies under Gen. Robert E. Lee in western Virginia and secured the safety of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Lee left the mountains saddled with the sobriquet "Evacuating Lee," while McClellan and Rosecrans secured a new state, West Virginia, for the Union. Meanwhile in the West, one Confederate army advanced into Kentucky while another defeated a Union army at Wilson's Creek in Missouri. In accordance with President Davis's "cordon defense" strategy, his forces attempted to defend the length of the Confederacy's border. Gen. Joseph P. Johnston was assigned the task of protecting Virginia and the Confederate capital of Richmond in particular. In the western theater, overall command of the Confederate forces rested on the shoulders of Gen. Albert S. Johnston, newly arrived from California.

In February 1862, a joint army-navy force headed by Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Flag-Officer Andrew H. Foote sailed up the Tennessee River from its base in Paducah, Kentucky. On February 6, Union forces captured Confederate Fort Henry after a two-hour bombardment by Foote's ironclad warships. Grant immediately marched troops overland to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, twelve miles away. Foote dispatched gunboats farther up the Tennessee River to demolish the

5. Thomas L. Connelly, *Army of the Heartland: The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 8-11.
6. McPherson, 450.

Memphis & Ohio Railroad bridge and detailed his ironclads to reduce Donelson in the same manner as Henry. It proved a tougher nut to crack, however, as Foote's ships took a pounding from the Rebels' elevated guns. Grant surrounded the fort, counterattacking after the Southerners abandoned an initially successful dawn breakout. On February 16, Grant demanded and received the "unconditional surrender" of Maj. Gen. Simon B. Buckner and his twelve thousand-man garrison, becoming in the process the Union's most celebrated general. Threatened by ironclads steaming up the Cumberland, the Confederates abandoned the manufacturing and logistics hub of Nashville on February 23, 1862. Federal forces occupied the Tennessee capital and prepared to move south on the important railroad center at Corinth, Mississippi.

Conceding western Kentucky and middle Tennessee, the Rebels concentrated their strength at Corinth, in preparation for a counterstroke. At dawn on April 6, the Confederate army under the combined leadership of Gens. Albert S. Johnston and P.G.T. Beauregard attacked Grant's unsuspecting army, encamped 19 miles northeast of Corinth, driving it back two miles to the bluffs of the Tennessee River. During the night Grant received reinforcements from Brig. Gen. Don C. Buell. On the morning of April 7, Grant counterattacked with fresh men, who regained their lost encampments and self-esteem while driving the surprised Rebels back to Corinth. The 23,000 casualties of the Battle of Shiloh, including the mortally wounded Gen. Johnston, indicated that future battles would be as costly. While Grant struck his blow at Shiloh, Union Brig. Gen. John Pope captured heavily defended Island No. 10 on the Mississippi River with very little loss of life. These successes, coupled with Adm. David G. Farragut's capture of New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in late April, left the Confederacy with a threadbare hold on the Mississippi. Between January and May 1862, Union forces conquered fifty thousand square miles of southern territory, captured the capitals of Tennessee and Louisiana, subdued the South's largest city, dominated one thousand miles of navigable rivers, and rendered thirty thousand Confederate soldiers *hors de combat*.[7] Greeley's *New York Tribune* dubbed the recent successes "A Deluge of Victories."[8]

Union success in the trans-Mississippi theater was likewise exceptional. On March 7 and 8, 1862, an army of eleven thousand fought a Confederate army of sixteen thousand under Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn near Elkhorn Tavern, Arkansas. The ensuing clash, known to history as Pea Ridge, secured Missouri for the Union. Perhaps because of Federal successes on both sides of the Mississippi River, expectations were high for McClellan's Army of the Potomac.

Despite the Lincoln administration's misgivings, McClellan had decided to skirt the Confederate defenses at Manassas, transporting his troops by water to Fortress Monroe to protect his flanks with the James and York rivers as he advanced up Virginia's peninsula during April and May 1862. From there he was poised to drive "On to Richmond," but proceeded cautiously, daunted by Confederate earthworks constructed on the historic field of Yorktown. Meanwhile, Confederate Gen. Thomas B. "Stonewall" Jackson launched a campaign in the Shenandoah Valley intended to prevent Union troops from reinforcing McClellan. During May and June 1862, Jackson won five battles, kept sixty thousand Union troops from launching other offensives, and established a reputation for invincibility.

As McClellan continued up the peninsula, his troops pushed the Confederates through Williamsburg to within sight of Richmond's church spires. The Confederates attacked his Army of the Potomac on May 31, 1862, near the village of Seven Pines. The battle cost the Rebels six thousand casualties, including their commander, Joseph P. Johnston. The victor of Manassas a year earlier was wounded by a stray bullet. His replacement was Lee, the same general who had failed miserably in western Virginia the year before. Lee reorganized the army, recalled Jackson from the valley, and went on the offensive on June 25, 1862. His outnumbered Army of Northern Virginia attacked and drove back the Army of the Potomac over a week's time in a series of clashes known as the Seven Days' Battles. With McClellan cowed, Lee turned his attention to Pope, newly promoted to major general and recently arrived in northern Virginia after his

7. McPherson, 422.
8. Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, Volume II (New York: Vintage Press, 1986), 582.



FIGURE 7. Confederate dead at the battle of Antietam.

success against Island No. 10. While McClellan tarried in coming to the aid of Pope, a rival he disliked, Lee pounced on the Army of Virginia at the first Manassas battle site. This two-day battle (August 29-30, 1862), called Second Manassas, panicked the Union capital and brought censure in the newspapers against the Lincoln administration's prosecution of the war.

In the summer of 1862, the U.S. Congress passed the Internal Revenue Tax Act, a levy upon tobacco, liquor, income, luxuries, inheritances, professional licenses, and many other goods and services. The tax act reduced the inflationary pressure created by the Legal Tender Act, which Congress had passed six months before. Bringing into existence the greenback dollar, the Legal Tender Act made paper money legal tender, reducing the government's dependence on silver and gold (specie). Greenbacks (fiat) were declared to be worth their value in specie despite not being backed by a precious metal reserve. By this action the United States was able to conserve specie for international trade. In Richmond, meanwhile, the Confederate Congress was passing ground-breaking legislation as well. In reaction to military reverses in the spring of 1862, the southern legislators enacted the first conscription law in American history and imposed martial law in Richmond.[9] Despite Lee's success in Virginia that summer, the value of Confederate currency continued to plummet, dealing the economy a blow from which it would never recover. Banks in the South (rather than the Confederate government) also printed fiat money, but military losses and widespread shortages crippled confidence in Dixie dollars, causing rampant inflation.

Southern successes in the eastern theater in the summer of 1862 were mirrored in the west by Gen. Braxton Bragg's Confederate Army of Mississippi (later renamed the Army of Tennessee). While Lee was trouncing Pope in Virginia, Bragg was marching his men through east Tennessee, en route to Kentucky. He drew Buell's Union force out of Tennessee in pursuit, but was reluctant to bring on a general engagement and spent the month of September watching his opponent. Lee in the meantime had taken the attack into Maryland, and it appeared the twin offensives would earn British and French recognition of the Confederate government. That hope vanished when McClellan defeated Lee in the Battle of Antietam, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, on September 17, 1862 (see Figure 7). Bragg's army won a tactical victory over Buell at Perryville, Kentucky (October 8, 1862), but retreated back into Tennessee, ending Confederate chances of drawing Union forces out of Mississippi and Tennessee. A third defeat was inflicted on the

9. McPherson, 427, 445-46.

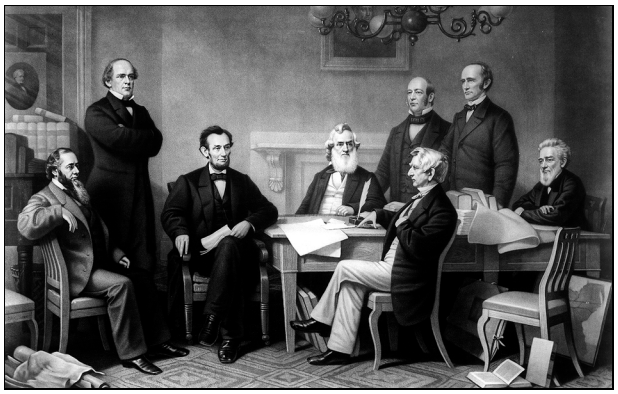


FIGURE 8. Artist's conception of Lincoln reading the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet.

Confederates on October 4 when Rosecrans repulsed a Rebel attack on Corinth. However, the Union did not follow up with attacks on the retreating Rebels, blows that could have shortened the war.

Lincoln used McClellan's success at Antietam as an opportunity to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed all slaves in the areas of the South still in rebellion as of January 1, 1863. A masterpiece of political maneuvering, the Emancipation Proclamation did not interfere with slavery in the loyal states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri (see Figure 8). The support of these states was crucial to victory, and the president was careful not to alienate them. The proclamation blunted the likelihood of British recognition of the Confederacy by more firmly aligning the North with abolitionism, an extremely popular position among most Britons. Although British aristocrats usually sympathized with southern slave-owning planters, their endorsement of the Confederate cause would have alienated the working-class voters on whom they depended. Afraid of being voted out of office, the British government supported neither side during the war. Finally, the Emancipation Proclamation would encourage slaves to leave their bondage, further crippling the Confederate home front. Northern Democrats used the Emancipation Proclamation to their political advantage, charging that Lincoln had changed the war aim from preservation of the Union to freedom for the slaves. In the fall 1862 elections, Democrats gained two governorships, thirty-four congressmen, and control of the legislatures of Illinois and Indiana.[10] Despite this electoral rebuke, the Republicans maintained solid working majorities in both houses of Congress.

Lincoln's Gen.-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck continued to pressure his generals in the field to follow up their recent successes in the fall of 1862. Displeased with their lack of alacrity, the president replaced McClellan with Major Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac and replaced Buell with Rosecrans, the victor of Corinth. In response to Lincoln's prodding, Burnside's army flanked Lee's legions and arrived at the Rappahannock River near Falmouth, Virginia, on November 17, 1862. The river crossing was delayed a week by the late arrival of pontoon bridges, giving Lee time to recover. Burnside feinted crossings above and below Fredericksburg for several weeks before finally bridging the river at Fredericksburg on December 11. Two days later, Burnside's divisions charged Lee's entrenched and waiting army in the hills beyond the town. It was the worst defeat yet suffered by the Federals in the eastern theater, and its repercussions threatened the stability of Lincoln's administration.[11]

Adding to Lincoln's woes were a pair of Union setbacks in Mississippi. Grant attempted a two-pronged attack on Vicksburg's defenders, sending Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's forces down the Mississippi River on transports supported by ironclads and leading a separate column south from Oxford. Van Dorn, the loser at Pea Ridge who now commanded Confederate cavalry in Mississippi, led his troops behind Grant's column. On December 20, 1862, Van Dorn's men wrecked Grant's supply depot at Holly Springs, cut telegraph lines, and mangled railroad tracks in the Union rear, forcing the unsupplied Federals to retreat. Grant's telegraphed notice to Sherman that the campaign was off never got through and on December 29, the latter led his army against Rebel forces entrenched at Chickasaw Bayou. As at Fredericksburg, Sherman's attack produced appalling casualties (1,800 compared to the Confederates' 200) with no strategic gain. Two Union military campaigns had already failed when Rosecrans marched the 14th Army Corps out of Nashville's defenses on December 26, 1862 and headed south.

10. McPherson, 561.
11. McPherson, 574-75.

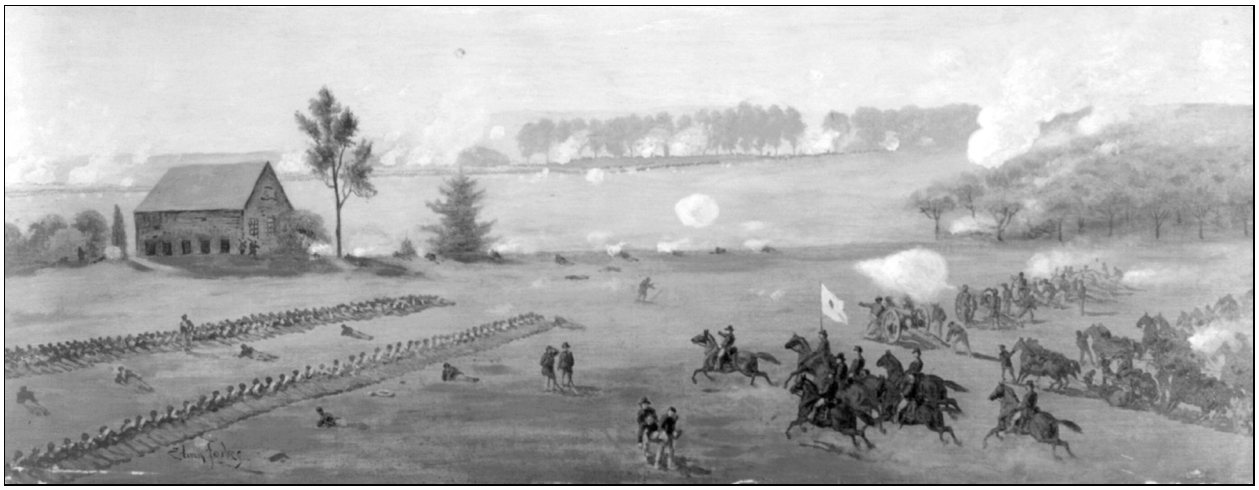


FIGURE 9. Painting of action at the Battle of Gettysburg.

Rosecrans's objective was Bragg's Army of Tennessee, encamped in Murfreesboro. The Union army reached Stones River, two miles northwest of Murfreesboro, before coming into contact with the Confederates on December 30. At dawn on December 31, the Rebels attacked the Union's right flank. The Federal army buckled but refused to break, and on New Year's Day, Bragg was surprised to find them still on the field. Another Rebel assault was launched on January 2, 1863, but was repulsed. Although the Confederates had inflicted more casualties than they had suffered and had driven the Union line back more than two miles, Bragg inexplicably withdrew his forces to Tullahoma, Tennessee. The Federal victory at Stones River renewed confidence in the Lincoln administration's handling of the war and earned Rosecrans accolades from the president. The Battle of Stones River and associated cultural resources are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

The U.S. Congress enacted two important pieces of legislation in the winter of 1863: the National Banking Act on February 25, and the Federal Conscription Act on March 3.[12] The former created an effective national procedure for regulating the country's financial system, while the latter was intended to stimulate volunteerism rather than raise a *levee en masse*. Combined with Lincoln's suspension of civil liberties, these pieces of legislation threatened a further split between New England and the states of the Old Northwest. Some Democrats in Congress advocated peace, noting that Grant's campaign against Vicksburg was a failure and that farmers needed the Mississippi River to get their produce to markets. The North's blockade strangled the Confederate economy, but the shortcomings of the Federal navy were illustrated on April 7, 1863, when the Rebels repulsed Rear Adm. Samuel F. DuPont's ironclad fleet in Charleston Harbor. Repeated Southern military successes added weight to Democratic calls for peace.

1863: Confederate Tide Broken at Gettysburg and Vicksburg

As the summer campaign season opened in late April 1863, Union Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker maneuvered the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock River near Fredericksburg. Although the campaign started well, Hooker failed to press his troops through the thick tangle of brush west of Fredericksburg, known locally as the Wilderness. Given this respite, Lee divided his forces, sending Jackson on a day-long flanking march to strike Hooker's exposed right flank at Chancellorsville on the evening of May 1, 1863. Although Jackson was wounded during the assault and would soon die of pneumonia, the Southerners had won a great victory. During the next five days, the Army of Northern Virginia hounded Hooker's troops until the latter re-crossed the Rappahannock River.

12. McPherson, 594, 600.

Meanwhile in Mississippi, Grant loaded his men aboard transports and ran the gauntlet of Vicksburg's river batteries on the nights of April 16 and 21. They crossed over to the east bank of the Mississippi below Vicksburg unopposed on April 30, brushing aside Confederates at Port Gibson on May 1. Marching hard for Jackson, the state capital, the Union army routed Joseph Johnston's defenders on May 14, and put the city's industrial section to the torch. Turning west toward Vicksburg, the Federals defeated a separate army under Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton at Champion's Hill on May 16 and at the Big Black River the next day. Thoroughly demoralized, Pemberton's army retreated into Vicksburg's prepared defenses and turned back two determined Union assaults on May 19 and May 22. Grant summoned reinforcements from Memphis and settled down for a siege. Farther downriver Union Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks had begun his campaign to take Port Hudson, Louisiana, and was laying siege to that fortress by the final week of May.

Following Jackson's death, Lee reorganized his army into three corps and launched a second northern invasion in late June. Lacking effective cavalry reconnaissance, he stumbled into the Army of the Potomac, now commanded by Major Gen. George G. Meade, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 1, 1863. During the three-day battle, Lee's army repeatedly made costly and unsuccessful assaults against strong Union positions (see Figure 9). On July 4, Lee waited for an attack from Meade's troops that never materialized. The following day the Rebels began a retreat back into Virginia. In the West, Grant received Pemberton's surrender of Vicksburg on July 4, and Port Hudson fell to Banks on July 9. The Union controlled the entire Mississippi River, and Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and the bulk of Louisiana were detached from the rest of the Confederacy. Denied the produce, livestock, and manpower of the trans-Mississippi region by Grant's actions, the South had been struck a blow to the vitals. Lee's army was so shattered by its Gettysburg losses that further offensive operations in the eastern theater were impossible. The twin defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg marked the turning point of the war.

Life on both home fronts mirrored the conflict at the battle lines in the summer of 1863. The draft



FIGURE 10. The New York City draft riots.

provoked riots in several Northern cities, the worst in New York City during July 1863. On Monday, July 13, Irish and unskilled workers started a four-day riot through lower Manhattan that left 105 people dead (see Figure 10). Much of the mobs' violence was directed toward New York's black population. Conscription also caused class struggles in the South. A one-time $300 payment secured an exemption for Union men, and Southerners with twenty or more slaves to oversee were likewise spared. Women clamoring for bread started riots, and in the spring and summer of 1863 broke into merchants' stores in Richmond, Mobile, and smaller cities and took staples and other goods. [13] As Southern losses mounted, the fabric of society unraveled; guerilla bands ruled some mountain counties in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina; monetary inflation devalued the currency, which sent prices soaring; and the breakdown of the Confederate transportation network caused refugees in many cities to go hungry.[14]

Confederate reverses continued in the western theater as Rosecrans, after a sustained buildup, moved his Army of the Cumberland out of its Murfreesboro defenses toward Chattanooga on June 24, 1863. In an impressive maneuver, his men flanked Bragg's army out of its Tullahoma defenses within nine days. Rosecrans rested his army on the banks of the Elk River for six weeks, moving again on August 16 and feinting for the Tennessee River crossings above Chattanooga. While elements of the Army of the Cumberland moved toward the upriver crossings, the bulk of his men crossed the Tennessee

13. McPherson, 610-11, 616.
14. McPherson, 613, 619.



FIGURE 11. Artist's sketch of the Battle of Chickamauga.

at three lightly guarded crossings below Chattanooga. Simultaneously, Burnside moved his twenty-four thousand troops out of Kentucky toward Knoxville, Tennessee. The outnumbered Confederates under Buckner evacuated Knoxville on September 1, joining Bragg in Chattanooga on September 8 in time for that city's evacuation.

Deeply concerned over the loss of Chattanooga, President Davis used railroads and interior lines to move troops and reinforce Bragg with Rebels from Mississippi and Virginia for a counterattack against Rosecrans. Rosecrans provided his foe with an opportunity by dividing his army to cross Lookout Mountain and had to hastily reassemble it on the banks of West Chickamauga Creek during the second week of September. Bragg initiated the Battle of Chickamauga on September 19 by attacking the Union's left flank (see Figure 11). The following day the bulk of Lieutenant Gen. James Longstreet's corps, detached from Lee's army two weeks earlier, launched an assault on the Union right that routed half the army and forced Rosecrans back into the defenses of Chattanooga. The Federals were kept in Chattanooga until November, when reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac and Grant's Army of the Tennessee, led by Grant himself, swelled the ranks of the besieged beyond the size of the besieger. Under Grant's leadership, the combined Union forces captured Lookout Mountain on November 24 and drove the Confederates from their dominant position on Missionary Ridge the next day. Lincoln proclaimed a national day of thanksgiving on the last Thursday in November, a celebration that became an enduring national holiday.[15] The Battles for Chattanooga established Grant as the Union's premier general and led Jefferson Davis to replace Bragg's with Joseph Johnston.

The elections of fall 1863 reflected battlefield successes and failures. In Ohio and New York, home to half the North's population, Republican candidates were overwhelmingly favored. This response seemed to indicate popular backing of emancipation and strengthened the party in its desire to fight to victory. In the South a lack of political parties confused issues for voters who disliked the way Richmond was prosecuting the war. Lack of an opposition party also created difficulties

15. Foote, vol. II, 663-94, 712-870.



FIGURE 12. Federal entrenchments along the North Anna River, Wilderness campaign.

for Davis, who, unlike Lincoln, could not compare his ideas to those of the opposition. Difficulties with Vice President Alexander Stephens and Governor Joseph Brown, both of Georgia, seemed to typify Davis's relations with staunch states-rights politicians. Another midsummer scare occurred in North Carolina where incumbent Governor Zebulon Vance was threatened with ouster by a pro-peace candidate who advocated taking the Tar Heel State out of the Confederacy. Vance won the election, but the losing war effort was clearly taking its toll on Confederate sympathies.[16] The fall of Little Rock, Arkansas, on September 10, the fourth Rebel capital to fall since the war's outset, added to the gloom in Richmond.[17] Lincoln moved quickly to reconstruct Arkansas and Louisiana under his 10 percent policy, which mandated that if 10 percent of a state's 1860 voters approved a "republican form of government,"[18] state governments could be reconstructed. Both states adopted free-state governments and constitutions under the 10 percent plan, further dimming hopes of Confederate sovereignty.

Grant Takes Charge

In March 1864, the U.S. Congress revived the rank of lieutenant general, and Lincoln immediately appointed Grant to the post and gave him overall command of the Union armies. Halleck stepped down to the post of chief of staff, Sherman became commander of the Department of the Mississippi, and the recently promoted Maj. Gen. Phillip Sheridan, hero of the Battle of Stones River, was brought to Virginia to assume overall command of that theater's cavalry.[19] The Confederates also reorganized their forces for the campaign season, appointing Johnston leader of the Army of Tennessee and sending reinforcements from Mississippi in anticipation of battle with Sherman's Chattanooga-based army.

16. McPherson, 698; Foote, vol. II, 828.
17. Foote, vol. II, 707.
18. McPherson, 703.
19. McPherson, 718.

The Union strategy as devised by Grant was to go after Lee in Virginia while Sherman attacked Johnston in north Georgia. Separate commands under Maj. Gens. Banks, Benjamin Butler, and Franz Siegel would strike secondary objectives in Louisiana, southern Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley, respectively. The three secondary thrusts failed miserably. Banks was repulsed on his journey up Louisiana's Red River, Butler was brought to ground by coastal reinforcements under Beauregard at Bermuda Hundred, and Siegel was routed by Breckinridge at New Market. Neither Grant nor Sherman enjoyed initial success when their armies began the summer campaign season in May 1864.

On May 5, three Union corps crossed the Rapidan River in northern Virginia and became entangled with Lee's army in the Wilderness, where Hooker had come to grief the previous May. Fighting raged through the area on May 5 and 6, with Grant's army suffering ten thousand more casualties than Lee. Unlike Hooker, however, Grant refused to withdraw and instead attempted to turn Lee's right flank by moving toward Spotsylvania Court House. In a week of bitter fighting, the Army of the Potomac's losses continued to mount at an appalling rate, but it succeeded in depriving Lee of the initiative. Throughout May, Grant continued to gnaw at Lee's right flank, forcing action along the line of the North Anna River (see Figure 12). On June 1 Federal cavalry seized the crossroads at Cold Harbor, nine miles from Richmond, and on June 3 Grant ordered an all-out assault designed to drive the Confederate army into the Chickahominy River. The Union attack was rebuffed at a cost of seven thousand casualties, instilling in the survivors a dread of charging entrenchments. In the first six weeks of the campaign the Union army had lost 65,000 men, while the Rebels had suffered half as many casualties. Grant could afford the toll; at the campaign's outset the Army of the Potomac numbered 115,000 men, as opposed to Lee's 64,000, and could call on additional manpower reserves.[20]

In mid-June the Army of the Potomac was entrenched in front of Petersburg, Virginia, laying siege to Richmond's back door. Federal attacks on June 15-17 and June 22-24 achieved limited success but failed to break the Confederate lines or capture Richmond's supply line–the Weldon Railroad. On July 30, a surprise attack following the explosion of a mine under the Rebel works came to grief in the Battle of the Crater. Three weeks later Union forces captured the Weldon Railroad, squeezing Lee's supplies down to a trickle. The siege of Petersburg ground on through the fall without a clear Union victory to bolster Lincoln's re-election chances in November.[21]

Sherman adopted a different tactic from Grant, preferring to pin the Confederates in place with a portion of his army and use the balance to turn the flanks. At this game of strategy, he was equally matched by Johnston, a general renowned for his skillful withdrawals against larger forces in Virginia and Mississippi. Sherman's force comprised three armies–the Army of the Cumberland, the Army of the Tennessee, and the Army of the Ohio. The course of the campaign followed the Western & Atlantic (W&A) Railroad, a ribbon that ran through north Georgia's mountains between Chattanooga and Atlanta. Control of this vital supply line was the key to victory in the campaign for Atlanta. On May 6, while Grant and Lee tangled in the Wilderness, Union troops moved out of Chattanooga toward Tunnel Hill, Georgia. Finding Johnston's men strongly entrenched at Rocky Face Ridge, Sherman flanked the position, forcing the Confederates to fight at Resaca on May 14 and 15. Union forces continued to swing wide of the Confederate positions, forcing them back across the Etowah River on May 19, and away from a strongly entrenched post atop Allatoona Pass. The Confederates met Sherman's flanking maneuver near Dallas, prompting four days of fighting (May 25-28) in scrub brush that earned the name "The Hell Hole." Returning to the railroad, the Federals pushed on until the last week of June, when rains and a strong Confederate position on Kennesaw Mountain halted their advance. Sherman elected to assault Kennesaw on June 27 but met with a bloody repulse. The onset of better weather prompted more Union flanking maneuvers, though, and Johnston withdrew across the Chattahoochee River on July 9.[22]

On July 17, Davis replaced Johnston with Lt. Gen. John B. Hood, an impetuous firebrand who

20. McPherson, 724.
21. McPherson, 725-43.
22. Dennis Kelly, *Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign* (Atlanta: Susan Hunter Publishing, 1990), 13-45.



FIGURE 13. Federal position at Atlanta, Georgia.

immediately placed the Army of Tennessee on the offensive. Hood launched three attacks—the Battle of Peachtree Creek (July 20), the Battle of Atlanta (July 22), and the Battle of Ezra Church (July 28)—all of which met with failure. Sherman's men settled down to invest Atlanta's extensive fortifications (see Figure 13) during August before moving against Hood's railroad lifeline at Jonesboro on August 31. The two-day Battle of Jonesboro was a signal defeat that compelled the Rebels to abandon Atlanta on September 2, 1864.[23]

The fall of Atlanta was the greatest single factor in securing Lincoln's re-election. The issue had been in doubt as Union casualties for the summer approached ninety thousand—as many men as had fought with the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg the previous July. On July 18, Lincoln issued a call for another half million volunteers, with quota deficiencies to be filled by the draft. The price of gold, a barometer of Northern home-front confidence, skyrocketed from $106 an ounce in July 1862 to $285 in July 1864.[24] The Democratic Party, sensing that war-weariness would produce victory at the polls, nominated McClellan for president on August 31 at their convention in Chicago. The party's platform branded the war a failure and promised peace if its candidate were elected. McClellan disowned the platform, but the fall of Atlanta and Sheridan's pillaging of the Shenandoah Valley in September and October reaffirmed Lincoln's assertions that the war was being won and led to his re-election.[25]

On November 15, 1864, Sherman's men marched out of a desolated Atlanta en route to the Atlantic Ocean. Covering twelve miles a day and foraging liberally from Georgia's citizens, Sherman's men

23. Kelly, 45-52.
24. McPherson, 447, 757-58.
25. McPherson, 773-75, 805-806.

sacked the state capital of Milledgeville on Thanksgiving Day and captured Savannah before Christmas. In a curious piece of strategy Hood turned the Army of Tennessee away from Sherman's veterans, venturing instead toward the fortified Tennessee capital of Nashville, hoping to overpower isolated commands such as Maj. Gen. John Schofield's corps along the way. Crossing the Duck River on November 27, Hood's army narrowly missed capturing Schofield's outnumbered men near Spring Hill, Tennessee, two days later. Incensed at the lost opportunity, Hood launched a costly assault against the entrenched corps at Franklin on November 30 that produced little tactical gain. At Nashville on December 15 and 16, a Federal army twice its size defeated the Army of Tennessee; reducing it to scattered remnants.

The End of the War

In the early months of 1865, Sherman's army marched north from Savannah, laying waste to a broad swath of South Carolina. Johnston assembled a scratch force to oppose his old adversary but did not appreciably delay the Union juggernaut. Grant's forces pried Lee's desertion-riddled army out of its Petersburg entrenchments at the end of March. After a week of running skirmishes and the capture of thousands of exhausted Confederates, Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9. Five days later Johnston gave up his patchwork army to Sherman near Durham, North Carolina. The remaining Rebel forces in the field capitulated in turn, with Gen. Kirby Smith surrendering the trans-Mississippi troops on May 26. Brig. Gen. Stand Watie, a Cherokee chieftain, yielded the last Confederate army in the field on June 23, 1865.[26] After the war, the country began the painful process of reconstructing the United States.

The Civil War was a watershed event in United States history, costing the lives of more than 620,000 people. It changed American life forever: the demise of slavery brought a new chapter in race relations (see Figure 14)that culminated one hundred years later in the civil rights movement; the wartime economy in the North created the large industrial

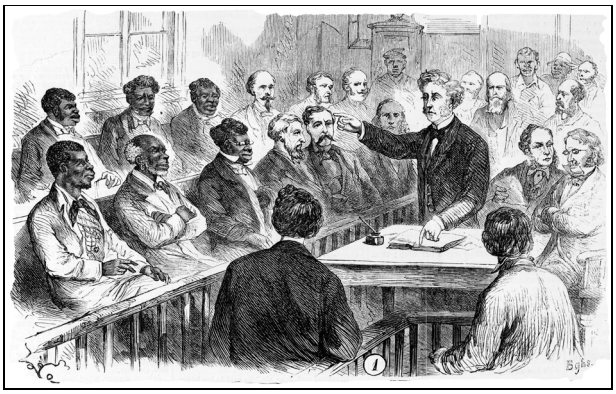


FIGURE 14. African Americans serving on a jury during Reconstruction.

base that fueled the country's growth through the rest of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; westward expansion was further encouraged by wartime immigration and legislation; and the South embarked on a period of economic stagnation that prompted President Franklin D. Roosevelt to label the region the nation's number one economic problem seventy-three years after the close of the war.[27]

Within the framework of the Civil War, the Battle of Stones River was the definitive battle for control of middle Tennessee. Although a tactical stalemate, it was a strategic victory for the Federal forces, strengthening and expanding their hold on middle Tennessee, a region rich in forage, mounts, and wheat.[28] By driving the Confederates out of Murfreesboro, Rosecrans reversed the gains Bragg had won in his Kentucky campaign. Transformed into a forward supply dump, Murfreesboro became the starting point for the successful Federal drive on Chattanooga and ultimately Atlanta. If the Rebels had consolidated the gains won on the field of Stones River, the Federal army would have been compelled to fall back to Nashville, thus allowing the Army of Tennessee to shift men to Vicksburg. Rosecrans's victory at Stones River prevented a Confederate reinforcement of the Vicksburg defenses while denying Bragg's army the sustenance of middle Tennessee.

The Stones River battlefield, the remnants of Fortress Rosecrans, the Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike (present-day Old Nashville Highway), the railroad, and other wartime

26. Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 427, 434.
27. Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 425.
28. Connelly, 8.

features that still exist within the park serve as tangible links to the Civil War and further our understanding of the events that took place on that field. Memorial structures such as the U.S. Regulars and Hazen Brigade Monuments, together with the commemorative landscape of the Stones River National Cemetery, remain as evidence that the Union veterans of the Battle of Stones River considered it important. The echoes of the veterans' efforts to honor the fallen and the creation of a national battlefield park sixty-five years after the battle reverberate today in Americans' continuing interest in the Civil War.

Chapter Three: Stones River and the Campaign for Middle Tennessee, 1861-1865

On December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863, Union and Confederate armies clashed at Stones River, three miles northwest of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. At stake were the rich agricultural region of middle Tennessee and the network of turnpikes, rivers, and railroads that served it. Murfreesboro in the fall of 1862 was headquarters for the Confederacy's principal western army, the Army of Tennessee. Its commander was Gen. Braxton Bragg, who placed his army there to contest Federal dominion over the region's bountiful forage. The town's central location was ideal for launching cavalry raids against Union supply lines in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama. Twenty-five miles northwest of Murfreesboro lay Nashville, Tennessee's conquered capital and supply base to the Federal 14th Army Corps (later renamed the Army of the Cumberland), which faced shortages due in part to Confederate cavalry raids launched from Murfreesboro. A direct Federal thrust toward Chattanooga from Nashville depended upon the capture of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad to keep the invasion forces supplied in the forage-poor mountains surrounding Chattanooga. Because Murfreesboro was the largest town on the line, its possession was essential for Union forces to move against Chattanooga. Command of middle Tennessee would provide the strategic advantage. This chapter examines the Battle of Stones River and subsequent military occupation of Murfreesboro, focusing on park historic resources that represent this context.[1]

On October 30, 1862, Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans (see Figure 15) assumed command of the Federal forces previously under Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell, then in Bowling Green, Kentucky, sixty miles north of the Nashville supply base. Elements of Bragg's army had defeated a portion of Buell's troops at Perryville, Kentucky, earlier in October. Bragg retreated into Tennessee when he realized that Buell's men outnumbered his own, and eventually moved his forces to the Murfreesboro vicinity. When Rosecrans took the reins, Bragg's army was closer to Nashville than he was. Tennessee's military governor, Andrew Johnson, wired Washington that Nashville was in peril. To rectify this problem, Rosecrans moved the Union army to the Tennessee capital in early November.

Rosecrans reorganized his force into three wings, commanded by Maj. Gens. Thomas L. Crittenden, Alexander M. McCook, and George H. Thomas.[2] When Rosecrans's army occupied Nashville, his two crucial supply lines, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (L&N) and the Cumberland River, were not fully operational. Confederate cavalry raiders

1. A brief but informative introduction to the campaign for Murfreesboro is *The Battle of Stones River* by former park historian Charles M. Spearman. Peter Cozzens's *No Better Place to Die, The Battle of Stones River* is a detailed, brigade-level account of the battle that draws upon the *Official Records*, regimental histories, manuscripts, and other eyewitness accounts. Two books portray the Confederate side of events: Stanley F. Horn's *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* devotes a chapter to Murfreesboro, while Thomas L. Connelly's *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* expertly dissects the Confederate command decisions. Conversely, two books have been written on the Army of the Cumberland and its actions at Stones River: Thomas B. Van Horne's *History of the Army of the Cumberland, Its Organization, Campaigns, and Battles* and William Bickham's *Rosecrans' Campaign with the Fourteenth Army Corps, or the Army of the Cumberland: Aa Narrative of Personal Observations... with Official Reports of the Battle of Stone River* are informative but suffer from a lack of perspective; each account is well over oneone hundred years old. Research for this study has highlighted a need for a new study of the Army of the Cumberland.

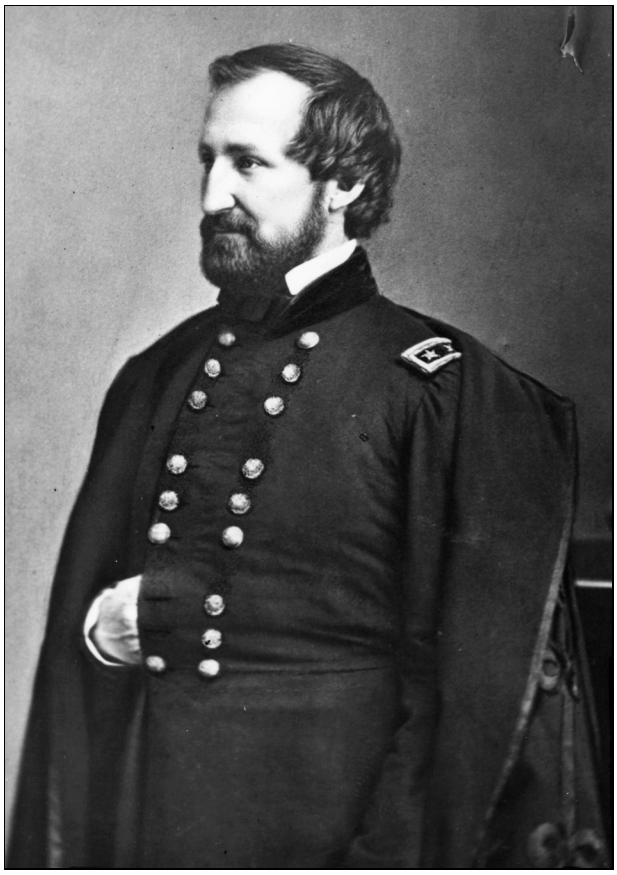


FIGURE 15. Major General William S. Rosecrans.

had cut the L&N, and the Cumberland River was too low to allow the passage of steamboats to the city. The Union general immediately set about stockpiling supplies for his forthcoming campaign against Bragg's army. Much to the irritation of Union Gen.-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck, Rosecrans delayed his campaign until December 26, when he set his three wings in motion. Each took a different route south from Nashville: Thomas took the turnpike south toward Franklin, McCook led his men along the turnpike toward Nolensville, and Crittenden followed the turnpike toward Murfreesboro (see Figure 16).

Bragg had spent the fall of 1862 in a respite, foraging the region around Murfreesboro for supplies and recruiting fresh troops. Various divisions of the Army of Tennessee were billeted in Murfreesboro and surrounding towns in a semicircular line from Lebanon to Franklin via Smyrna. Bragg had divided the bulk of his cavalry into two independent commands under Brig. Gens. Nathan B. Forrest and John H. Morgan and dispatched them to strike Union rail lines: Forrest to western Tennessee to cut the Mobile & Ohio Railroad supplying Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's army in Mississippi, and Morgan to Kentucky to cut the L&N, which supplied Rosecrans in Nashville. Retaining a third of his cavalry under Brig. Gen. Joe Wheeler for picket duty, Bragg stretched his army thin to detect any movement by Rosecrans but privately doubted the likelihood of any Federal movement.[3] Bragg's dismissive attitude toward the threat of a Union offensive led Confederate President Jefferson Davis to detach Maj. Gen. Carter Stevenson's division from the Army of Tennessee and send it to Vicksburg.[4] Rosecrans's intelligence reported Stevenson's departure, which, coupled with the absence of Forrest and Morgan, prompted the Federal general to move against the weakened Confederates.

Stones River on the Eve of the Battle

Stones River passes within a mile of Murfreesboro as it snakes its way north to join the Cumberland above Nashville. In December 1862, the river was low and easy to cross because of a recent drought. Bragg had initially posted Lt. Gen. William Hardee's Corps astride the river, anticipating that Rosecrans might try to turn the Confederate right flank. But because it had been raining since December 26, Bragg feared that rising water would make Stones River unfordable, cutting Hardee's force in two and subjecting it to destruction in detail. Bragg therefore recalled Hardee to the river's west bank, leaving Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge's division behind to watch the fords.[5]

2. Soon after the Battle of Stones River, when the 14th Corps was renamed the Army of the Cumberland, each wing became a corps. Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 14-15.
3. Thomas L. Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 42.
4. Connelly, 41.
5. Charles M. Spearman, *The Battle of Stones River* (Columbus, OH: Blue & Gray Enterprises Inc., 1993), 11; Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, c1941), 200; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory,* 49-52.

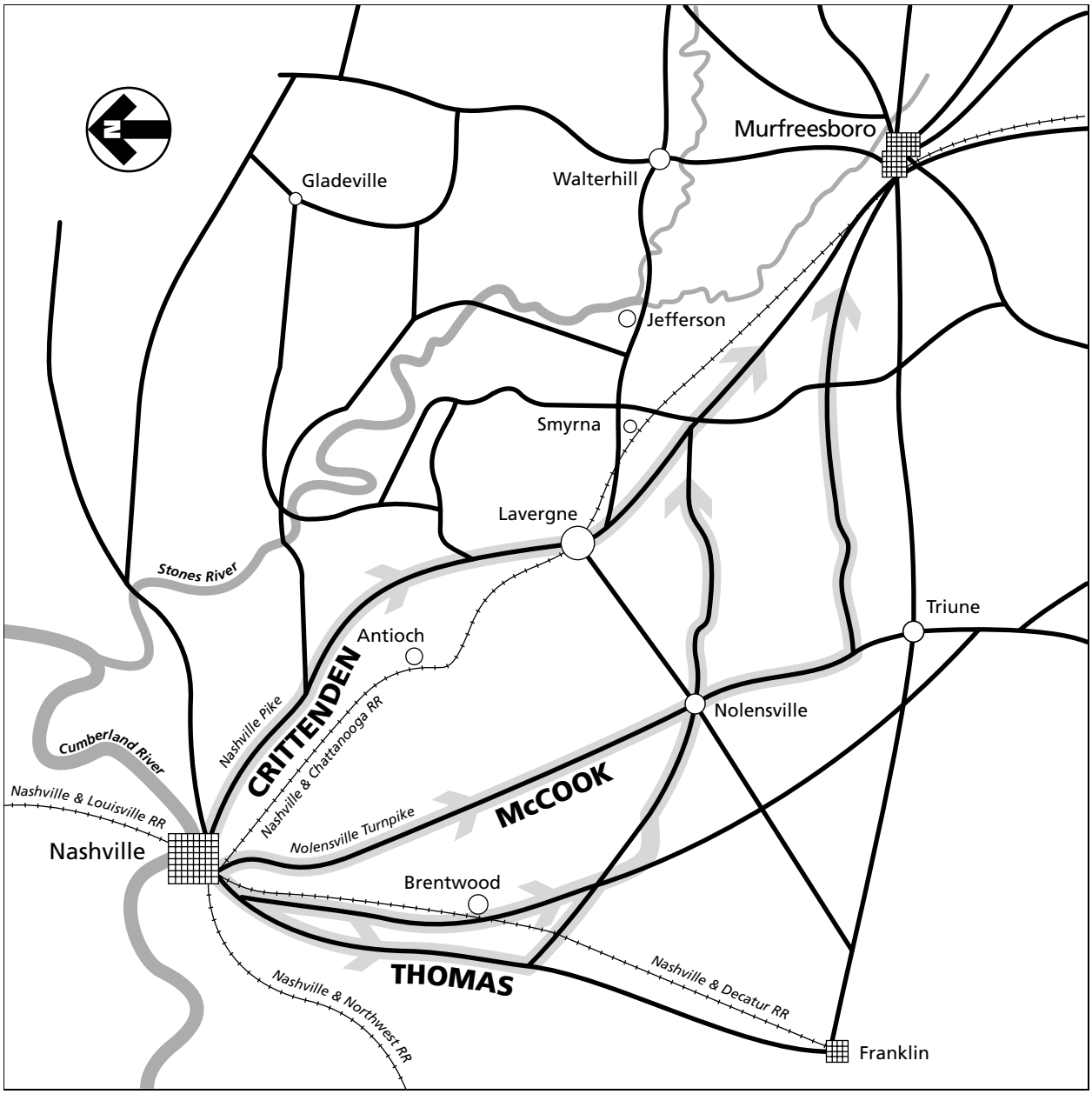


FIGURE 16. Movement of Rosecrans's army toward Murfreesboro.

The land two and a half miles west of Murfreesboro, from which the Confederates would launch their attacks, is depicted in contemporary sources as scattered farms and woodland. The former generally consisted of a farmhouse, barn, and a handful of outbuildings such as corn cribs and structures sheltering cotton gins, while much of the latter contained eastern red cedar, a variety that grows in dense thickets or "cedar brakes." These trees had thickly entwined branches that reached to the ground, prompting one Confederate colonel to remark that "a cedar thicket . . . was the strongest natural position we encountered."[6] Cedar glades, often mentioned in battle reports, are openings in thick stands of red cedar where the shallow, acidic soils prohibit permanent invasion by trees but support a ground cover of grasses, mosses, and herbaceous plants. Contemporary accounts also mention the presence of a grove of oak trees near Overall Creek.[7] The woodland boundaries are

6. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XX, pt. I, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 893 (hereafter cited as *O. R.*).
7. *O.R.*, 939; although reports of battle participants style it "Overall's" Creek, the modern spelling of Overall Creek will be used in this study.

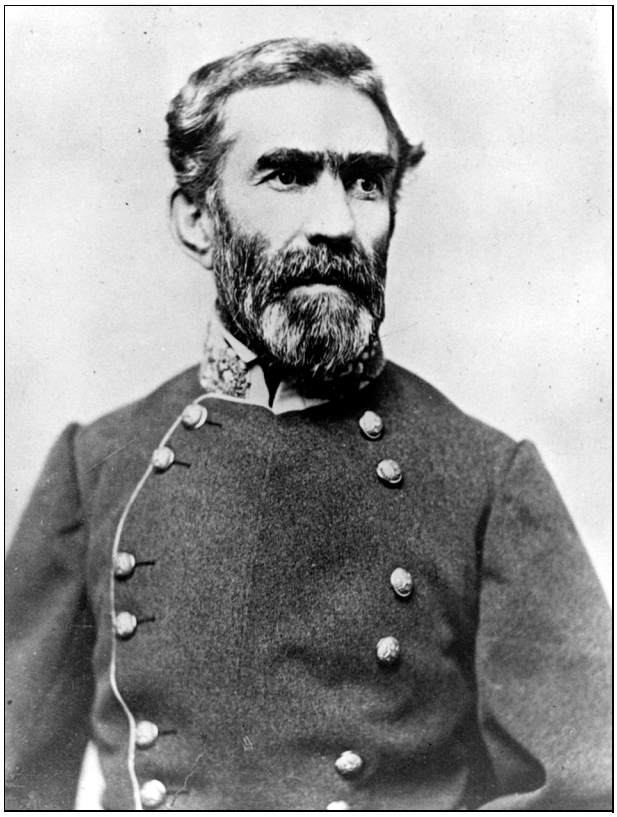


FIGURE 17. General Braxton Bragg.

depicted in period maps as rectilinear, typically bordered by "rail fences" and cultivated fields. Fields cultivated in corn or cotton surrounded the farmhouses and outbuildings shown on battle-era maps.[8]

As the Federals approached the Confederate positions near Stones River on December 30, 1862, neither army dug entrenchments; each side anticipated that it would take the offensive on the morning. On December 31, during lulls in the fighting, defenders piled up logs and rocks to create impromptu breastworks. Geologists classify the battlefield as karst topography, in which shallow soils overlay limestone and shale bedrock. The bedrock is pitted with sinkholes, caused by surface and underground water sources dissolving the limestone. Troops of both sides used the sinkholes and limestone outcroppings in the shallow soil for protection against bullets. Fences became makeshift breastworks that protected the men, according to Levi Wagner of the 1st Ohio Regiment: "And right here, if you were inclined to smile at the idea of a fence rail being any protection during a battle, if you could just for a few moments transport yourself to the opposite side of that fence and view the bullet holes those rails contain, you would see that a very light obstruction often saves a life."[9] Late-nineteenth-century photographs of the area depict worm or "drunken man," double post, and board fences, which are typically closely stacked on the bottom but have more space between the rails on top. This type of fencing became law in Tennessee in 1807 when the state decreed that "every planter should make a sufficient fence about his cleared land at least five feet high and sufficiently close to prevent hogs from passing through for at least three feet high from the surface of the earth."[10]

The Federals approached Murfreesboro along the Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike (commonly referred to as the Nashville Pike), a macadamized turnpike running between Nashville and Murfreesboro (see Figure 18). The state of Tennessee had constructed several macadamized roads, including the Nashville Pike, to facilitate intrastate commerce during the 1830s. At the time of the Battle of Stones River, most of these roads ran out from Nashville like spokes from a wheel. A macadam road had a convex roadbed overlain with crushed stone, topped with stone dust, and compacted with water. The Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike had "a roadbed graded at least thirty feet wide with sufficient ditches on each side to drain off water. . . . The graveled portion was twenty feet wide and six inches thick." The turnpike corporation's state charter allowed it to construct a toll gate every five miles along the road except within one mile of the city limits of towns. The company had completed the construction of toll gates along its route by the end of 1837. The turnpike corporation purchased modest parcels of land near toll gates for the purpose of building necessary structures such as toll houses for the gatekeepers who collected fees from persons using the road. By 1842, the entire turnpike and its related structures were finished.[11] The high quality of the pike's construction is evidenced by

8. Calvin C. Cowles, compiler, *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1891-1895), Plate XXXII, Figure 1; Edwin C. Bearss, *Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan, Part of the Master Plan* (Washington: National Park Service, 1961), NPS Map Number 327-3011.
9. Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place To Die, The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 95.
10. Tennessee, 1807 Acts of Tennessee, Chapter Eight: "An act declaring what fences shall be deemed sufficient, and for other purposes."



FIGURE 18. The Nashville Pike about 20 years after the battle.

Rosecrans's willingness to use the road for his supply line during winter, a time when most roads in the South turned to mud.

Other roads that played important roles in the battle include Wilkinson Pike (Manson Pike) and Van Cleve Lane (Old Bowen Lane, McFadden Lane). The State of Tennessee granted a charter to the Wilkinson Turnpike Company for the construction of this road in 1858. The turnpike began near Franklin, ran through the town of Triune, and ended in Murfreesboro, probably at or near the Nashville Pike.[12] This historic road, now commonly referred to as Manson Pike, was one of the roads traversed by Union troops as they advanced out of Nashville toward Murfreesboro. The present Van Cleve Lane, also known as Old Bowen or McFadden Lane, was present at the time of the Battle of Stones River. In the mid-nineteenth century, this road had one terminus at an intersection with Wilkinson Pike. It then crossed the Nashville Pike, the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, and Stones River at McFadden's Ford before its second terminus at an unknown road. This road appears on maps in *The Official Atlas of the Civil War* and the "Map of Rutherford County, Tennessee from New and Actual Surveys," produced by D. B. Beers and Company in 1878. However, these sources do not provide a name for this road or any information about its construction.[13]

Control of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad was essential for the execution of a Federal campaign to capture Confederate-held Chattanooga. Chartered in 1845, the Nashville &

11. Edward C. Annable, Jr., "A History of the Roads of Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1804-1878: Historic Road Research and Its Applications for Historic Resource Surveys and Local History," (M.A. thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1982) published in the *Rutherford County Historical Society Publication No. 20* (Winter 1983): on the dates for completion of the turnpike and related structures see 50, on regulations concerning toll gates see 74-75, quote at 111. The fees charged for turnpike use included: "for twenty head of hogs or sheep, 20 cents; twenty horned or neat cattle, 50 cents; every horse or mule not in a drove, 6-1/4 cents; every horse or mule in a drove, 2 cents; four-wheeled pleasure carriage, 25 cents; two-wheeled riding carriage, 25 cents; loaded wagon, 25 cents; empty wagon, 12-1/2 cents; man and a horse, 6-1/4 cents; cart, 12-1/2 cents; and a hogshead of tobacco, 12-1/2 cents," Annable, "A History of the Roads of Rutherford County," 74-75. See also John W. Walker, J. Donald Merritt, and Steven J. Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee" (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1989), 15.
12. *The Goodspeed Histories of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford & Marshall Counties of Tennessee* (1886; Columbia, TN: Woodward & Stinson, 1971), 817. The author of the Goodspeed Histories refers to this road and company as Wilkerson, an alternate spelling of Wilkinson. It is not uncommon to see this turnpike called Wilkerson, but it is the same road generally referred to as the Wilkinson Pike. On Wilkinson Pike see also *Official Atlas of the Civil War*, "Topographical Sketch of the Battle-Field near Murfreesborough, Tenn.," Plate XXX, "Map of the Battle of Murfreesborough," Plate XXXI, "Plans of the Battles on Stone's River before Murfreesborough," Plate XXXII.

Chattanooga had begun service from Nashville to Murfreesboro on July 4, 1851. The line was completed to Chattanooga in February 1854, forming a vital link in the trade from the ports of Charleston and Savannah to the Midwest. Savannah accessed the Midwest via the Central of Georgia, Macon & Western, and the Western & Atlantic to Chattanooga.[14] From there the Nashville & Chattanooga carried freight and passengers to Nashville for linkage via the Louisville & Nashville to Louisville, Kentucky, on the Ohio River. This large, deep, free-flowing river rarely ices in the winter and provided access to the Midwest and the Mississippi River. Charleston's rail traffic traveled the South Carolina Railroad and the Georgia Railroad before connecting to the Western & Atlantic in Atlanta for the trip north. In turn, these two important port cities were linked by the Charleston & Savannah Railroad.[15]

The Nashville & Chattanooga was permitted by law to own slaves, and this work force, supplemented by Irish immigrant labor, completed the railroad through Rutherford County, Tennessee. They laid U-rails of iron weighing 80 tons per mile atop cedar crossties on a mud roadbed. The rails were laid five feet apart, the standard gauge in the Deep South, and at the joints were centered on cedar stringers twenty feet long, seven inches wide, and seven inches deep.[16]

Running along the railroad were the wires of the Western Union Telegraph Company. Telegraph operators had offices at intervals along the rail line to notify railroad agents of timetable changes, obstructions on the line, and routing instructions. Both armies used telegraph operators to communicate orders and file reports to their superiors in Washington or Richmond. Cavalry patrols routinely cut telegraph lines in enemy territory, often after intercepting dispatches and occasionally sending spurious ones.

In 1860, prior to the commencement of hostilities, Rutherford County had an aggregate population of 27,918, nearly half of whom were slaves.[17] After Kentucky, middle Tennessee was the largest corn-producing region in the Confederacy east of the Mississippi River. Each of middle Tennessee's nine counties yielded more than one million bushels of corn annually, and Rutherford County's crop was one of the most abundant, amounting to more than a million and a half bushels. East Tennessee was considered the state's breadbasket, but Rutherford County grew 150,401 bushels of wheat. The county also grew more than fifty tons of sweet and Irish potatoes in 1860. Furthermore, Tennessee was the Confederacy's second largest pork-producing state. The county boasted 64,877 hogs in the 1860 census. Rutherford was second only to Maury County in horse and mule production, in a state that would provide more mules to the Confederate cause than any other. Tennessee was second in the country to Kentucky in horse husbandry, with 10,308 horses and 4,348 mules in Rutherford County, according to the 1860 census figures.[18] Unfortunately for Bragg,

13. *Official Atlas of the Civil War*, "Topographical Sketch of the Battle-Field near Murfreesborough, Tenn.," Plate XXX, "Plans of the Battles on Stone's River before Murfreesborough," Plate XXXII; "Map of Rutherford County, Tennessee from New and Actual Surveys," D. G. Beers & Co., 1878, folder 3, drawer 3, Stones River National Battlefield Historic Map Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; on the name Old Bowen Lane, see Ann Wilson Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," (M.A. thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958), 78; for references to this road as McFadden Lane, see particularly Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 65, 76, 124, 141, 152, 155; Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 206, 208-210. For further documentation of this road see Edwin C. Bearss, "Fence and Ground Cover Map, Part of the Master Plan, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," report, (December 1961), 45-57.
14. In May 1873, the Nashville & Chattanooga absorbed the Nashville & Northwestern Railroad and changed its name to the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. In 1880, the Louisville & Nashville acquired the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis, but the latter continued to operate under its own name until 1957, when it was fully integrated into the Louisville & Nashville. In 1980, the Chessie System Inc. and the Seaboard Coastal Line merged to form the CSX Corporation. The 1983 merger of the Seaboard Coastal Line, the Louisville & Nashville and two other railroads brought the Louisville & Nashville (including what started out as the Nashville & Chattanooga in 1845) into the CSX system. The rail line adjacent to STRI continues to be operated by CSX Transportation Inc., a subsidiary of CSX Corporation. CSX Corporation, *CSX Transportation.*, June 21, 2001, http://www.csxt.com/abt/rial/history/htm.
15. Robert C. Black III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 5-7.
16. Thomas N. Johns, Sr. "The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Through Rutherford County 1845-1872," in the *Rutherford County Historical Society Publication No. 5* (Murfreesboro, TN, June 1975), 14.
17. United States Bureau of Census, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eight Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 459.
18. United States Bureau of Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eight Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 136.

Union forage parties had scoured middle Tennessee in July, August, and September 1862.[19] A secure lodgment of a Rebel army in Murfreesboro would curtail future Union foraging expeditions in this agriculturally rich region and increase the dependence of Nashville's occupying army on the fragile Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

The Battle of Stones River

When Union wing commanders Crittenden, McCook, and Thomas moved against Bragg's scouts on December 26, 1862, the surprised Confederate commander quickly concentrated his scattered infantry at Murfreesboro in anticipation of catching a Federal column in the flank. Wheeler's cavalry disputed the crossroads at La Vergne, Nolensville, Triune, and Smyrna but, owing to the prior detachment of Forrest's and Morgan's brigades, lacked the strength to seriously contest the superior Union numbers. Crittenden's and Thomas's wings were near Murfreesboro on December 29, expecting the Rebels to flee the city without a fight. Col. Charles Harker's brigade was dispatched to cross Stones River and reconnoiter the Confederate defenses on the night of December 29. Meeting stiff resistance, Harker withdrew across the river after a brief skirmish, but the report of his reconnaissance in force convinced Rosecrans that Bragg intended to defend the town. The Union commander decided to await the arrival of McCook's wing to ensure numerical superiority before pressing the Rebels further. On December 30, advance elements of McCook's troops, under Brig. Gen. Phillip Sheridan, had closed to within two-and-a-quarter miles of Murfreesboro before meeting determined Rebel resistance. Rosecrans brought his men to a halt and prepared to attack the Confederate army across Stones River the following day.[20]

Bragg had stationed his army across a fifty-mile front in November 1862. When he recalled his far-flung troops to Murfreesboro on December 26, he positioned them in an arc to cover the approach roads into town. This strategy, however, split his army into two halves, one on each side of Stones River. On December 28, Bragg placed Hardee's Corps along the limestone bluffs on the river's east bank to watch for Union troops advancing south on the Lebanon Road. Lt. Gen. Leonidas K. Polk's Corps occupied a large semicircular line from the west bank of the river to the Wilkinson Pike. Sheridan's reconnaissance in force on December 30 convinced Bragg that Rosecrans intended to assail his left flank. During that night, Bragg detached Breckinridge's division from Hardee's Corps, leaving it along Stones River's east bank. He then directed the balance of Hardee's troops to the west side of Stones River, extending Polk's lines toward the southwest. Bragg had observed a line of Union campfires beyond Polk's left. The Union built these "phony campfires" to deceive the Confederate high command into believing the bulk of Rosecrans's army was on the west side of the river. Bragg was completely fooled, but it was Rosecrans who would pay for the trick.[21]

Rosecrans's plan called for Crittenden's wing to leave its position on the west bank, ford Stones River, and attack Bragg's right the following morning after breakfast (see Figure 19). He deployed the wings of McCook and Thomas on the west bank of the river, on his right and center respectively, instructing McCook to occupy the Rebels on his flank: "Take a strong position; if the enemy attacks you, fall back slowly, refusing your right, contesting the ground inch by inch. If the enemy does not attack you, you will attack him, not vigorously but warmly. . . ."[22] Oddly enough, Bragg had the same plan of attack, calling upon Breckinridge's division to hold his right flank on the river's east bank, while assaulting with Hardee's Corps toward the artificial campfires on his left.[23] As at the Battle of First Manassas seventeen months before, the commanders had identical battle plans. Now the advantage would go to the first to strike.

The opposing armies' infantry were organized as follows:

> Rosecrans's 14th Army Corps (Union)
> McCook's Right Wing: Divisions of Davis, Johnson, and Sheridan

19. Connelly, 23.
20. Spearman, 7-11; Horn, 196; Connelly, 50-51.
21. Connelly, 44-50.
22. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XX, 255.
23. Connelly, 51-54.

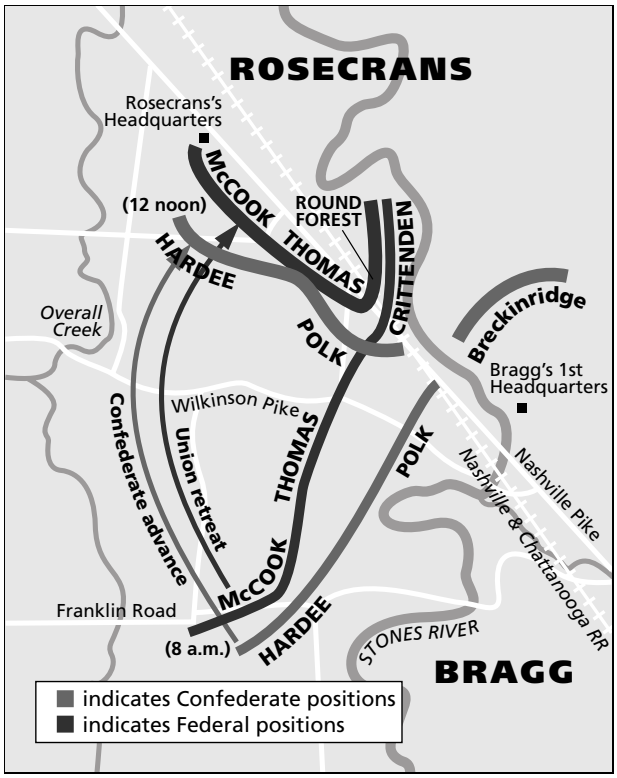


FIGURE 19. Troop dispositions on the first day of the Battle of Stones River.

Thomas's Center Wing: Divisions of Rousseau, Negley, and Fry
Crittenden's Left Wing: Divisions of Wood (Hascall), Palmer, and Van Cleve (Beatty)

Bragg's Army of Tennessee (Confederate)
Polk's Corps: Divisions of Cheatham and Withers
Hardee's Corps: Divisions of Breckenridge, Cleburne, and McCown

The following narrative could give the erroneous impression that regiments advanced and retreated in lockstep. It should be remembered that every such movement during a battle is a confused and bloody affair. Lines may start out well-dressed and orderly, but uneven terrain, obstacles, and the fire of the enemy soon cause them to bend, waver, and break down. While most of a regiment might be advancing, some of its members are being cut down, the walking wounded are moving to the rear, and some are frantically seeking what cover they can find. Through it all, the deafening fire of muskets and cannon, the screams of the wounded, the stench of gunpowder, and the site of blood and tissue flying through the air create a stark atmosphere of barely organized chaos.

On December 31, Bragg steeled the resolve of his troops with a pre-dawn ration of whiskey, then launched an attack on Rosecrans's right flank. Like some Union troops on the first day at Shiloh, McCook's men were still making breakfast when Maj. Gen. John McCown's Rebel division overran their right flank near the intersection of Gresham Lane and Franklin Road. McCown's forces drove the fleeing Federals west toward Overall Creek, creating a gap in the Confederate line between their own division and that of Maj. Gen. Jones M. Withers on their right. Maj. Gen. Patrick Cleburne marched his hard-fighting division into this gap, wheeling his line to the right, turning the flank of two Union divisions, and pushing scattered Federal units north along Gresham Lane. By 8 a.m. Rosecrans's right was in shambles and his army would spend the balance of the day on the defensive.[24]

Hardee's Corps, after routing McCook's right and center divisions, began to wheel north toward the Nashville Pike in an attempt to roll up the Federal line. Polk's Corps launched its attack against McCook's remaining division, an outfit led by the Irish-born, hard-bitten Sheridan. Brig. Gen. Joshua Sill, one of Sheridan's three brigade commanders, had alerted him to Confederate movement during the night. Warned of the likelihood of a Rebel strike, Sheridan had his men in line of battle before dawn, taking cover among the boulders and cedars.

Withers's division of Polk's Corps slammed into Sheridan's division at approximately 8 a.m., meeting determined resistance from the Federals in the cedars. Sill launched a counterattack from his position behind a brick kiln southeast of the Harding House, and was killed while his men were thrown back with heavy casualties. By the end of the day all three of Sheridan's brigade commanders were dead. On the defensive again, Sheridan placed his artillery on a knoll behind the Harding House, and it wreaked havoc on Withers's units advancing across the open cotton and corn fields south of McFadden Lane. Cleburne's Confederates had previously swept east through McCook's other two divisions and by 10:45 a.m. had gained Sheridan's

24. Spearman, 13-15; Horn, 200-01; Cozzens, 81-104.

rear. Threatened by envelopment and suffering enfilading fire, Sheridan's division grudgingly withdrew north to the intersection of McFadden Lane and the Wilkinson Pike, facing its brigades south, east, and west to form a salient.[25]

Sheridan's stout defense gave Rosecrans, who had spent the early morning hours supervising Crittenden's crossing of Stones River, a chance to restore the shattered Federal line. The Union commander directed his units into the line of battle on the Federal left. Rosecrans and his staff often rode into the thick of combat, behavior that resulted in the decapitation of his chief of staff, Col. Julius Garesche, who was riding close to his commander when slain by a cannonball likely fired from a Rebel battery on Wayne's Hill, across the river. Rosecrans recalled Brig. Gen. Horatio Van Cleve's division from the east bank of Stones River and ordered him to form a line parallel to the Nashville Pike, northwest of the burnt-out shell of the Cowan House, to catch stragglers. Brig. Gens. John Palmer's and Thomas Wood's divisions of Crittenden's Corps were ordered to remain in place and extend their frontage from the Nashville Pike to McFadden's Ford. Having stabilized his left, Rosecrans made dispositions for his right.[26]

While Sheridan's men clung grimly to the cedars and boulders, the division on their left under Brig. Gen. James S. Negley was also under attack from Withers's Rebels. Negley's division was ensconced in a cedar glade, his troops facing east across McFadden Lane, and his right terminating on the Wilkinson Pike. The first Confederate charge across the cotton field south of the Cowan House ruins was repulsed by Negley's veterans and their artillery. A second, more concerted charge by several of Jones's brigades dislodged Negley from the cedars and captured twelve of his cannon. Sheridan's men simultaneously withdrew from their salient when fire from Confederate artillery occupying the brick kiln rendered it untenable, but their tenacious defense, with its high cost in dead and wounded, had averted disaster and allowed Rosecrans time to rebuild his line.[27]

By noon, Bragg's Confederates had bent the Union line back upon itself at the boulder-strewn, cedar-choked hill known locally as the Round Forest. The Round Forest was east of the Nashville Pike and bisected by the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. A Rebel attack that captured this hill would break the Federal forces in two. Realizing the importance of this position, Rosecrans sent every brigade not already engaged to the Round Forest and reinforced them with artillery. The Union army's left flank faced southeast, anchored on its left by Stones River and holding the Round Forest on its right.

Rosecrans's right flank continued to bend back during the course of the day as Hardee's Corps wheeled toward the Nashville Pike. Beyond Sheridan's salient, Cleburne's and McCown's divisions followed the fleeing Federals north along Gresham Lane, stopping at the Wilkinson Pike to draw ammunition and dress their ranks. Thomas, still holding the Union center, bought time by ordering his reserve division under Brig. Gen. Lovell Rousseau, which included a brigade of U.S. Regulars under Col. Oliver Shepherd, into the cedar woods behind Sheridan. Forming on Rousseau's right was Van Cleve's division, still wet and shivering from fording Stones River twice that morning. When Hardee's veterans plunged into the trees north of the Wilkinson Pike they encountered stiff resistance from Rousseau's and Van Cleve's fresh men. According to one of Van Cleve's brigade commanders, the nearly impenetrable cedars were "so dense as to render it impossible to see the length of a regiment," making the already disordered nature of combat command unmanageable.[28]

In the confusion among the cedars, Hardee's men slugged it out with the Federals, gradually gaining the advantage. Rousseau, realizing his position was untenable, constructed a fallback line by posting two batteries of artillery on a rise of ground behind the Nashville Pike, where Stones River National Cemetery is today. The Union units withdrew unevenly, creating gaps in the blue line that the opportunistic Rebels used to turn the flanks of Rousseau's remaining troops. One such gap opened in the cedars in front of McCown's men. Separated by the dense thickets, one Rebel brigade exited the

25. Spearman, 16-17; Cozzens, 109-27.
26. Spearman, 18-19; Cozzens, 130-31.
27. Spearman, 15; Cozzens, 131-35.
28. Spearman, 19-20; Cozzens, 137.

trees alone and charged across a cotton field toward Rousseau's fallback line of artillery, only to be repulsed with terrible casualties. McCown's Texas and Arkansas brigades emerged from the woods further down the Nashville Pike shortly thereafter, only to meet the same fate at the hands of the Chicago Board of Trade Battery, which had been placed there by Rosecrans himself. On McCown's right, Cheatham's division of Tennesseans had reached the fringe of the cedars and saw artillery backed with blue-clad infantry. Lacking artillery of their own, the Rebels declined to attack the Federal position and remained at the edge of the woods.

On Hardee's left side was Cleburne's division, veterans who had crushed McCook's flank earlier in the morning. At noon Cleburne's men advanced north from the Wilkinson Pike, meeting Van Cleve's division in the cedars. Confederate cavalry under Brig. Gen. John Wharton had progressed far beyond the Federal right flank earlier in the morning, capturing stores, burning wagons, and causing consternation in Rosecrans's rear. Wharton's command had reached the Nashville Pike and the main Union hospital at the Hord House earlier in the day but was repulsed by Federal cavalry. After an hour of bitter fighting in the woods south of Asbury Lane, Cleburne's men appeared poised to capture the Nashville Pike again. Col. Harker's brigade, on the extreme right of the Union army, retreated across Asbury Lane about 1 p.m. and took up a position at the Widow Burris House, accidentally exposing the flanks of Van Cleve's brigades on his left. Cleburne's veterans seized upon this blunder, outflanked Van Cleve's men, and pushed the Federals toward the Nashville Pike near Rosecrans's headquarters. By 3 p.m. the Rebel onslaught had halted, probably from sheer exhaustion, and withdrew into the cedars. No reinforcements were available to follow up the success on the Confederate left because Bragg had committed them to capturing the Round Forest.[29]

While Hardee's Corps was crushing the Union right, the strength of Polk's Corps was expended trying to capture the Round Forest. On December 31, Polk's men made no less than four vain attempts to break the center of the Union line. At 8 a.m. Palmer's division of Federal veterans rested obliquely astride the Nashville Turnpike and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad where they crossed McFadden Lane. He ordered his units forward, toward the burnt-out shell of the Cowan House, before grasping that Negley's division on his right was falling back in an attempt to support Sheridan. Realizing his flank was uncovered, Palmer recalled his men to McFadden Lane and the safety of the woods. The fight came quickly as Confederates from Withers's division crossed the cotton fields of the Cowan farm and crashed into his lines, but they were repulsed with heavy losses after an hour's fighting. The Confederates attacked again at 10 a.m. as brigades from Cheatham's division followed in the wake of Withers's men. Cheatham's Tennesseans also suffered heavily, but the collapse of McCook's Corps brought pursuing Confederates into Palmer's rear. These men were temporarily stopped in the cedars behind Palmer by the valiant sacrifice of Shepherd's brigade of U.S. Regulars.

East of the turnpike, Cheatham's advance along the railroad tracks toward the Round Forest ground to a halt under withering fire, prompting the attackers to nickname these fields "Hell's Half-Acre." At 1 p.m. the Confederates renewed their attack on the Round Forest, sending two fresh brigades from Breckinridge's division into the carnage. The Union defenders of the Round Forest, particularly the brigade of Col. William B. Hazen, fought off this Rebel charge as well. The fences, outbuildings, and ruins of the Cowan farmhouse impeded the Confederate charges against the Round Forest because they were forced to redress ranks after crossing these obstacles. Bragg summoned two more brigades from Breckinridge for a final assault that began at 3:30 p.m., but this too failed to break the Union line, and closing darkness halted the action.[30]

Both armies remained in place on January 1, 1863; Bragg detailed his men to collect discarded arms, colors, and other trophies of war, while Rosecrans shortened his line by abandoning the Round Forest and dug in for another Rebel onslaught. Soldiers combed the battlefield for fallen comrades, returning to the field hospitals with wounded from both sides who had survived the night's bitter cold. Wheeler's cavalry destroyed a Union wagon train near LaVergne, ensuring that the Federals would remain on short rations.[31]

29. Spearman, 19-21; Cozzens, 134-50.
30. Spearman, 21-22; Horn, 202-05; Cozzens, 151-66.



FIGURE 20. McFadden's Ford circa the 1890s.

On New Year's Day, Van Cleve's division, now commanded by Col. Samuel Beatty, crossed Stones River for the third time in two days and seized the high ground on the east bank near McFadden's Ford (see Figure 20). From this position, Beatty's artillery could enfilade Bragg's right and center on the west side of the river. Confederate reconnaissance on January 2 revealed Rosecrans's crafty move, prompting Bragg to order Breckinridge to attack Beatty's division. Breckinridge personally inspected the ground before appealing to Polk, his corps commander, and Bragg to cancel the assault. The former U. S. Vice President noted that Beatty would retreat onto higher ground and that the Rebel line of battle would be enfiladed from Federal batteries posted on the west side of the river. Bragg reinforced Breckinridge with additional troops from Polk's Corps but reiterated his order to attack. The Confederate commander scheduled the attack for late afternoon to prevent Rosecrans from having sufficient daylight to launch a counterattack. Breckinridge's brigades marched off Wayne's Hill at 4 p.m., quickly coming under fire from Union batteries on the west side of the river.[32] Confederate veteran Ed Thompson described the charge avenue as:

> an uncleared space, covered for the most part, with sassafras and other brushwood, and with briars, and a little ahead was another open flat of ground, descending from the bushes, for some distance, then ascending to the line upon which the enemy lay. The general character of the ground along the whole division was undulating and broken by thickets, forest trees and patches of briars.[33]

Protected by undulations in the ground, Breckinridge's veterans quickly closed with Beatty's men and turned Crittenden's right. The flanked Federals retreated to McFadden's Ford, passing through two brigades that Rosecrans had ordered to cross the river to support them. The Rebels were halted by these new opponents but again worked their way onto their opponent's flank, forcing another Union retreat. The jubilant Confederates approached the river, and a few even crossed it in pursuit of the fleeing Federals. Soon the tables were turned, as they were swept by volleys from forty-five Federal cannon placed hub-to-hub on the west bank of the river. Capt. John Mendenhall, Crittenden's chief of artillery, had assembled all or part of ten batteries on the west bank of Stones River. His guns commanded a clear field of fire

31. Spearman, 22, 24; Cozzens, 171-72.
32. Horn, 206-07; Connelly, 62-64.
33. William C. Davis, *The Orphan Brigade: the Kentucky Confederates who couldn't go home* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 178.

because the west bank was at least ten feet higher than the Confederate-held east bank. The barrage from this assemblage of iron and bronze tore apart the soldiers' bodies, breaking the Rebel charge and driving it back in disarray to the starting point. The Federals pursued the fleeing Rebels but stopped when confronted by a scratch line of Confederate cannon and cavalry.[34]

Both armies watched each other warily on January 3 but neither side offered combat. Believing from Crittenden's captured baggage that Rosecrans had been reinforced, Bragg ordered his army to withdraw twenty-five miles south to the Duck River the night of January 3. The night march through driving rain turned the Nashville Pike into a quagmire, adding to the retreating Rebels' misery. Wary of another Confederate assault, the Pioneer Brigade dug earthworks parallel to the Nashville Pike for the Chicago Board of Trade Battery. The Union army, victors of the battle by virtue of possession of the field, rebuilt the trestle over the river that the Confederates had destroyed during their retreat and crept into Murfreesboro on January 5. Both sides had suffered heavily: of Bragg's 37,700 engaged, 9,865 were casualtiesa loss of 26 percent; the Federals endured even worse, losing 13,244 men out of 43,400 present, 30 percent of their army. It had been a bitterly contested struggle.[35]

On the tactical level, the Battle of Stones River clearly illustrates the advantage gained by seizing the initiative and attacking the flank of an opposing army. Equally clear is the defensive power of massed artillery, particularly when sited on a prominent position such as the Round Forest or the elevated west bank of Stones River. Finally, the command difficulties encountered when fighting over broken ground, problems coordinating attacks or withdrawals, and the challenges of keeping troops aligned are demonstrated by each army's response to the terrain.

The ability of Rosecrans's army to withstand Bragg's furious assault without breaking established the Army of the Cumberland's reputation as an immovable defensive force. This defensive resiliency would resurface again in battle at Chickamauga, Atlanta, and Franklin, but it was forged at Stones River. Likewise, the Battle of Stones River typified the Confederate Army of Tennessee's fate as a hard-luck loser and produced dissent within its command structure that reduced its effectiveness for the balance of the war.

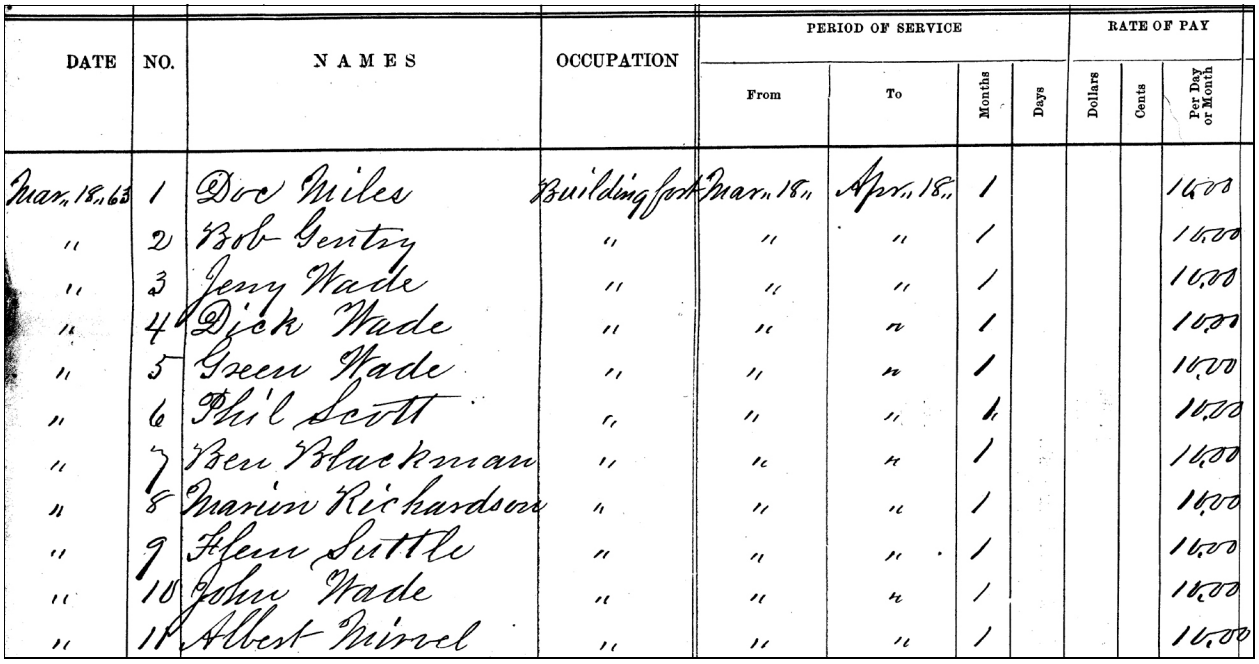
Fortress Rosecrans

After the battle, Gen. Rosecrans renamed his force the Army of the Cumberland and initiated construction at Murfreesboro of a large enclosed earthen fortification. James St. Clair Morton, Chief of Engineers, Army of the Cumberland, designed the earthwork, which was subsequently named Fortress Rosecrans. The basis for the design of the fort was likely Dennis Hart Mahan's *Treatise on Field Fortifications*, a reference work written by the former commandant of West Point. Rosecrans wrote Chief of Staff Halleck that the fort would serve a twofold purpose: enclosing a forward supply dump for the Army of the Cumberland and providing a refuge for the army if it suffered a defeat.[36]

Morgan's and Forrest's cavalry preferred wrecking railroad trestles to tearing up railroad tracks because the destruction could be accomplished quickly and took longer to repair. Given the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad's role in keeping the Army of the Cumberland supplied for the balance of the war, Fortress Rosecrans was sited atop several low hills for the defense of this vital supply line. Located one and a half miles northwest of Murfreesboro, the fort encompassed both the Nashville Pike and Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad river crossings. Thus, the fort protected the largest bridge and railroad trestle spans between Nashville and Murfreesboro. A brigade of infantry defending the fortress, Rosecrans boasted in a letter to Halleck, would "be able to cover the depots and bridges against a division or two."[37]

Construction of Fortress Rosecrans began on January 23, 1863. Each brigade in Rosecrans's army worked on the entrenchments for a day or two before being replaced by another brigade. The

34. Spearman, 25-27; Horn, 207-08; Cozzens, 183-96.
35. Spearman, 27; Cozzens, 201; casualties from *Official Records,* vol. XX, 215, 261.
36. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, pt. II, 81.
37. Ibid., 90.



DATE	NO.	NAMES	OCCUPATION	PERIOD OF SERVICE				RATE OF PAY		
				From	To	Months	Days	Dollars	Cents	Per Day or Month
Mar. 18, 63	1	Doc Miles	Building fort	Mar. 18,	Apr. 18,	1				16.00
"	2	Bob Gentry	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	3	Jeny Wade	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	4	Dick Wade	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	5	Green Wade	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	6	Phil Scott	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	7	Ben Blackman	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	8	Marion Richardson	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	9	Glenn Suttle	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	10	John Wade	"	"	"	1				16.00
"	11	Albert Mirel	"	"	"	1				16.00

FIGURE 21. Pay sheet for African Americans who worked on Fortress Rosecrans.

combat engineers of Morton's Pioneer Brigade, specially trained troops who repaired or constructed fortifications, roads, and railroads, supervised the workers. Between four and five thousand troops worked on the fort twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, between January and April.[38] Civilian John Spence noted in his diary on February 15 that "preparation is being made for building fortifications and rifle pits near this place. Large quantities of timber trees are cut and hauled to the grounds. The work is commenced and pushed on rigorouslydigging and blasting rocks. A great number of negros are employed at this kind of work, under pay, of course."[39] In April, the workweek was reduced to five days, and on April 20, the "graveyard shift" was eliminated. The workload increased again in June, prior to Rosecrans's initiation of the Tullahoma Campaign on June 24.

After much prodding from Halleck, Rosecrans began the campaign to capture the valuable rail center of Chattanooga. The campaign's first phase was designed to drive the Rebels from their strong position along the Duck River. Bragg had retreated behind the Duck after losing the Battle of Stones River and had remained there while Fortress Rosecrans was built. Bragg's Army of Tennessee occupied the mountain gaps and passes in this rugged area of Tennessee known to geographers as the Highland Rim. Rosecrans used this mountainous terrain between Murfreesboro and Tullahoma to hide his army's movements. Within a week Rosecrans had outmaneuvered Bragg, capturing middle Tennessee and north Alabama as well. The Union commander detailed Van Cleve to remain at Fortress Rosecrans to guard the railroad with 2,394 convalescent troops.[40]

As constructed, Fortress Rosecrans measured 1,250 yards from north to south and 1,070 yards east to west, creating an enclosure of about 200 acres. A line of curtain walls, lunettes, and rifle pits 14,600 feet in length formed the fort's outer perimeter. The nine lunettes were fieldworks that consisted of two faces forming a salient angle with two parallel flanks that opened to the interior of the fort. Each lunette was named for a general officer assigned to the Army of the Cumberland. A line of earthworks known as Curtain Wall No. 1 was constructed between Lunettes Thomas and McCook, on the fort's southeastern face. Another line of earthworks, known as Curtain Wall No. 2, ran between Lunettes Thomas and Negley on the fort's southwestern face. Because Lunettes Negley, Thomas, and Curtain Wall No. 2 could be enfiladed by artillery on the west bank of the river, traverses set at right angles

38. Ibid., 154.
39. John C. Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War* (Murfreesboro, TN: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1993), 73.
40. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, pt. II, 423; Connelly, 126-134.



FIGURE 22. Fortress Rosecrans superimposed on modern city streets.

were constructed behind their walls. The lunettes and curtain walls were fitted with embrasures, V-shaped openings in the earthwork through which defenders fired their cannon. Large earth-filled wicker baskets called gabions were placed outside the embrasures for extra protection. Gabions were much larger than sandbags, portable, and would absorb several incoming Confederate rounds before splintering. Both the railroad and the pike bisected the fort, with openings in the fortress walls to allow passage on these arteries. Sited near the entrances for the railroad were artillery emplacements (Batteries Cruft and Mitchell) to reinforce these vulnerable points.[41]

Trees and brush within a thousand yards of the fort were cleared to provide unobstructed lines of fire for the defenders. Abatis, felled trees laid with their branches pointed outward, were placed between the lunettes and in the marshy ground where Lytle Creek and the river crossed the fort. The remainder of the cleared lumber was used to construct housing and military structures within the fort. Pvt. James H. Jones relates that "there is fortifications on evry [sic]

41. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. II, 502; Edwing C. Bearss, *The History of Fortress Rosecrans* (Washington: National Park Service, 1960), 4.

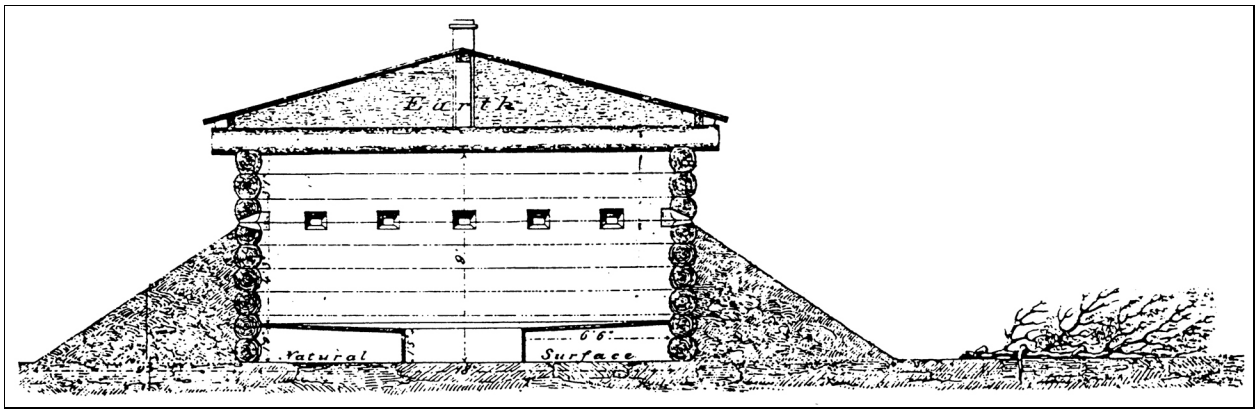


FIGURE 23. Blockhouse of type used at Fortress Rosecrans.

hill and shore near this place within them are placed the twenty four and sixty four pounders ready at all times. . . the groves of timber that was waving in the breeze at the arrival of Rosecrans's army is now in stockades and ashes nothing left but the stumps and brush."[42] Fronting the lunettes and curtain walls were ditches six feet deep, to further slow any enemy troops that cleared the abatis.

Supporting the lunettes and curtain walls within Fortress Rosecrans were four redoubts meant to provide the last line of defense if the lunettes were breached. The redoubts were named Schofield, Brannan, T.J. Wood, and Johnson. Each was a rectangular earthwork containing artillery, a powder magazine, and a wooden cruciform blockhouse (see Figure 23). Every redoubt was constructed on a hill and all were within 350 feet of the railroad. In addition, Redoubt Brannan was built astride the Nashville Pike and was the guardian of the wood-trussed rail and road bridges.[43]

To supply the garrison, a railroad spur 1,200 feet long was added within the fortress, crossing the Nashville Pike below the guns of Redoubt Johnson. The first locomotive hauling supplies from Nashville arrived on February 10, 1863, and the car's contents were delivered to the corresponding depots: foodstuffs were stored in one of the fort's three commissary depots, dry goods were stockpiled in the Quartermaster's Depot, tools were cached in the Engineer's Warehouse, and ordnance was either distributed among the fort's magazines or warehoused in the Ordnance Depot. Additional provisions were foraged locally and entered the fortress along the pike. During the fort's construction, the United States Military Railroad (USMRR) replaced the U-rails of the Nashville & Chattanooga with newer and stronger T-rails.[44] For additional protection along the line, seven wooden blockhouses were constructed at the railroad bridges between Nashville and the fort.[45]

Stones River bisected Fortress Rosecrans, dividing it into two unequal parts. The smaller section was west of the river and contained Lunettes Negley and Stanley, Battery Cruft, and Redoubt Schofield. These earthworks protected four sawmills located along the banks of the river and two commissary depots astride the railroad tracks. The bulk of the fort, including Redoubts Brannan, Johnson, and T. J. Wood, was on Stones River's east bank. The warehouses and depots on the fort's east side were constructed near the railroad to facilitate off-loading of supplies from trains. They were sited in the ravine between Redoubt Brannan and Redoubts Johnson and T.J. Wood as further protection from Confederate artillery. Protecting these facilities were Lunettes Crittenden, Gordon, Granger, McCook, Rousseau, and Reynolds, Curtain Wall No. 1, and Battery Mitchell. Lytle Creek flowed into Stones River through the east bank, further dividing the eastern area of the fort. Lunettes Palmer and Thomas and Curtain Wall No. 2 were constructed on the south bank of Lytle Creek to guard the Franklin Road. Two outlying demi-lunettes, Davis and Garfield, were constructed on a ridge south of the fort, close to the Franklin Road. Another

42. James H. Jones, SC 889, James H. Jones Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.
43. Cowles, Plate CXII, Fig.3.
44. George B. Abdill, *Civil War Railroads* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1961), 137.
45. Bearss, *Fortress Rosecrans*, i.



FIGURE 24. Hazen Brigade Monument, 1890s.

outlying bulwark, the V-shaped earthwork called Redan Van Cleve, was built north of the fort on a hill that dominated Stones River's Nashville Ford.[46]

Hazen Brigade Monument

During the summer of 1863, while the Army of the Cumberland was flanking Bragg's Confederates out of their Tullahoma defenses, members of Hazen's Brigade were detailed to construct a monument to their unit's heroism at Stones River. Although construction of the monument clearly had official sanction, the initiator of this action remains unknown. The site selected for the monument was an area in the Round Forest containing the graves of forty-five of the brigade's fallen. Lieutenant Edward Crebbin of the 17th Indiana Volunteers supervised construction of the monument from June to November 1863.[47] It was hazardous work, and Crebbin's crew was threatened by the appearance of Confederate cavalry in October 1863. At the time, the Union Army of the Cumberland was besieged within Chattanooga, and Wheeler's Confederate command had been ordered to break the railroad line at Murfreesboro, but the obvious strength of nearby Fortress Rosecrans discouraged assault.

Capt. E. B. Whitman described the monument as a "quadrangular pyramidal shaft, ten feet square at the base and eleven feet in height, surmounted by a neat coping. A dry-stacked stone wall, four feet high and two feet thick, enclosed both monument and cemetery. Three low steps breached the wall's south side to allow access." In November 1863, the 115th Ohio Regiment was transferred to Murfreesboro to garrison Fortress Rosecrans and the railroad blockhouses along the Nashville & Chattanooga. Two experienced stonecutters from the regiment, Sgt. Daniel C. Miller and Pvt. Christian Bauhoff,

46. Bearss, *Fortress Rosecrans,* 4.
47. Daniel A. Brown, *Marked for Future Generations: The Hazen Brigade Monument 1863-1929* (Murfreesboro, TN: National Park Service, 1985), 7-8.



FIGURE 25. Headstones in Stones River National Cemetery.

were employed to inscribe the monument's four faces during the spring of 1864.[48]

Stones River National Cemetery

On March 29, 1864, Thomas instructed Van Cleve to "select an eligible site for the founding of a National Cemetery." Furthermore, he was to carry out the assignment "as rapidly as possible."[49] Van Cleve, in turn, detached Capt. John A. Means of the 115th Ohio for duty as a topographical engineer in charge of siting and laying out the cemetery. Means oversaw the cemetery's layout from June 2, 1864, until his discharge on April 25, 1865.[50]

Means sited the cemetery between the Nashville Pike and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad on a slight rise where Union artillery had repulsed Hardee's attacks on the afternoon of December 31, 1862. As constructed, the cemetery is a trapezoid whose parallel sides stretch between the railroad and pike. The plan is formal and geometric, with a graveled central main carriage path entering the cemetery from the pike. The main carriage path runs toward a square in the cemetery's center that is surrounded by four larger squares. Smaller, grassy walking paths radiate from the central square toward the cemetery's four corners, and an additional grassy path circumnavigates the whole. Graves were laid parallel to the main carriage path, four feet apart.

Like the work crew at the Hazen Monument, the workers at the cemetery were members of the 115th Ohio, stationed at Blockhouse No. 7, a fortification of earth and wood that guarded the railroad bridge spanning Overall Creek. After the Battle of Franklin (November 30, 1864) in nearby Williamson County, Union forces under Maj. Gen. John Schofield retreated into strong earthworks at Nashville. The Army of Tennessee, now under Gen. John B. Hood, followed Schofield to the gates of Nashville. Hood detached Forrest to lead a combined cavalry and infantry assault on Fortress Rosecrans. Confederates attacked Blockhouse No. 7 on December 4, 1864, but the garrison was saved by the timely arrival of reinforcements from the fort under Brig. Gen. Robert H. Milroy. Two days of probing failed to convince Forrest of the strength of the Federal position. On December 7, Forrest's troops again fought Milroy's men in the Battle of the Cedars. In a reversal of the Battle of Stones River,

48. Brown, 11-19.
49. Brown, 19.
50. Report of Chaplain William Earnshaw to Brevet Major General J.L. Donaldson, Chief Quartermaster of the Department of Tennessee, October 5, 1866, 229.

Union forces advanced north along Gresham Lane, dislodging the Confederates who were stationed astride the Wilkinson Pike on the old battlefield. Milroy's men pushed the Rebels back across Overall Creek and then retired to Fortress Rosecrans. The Army of Tennessee's destruction at the Battle of Nashville on December 16 forced Forrest to withdraw from the Murfreesboro area.[51]

Forrest's withdrawal signaled the end of formal hostilities in the Murfreesboro area. After Gen. Joseph Johnston's surrender of the remnants of the Army of Tennessee in North Carolina in May 1865, on the heels of Lee's surrender in Virginia, most of the Federal occupation forces at Fortress Rosecrans, including Means, were mustered out of service. After Means's departure , Chaplain William Earnshaw was designated to oversee the completion the cemetery. After the war, Earnshaw directed the exhumation of Union dead buried throughout middle Tennessee and their reinterment at Stones River National Cemetery.[52] In 1866, when occupation troops left, it is likely that the buildings of Fortress Rosecrans were auctioned off to the highest bidder, and the earthworks left to continue to erode.[53]

Significance

Battlefield

Today Stones River National Battlefield preserves the locations of many of the major events associated with the Battle of Stones River and the Federal occupation of Murfreesboro. The battle had military significance as a key step in the Union advance toward Chattanooga and the opening of the campaign for Atlanta. The battle also had political significance as a signal Union victory amid a cluster of Federal losses in the winter of 1862-1863. The battlefield itself is significant as the scene of intense fighting that cost the lives of thousands and maimed thousands more. The surviving elements of the battlefield setting, including the earthworks, roads, natural landforms, and archeological evidence, are tangible links to the events that took place near Murfreesboro during the Civil War.

Historic resources dating to the time of the battle, including the battlefield, are all nationally significant. The battlefield, Van Cleve Lane (Bowen Lane, McFadden Lane), Manson Pike (Wilkinson Pike), and the Old Nashville Highway (Nashville Pike) are nationally significant under National Register (NR) Criterion A because they define areas of intense fighting during the Battle of Stones River. Additionally, the roads were important transportation corridors that funneled troops of both armies into combat. Furthermore, the Manson Pike was the scene of the smaller Battle of the Cedars in 1864. The Old Nashville Highway is also locally significant under Criterion A for its association with the development of Rutherford County.

Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike and Tollhouse Site

The Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike was a strategic point on the battlefield, and much of the fiercest fighting occurred near it on the first day of the battle. From near the Hazen Monument to just past the park visitor center, park-owned land lies on both sides of the turnpike (now known as the Old Nashville Highway) A wooden toll house with a detached kitchen connected with this turnpike stood in the midst of the conflict.[54] On December 29, 1862, Hewett's Kentucky Battery and the 40th Indiana Infantry Regiment were stationed near this structure. On the following day, this battery moved a short distance from this position in order to skirmish with Confederates. The Confederate attack on the morning of December 31, 1862, forced the 40th Indiana to abandon this position and to move closer to the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, which paralleled the pike. However, later that morning, this unit returned to its previous location "with the right resting at the old

51. Bearss, *Fortress Rosecrans,* 68-167.
52. Earnshaw, 227.
53. Lenard E. Brown, "Fortress Rosecrans: A History, 1865-1990," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, no.3 (1991), 139.
54. The Union's use of the Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Shelbyville Pike as a thoroughfare is well-documented. See, for example, W. S. Rosecrans, report, *OR,* series I, volume xx, part I. See also James Lee McDonough, *Stones River—Bloody Winter in Tennessee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 131-151; Alexander F. Stevenson, *The Battle of Stone's River near Murfreesboro', Tenn., December 30, 1862, to January 3, 1863* (1884; Dayton: Morningside, 1983), 74-103; Cozzens, 48-63; Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* (University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 183-196.

house near the toll-gate, and the left extending across the railroad." This was a "position much exposed to the fire of the enemy, which was at this time very heavy, both artillery and musketry." This regiment successfully repulsed a Confederate attack and remained in their position throughout the night.[55]

Archeologists employed both documentary and archeological evidence to locate the site of the toll house at Stones River National Battlefield. Nineteenth-century depictions of this structure based on drawings created by A. E. Matthews, a Union soldier who fought in the battle, suggested that the toll house was probably a small home with a dogtrot and a detached kitchen. Although these buildings are depicted with white-painted wooden siding, it is likely that this siding covered the original log walls. Archeological evidence suggests that artillery fire during the battle destroyed the toll house.[56]

Wilkinson Pike (Manson Pike)

As mentioned above, Thomas's wing of the Union army used the Wilkinson Pike to reach its initial positions at Murfreesboro. Skirmishing between Union and Confederate troops occurred near the pike on December 30. Many of the troops in the Union right were posted near this road on the morning of December 31. Brigadier General Philip H. Sheridan provided the following description of the position of his troops: "at sundown [December 30] I had taken up my position, my right resting in the timber, my left on the Wilkinson pike, and my reserve brigade, of four regiments, to the rear and opposite the center." However, the Confederates' surprise assault early in the morning on December 31 routed the Union right, forcing the Federal troops to retreat from the Wilkinson Pike toward the Nashville Pike.[57] In addition to playing an important role in the Battle of Stones River, the Wilkinson Pike was also crucial in the Battle of the Cedars (December 7, 1864).

Van Cleve Lane (Old Bowen Lane, McFadden Lane)

It seems likely that this road acquired the name Van Cleve sometime after the battle in honor of Union Brigadier General Horatio Van Cleve who served at the Battle of Stones River and at Fortress Rosecrans. Two possible names for this road prior to the battle are Old Bowen Lane and McFadden Lane. This road was in the midst of the battle on both December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863, but no specific references that identify this road by name have yet been located in the *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.[58]

CSX Railroad

The CSX Railroad (Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad at the time of the battle) is nationally significant under NR Criterion A because it was the focal point of intense fighting during the Battle of Stones River. In addition to its role in the battle, the railroad was used by Confederate forces to bring troops and ammunition to the area beforehand. After the Battle of Stones River the railroad was a critical supply line in the Union attempt to capture Chattanooga; Confederate cavalry attempted to cut this vital artery several times prior to the end of the war. The railroad is locally significant under Criterion A for its association with the development of Rutherford County and under Criterion B for its association with persons influential to the history of Tennessee. Sen. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina supported the railroad's construction and may have influenced the city of Charleston's purchase of $500,000 in the company's stock. Railroad president Vernon King Stevenson solicited Calhoun's support, presided over the railroad during its construction, and later became the Confederacy's quartermaster for the division of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Alabama. John W. Thomas served as president of the railroad from 1884 until his death in 1906 and

55. Alban L. Ellsworth, report, *OR*, 411; Henry Leaming, report, *OR*, 497-498.
56. Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 15.
57. Jefferson C. Davis, report, *OR*, 263; Philip H. Sheridan, report, *OR*, 347-350.
58. *Official Atlas of the Civil War*, "Topographical Sketch of the Battle-Field near Murfreesborough, Tenn.," Plate XXX, "Plans of the Battles on Stone's River before Murfreesborough," Plate XXXII; "Map of Rutherford County, Tennessee from New and Actual Surveys," D. G. Beers & Co., 1878, folder 3, drawer 3, Stones River National Battlefield Historic Map Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; on the name Old Bowen Lane, see Ann Wilson Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," (M.A. thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958), 78; for references to this road as McFadden Lane, see particularly Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 65, 76, 124, 141, 152, 155; Hess, *Banners to the Breeze*, 206, 208-210. For further documentation of this road see Edwin C. Bearss, "Fence and Ground Cover Map, Part of the Master Plan, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," report, (December 1961), 45-57.



FIGURE 26. View in Stones River National Cemetery.

was a powerful advocate of veterans' causes and reunions during Reconstruction.[59]

Fortress Rosecrans

The surviving remnants of Fortress RosecransLunettes Palmer and Thomas, Curtain Wall No. 2, and Redoubt Brannan are nationally significant under NR Criteria A, B, C, and D. All are significant under Criterion A for their association with the post-battle Federal occupation of Murfreesboro and under Criterion C because they represent advanced nineteenth-century military fortifications. Significance under Criterion B derives from their association with Rosecrans, who ordered the earthworks' construction. The remains of Fortress Rosecrans convey significant information about the immense logistical network that allowed the Union to prevail in the Civil War. The evaluation of archeological sites is beyond the scope of this study, but the earthworks are potentially eligible for the NR under Criterion D because they may possess information that could increase our understanding of nineteenth-century fortifications.

Stones River National Cemetery/ Hazen Brigade Monument

To be eligible for the NR, cemeteries must meet the requirements of NR Criteria Consideration D. Commemorative structures must meet the requirements of NR Criteria Consideration F, which stipulates that such structures must have gained significance in their own right. Both the Hazen Brigade Monument and Stones River National Cemetery are significant for their design features and their association with historic events, thus satisfying the criteria considerations. Both properties are nationally significant under NR Criteria A and C. The Hazen Brigade Monument is significance under Criterion A because it was constructed before the war's end, making it one of the very first Civil War monuments. It is an important milestone in the history of the commemoration of the Civil War. It is also significant under Criterion C for its design; it represents an older tradition of commemorative architecture that would largely be abandoned in the heyday of Civil War memorialization from 1890 to 1917. The monument has ample significance in its own right to meet the standard of Criteria Consideration F.

Stones River National Cemetery is significant under Criterion A as an early example of a national cemetery, under Criterion B for its association with Gen. George H. Thomas (who ordered it constructed), and under Criterion C for its formal, geometric plan and funerary sculpture. National cemeteries at Civil War battlefields and elsewhere became important sites of formal and informal remembrances by veterans and family members. These cemeteries played an important role in the nation's attitudes toward the Civil War and its aftermath. At the time that the Stones River National Cemetery was laid out, the "rural cemetery" aesthetic of winding driveways and "naturalistic" plantings had already been established. The Stones River cemetery largely departs from that aesthetic and was an influence on the design of subsequent national cemeteries.

As previously mentioned, the core tract at STRI is nationally significant as the site of fighting during the battle. This is the terrain that witnessed the near

59. Miranda L. Fraley "Industry, War, and Memory: An Exploratory Essay" (Practicum paper, University of Indiana, 1998), 2-3, 6.

envelopment of the Union right by Confederate forces on Decemeber 31, 1862. Sill's Ridge, McFadden's Ford, Wayne's Hill, sinkholes, and many rock outcroppings influenced the course of the battle. Final determination of the significance of existing vegetation at Stones River National Battlefield awaits further field and archival research. Vegetation patterns, specifically the relationship between open fields and cedar or hardwood forest, on the field of Stones River played a key role in troop movements and the outcome of the battle. Additional research is needed to evaluate whether existing vegetation could increase our understanding of their role in the conduct and tactics of the battle. Until this research is conducted, the existing vegetation remains unevaluated and should be considered potentially significant for the information it may contribute to the recovery of the vegetation patterns of the 1863 battlefield. A Cultural Landscape Report for Stones River National Cemetery, in draft in November 2001, addresses the historic landscape of that parcel.

As indicated previously, Stones River National Battlefield encompasses only a fraction of the land the two armies fought upon; important areas and structures that served as staging areas, officers' headquarters, and field hospitals surround the park itself. Following the evaluation of historic resources that are within STRI and owned by the NPS, some of these significant nearby historic resources (standing structures and archeological sites) are discussed.

Integrity of Historic Resources

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. According to NR Bulletin 16, the seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These are applied to each contributing property, taking into account its level of significance and the criteria under which it derives its significance. For example, a property that is significant under Criterion A for its association with an event is not held to the same standard of integrity as one that derives its significance from Criterion C, as an example of art or architecture. For a property to contribute to the historic district, it must possess several, and usually most, of the aspects of integrity.

The core of the battlefield retains its historic location and topography. The Old Nashville Highway, Manson Pike, and Van Cleve Lane retain their historic location and alignment. Although they have been paved, widened, and in some cases elevated, they have not been re-graded, and therefore maintain their nineteenth-century roadbeds. Where these roads pass through the battlefield, they maintain considerable integrity of setting, feeling, and association, particularly in comparison to modern roads such as Thompson Lane or U.S. Highway 41/70S. The dirt road section (approximately 1,500 feet) of Van Cleve Lane retains the workmanship and design aspects of its integrity. These roads define the lines of battle during separate phases of the fight, allowing visitors to understand the sweeping nature of the contest. In addition, these roads provided access to different points of the battlefield for units of both armies, as they now do for the visitor.

The CSX Railroad retains its historic location and alignment. The railroad has undergone some changes since the battle, including the laying of ballast, a narrowing of the gauge, the removal of the cedar stringers, and the installation of steel rails and concrete ties. However, modifications made during the Union occupation of Murfreesboro included the replacement of U-rails with the T-rail design still in use. The section of the CSX Railroad that runs through the battlefield (two thousand feet) maintains considerable integrity of setting and feeling relating it to the events of battle. Although the Round Forest has been obliterated by construction of the Thompson Lane Connector and a concrete plant, the relationship of the railroad to the Old Nashville Highway and Redoubt Brannan conveys the association between the battle and the railroad to the visitor.

Only a small portion of Fortress Rosecrans is extant today. The fort once covered approximately 200 acres surrounding Stones River, the Nashville Pike, and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. In 1866, the U.S. Army abandoned the fort. Remaining structures within the fort were disposed of and the fort's earthen walls and redoubts were likely mined for fill dirt or allowed to erode. Now all that is left of the fort is Lunettes Thomas and Palmer, Redoubt Brannan, a traverse of Lunette Negley, Curtain Wall No. 2, and part of Curtain Wall No. 1. All of these earthworks, with the exception of Curtain Wall No. 1

and the traverse of Lunette Negley, are owned by the National Park Service and are within the boundaries of the park. The City of Murfreesboro owns Curtain Wall No. 1, while the Lunette Negley traverse is in private hands.

Although most of Fortress Rosecrans is now gone, the elements that remain are substantial enough to convey the fort's massiveness as well as its purpose and significance. Lunettes Palmer and Thomas, Redoubt Brannan, Curtain Wall No. 2, and Curtain Wall No. 1 retain their location, design, materials, workmanship, and association to the occupation of Murfreesboro. The Lunette Negley traverse is sited in the yard of a single-family dwelling and has lost its association to the other earthworks. Most of the earthworks are in stable condition with grasses providing a protective cover. Redoubt Brannan is threatened by a severe infestation of groundhogs that threatens to undermine the walls of the structure. The integrity of Lunette Thomas has been partially compromised by construction of a power line through its left face and no longer retains its full configuration. The section of Curtain Wall No. 1 north of the railroad tracks has been obliterated by development, but the earthwork that is extant is well preserved. Lunettes Palmer and Thomas, Curtain Wall No. 1, and Curtain Wall No. 2 are set in a park environment with broad views, consistent with a historic landscape that was swept clean of foliage to provide fields of fire. The setting of Redoubt Brannan has been somewhat compromised by adjacent commercial construction.

Stones River National Cemetery and the Hazen Brigade Monument retain locational and design integrity. The Hazen Brigade Monument retains integrity of materials, workmanship, and association. An in-depth evaluation of the vegetation and spatial organization of the Hazen Monument has not been conducted. Based on the CLI-Level 1, the spatial organization is likely to be a contributing feature. Stones River National Cemetery is associated with the context, "Stones River and the Campaign for Middle Tennessee, 1861-1865," because the cemetery was established during the war. Many of the cemetery's features were installed after 1865, and the cemetery also has significance under the commemorative context outlined in Chapter Four below. It is possible that some plant materials date to the cemetery's original layout and construction.

Although they have been altered since 1864, the vegetation patterns within the park today resemble patterns extant during the battle. The relationship of open space to cedar brakes, the planting of corn and cotton in the open spaces, and the use of worm fencing to demarcate the boundaries of the agricultural fields give the visitor strong feelings of association with the landscape of 1863. These vegetational patterns approximate the historic location of agricultural fields and wood lots. The internal views of the battlefield enhance the integrity of feeling and association to the historic landscape. Notable in this regard is the view from the Visitor Center toward the loop road, the view down Old Nashville Highway, and the view from Thompson Lane toward Van Cleve Lane. External views from the battlefield have been compromised by incompatible development and lack integrity. The battlefield's most notable topographic feature, the bluffs above McFadden's Ford, retain locational integrity. The feeling, association, and materials are closely tied to the battle era, but off-site views from the bluffs have succumbed to contemporary residential development across the river.

Contributing Properties - Federal Ownership

Core battlefield tract (1862-1863)
Bowen Lane/McFadden Lane/Van Cleve Lane (c. 1830)
Manson Pike (c. 1840)
Old Nashville Highway (1842)
Nashville & Chattanooga (now CSX) Railroad (1851)
Curtain Wall No. 2 (1863)
Lunette Thomas (1863)
Lunette Palmer (1863)
Redoubt Brannan (1863)
Hazen Brigade Monument (1863)
Hazen Brigade Cemetery Markers (1863)
Hazen Brigade Monument Wall (1863)
Stones River National Cemetery (1864)

Historic Structures and Sites Outside NPS Ownership

The violence and terror of the Civil War unleashed a storm of destruction on the agricultural community that surrounded Murfreesboro. Individuals' responses to the exigencies of war irrevocably altered their relationships with each other and the local society and economy. An understanding of the local community contributes to the study of the

battle because residents and existing structures played significant roles in the battle and its aftermath.[60]

Several of the structures present at the time of battle are no longer standing and now exist as archeological sites while a few, predominantly houses, remain. Some of these structures rest on lands that have been proposed for acquisition by STRI in the 1999 *General Management Plan*. Others are on private property outside of the battlefield's authorized boundary. These sites offer information concerning the local context of the battle, the influence of structures on tactics and vice-versa, the effects of war on a rural middle Tennessee neighborhood, and the Union occupation of the Murfreesboro area.

Lunette Negley traverse. Fragments of the Lunette Negley traverse exist in a private yard with no sight lines to other remaining portions of Fortress Rosecrans. The integrity of these remains, particularly integrity of feeling and association, have been severely compromised, and the remains do not possess enough integrity to convey significance to an observer.

Chicago Board of Trade Battery earthworks. The Chicago Board of Trade Battery earthworks appear to retain sufficient integrity to be nominated to the National Register. The earthworks are in stable condition, and their setting on the edge of the park retains its feeling and association to the Battle of Stones River because of its proximity to the park landscape. They are not owned by the NPS, however, and will not be nominated to the NR as part of the STRI historic district.

Curtain Wall No. 1. The City of Murfreesboro owns the remains of Curtain Wall No. 1, which are part of a golf course property. They appear to have sufficient integrity to be eligible for the National Register.

Cowan House. The Cowan House was a substantial brick structure surrounded by wooden piling or stockade fences with several outbuildings. The 1860 census indicated that the prosperous farm family of Varner D. and Susan B. Cowan occupied this home. By 1860, most of this couple's children were adults and adolescents, and it is not known how many of the children were still residing in this house by the time of the war. The Cowan House was located near the Thompson Lane bridge over the Old Nashville Highway on the New Vision Baptist Church's property.[61]

John C. Spence, a Murfreesboro resident during the Civil War, reported that Bragg's forces burned the Cowan House accidentally while preparing for the battle. He explained that after Bragg selected the ground on which he wished to fight:

> Cowan had to leave his premises in consequence of being on the battle field. There being a good many out houses on the premises and was thought might interfere in getting a fair vision, Genl. Bragg ordered the out houses to be burned out of the way, reserving the family house, it being a large two story brick. Unfortunately, the wind was the wrong way. While burning the others, it took fire and had the same fate.[62]

The walls of the house, its outbuildings, and fences, however, were crucial features of the battlefield. The Confederates posted two batteries near the house that rained artillery shells onto Colonel William B. Hazen's troops in the Round Forest.[63]

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60. Secondary sources that contain information concerning Murfreesboro and the middle Tennessee area during the antebellum period and the Civil War include Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Mabel Pittard, *Rutherford County* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1984); Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). For discussions of Union occupation policies and relations between Union soldiers and southern civilians see particularly Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
61. Oma Dee Phillips, compiler and transcriber, *1860 Census of Rutherford County, Tennessee*, p. 102. On the location of the Cowan House see Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems Facility, "Survey of Battlefield Features at the Civil War Site of Stones River, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," 5-6, 8.
62. Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War*, 57.
63. For information concerning the two Confederate batteries posted near the Cowan House on December 31, 1862, see S. S. Stanton, report, *OR*, 720-721. See also W. B. Hazen, report, *OR*, 544-545.

The Cowan House and surrounding structures proved to be potent obstacles to Confederate troops attempting to assault the Union position in the Round Forest. Brigadier General Daniel S. Donelson's troops launched the second of three assaults against the Union forces from the vicinity of the Cowan House. After seeing Chalmer's brigade forced to retreat, his troops charged forward. He explained: "In advancing upon and attacking the enemy under such a fire, my brigade found it impossible to preserve its alignment, because of the burnt house known as Cowan's and the yard and garden fence and picketing left standing around and about it." At great cost, Hazen's brigade held the Round Forest and repelled the Confederates' charges around the Cowan House.[64]

The Cowan House does not seem to have been rebuilt following the war. New Vision Baptist Church currently owns this site, and this property is not within the authorized boundary proposed in the 1999 Stones River National Battlefield *General Management Plan* (*GMP*).[65]

Harding House and Brick Kiln. The Harding House present at the time of the battle was a two-story log structure located near the Wilkinson Pike. This was the home of Giles Scales Harding and Mary Hollowell Blackman Harding and their family. Prior to the war, the Hardings planned to construct a new brick home, and in preparation for this, they had bricks made on the place, most likely by slaves at a brick kiln located near the main house. However, construction of the house was interrupted by the war, and Union soldiers appropriated the Hardings' bricks for military purposes. During the Battle of Stones River, the Harding House stood in the midst of the fighting on December 31, 1862. The Union army used the building as a field hospital. On the first day of the battle, the house was captured by Confederates and all of its patients made prisoners, but after the Confederate retreat towards Tullahoma, the house once again fell into Union hands.[66]

On December 28, 1862, Water's Alabama battery stationed themselves near the Harding place and saw no action until December 30 "when the enemy, having forced in our skirmishers, got possession of a gin-house and other outbuildings, belonging to the farm of Mr. Harding . . . I was ordered to shell them out which I did." On December 31, Union and Confederate infantry and artillery units were again fighting around the Harding House and brick kiln. During the Confederate attack on the morning of December 31, Major General Benjamin F. Cheatham stated:

> About 8 o'clock, Colonel Manigault's brigade moved out and attacked the enemy directly in his front. He met with very strong resistance . . . General Maney's brigade came up and took position on the left of Manigault's when they moved forward and took position facing toward the Wilkinson pike, near the Harding house, when two batteries of the enemy opened upon them . . . Turner's battery of Napoleon guns in position near the brick-kiln . . . in a short time silenced the battery on the east side of the road.[67]

In the midst of the fighting, Union troops took over the Harding House for use as a hospital. On December 30 a chaplain and doctor serving in the Thirty-Sixth Illinois Infantry assisted an injured soldier in reaching the Harding House. In an account originally written shortly after the battle, the minister provided the following description of the scene at the Harding House on that fateful morning:

> This building, or rather series of buildings, is what we called "Hospital Harding," and was our place of residence for over a week, where we

64. For discussions of the Confederate assaults around the Cowan House see McDonough, *Stones River—Bloody Winter in Tennessee*, 131-151; Stevenson, *The Battle of Stones River near Murfreesboro'*, 104-118; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 149-166; Daniel S. Donelson, report, *OR*, 710-711.
65. For information regarding the Cowan House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Impact Statement* (November 1998), 8, 9, 21.
66. On the Harding family, their wooden home, and their plans to construct a brick residence see Ellen Snell Coleman, "The Harding House," *Rutherford County Historical Society Publication No. 23* (Summer 1984): 1-2; on the capture of the Harding House by Confederates see especially L. G. Bennett and Wm. M. Haigh, *History of the Thirty-Sixth Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, during the War of the Rebellion* (Aurora, IL: Knickerbocker & Hodder, 1876), copy on file in folder 36th Pennsylvania, Regimental Files Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 332-338.
67. David D. Waters, report, *OR*, 769; Benjamin F. Cheatham, report, *OR*, 706.

had the care of upwards of 150 wounded. The house was a third rate frame building, with the log cook-house, &c., attached and surrounded by negro cabins, as is the custom here, while at a little distance was a barn, cotton gin and all the appliances of a cotton plantation. The owner was evidently a man of considerable wealth, owning about fifty negroes, and having an extensive plantation. There were evidences on the premises of considerable refinement, a well cultivated garden and good pianoforte being respectively the external and internal representatives of it. Mr. Harding was at home, and two or three negroes. At the time we took possession they had sought safety in the cellar. But the rest of the family, white and black, had been removed to the other side of Murfreesborough, the secesh commanders having informed him a few days before that the battle would be fought on his land. He looked with anything but complacency upon the Federal army, and indeed there was nothing peculiarly attractive in a body of men taking forcible possession of a man's house, covering his floors, carpet, beds and bedding with bleeding men, and appropriating anything within reach that might be made servicable.

The chaplain and doctor prepared to return to the field after assisting their charge but instead chose to remain as additional medical personnel to attend to the flood of wounded that entered the house. Anticipating that the Harding House would be in the midst of the battle on December 31, Union commanders ordered that the hospital be moved two miles to the rear. However, before this could be accomplished, the Confederates launched their attack against the Union right and captured the Harding House, which stood in their path. The chaplain and Dr. Pierce happened to be outside when the Confederate advance swept toward the Harding place, and they temporarily took shelter at the Gresham House, another nearby Union field hospital. They were at the Gresham House when Confederates captured this home. After the Confederates paroled the soldiers without serious wounds and sent them to Murfreesboro, the chaplain and his companion elected to remain with the wounded. However, after they had helped for a while, they obtained a pass from a Confederate officer in order to return to the Harding House where they expected most of the wounded from their regiment to be located. Shortly after they arrived, a cannon ball pierced a wall of the house, killing four wounded soldiers and breaking the legs of the pianoforte. On January 1, the chaplain ventured to Murfreesboro in order to obtain desperately needed food for the hospital patients from their Confederate captors. They continued their work at the hospital, and the Harding place was retaken by Union troops on January 4 after the Confederate retreat from Murfreesboro.[68]

The Harding family eventually returned to their home, finding one wounded soldier who had been left behind. This man became the charge of the family's daughter Ellen Amy Harding who cared for him until he recovered enough to leave. To express his appreciation, the soldier gave Ellen Amy a 2-¾-dollar gold piece which she later had set into a broach as a memento of the war. The original Harding House survived until the late 1870s when it burned. The family constructed a frame house as a replacement. The Harding property seems to have been a popular reunion site for Confederate veterans. For example, the First Tennessee Regiment held an event there in October 1907. The site of the original Harding House is located on land proposed for acquisition by Stones River National Battlefield's 1999 *GMP*.[69]

Widow Burris House. The Widow Burris House is located on Asbury Lane, a rural road that intersects the Nashville Pike. During the 1860s, Asbury Lane was an unpaved dirt road providing access for a few farms to the Nashville Pike. Census records indicate that in 1860, this house and the farm was the home of the widow Mrs. E. Burris, three adolescent children, and two other small children, probably grandchildren. This structure, which is still extant, is notable not only because it served as a field hospital, but also because it was the scene of a desperate and

68. L. G. Bennett and Wm. M. Haigh, *History of the Thirty-Sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, during the War of the Rebellion*, 330-338, 351-382, quote on 330.

69. Concerning the family's return to their home and their care of a Union soldier see Coleman, "Harding House," 2-3, on the burning of the Harding House see Coleman, "Harding House," 6; on the use of the Harding property as a site for Confederate reunions see Sally (Lawing) Ivie scrapbooks, volume three, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; for information on the Harding House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 20, 21.

successful Union repulse of Confederate troops advancing towards the Nashville Pike and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad on December 31, 1862.[70]

Late in the morning of December 31, 1862, Confederate troops broke through Union lines near the Nashville Pike close to the Widow Burris's house. General Rosecrans himself rallied the Union troops to plug this hole in their lines and repel the Confederates. Alexander F. Stevenson, a Union veteran who composed a history of the Battle of Stones River in the 1880s, offered a detailed description of this part of the battle. He related that Confederate officer

> Liddell says, that he went for a few minutes into a Federal hospital (Widow Burroughs's [alternate spelling for Burris] house), near the little dirt road, being called for protection, and, in an incredibly short time, he found his line breaking rapidly to the rear, that he galloped quickly to head off the stragglers. On halting he found them to be Johnson's men. Riding to the right he met General Johnson looking for his men. Johnson then informed Liddell that his brigade was not far distant, in the neck of the woods. It is evident that these rebel brigades must have been utterly demoralized, and, if Col. Bradley's attack had been followed up at once, the fortunes of that day would have been changed.[71]

The Widow Burris House is a two-story frame house with a front porch carried on two boxed posts. Private individuals currently own this property, and the 1999 *GMP* does not include this site in the proposed authorized boundary.[72]

McFadden House. One of the central events of the battle occurred in the area known as McFadden Ford, the site of the McFadden family farm. On January 2, 1863, Confederates launched an assault against Union troops near the river ford. The Federal troops retreated, leading the pursuing Confederates into the midst of a large concentration of Union artillery on a rise near the ford. The Union artillerists inflicted massive casualties on the Confederates, and this was the last major action in the battle. On January 3, 1863, the Confederates began their retreat towards Tullahoma.[73]

Census records show that at the time of the battle, Holly McFadden, widow of Samuel McFadden, and her children probably lived on the McFadden farm. In an article about James McFadden, one of Holly and Samuel's children, *Goodspeed's History of Tennessee* recorded "the father came to Tennessee when a boy and was reared on a farm in Davidson County. He came to Rutherford County and located on a farm where he reared his family of fourteen children, and was a successful farmer. He was magistrate of his district a number of years and died in 1852." Rutherford County probate records contained many entries related to the estate of Samuel McFadden. McFadden's minor children were assigned male guardians, which was typical during this period. Entries concerning the management of these minors' estates continue until 1861.[74] Archeologists discovered a probable location for a McFadden family cemetery, but the exact site of the McFadden farm house (shown to be on the west side of Stones River on the Bearss map) and

70. On Asbury Lane see, Stevenson, *The Battle of Stone's River near Murfreesboro',* 92; on the Burris family see Phillips, *1860 Census*, 102; on fighting near the Widow Burris House, see particularly Stevenson, *The Battle of Stones River near Murfreesboro'*, 91-103.
71. Stevenson, *The Battle of Stones River near Murfreesboro'*, 91-103, quote on 102.
72. For an image of the Widow Burris House see Dave Roth, "The General's Tour: The Battle of Stones River," *The Battle of Stones River* (Columbus, OH: Blue & Grey Magazine, 1993), 31; for information on the Widow Burris House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.
73. Concerning the fighting at McFadden Ford on January 2, 1863 and the subsequent Confederate retreat on January 3, 1863, see McDonough, *Stones River—Bloody Winter in Tennessee*, 182-201; Stevenson, *The Battle of Stones River near Murfreesboro'*, 129-148; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 177-198; Hess, *Banners to the Breeze*, 218-225.
74. Phillips, *1860 Census*, 100; *The Goodspeed Histories of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford & Marshall Counties of Tennessee* (1886; Columbia, TN: Woodward & Stinson, 1971), 1051; for documentation concerning Samuel McFadden's estate and the guardians of his minor children see the following: *Rutherford County Court Minute Book 16*, 207-209, 212-213, 424, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; *Rutherford County Court Minute Book 17*, 152-153, 195-196, 435-436, 484-485, 695, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; *Rutherford County Court Minute Book 18*, 55, 505-506, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; *Rutherford County Court Minute Book 19*, 284, 290-291, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; *Rutherford County Court Minute Book 21*, 10-11, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

outbuildings remains unknown. However, archeologists and other researchers determined that several other standing or partially destroyed structures in this area were not present at the time of the battle and therefore could not have been part of this farm complex during the Civil War era.[75]

Blanton House. Several maps concerning the Battle of Stones River show the location of the Blanton House, which was used as a hospital during and following the battle. This structure was located in the Wilkinson Pike area, the scene of heavy fighting at the beginning of the battle on December 31, 1862, as the Confederate attack surprised and put the Union right to flight.[76]

A number of archeologists have investigated the ruins of a home that may be the Blanton House. However, they have not conclusively determined whether these remnants are from a structure present at the time of the battle. Cornelison suggested that the remains of a brick structure presently visible may be covering evidence of an earlier wooden structure. Near the house site, archeologists have documented the presence of the Blanton family cemetery, which contains the remains of Thomas Blanton, veteran of the American Revolution, and two unknown individuals. A private individual owns the land on which the Blanton House and cemetery sites are located, but this person has permitted National Park Service archeologists to perform research on his property.[77]



FIGURE 27. Hord House.

Hord House. This home, also known as Elmwood, is located on the Nashville Pike. It was constructed in 1842 using bricks produced by slaves owned by Thomas Hord, who supervised the building of this house. This structure is an I-house with end wall chimneys; a two-story pedimented portico occupies the middle bay of the three-bay facade. Some historic wooden farm outbuildings also remain. The house and other structures on the farm are included in the National Register of Historic Places (NR Identification 73001823).[78]

At the time of the battle, Thomas and Mildred Amelia Gilmer Hord lived at Elmwood. Although his oldest son joined the Confederate army, Thomas Hord held unionist sentiments. During the Battle of Stones River, Union forces used the Hord House as a hospital.[79] The Hord family was actually in

75. Concerning archeologists' speculations about the location of the McFadden House see particularly Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 36-38; for information about post-battle structures in the McFadden Ford area, see Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunnette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Parts of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Accessions 993 and 1021," 21, 25-26, 28; Russell, "Trip Report for Archeological Testing at Stones River National Battlefield (SEAC 1351)," 2; Huhta et al., "The Vaughter House."
76. On the Confederate assault that encompassed the Blanton House see McDonough, *Stones River—Bloody Winter in Tennessee*, 81-108; Stevenson, *The Battle of Stones River near Murfreesboro'*, 35-73, see particularly page 65; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 115-119.
77. On the Blanton House, see Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Parts of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Assessions 993 and 1021," 31; Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 25-36; on the Blanton House and Cemetery see also Blee, "An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them," 15; Wild to Chief, "Trip Report on Phase I Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Construction of a Trail and Parking Lots, 1/28-2/2/91," n.p.
78. Caneta Skelley Hankins and Carroll Van West, *Hearthstones: The Story of Rutherford County Homes*, third edition (Murfreesboro: Oaklands Association, 1993), 38. See also Mary B. Hughes, *Hearthstones: The Story of Historic Rutherford County Homes,* second edition (Murfreesboro: Mid-South, [1960]), 20, 49, 58. For discussions of the architectural and cultural significance of I-houses see Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55: 4 (December 1965), 549-577; Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).
79. Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 20, 49.

residence at the time of the battle, and Thomas Hord related that "the house was unexpectedly and suddenly taken for a hospital and the wounded brought in so rapidly that there was not time or means of removing the carpets or furniture." The Hords "were allowed to occupy one of the smallest rooms below stairs and the chief surgeon directed me to put my beds and furniture in one room above stairs, which I did, including the front parlor furniture (the Louis Quinze set) and my daughter's trunk of clothing. Before I was aware of it, however, this room was also occupied."[80] Amelia Hord assisted in caring for the wounded despite her advanced pregnancy.[81]

The Hords continued to have significant contact with Union soldiers and officials during the occupation of Murfreesboro following the Battle of Stones River. Union officials impressed Hord family slaves to help in the construction of Fortress Rosecrans. They also appropriated large amounts of farm products and animals from the Hord place.[82] Thomas Hord was particularly upset by Union contractors working on the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad who were threatening to destroy all of the valuable cedar trees on his property to use as railroad ties. He requested that Union army officers inquire into this situation, and after the contractor seemed to be ignoring instructions to desist cutting timber on Hord's land, on February 24, 1865, Hord wrote to General Thomas to request his assistance. He explained:

> When the officer came he examined the premises and recommended in his report (as I am informed for I did not go with him having been too unwell for two weeks to leave the house) that the wood choppers be removed or if not removed that they be confined to the wood near the R Road and positively forbid the contractor from going into the only remaining patch of cedar I have left, about 20 acres, some æ of a mile from the R Road. Yet in contempt of this order and report the contractor or Boss has gone on cutting this forbidden cedar and unless you stop them at once it will all be destroyed for they cut two or three acres a day. I regret to be forced to trouble you about my private affairs but are compelled to appeal to you for protection from such gross and unnecessary wrong and injustice. I have already lost many thousand dollars worth of timber without any compensation except $105 dollars for 17 or 18 hundred R Road ties the cedar of which they were made was worth at least 600 dollars as it stood.

Hord added that "on 420 acres of woodland I have not a board tree left and scarcely a cedar except on the 20 acres above referred to yet I am known by all who know me to have been from the beginning of this rebellion, as loyal as any man in the government."[83] Union officials seem to have responded to Hord's complaints concerning the contractors because on March 6, 1865, Brigadier General Van Cleve wrote a letter detailing further investigations of the matter in which he concluded that the contractors were "a pack of scoundrels disposed to defraud the Government and the citizens."[84] Following the war, the Hord family submitted a claim for $60,000 to the federal government for property confiscated or destroyed by the Union forces, and in 1911, the family ultimately was awarded a portion of this sum.[85]

Elmwood still stands and has remained within the Hord family to the present, although development threatens their farm, which has already been disrupted by the construction of state Highway 840. This property is not proposed for acquisition by Stones River National Battlefield. [86]

Jenkins House. The Jenkins House is located near Wilkinson Pike, the present Manson Pike, and I-24.

80. As quoted in Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 49.
81. On Amelia Hord's participation in caring for the wounded see Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 58; Hankins and Van West, *Hearthstones*, 38.
82. Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 20, 49, 58. See also Hankins and Van West, *Hearthstones*, 38.
83. Thomas Hord to General Thomas, February 24, 1865, roll 133, *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians*, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
84. Brigadier General Van Cleve to General [Thomas ?], March 6, 1865, roll 133, *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians*, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
85. On the Hords' claim for damages see especially Hankins and Van West, *Hearthstones*, 38.
86. Bill Carey, "Murfreesboro Battle of '95," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 21, 1995, B5; for information on the Hord House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.

Built in 1853, this is a three-bay, two-story I-house with an exterior chimney at each gable endwall. It has a centered, Greek Revival two-story pedimented portico carried on four boxed posts with capitals across the middle bay. Single-story porches extend from the portico across the end bays. The cornices of the house and of the pediment are adorned with paired Italianate brackets. The original version of this home was constructed of logs which were later covered with wooden siding. At the time of the battle, this house was the home of Hiram Jenkins and his family, and in 1870, his son James Jenkins, a Confederate veteran, inherited the property. This house is included in the National Register of Historic Places.[87]

Through time, individuals have often mistaken this house for another nearby home known as the Gresham House, which was similar in style and constructed for another member of the Jenkins family. This type of confusion actually seems to have occurred during the Battle of Stones River. In their initial reports, both the Seventeenth Tennessee Infantry and the Second Arkansas Infantry claimed to have been the first regiment to capture what appeared to be the same Union hospital on the morning of December 31, 1862. However, it seems that the Seventeenth Tennessee captured the Jenkins House while the Second Arkansas took possession of the Gresham House. Lieutenant Colonel Watt W. Floyd provided the following description of the Seventeenth Tennessee's capture of the Jenkins House:

> On emerging from the woods, I discovered a Federal hospital immediately in front, and one piece of artillery just at the left of it, which was silent, and a battery of four pieces about 300 yards to the right. The regiment at this point made a half-wheel to the right, seven companies passing to the right and three companies to the left of the hospital. The battery that was on my right was playing on the right of the brigade and seemed not to discover us. On passing the hospital and clearing the fences, I discovered the enemy in force forming about 300 yards in front of me. I ordered a halt and reformed the regiment, having passed some 50 yards to the rear of the battery that was on my right, and not more than 140 yards distant, but a slight elevation of ground concealed it from me. It silenced, though, about this time, and moved off to my right, leaving behind one piece. There we captured 2 wagons, well loaded with ammunition for small-arms, and 8 mules. At the alluded to heretofore; I think in all not less than 200 unhurt (my officers think more), besides killing and wounding a great number. Many of the wounded had already been collected at the hospital for treatment.
>
> My regiment was fired upon after clearing the woods by a party of Federals posted in a cotton-gin about 70 yards in front of the hospital, and my men returned the fire, killing several of them. The enemy continued to fire upon our line, particularly the left wing, until we had passed the hospital. I feel very certain that my regiment was the first at this hospital.

As Floyd's narrative indicates, there were Union batteries posted in the area around Wilkinson Pike and near the Jenkins House.[88]

The Jenkins House is not within the boundary proposed in the 1999 *GMP*.[89]

Gresham House. The Gresham House was built for Nimrod Jenkins probably during the 1840s. Nimrod Jenkins died in 1855, and his wife Jane Woodson Moore Jenkins inherited the land tract containing their house. Probate records show that her widow's dower portion of the estate encompassed "the mansion and out-houses."[90] Prior to the battle, Jane Jenkins married Amossa Gresham, and the house subsequently became associated with his surname. This home was an I-house originally of log construction subsequently covered in wooden

87. Hankins and Van West, *Hearthstones*, 28. See also Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 26.
88. On the problem of confusing the Jenkins and Gresham houses see particularly "The Gresham House" *Rutherford County Historical Society Publication No. 19*, n.p.; on the Confederate capture of the Jenkins House see Watt W. Floyd, reports, *OR*, 882-888, quote on 883. On the controversy concerning who captured what hospital see also Daniel C. Govan, report, *OR*, 860-862.
89. For information on the Jenkins House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.
90. On the date of construction for the Gresham House see Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 64; for inheritance information, see *Rutherford County Court Minutes Book 18*, 398-401, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.



FIGURE 28. Gresham House.

siding. It had a Greek Revival porch with four pilasters and chimneys on the gable end walls. This home survived until 1947 when it was torn down after being unoccupied for several years and falling into disrepair. It was located near the Wilkinson Pike on a road known as Gresham Lane, and it stood essentially east of the Jenkins House across I-24.[91]

On the morning of December 31, 1862, the battle's fury swirled around the Gresham House. Union forces used this home as a hospital, and it also served as the headquarters for Brigadier General Alexander McCook. The Second Arkansas Infantry captured the Gresham House on the first day of the battle. Colonel Daniel C. Govan offered the following report of the hospital's capture:

> The enemy were closely followed through the woods, when we encountered a second line of the enemy, posted behind a fence and in the woods near a house used by the enemy as a hospital. The Second Arkansas Regiment, being on the extreme right of the brigade, engaged in our front, and also from a portion of the enemy who had taken refuge in and behind the buildings adjacent to this hospital. It was near this point that General Sill, of the Federal Army, was killed. After a severe engagement the enemy were driven from this second strong position. The hospital, together with many prisoners who had taken refuge there, were taken possession of by General Liddell, and a guard of two men detailed from my regiment to guard the prisoners. No other brigade or regiment was at this time in sight of the hospital.[92]

Because of post-battle disputes concerning which unit captured what hospital, Govan performed an investigation within his regiment. In a report to Brigadier General St. John R. Liddell, Govan related that "Private Elder, of Company D, Second Arkansas Regiment, left by you to guard the hospital and prisoners, stated as follows: That, in obedience to your orders, he and Private Faidley of the same company, took possession of the hospital, which he understood was the residence of a Mr. Griscom [alternate spelling for Gresham]."[93]

A different perspective on the capture of Gresham House is provided by a Union chaplain who was at the home at the time. He and a doctor had been caught outdoors at the Harding House when the Confederate assault began to sweep through the area. They sought refuge in the Gresham House and began assisting the wounded there. While all the wounded men able to travel were ordered to escape, the chaplain and doctor elected to remain. Artillery shells and bullets hailed around the house, and all of the inmates of the hospital sought shelter as best they could. After Generals Hardee and Cheatham and their staffs arrived at the hospital:

> one of Hardee's staff soon called out all the Federal soldiers who could walk, and ordering them to take off their hats, administered to them the oath not to take up arms until regularly exchanged . . . All who could walk to Murfreesboro, except a few detached as nurses, were then marched off under guard, and as they shouted their 'good byes' to their comrades, I wondered what strange and perhaps sad scenes they would pass through before they would meet again. Of course we knew that we could not be paroled or treated as prisoners of war, so we continued without intermission to the care of the wounded."[94]

In the 1999 *GMP*, STRI proposed the Gresham House site for acquisition.[95]

91. Hughes, *Hearthstones*, 64.
92. Govan, report, *OR*, 860.
93. Govan, report, *OR*, 862.
94. Bennett and Haigh, *History of the Thirty-Sixth Regiment*, 333-336, quote on 348.
95. For information on the Gresham House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 20, 21.

General Smith House. The General Smith House, also known as Springfield, stands on Wilkinson Pike near Overall Creek. The original owner of this home, General John Smith of Virginia, bought a 640-acre tract in 1805, and his slaves soon constructed a residence on this property. Historian Caneta Skelley Hankins explained that "although it appears to be an I-house with exterior end chimneys and five bays on each floor," the home "does not have a central hall floor plan. The most significant and the highly unusual features of this house are the identical, dual recessed entrances with fanlights."[96]

On December 31, the General Smith House stood in the path of the advancing Confederates as they staged their early morning assault on the Union right. This structure is outside of Stones River National Battlefield's authorized boundary.[97]

Widow Smith House. At the time of the battle, the Widow Smith home was located near the Triune Road (also known as the Franklin or Old Franklin Road) to the southeast of the Harding House and brick kiln. Skirmishing raged around this home on December 30, and then Confederates used this area as a stage for launching their attack on the morning of December 31, 1862. [98]

Colonel A. J. Vaughan Jr. of the Thirteenth Tennessee Infantry described the skirmishing around the Widow Smith home on December 30. This regiment was arranged with "the left resting on the Triune road, 300 yards in rear of Loomis' brigade, not far behind Smith's House." Vaughan related:

> About 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th, skirmishing, which had been going on between the pickets along the whole line, was entered into with great warmth in my front, and a battery of the enemy, which had been posted on an advantageous spot, opened upon the woods in which my command was in line, shelling it with great fury and wounding some in an artillery duel of terrible severity. At one time this battery was threatened with an impetuous charge by the enemy, when the One hundred and fifty-fourth Senior Tennessee Regiment, in support, rushed forward, resisting with great gallantry the attempt, losing killed and wounded several of its officers and men. After a shelling, about dark, of the camp-fires of the enemy, the contest closed for the day, and we rested upon our arms for the night.[99]

On December 30, 1862, Confederate Major-General McCown stationed his troops near this home. This placement became a source of controversy following the battle, when a dispute arose between Bragg and McCown concerning whether or not McCown had failed to launch his attack promptly on the morning of December 31. McCown contended that "General Cheatham, by General Hardee's order, went with me and pointed out the position the brigade was to occupy, the right resting at a pile of rails near Mrs. Smith's house, on the Triune road."[100]

The site of this house is not currently in Stones River National Battlefield's authorized boundary.[101]

James House. The James House was located on Wilkinson Pike near where this road intersected the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. It served as Confederate Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk's headquarters. This house was in the midst of the battle and had several groups of troops stationed near it. For example, Brigadier General Daniel S. Donelson stated that on December 28 his troops created a "line of battle...on the brow of a hill, about 300 yards in a southeast direction from the white house, known as Mrs. James'." These troops remained there until the evening of December 29 and experienced only a light artillery shelling by the enemy. Then, the Mississippi battery commanded by Captain T. J. Stanford positioned themselves "on

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96. [95]Hankins and Van West, *Hearthstones*, 32; see also Mary B. Hughes, *Hearthstones: The Story of Rutherford County Homes*, first edition (Murfreesboro: Mid-South, 1942), 43, 54.
97. For information on the General Smith House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.
98. *The Official Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958), "Topographical Sketch of the Battle-Field near Murfreesborough, Tenn.," Plate XXX.
99. A. J. Vaughan, report, *OR*, 743.
100. J.P. McCown, report, *OR*, 920.
101. For information on the Widow Smith House's location in relation to the proposed authorized boundary, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.

the west side of Stone's River, in rear of Mrs. James' house" where they remained all of the day. [102]

The James House site is not currently within the authorized boundary of Stones River National Battlefield.[103]

McCulloch House. The site of the McCulloch House is now located near I-24 south of Old Fort Parkway. During the Battle of Stones River, this home served as the base of operations for Confederate Lieutenant General William J. Hardee.[104]

The area near the McCulloch House served as the staging ground for the Confederates' early morning assault on the Union right on December 31, 1862, and several days before the start of the battle, soldiers began moving into position around this home. Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson wrote "at early dawn, on the last day of the old year, 1862, a year so full of bloody records, our line was formed, running north and south on the west side of the West Fork of Stone's River, my left resting on the lane leading up to the McCullouch house." Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Keeble of the Twenty-Third Tennessee recalled:

> Having been changed from the right to the left wing on the evening before the battle, its position was in an open field, the left resting upon the road leading to the McCullouch house. On the morning of the battle, the brigade and division made a right-wheel, in doing which it passed the house above referred to and continued to wheel and march until its course was almost at right angles with the one it held the evening before, marching in its wheel through a large corn-field and a meadow.[105]

The site of this home is not within Stones River National Battlefield's authorized boundary nor in the proposed boundary.[106]

102. On the James House as Polk's headquarters see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8 ; Daniel S. Donelson, report, *OR*, 710; T. J. Stanford, report, *OR*, 731-732.
103. Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.
104. On the McCulloch House as Hardee's headquarters, see Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8.
105. Bushrod R. Johnson, report, *OR*, 875; R. H. Keeble, report, *OR*, 888-889.
106. Stones River National Battlefield, *Final General Management Plan*, 8, 9, 21.

Chapter Four: Stones River National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1866-1948

Stones River National Battlefield traces its beginnings to the establishment of the Hazen Brigade Monument and later the Stones River National Cemetery, previously discussed in Chapter Three. Several private efforts to commemorate the battle were undertaken in the late nineteenth century with uneven success. The park's developmental history begins with the creation of Stones River National Cemetery during the Civil War. Thirty years after the war, veterans and Murfreesboro citizens undertook memorial activity with the intention of turning the battlefield into a national military park similar to the ones that had been established at Shiloh and Chickamauga/ Chattanooga. This chapter examines the development of a federal military park at Stones River and the privately sponsored memorial activity that preceded it. Commemorative activity at Stones River began with the construction of the Hazen Brigade Monument in 1863 and the establishment of the Stones River National Cemetery in 1864. Veterans groups gathered at the cemetery for memorial services during and after Reconstruction (1865-1877), culminating in a veteran-sponsored attempt to have the battlefield declared a national park in the 1890s. Congress established the Stones River site as a national military park under the control of the War Department on March 3, 1927. Although legislation to create a park at Stones River had been introduced to Congress several times during the early twentieth century, it was not until 1928 that the War Department began to acquire, develop, and administer the land as a park. In 1933, the National Park Service (NPS) took over the administration of Stones River from the War Department, and development work continued, much of it performed through Public Works Administration funding.

Post-Battle Development

After the war, Confederate veterans and their families returned to their homes in Murfreesboro and surrounding Rutherford County. Buildings that had been abandoned or demolished during the fighting or subsequent Union occupation in the winter and spring of 1863 were salvaged for lumber. When the Federal occupation forces pulled out of Fortress Rosecrans in April 1866, they probably auctioned off remaining frame structures within the fort to local residents. The earthworks themselves likely were mined by Murfreesboro residents for fill dirt.[1]

Many Confederate sympathizers had moved farther south after the January 1863 defeat at Stones River, abandoning their houses and farms in the wake of the battle. Most returned to their farms on the battlefield in the summer of 1865, although some

1. Lenard Brown, "Fortress Rosecrans: A History, 1865-1990." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1991), 139.



FIGURE 29. Downtown Murfreesboro, 1890s.

structures such as the Cowan House were destroyed during the fighting and never rebuilt. While the Union fallen were reinterred into Stones River National Cemetery, many of the Confederate dead that had been interred in local family plots after the battle were left where they had been buried. As the South experienced Reconstruction, the citizens of Rutherford County attempted to rebuild their war-torn economy. Freed slaves had moved close to the railroad after the battle for the protection offered by the Union garrison. Postbellum photographs of prominent wartime structures such as Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans's headquarters show black occupants in those buildings. An analysis of the Beers Map of Rutherford County, drawn in 1878, reveals several interesting details when compared to Ed Bearss's "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan." The Beers Map shows that four houses standing on the battlefield at the time of the battle–Burris, Gresham, Harding, and Jenkins–were extant in 1878. The Blanton House appeared to be in the post-war possession of Mrs. A.C. Bedford. The Beers Map identified a structure near McFadden's Ford as the Leach House. It is unclear whether the Leach House is the wartime McFadden House or a post-war structure. Today, an old structure called the Vaughter House stands in the vicinity of McFadden's Ford. Recent investigations indicate the Vaughter House is a post-battle structure, excluding the possibility that it is the McFadden House, but it could be the Leach House depicted on the Beers Map.[2] According to the Beers Map, post-battle dwellings owned by H.H. Kerr existed along McFadden Lane and the Wilkinson Pike. The cabin along the Nashville Pike where Rosecrans maintained his headquarters during the battle was listed in 1878 as a "Colored Church."[3]

Abandoned and confiscated lands in Rutherford County totaled 11,933 acres. These parcels were distributed to freedmen during the war by the federal government, which considered land abandoned when its owners voluntarily left for the purpose of aiding the Confederacy.[4] Confiscated lands were seized under the First and Second Confiscation Acts, which allowed the federal government to expropriate the property of those in rebellion and distribute it to freed slaves.[5] Freedmen's hopes of owning the land permanently were dashed with President Andrew Johnson's pardon of former Confederates after the war. Much of this land reverted to its previous owners, who grew corn and cotton as they had done before the war (see Figure 31). Most of the Stones River

2. Carroll Van West et al., "The Vaughter House: Recordation Drawings, Photography, and Architectural Description; Review of Historic Documentation" Invasive Investigation and Analysis; and Eligibility Determination (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, 1999), 45.
3. D. G. Beers & Company, Map of Rutherford County, Tennessee from New and Actual Surveys. Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Company, Philadelphia, 1878. Engraved by Worley and Bracler, Philadelphia. Printed by E. Bourgan.
4. Janet H. Goodrum, "A Profile of Black Landownership in Rutherford County During Reconstruction" (Honors Paper, Middle Tennessee State University, 1989), 6.
5. Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 1-3.



FIGURE 30. Cabins, probably of sharecroppers, on battlefield in 1890s.

battlefield remained in private hands from the conclusion of the battle in 1863 until 1928, when the War Department began to acquire land to establish a battlefield park.

Early Battlefield Commemoration: Civil War Memorial Activity and the Establishment of Stones River National Military Park, 1866-1927

The Civil War changed the course of American history, touching the lives of nearly all Americans. Out of a total 1860 U.S. population of 30.5 million (including nearly four million slaves), 2.75 million, or almost 10 percent, served in the military. Of that 2.75 million, 621,000 perished and another 470,000 were wounded.[6] Efforts to memorialize the sacrifices made by the fallen began before the war ended. As mentioned above, the Hazen Brigade Monument was erected on the Stones River battlefield by brigade veterans during the summer of 1863. In September of that year, Pennsylvania attorney David McConaughy led a group of private citizens to form the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. Its purpose was to preserve the battlefield landscape as a memorial to the Union victory at Gettysburg.[7] The first national military park, dedicated at Chickamauga, Georgia, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1895, was preceded by thirty years of private and state commemoration.

The soldiers' cemetery at Gettysburg, laid out by the State of Pennsylvania in 1863, was the first established unit of what would later become the United States national cemetery system.[8] On Christmas Day, 1863, Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas ordered the establishment of a national cemetery at Chattanooga. This burial ground, unlike Gettysburg, which held the dead from a single battle, accepted the remains of Union casualties who had or would "fall in that region in defending their country." Although it was not officially established until 1865, Stones River National Cemetery was used during the Civil War and included regional interments. After the war, Congress authorized a system of national cemeteries at Civil War battlefields and elsewhere. Beginning with legislation enacted February 22, 1867, the federal government ultimately established twenty-six national cemeteries on or near Civil War battlefields and accepted responsibility for the upkeep of the Gettysburg and Antietam cemeteries.

6. Bruce Catton, *American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War* (New York: American Heritage, 1960), 79.
7. Richard L. Austin, et al., eds., *The Yearbook of Landscape Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1983), 70.
8. The first national cemetery was established in 1850, in Mexico City. Interred there were U.S. veterans of the Mexican War of 1846-1847, who died in or around the town.

Federal establishment of the national cemetery system, coupled with the private idea of setting aside the battlefield of Gettysburg, created a uniquely American notion that the government should purchase and preserve battlefields.

The national cemeteries became central to memorial services for the Union dead when the holiday known as Decoration Day became a national day of homage to the fallen. Many communities claim to have originated Decoration Day, mostly based on oral traditions. Contemporary documentation exists showing that freedpeople in Charleston, South Carolina, formally celebrated Decoration Day on May 1, 1865, at a makeshift cemetery for Union dead at the city's horse-racing track.[9] On May 5, 1868, former Gen. John A. "Black Jack" Logan, commander-in-chief of the Union veterans group known as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), issued Order No. 11, designating May 30 as Decoration Day. Logan's order began "The thirtieth of May 1868 is designated for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country (during the late rebellion) and whose bodies lie in almost every city, village, and hamlet churchyard in the land."[10] Decoration Day later became Memorial Day in most states and territories.

During the war, Confederate dead were commonly buried on the battlefield or in a nearby cemetery, or were occasionally sent home in sealed coffins. Unlike their Union counterparts, the Confederates had no systematic method for burying their dead and lacked the resources to do so. In 1866, in Columbus, Georgia, Lizzie Rutherford and her friends began a custom of placing flowers on Confederate graves. They chose April 26, the date of Johnston's surrender to Sherman, to commemorate the fallen. This practice spread throughout the South with different dates honored in different localities. Merchants in many towns closed for the day to remind people of the solemn observances.[11]

After the war, local memorial associations sprang up across the South, primarily to address the Confederate burial problem. Some of these groups claimed their origin from wartime women's aid societies that were organized to do hospital and relief work. They usually took the name of ladies' memorial associations, or LMAs, since Victorians thought "memorial work [was] peculiarly fitting to women."[12] Southern men typically provided financial support, organizational direction, and labor to LMA efforts, but rarely joined the associations. The associations' first concern often was the creation of resting places for the Confederate dead, but after the cemeteries were laid out, the women turned their attention to memorial statuary. Until 1885, these memorials generally had a funereal appearance; draped stone obelisks were often placed in the cemetery. After 1885, when the wounds of war had begun to close, statues of ordinary privates on pedestals of varying height were erected near the courthouse in towns throughout the South to celebrate the role of the rank and file.[13]

In the North, several veterans' organizations formed in the wake of the national cemetery movement. The largest and most influential of these was the GAR, which organized in Springfield, Illinois, in 1866. Unlike previous officers-only associations, the GAR included Union veterans of all ranks and ultimately acquired the largest membership of any veterans group. The idea was so popular that within six months of its founding the GAR had encampments in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Each state was responsible for the local posts or camps of Union veterans. The GAR adopted a paramilitary structure that mirrored the wartime command structure of the U.S. Army. These statewide departments in turn reported to a national commander-in-chief.[14]

Each year the GAR held national encampments that brought together veterans from different states. The group could muster 25,000 members in 1877, but

9. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 65-69.
10. Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 183.
11. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 42.
12. Foster, 38.
13. Foster, 40.
14. McConnell, 30-38.

participation and political clout increased sharply during the early 1880s, and its popularity peaked in 1890 with a membership of 409,000. The GAR's rise in membership is attributable to several factors. As the horrors of war faded from memory, many former soldiers longed for the comradeship they had experienced during the war. GAR meetings also gave veterans a venue to gather and reminisce about heroic wartime deeds. A desire to perpetuate what GAR veterans perceived as a "true history" of the war and to rightfully establish their place in history also contributed to a rise in membership. Two important benefits offered by the GAR–funeral services for members and admission to GAR-run old soldiers' homes–undoubtedly increased membership as the veterans grew older. In the final twenty years of the nineteenth century the GAR used its political muscle to lobby Congress on veterans issues, raised funds for monuments, led Decoration Day observances, and worked to create national military parks.[15]

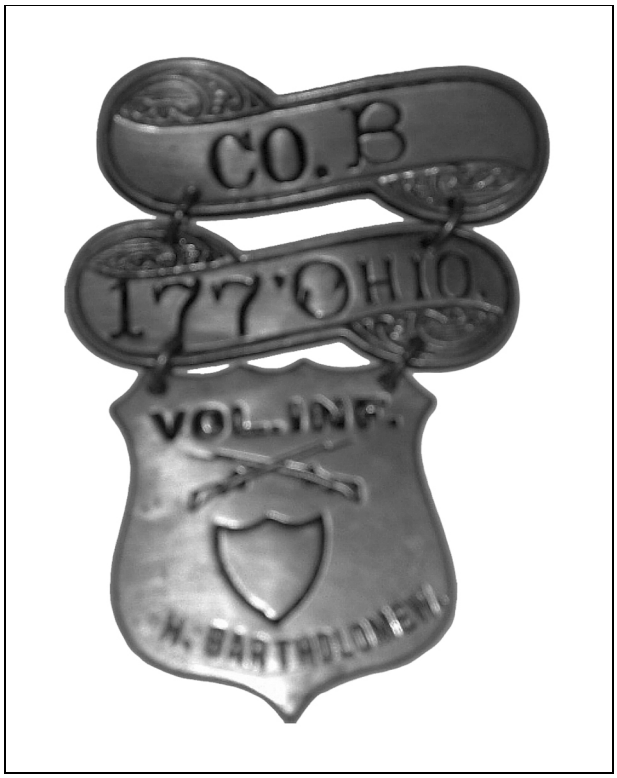


FIGURE 31. Badge from a veterans' reunion.

While the GAR was the largest and most influential association of Union veterans, it was not the earliest. The first of these veterans groups was the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, founded soon after the war in 1865. The order's membership was restricted to Civil War officers and their male descendants. Soon to follow were the Society of the Army of the Tennessee (1865), the Society of the Army of the Cumberland (1868), and the Society of the Army of the Potomac (1869). Some of these groups admitted enlisted men, but the bulk of their membership consisted of former Civil War officers. Other veterans groups formed at the height of the GAR's popularity, primarily in reaction to its inclusiveness. In 1884, the Union Veteran Legion was created by veterans who resented non-combat personnel filling the ranks of the GAR. The legion's membership was restricted to veterans who had volunteered before July 1, 1863, had served two years, or had been wounded in service. In a similar vein of exclusivity, the Union Veterans' Union was founded in Washington in 1886, offering membership to veterans who had at least six months of continuous service and had spent time at the front. One member justified this position by noting that "men who were at the front have an experience peculiarly their own, and a feeling for each other which none but themselves can enter into or fully appreciate."[16] None of these assemblies approached the national influence of the GAR, but some were quite successful in lobbying state legislatures to appropriate money for the erection of state monuments on battlefields.[17]

Confederate veterans were slower to organize associations. Several factors account for the delayed establishment of a Confederate counterpart to Union veterans groups. At war's end, Confederate veterans returned to an economically devastated South. The everyday challenges of rebuilding their farms and businesses precluded them from spending energy creating veterans groups. Professor Gaines Foster argues that Confederate veterans felt a sense of shame for losing the war and initially avoided association with that losing conflict, preferring instead to retreat to the isolation of their homes and farms.[18]Also, groups of ex-Confederates banding together could be accused of disloyalty,

15. Wallace E. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 31-35.
16. McConnell, 121-22.
17. Davies, 29-30, 36-37.
18. Foster, 13-18.

particularly if the participants had taken the oath of loyalty to the United States. The impetus to celebrate the Confederacy began in 1866 with Edward Pollard's *The Lost Cause*, a book that celebrated Virginia's contribution to the Rebel war effort. Several other titles appeared within five years of the war's close, each a defense of the South's position. Most rested on the idea that the Constitution embraced a compact theory of government that allowed states to withdraw from the agreement. One of these, Robert L. Dabney's *A Defense of Virginia*, advanced a biblical defense of slavery as well.[19]

Several former Confederates, including Gen. Braxton Bragg, met in New Orleans in April 1869 and made plans for a May 1 public meeting that many prominent Confederate veterans attended. The purpose of the group, called the Southern Historical Society (SHS), was to promote what the members believed to be the "true history" of the war. The SHS feared that history texts being published in the North inaccurately portrayed the war. Most despised were Emma Willard's *History of the United States* (1869), Quackenbos's *Illustrated School History of the United States* (1867 and 1868), and Worcester's *Elements of History, Ancient and Modern* (1866). The last recounted that "Confederate prisoners at the North were comfortably housed and fed; but the inhumane treatment and horrible suffering of Federal soldiers in the prisons of the South form one of the most shocking chapters in the history of the Rebellion."[20] The death of former Gen. Robert E. Lee on October 12, 1870, galvanized ex-Confederates to erect a memorial tomb at Washington College (later Washington and Lee), where Lee had spent his final years as the college's president. In November 1870, a group of Confederate veterans dedicated to erecting a Lee statue in Richmond organized the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia (AANV), and elected Virginian and former Gen. Jubal Early as president. Upon his election as president of the SHS in 1873, he moved the SHS headquarters from New Orleans to Richmond. Early used the SHS to begin publication of the "Southern Historical Society Papers" (SHSP) in 1876, promulgating the South's interpretation of the war. A year later, western Confederate veterans created the Association of the Army of Tennessee.[21]

Despite the existence of two army societies, local groups of Confederate veterans began to form their own associations, two of the earliest being the Confederate Survivors' Association of Augusta, Georgia, in 1878 and the Robert E. Lee Camp No. 1 of Richmond in 1883. Unlike the AANV, whose membership came primarily from the upper and middle classes, the Lee Camp appealed to the agricultural and working classes and did not require service in the Army of Northern Virginia for membership. Paralleling the activities of the GAR, many Confederate units held reunions during the 1880s, sometimes resulting in the permanent foundation of veterans societies. Representatives of ten such groups met in New Orleans in June 1889 to form the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and elected the renowned former Confederate Gen. John B. Gordon as president. A year later another eighteen groups joined the UCV. Membership in the egalitarian UCV increased in the 1890s thanks to Gordon's popularity and the veterans' growing spirit of reconciliation with their northern counterparts. The magazine "The Confederate Veteran" became the unofficial voice of the UCV. It published shorter, illustrated human interest pieces that contrasted sharply with the scholarly SHSP and enjoyed a larger subscription base.[22]

Two high-profile monuments to Lee were erected in the 1880s, signaling a shift in national acceptance of his embodiment of Confederate gallantry. The first of these was built in New Orleans in 1884 by citizens of that city. The second was an equestrian statue paid for by the SHS and AANV and unveiled in Richmond in 1890. Although these efforts were led by veterans, the burden of commemoration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was carried primarily by the women of the South. Local groups calling themselves the Daughters of the Confederacy appeared in seven southern states between 1890 and 1894. These groups banded together, forming the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in September 1894 in Nashville.

19. Foster, 49.
20. Paul Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 57.
21. Foster, 50-54, 91.
22. Davies, 40-41; Foster, 93, 104-14.

Confederate Memorial Day was the focus of UDC activity, and members also urged the observance of days such as the birthdays of Lee and former Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The UDC kept the celebration alive by raising funds for Confederate monuments to be erected on the square of many towns in the South. Sixty percent of these were built within twenty years of the UDC's formation. Of these monuments, eighty percent were of lone Confederate soldiers and were placed in a public space such as the courthouse lawn. These statues, particularly the one on Murfreesboro's courthouse square, depict Confederate privates standing at the ready and defiantly facing north toward their foes. This indicated a marked shift from the funereal memorials erected in cemeteries by LMAs to statuary that more explicitly celebrated the Confederate cause. Central to continuing the Confederate commemoration was the perpetuation of the South's version of the war's "true history," and the UDC echoed the SHSP in its strident attempts to vindicate the Confederate cause. The group also established museums or relic rooms where artifacts of the Civil War, particularly Confederate items, could be displayed.[23]

The movement toward sectional reconciliation that marked the 1880s and 1890s and found expression in blue-gray reunions was notable for what it omitted. The focus on battlefield bravery and the sacrifice of both sections came at the expense of any recognition of the contributions of black Americans during the war. At the same time that many white veterans on both sides were forgetting wartime antagonism, white Southerners were completing the disenfranchisement of blacks and codifying segregation, with northern acquiescence. It is no accident that the role of blacks in American life–an issue that lay at the heart of the Civil War–played no part in the postwar commemoration. The idea of the New South, based on economic intercourse with the North and promoted by Atlanta journalist Henry Grady, was built on the foundations of the Old South. Grady extolled the virtues of industrialism, arguing that manufacturing would replace the wealth lost from the demise of the antebellum cotton plantations, with the tacit understanding that blacks would continue to occupy the bottom rungs of society, enforced by legal restrictions and

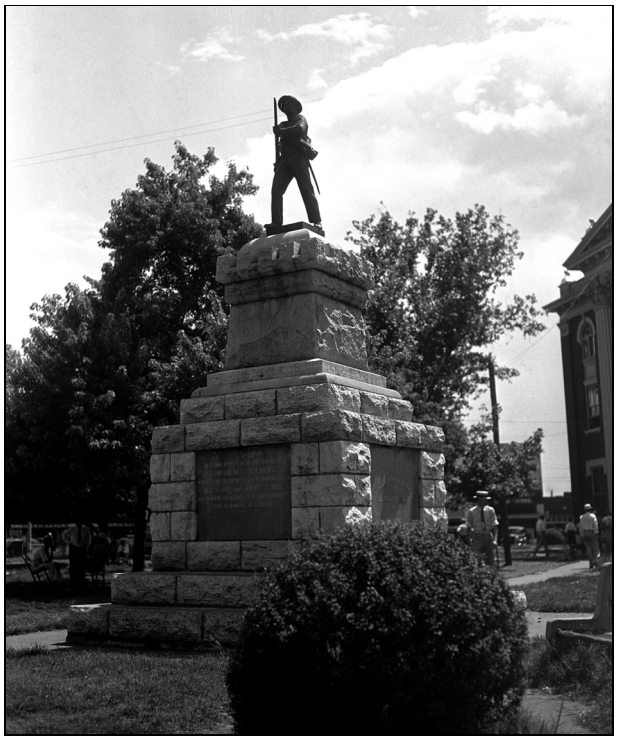


FIGURE 32. Murfreesboro's Confederate Memorial.

extralegal terror. The attitude of many northerners was reflected in the GAR's segregation of its members. Many white GAR veterans disassociated themselves from posts that allowed black membership. With very few exceptions, memorialization of black servicemen would not occur until the latter twentieth century.[24]

The thrust of veterans' commemorative efforts changed as their focus shifted from mourning the dead to recalling a glorious past and establishing their place in history. Veteran activity centered around the annual regional reunions. For GAR members these events were in the larger cities of the North, with the first national encampment in Indianapolis in 1866 and the first veterans' parade ten years later at the Philadelphia encampment. In 1882, the GAR held its national encampment in Baltimore, a city that had exhibited Confederate sympathies during the war. The success of the event demonstrated a "restored feeling of brotherly love between the people of the South and people of the North" and set the stage for further reconciliation when rank-and-file GAR veterans realized they were welcome in the South and were invited to UCV reunions.[25] The GAR in turn invited reconstructed

23. Foster, 158-59, 172-73; Davies, 41-42.
24. James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape* (New York: Preager Publishers, 1988), 256; McConnell, 213-18; Foster, 79-87.



FIGURE 33. Memorial to the Confederate dead at Evergreen Cemetery.

Confederates to participate in their reunions after 1880. Southern heroism was praised, even if its motive was considered wayward, and both sides avoided the issues of slavery and race relations. Diehards on both sides continued to deplore fraternal contact with former enemies, but this provocation failed to prevent a twenty-fifth anniversary blue-gray reunion on the field of Gettysburg. The 1888 reunion at Gettysburg was a watershed event that forged a common bond between the veterans of both sections.[26] As noted above, this spirit of reconciliation was confined to white veterans.

The reunion at Gettysburg was sparked, in part, by the actions of Congress. On June 6, 1880, President James Garfield signed a measure passed by the House and Senate that directed John Bachelder to complete a survey of the Gettysburg battlefield. Bachelder had tremendous knowledge of the battle from interviews with participants, studies of official correspondence, and familiarity with the terrain. The Union lines of battle at Gettysburg had been marked and memorialized by northern states immediately after the war. Bachelder's survey of both armies' actions, with the blessing of Congress, signaled a new national commemorative effort. The GAR then lobbied for the preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield as a memorial to the men who fought the battle.[27]

Extending its scope, the GAR aroused interest in preserving the battlefield of Vicksburg. The Societies of the Army of the Cumberland and the Army of the Tennessee also urged the creation of parks, the former to preserve the battlefields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga and the latter to preserve the battlefield of Shiloh. A bill was submitted in early 1890 to create a national park at Chickamauga and Chattanooga that would mark the lines of both sides and interpret the tactical aspects of the battles with strategically placed observation towers. These two clashes engaged troops from every southern state, eighteen northern states, and troops from the regular army. A constellation of famous generals on both sides had commanded on these fields as well. Realizing the national character of the battlefield, Congress established a national park at Chickamauga and Chattanooga on August 18, 1890, two years after the Gettysburg reunion. Congress subsequently passed legislation that created national parks at Shiloh in 1894, Gettysburg in 1895, and Vicksburg in 1899. Congress declared Antietam, where far less acreage was acquired, a national battlefield site in 1890.[28]

Memorial Efforts at Stones River

Typical of memorial activity throughout the South was the post-war LMA effort in Murfreesboro. Here local ladies formed "The Memorial Society of Murfreesboro" with the express purpose of

25. Buck, 239.
26. McConnell, 189-91; Davies, 250-56; Buck, 256-60.
27. Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Park Historic Preservation, 1973), 22-26; Davies, 28.
28. John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), 9-10; Lee, 28-32.

purchasing land for a cemetery and reinterring Confederate dead with proper burial rites. Located one-and-a-half miles south of Murfreesboro, between the railroad and the turnpike, the Confederate Cemetery was laid out in squares that were accessed by graded and graveled walks lined with shrubbery. Graves were marked by wooden headboards, although ninety percent of the dead were unknown. Reinterment of two thousand Confederate dead in the cemetery began in December 1867. Within seven years of its creation, the cemetery was in poor shape; the surrounding fence was in disrepair, allowing livestock to enter and eat the ornamental shrubbery. On April 3, 1873, the city of Murfreesboro bought twenty acres of land for the creation of Evergreen Cemetery with the intention of moving the dead from the Confederate Cemetery.[29]

Evergreen is located east of Murfreesboro's downtown on a parcel that once belonged to Oaklands Plantation. The Confederate dead are buried in a circular plot approximately 327 feet in circumference, reminiscent of landscape gardener William Saunders's circular burial ground at Gettysburg. Thirty-four stone markers, formerly linked by a chain, trace a line around the plot. The Confederates Circle, as it is called, began receiving the remains from the Confederate Cemetery south of the city in 1874. Confederate graves at Evergreen Cemetery were designated with wooden markers that were extant in 1882, but no longer remain.[30]

Prior to 1928, four parcels of land had been set aside to commemorate the Battle of Stones River. Two of those parcels, Stones River National Cemetery and the Hazen Brigade Monument, were owned and administered by the War Department from the time of the Civil War. The other two were owned by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway (NC&St.L) formerly known as the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad (see note 13 to chapter three for the history of name changes to this rail line).

From the start of the Stones River National Cemetery's construction, the railroad was



FIGURE 34. Historical marker in Evergreen Cemetery.

envisioned as a means of accessing the battlefield, as evidenced by the erection of a small stone monument near the cemetery's wall in 1865. The monument is on the railroad side of the cemetery and its inscription was meant to be read by passengers debarking from the train. It reads "Erected by the 43rd. Reg't. Wis. Vol. Inf. in memory of deceased soldiers in that Reg't and of the 180th Ohio. Tennessee Union Soldiers. Railroad Employees. & c. 1865." The Phil Sheridan GAR Post in Nashville began to conduct Decoration Day ceremonies at the Stones River National Cemetery in 1887, continuing the practice into the twentieth century. The cemetery later became a railroad stop when Union veterans visited battlefields after the war. [31]

Beginning in the Reconstruction period, the NC&St.L operated special trains to take Union veterans to Decoration Day ceremonies at Stones River National Cemetery (see Figure 36). GAR members continued to frequent the cemetery at Stones River, holding Decoration Day ceremonies throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In keeping with the racial codes of that times the celebrations took a decidedly segregated bent, according to cemetery Superintendent Edwin P. Barrett, who noted in his reports that during GAR ceremonies whites gathered within the cemetery walls and African-American celebrants gathered outside. [32] In 1907, the *Nashville American* posted

29. Mabel Pittard, *Rutherford County* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1984), 96; John C. Spence, *Annals of Rutherford County*, Vol. 2 (Murfreesboro, TN: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 257-58; *Murfreesboro Monitor*, December 7, 1867 and June 18, 1874.
30. Pittard, 96; *Nashville Banner*, January 28, 1882.
31. Miranda L. Fraley "Industry, War, and Memory: An Exploratory Essay" (Practicum paper, University of Indiana, 1998), 23.
32. Edwin P. Barrett, Superintendent, Stones River National Cemetery, Monthly Report to the Quartermaster General, May, 1898, on file at Stones River National Battlefield.



FIGURE 35. The rail line running through the battlefield brought veterans back for visits.

the times for these special trains and noted that the exercises "near Murfreesboro will be attended by negroes."[33] The scheduling of trains to Murfreesboro for African-Americans to celebrate the freedoms brought by the war and remember the sacrifices made by black veterans was an early step towards recognition of African-American participation in the war effort.

Recognizing an opportunity to increase passenger traffic, the NC&St.L also advertised itself as a vehicle for visiting the battlefields of the Civil War. Advertising in *Confederate Veteran*, the railroad listed Stones River among the sites that would be of interest to veterans.[34] The railroad's president, John Thomas, was friendly to the UCV and promoted its reunions by offering special rates for reunion participants. For visitors who required more information, the NC&St.L published *Southern Battlefields* in 1890. This book and its successor, *Battlefields in Dixie land*, published in 1917, gave a brief history of the battles with maps noting their proximity to the railroad.[35]

In 1904, the NC&St.L acquired 4.64 acres that included Redoubt Brannan. The site was maintained by the railway company as a point of historical interest, visible from the windows of its passenger cars. The redoubt was interpreted to railway passengers in a company-published brochure as "the remains of the earthwork placed there in Civil War times to guard the bridge. Cannon of the period have been mounted on this work."[36] Interestingly, Redoubt Brannan is not identified in the brochure as a Union earthwork and no mention is made of Fortress Rosecrans. The railroad also acquired, at an unknown date, a 1.55-acre tract near McFadden's Ford that occupies a rise overlooking Stones River. In 1906, the company erected a 31-foot obelisk upon a stepped base on the property to mark and commemorate the January 2, 1863, position of massed Union artillery, used to repel a Confederate assault on Union troops across the

33. "Observance of Memorial Day: Exercises Will Be Held as Usual at Nashville and Murfreesboro Cemeteries," *The Nashville American*, May 30, 1907.
34. *Confederate Veteran* 6, (June 1904), 87.
35. Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, *"Southern battlefields:" a list of battlefields on and near the lines of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway and Western & Atlantic Railway, and a brief description of the more important battles fought along these lines, also information about Lookout Mountain, Chickamauga Park and the famous engine "General."* (Nashville: Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, 1890); *Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway Battlefields in Dixie land, and Chickamauga National Military Park, with description of the important battles fought along these lines and the story of the engine "General."* (Nashville: Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, 1917).
36. Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, *Introducing You to Dixie* (Chicago: Poole Bros. Inc., 1928), 4.

river. Emphasizing the view from the railroad, the *Confederate Veteran* describes the obelisk as "a monument of granite [sic] nearly forty feet high . . . set immediately at the battery point, which may easily be seen by passengers on the train."[37] The obelisk is commonly known as the Artillery Monument. Redoubt Brannan and the Artillery Monument were the two parcels acquired by the NC&St.L to commemorate the events of the battle and federal occupation of the Stones River area.[38]

Few monuments commemorating the sacrifices of the battle's participants were placed in Stones River National Cemetery or on private property during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Stones River lacks the extensive monumentation that adorns the battlefields of Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chickamauga. This can be explained, in part, by Stones River's development in a period when fewer veterans survived. After 1900, the veterans' political clout diminished with their numbers. The reduced lobby lacked the votes to pressure Congress and state legislatures for battlefield acquisition and monument appropriations.

The monuments erected at Stones River during the nineteenth and early twentieth century reflect contemporary currents in American architecture. The Hazen Brigade Monument, built in 1863 by skilled volunteers of Hazen's Brigade, is a four-sided limestone monument with battered (inwardly sloping) walls, surrounded by a stone fence. The austere block is unornamented save for a simple concave cornice and harkens back to ancient Egyptian funerary architecture, particularly the mastaba. The 1888 U.S. Regulars Monument, by contrast, is a fifteen-foot sandstone column with classical details such as an egg-and-dart molding and carved floral and laurel motifs. Returning to an ancient Egyptian motif that was revived in the Neoclassical period, the 1906 Artillery Monument is a thirty-four-foot concrete obelisk built by the shops of the NC&St.L. Designed by Hunter McDonald, the Artillery Monument was the last monument placed on the Stones River battlefield before federal acquisition.



FIGURE 36. The Artillery Monument.

After the establishment of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park had spurred interest in the preservation of significant battlefields, a private group organized in the 1890s to make Stones River battlefield a military park. On April 28, 1896, the Stones River Battlefield and Park Association was chartered, with a membership that included both Union and Confederate veterans. The association secured options for the purchase of property connected with the battle, reportly 2,400 acres in January 1897 and 3,400 acres in June of that year.[39] Association members were responsible for erecting a number of wooden signs to mark and interpret specific locations on the battlefield. The Stones River Battlefield and National Park Association secretary wrote: "The association has placed upon the battlefield a large number of substantial wooden tablets, marking points of special interest and importance, such as headquarters of Federal and Confederate commanders, McFadden's ford on Stone's River, places where distinguished officers were slain, and many other important localities."[40]

37. "The John W. Thomas Memorial," *Confederate Veteran*, February 1908, 55.
38. Fraley, 30-32.
39. Jesse W. Sparks, "Stones River Battlefield and Park Association," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. V, No.1 (1897): 31.
40. Jesse W. Sparks, "The Stone's River Battle-Field," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1898): 58.

As early as the first session of the 55th Congress in December 1895, Tennessee Congressman James D. Richardson had introduced legislation to establish a Stones River National Military Park. In its first version, the bill proposed the acquisition of 1,000 acres in addition to the existing national cemetery. Later versions proposed acquiring 3,100 acres. Failing to secure enactment of any of these bills, the Stone's River Battlefield and National Park Association scaled back its ambitions and lobbied to have markers erected on the field. Senate Bill 4818 and House Resolution 18713, introduced in 1912, were meant "to establish an accurate system of markers on the battle field of Stones River, in Tennessee." These efforts also came to nothing, perhaps because of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park Commissioner Charles H. Grosvenor's argument against it. "More than fifty years have elapsed since the battle of Stone's River and the marks, locations, earth works, or whatever else there was there are entirely obliterated. . . . The Commission is of the opinion that the bill should not pass," he told the secretary of war.[41]

Congress continued to defer the creation of a park at Stones River after the turn of the century because of a deluge of military park requests from all corners of the nation. Legislators made several attempts to deal with the flood of park creation requests, the first being the failed effort to create a National Military Park Commission. When the commissions that oversaw the first four military parks were phased out by the Sundry Civil Bill of 1912, responsibility for all military parks was shifted to the secretary of war, who would administer them through the War Department. The National Park Service, created by 1916 legislation, had jurisdiction over "the several national parks and monuments now under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior," but had no authority over battlefield parks. After World War I, Congress again turned to the problem of creating battlefield parks by authorizing a broad historic sites survey called the 1926 Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields. Acting upon the recommendations of the study, which classified Stones River as a Class IIA battlefield worthy of some kind of monument or marker, Congress authorized the establishment of Stones River National Military Park on March 3, 1927.[42]

The Creation of a Park: Development of Stones River National Military Park

War Department Administration, 1927-1933

The War Department appointed a three-member commission, consisting of Maj. John F. Conklin of the U.S. Army Engineers, Union veteran John D. Hanson, and Confederate veteran Sam H. Mitchell to research the troop movements and inspect the Stone's River battlefield.[43] The majority of the research was conducted by Lt. Col. H.L. Landers of the Army War College. His study resulted in the production of ten maps, including seven of troop movements. In 1928, the commission submitted its written report (supported by the Landers troop movement maps) describing its findings and recommendations for land acquisition and park development. The acting secretary of war approved the plan and directed the commission to oversee its implementation. The State of Tennessee ceded jurisdiction over all lands that would be included in the park.[44]

The bulk of acquisition targeted a 325-acre tract that the commission considered to have encompassed most of the battle's heaviest action. The northern boundary of the tract was the NC&StL right-of-way. Manson Pike, the southern boundary, was considered by the commission to have been the fulcrum on which the Army of Tennessee turned Rosecrans's right on December 31, 1862. The tract's eastern boundary encompassed Van Cleve Lane, still a dirt track at the time of the acquisition proposal. The western boundary of the tract was parallel to and less than half a mile from the eastern boundary. Two small, quarter-acre detached tracts

41. 54th Congress, 1st sess., H.R. 1996; 56th Congress, 1st sess., H.R. 3363; C.H. Grosvenor to Secretary of War, June 7, 1912, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park archives, Folder 111, Box 7, Accession 205.
42. Ann W. Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," (M.A. Thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958), 59-61.
43. "Report of the Inspection of Battlefield of Stones River, Tennessee," typescript submitted to The Secretary of War, July 17, 1928; Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), April 23, 1929.
44. Willett, 62, 75.



FIGURE 37. Main entrance to park in the 1930s.

of private land were also recommended for acquisition to preserve and interpret the location of the headquarters sites of Gens. Bragg and Rosecrans.[45]

The War Department closely followed the commission's recommendations for land acquisition. No portion of the battlefield north of Stones River, the scene of Breckinridge's attack on January 2, 1863, was proposed for acquisition. This was due, in part, to the area's inaccessibility–no bridges crossed the river in the vicinity of McFadden's Ford. The only properties recommended for acquisition by the commission and not acquired by the War Department were seven one-eighth-acre parcels designated to hold interpretive markers. Central to the commission's plan was the recognition that available funding was not sufficient to allow for the acquisition of the entire field of battle. Previous research has underscored that the commission's final report recognized that only a portion of the approximately 3.100-acre battlefield could be acquired. The recommended land was described by the commission as a nucleus for future acquisition should funding be made available.[46]

The War Department acquired land for Stones River National Military Park between 1928 and 1934. Acquisition included the acceptance of the Artillery Monument (Monument Lot) and Redoubt Brannan (Old Fort Lot) by donation from the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway. The park also acquired the Hazen Brigade Monument and Stones River National Cemetery, both of which were present before the 1927 establishment act was authorized. Although these sites were federally owned and had already been developed as memorials, they were to be henceforth administered by the park.

The commission recommended that thirty-five interpretive markers be erected within the park proper, two at the Artillery Monument and one at Redoubt Brannan. Another seven tablets were to be erected on seven parcels of land to interpret and mark specific events of the battle. As noted above, these seven one-eighth-acre parcels were the only tracts recommended by the commission that were not eventually purchased for the park.

Although title to all forty-six properties slated for procurement had yet not been acquired, the War Department began rehabilitation and alteration of the grounds in July 1930. All existing domestic and agricultural structures on park property, particularly along Van Cleve Lane, were determined to postdate the battle and were subsequently removed. A cluster of African-American dwellings lined Van Cleve Lane during the 1920s, and the commission recommended their removal. A 1931 newspaper account mentions a "Negro settlement" along Van

45. Willett, 64-65.
46. Ibid., 65-73.

Cleve Lane. One of these dwellings was spared for future use as a museum for the UDC.[47]

The administrative functions of the military park and the national cemetery were consolidated in 1927. All visitor contact, administrative, and utility functions continued to operate out of the national cemetery's superintendent's lodge and dependencies. Nashville Pike and Van Cleve Lane, two roads that existed at the time of the battle, were widened, graded, and graveled in areas where they passed through the park and were incorporated into the park circulation network. Visitor access and interpretation was accommodated by the construction of a new tour road leading from Nashville Pike, south through the park, turning east to Van Cleve Lane. Formal entrance features, including stone walls, columns, gates, and entrance signs, were constructed at both ends of the tour road. From the initial development of the battlefield until the implementation of the Mission 66 plans in the early 1960s, there were actually four entrances into the main park area. Two of these entrances had stone pillars and provided access for cars into the main park area from the Old Nashville Highway: the main entrance was located across from the staff residence area (see Figure 38), and the second was at the intersection of Old Nashville Highway and Van Cleve Lane. The first park tour road also connected with Van Cleve Lane at two other points, forming the third and fourth entrances.[48]

Herbert Smith, an African-American man from the local community who was a highly gifted stone mason, constructed the stone pillars at the two entrances from Old Nashville Highway into the main park area. The quartermaster department officials responsible for the development of this and other national military parks were so pleased with his design that they sent plans for the entrances to other parks. Smith subsequently was hired to create entrances at Fort Donelson National Battlefield and Shiloh National Military Park.[49]

Prior to the official dedication of the park in July 1932, the battlefield held a special ceremony at the main entrance gate across from the staff residence area in October 1931. This program included Sam Mitchell, a Confederate veteran who served on the Stones River Battlefield Park Commission, raising an American flag on the flagstaff near the ranger station at the main gate. This ranger station was located in the center of the main entrance drive near the stone pillars.[50]Three cannon (relocated from Redoubt Brannan) and a flagstaff were erected adjacent to the northern entrance gate.[51]

The commission described the northern section of the 324-acre tract as open and under cultivation in its 1928 field inspection. The central and southern portions of the field, north of Manson Pike, were described by the commission as rocky and under the cover of cedar. Immediately following acquisition by the War Department, local farmers plowed and seeded the open areas of the tract with fall oats. The farmers were promised the harvest for their work.[52] Wholesale landscape changes were made under the direction of Capt. H. J. Conner, and according to an October 1931 newspaper article, "acres and acres of dense underbrush have given way to carefully cleared land and many of the huge rocks, which dotted the landscape, have been removed, however leaving a sufficient number to add greatly to the attractiveness of the park."[53]

Definitive descriptions of the War Department's landscape alterations to the grounds are lacking. More information is available about the treatment of the park entrance and tour road; specifically, the park roads were "boulevarded" by separating the lanes with a median, and "landscape plans were prepared . . . and 2,500 trees, plants, and shrubs

47. *Daily News Journal* (Murfreesboro, TN), October 1, 1931.
48. On initial park construction, see "Stones River Battle, Park Plans Described by Capt. Conner," Murfreesboro *Daily News Journal*, April 7, 1931, 1, 6; "Stones River Park Becoming Beauty Spot of Mid-State," Murfreesboro, *Daily News Journal*, October 1, 1931, 1, 6; Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," 81-84; on the number and location of park entrances, see particularly drafts of Mission 66 master plans located in folder 40 "D-18 Master Plan Study" and folder 42 "D-18 Master Plan Study," Stones River National Battlefield Central Files Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.
49. "Negro's Ability as Stone Mason Beats Depression," Murfreesboro *Daily News Journal*, June 10, 1932, 1.
50. "Aged 'Rebel' Unfurls First Flag over Battleground Site since Civil War," Murfreesboro, *Daily News Journal*, October 27, 1931, 1, 3.
51. Willett, 74-76.
52. Willett, 75.
53. *Daily News Journal* (Murfreesboro, TN), October 1, 1931.

were planted."[54] After taking over responsibility for the Stones River battlefield in 1933, the NPS prepared two maps; these document the continued survival of these formal landscape treatments during the Great Depression. These two maps (NPS drawing numbers 327-1063, 327-1064) record the configuration and species composition of formal plantings of exotic flowering trees and shrubs that were planted along the Nashville Pike, and in clusters along the tour road in association with the main park entrance features.

The NPS and the New Deal

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in March 1933, he expanded existing federal programs and implemented many new ones to combat the effects of the Great Depression. Widespread unemployment coupled with Roosevelt's commitment to conserving America's land and water resources resulted in new programs that built the infrastructure of many state and national parks. During the first hundred days of Roosevelt's presidency, his administration submitted fifteen major Congressional bills that were the cornerstone of his New Deal, including unemployment relief through public works projects and direct aid. Public works agencies created under the New Deal included the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Public Works Administration (PWA), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Although these programs were often reorganized and reauthorized under different federal agencies, they remained a vital part of the president's economic recovery plan until the beginning of World War II. Roosevelt used labor from the public works programs to help the NPS conserve the country's resources through land reclamation and park development. These park projects had multiple impacts: land reclamation, the creation of recreation opportunities, and economic improvement through employment.[55]

The much-heralded CCC performed valuable soil conservation work in the national parks and gave young, inexperienced men an opportunity to acquire job skills. Federal funding through the PWA and the WPA also benefited the park service. These programs were established under the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 1933 with the intention of reviving local economies by hiring the unemployed for public construction. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes administered both programs and used part of the monetary allotments to put men to work building the infrastructure of national parks. The PWA allocated $40 million for NPS projects from 1933 to 1937, funding road and trail construction, campground development, museum construction, and restoration of historic structures.[56]

The CCC, PWA, and other public works programs came at a time of rapid expansion and increased responsibilities for the NPS. On August 10, 1933, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, which gave the NPS jurisdiction over all historic sites, battlefields, monuments, and parks previously administered by the War Department, the Department of Agriculture, and the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capitol. With Roosevelt's signature, the NPS's responsibilities increased from 63 sites to 161, and the service became responsible for the majority of future national monuments created by presidential action.[57] The NPS created several large parks east of the Mississippi River in the 1930s. These new parks—Great Smoky Mountains, Shenandoah, Mammoth Cave, and Blue Ridge Parkway—generated tremendous visitation and visibility for NPS from their inception. The infusion of funds and manpower from the public works programs allowed the agency to expand its staff of landscape architects, engineers, and foresters. The Depression allowed the NPS to hire highly qualified professionals unable to secure private employment, many of whom became career NPS employees.[58]

54. Willett, 73-76.
55. Samuel E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 942-43, 954-56; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 3; Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver: National Park Service, 1983), 75-77.
56. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 284-88; Unrau, 96-101.
57. Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 24; Unrau, 43.
58. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 111; Unrau, 59-62.

Early National Park Service Administration ofStones River National Military Park, 1933 - 1960

Within a year of the War Department's official dedication of the Stones River National Military Park in 1932, the park was transferred by Executive Order 6166 to the administrative control of the NPS. Several tracts of land (65.6 acres) that had been authorized for acquisition by the War Department but had not been transferred officially to the government were then deeded to the agency. Total park acreage was brought to 344.69 acres after the transfer of title. From 1933 until 1955, the park did not have its own superintendent, but was administered by Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.

The physical development and rehabilitation of the park's core area occurred in three phases: 1933-1934, the late 1930s-1950s, and the 1960s. For the first two years after the park's transfer to the NPS, PWA workers made improvements to the main battlefield and erected a wire fence around the park perimeter to keep out neighboring livestock. In 1933-1934, the tour road and Nashville Pike were regraded, vegetative buffers were planted along portions of the park's perimeter, and the open fields were harrowed, fertilized, and graded. On March 25, 1935, severe storms struck the park, uprooting more than one hundred large trees and damaging many smaller ones. The wire fence was damaged by falling trees. The UDC cabin along Van Cleve Lane was flattened by the driving winds and was not rebuilt.[59]

NPS maps 327-1063 and 327-1064 depict the War Department's plantings of exotic flowering trees and shrubs at the park entrance and along sections of the park tour road. These exotics include roses, arbor-vitae, wisteria, holly, chokeberry, dwarf spirea, maple, peach, juniper, and a magnolia. Because these plantings were not recorded on the park maps drawn in 1962, it is inferred that park staff removed them before that date. A trend toward the removal of exotic plantings from historical parks and the reintroduction of native species during the 1930s and 1940s was likely the impetus for the exotics' removal from the site.[60] An aerial photograph of the park taken in April 1938 reveals that most of the park, with the exception of the western boundary, was bereft of trees.[61] Isolated trees and small stands dotted the landscape; however, no vestiges remained of the dense cedar brakes of 1863.

Between the late 1930s and the late 1950s, NPS prepared several comprehensive or master plans for the park, pending the availability of funding. The common link among these plans was the rehabilitation of the park through physical development, typically including the construction of a new visitor center, the relocation of the tour road and entrance gates, and the acquisition of an additional one thousand acres to connect the discontiguous tracts within the park and increase the percentage of the battlefield under federal protection. Preparation of these master plans failed to either include the preparation of a historic base map or reference the troop movement maps prepared earlier by the War Department. Funding never was made available to initiate the recommendations of these plans. During the 1940s and 1950s, available funding allowed only for the resurfacing of the tour road and Van Cleve Lane.[62]

The National Park Service Mission 66 Program

Mission 66 was a NPS design and construction program intended to revitalize the national parks through a massive tenyear program of capital investment. Very low funding and maintenance levels for national parks during World War II coupled with a massive increase in postwar park visitation had created a systemwide infrastructure crisis. Increased personal income, leisure time, and automobile ownership contributed to the large influx of visitors into the parks in the postwar period. These visitors were met by poorly maintained and aging facilities without adequate interpretive facilities, campgrounds, hotel accommodations, roads, and sanitary stations. The park service lacked the funding to address these issues, and increased appropriations from Congress

59. Richard B. Randolph, Superintendent, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Superintendent's Narrative Report, March, 1935, CHCH park archives.
60. Brian Morris, "Cultural Landscape Inventory of Stones River National Battlefield" (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1994), 9.
61. Record Group 145, Records of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Can #2281, AEY-8-69, National Archives and Records Administration, Cartographic and Architectural Branch, College Park, Maryland.
62. Willett, 87.



FIGURE 38. Mission 66 visitor center at Stones River.

were not forthcoming, due in part to that body's concern with the Cold War. In 1951, Conrad L. Wirth was appointed director of the NPS. Wirth was a career NPS landscape architect who had overseen the service's recreational planning and state park development efforts during the 1930s. His continual efforts to increase the agency's appropriations reached fruition in January 1956 when he presented a slide show depicting the poor conditions of the parks to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his cabinet. To combat the decay, Wirth proposed an ambitious planning, design, and construction program that he called "Mission 66." This ambitious, multimillion-dollar project involved improving roads, expanding park facilities, and repairing existing infrastructure. Its estimated completion date was planned to coincide with the agency's fiftieth anniversary in 1966.[63]

Stones River National Battlefield Development Under Mission 66

Legislation enacted in 1960 changed the name of the park from Stones River National Military Park to Stones River National Battlefield. The bulk of Stones River National Battlefield's built resources are associated with the service-wide Mission 66 initiative. The 1962 Master Plan, which included a historic ground cover map prepared by NPS historian Edwin Bearss, guided the park's physical development. Work completed between 1962 and 1965 included construction of a new visitor center (see Figure 39) and parking lot, and the conversion of the tour road into a closed-loop road with a single entrance on the Nashville Pike. Alterations were also made to entrance gates from Nashville Pike to the tour road (see integrity discussion below).

Vegetation management during the Mission 66 period is poorly documented, but a comparison of park maps documenting existing conditions in 1936 and 1962 indicates that the relationship of open (mown) space to woodland remained constant during that period. Comparing the existing conditions maps of 1962 and 1978, it appears that mowing practices were curbed to allow more of the park's core area to achieve second-growth forest. The configuration of open areas and woodland changed dramatically during this period, albeit without a planting plan. There appears to have been no prolonged, systematic effort by the park to restore the 1863 appearance of the battlefield. The park has changed its vegetative management practices since 1978, in an attempt to replicate the historic 1860s scene along the Nashville Pike.

Significance

Stones River National Battlefield Park has a long history of commemoration beginning with the construction of the Hazen Brigade Monument in 1863,

63. Mackintosh, 66.



FIGURE 39. U.S. Regulars Monument.

perhaps the first Civil War monument erected in the United States. Stones River National Cemetery, established during the war, was the focus of much commemorative activity during the nineteenth century. The history and development of Stones River National Cemetery is discussed in greater detail in a forthcoming cultural landscape report for the cemetery. The park exists as a result of commemorative efforts by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, the Stones River Battlefield and Park Association, and lobbying efforts by the GAR and UCV. Although Stones River did not become a military park until March 3, 1927, attempts by these groups to create a park and demarcate important sites influenced the government's eventual decision to establish a park and acquire land.

The Artillery Monument, 43rd Wisconsin/180th Ohio Marker, U.S. Regulars Monument, General Bragg's Headquarters Marker, Rosecrans's Headquarters Marker, Cannonball Pyramid, Standing Cannon Markers are all contribute to the national significance of STRI under National Register (NR) Criterion A for their association with the long history of commemorative activity at the park. Most of these markers are also significant under Criterion C for their design characteristics. The national cemetery and its component structures (grave markers, stone wall, Bivouac of the Dead markers, and flagstaff) are also significant under Criterion A for their association with history of commemoration of Civil War veterans and Criterion C for design. The main entrance gates to the park are significant under Criterion A as part of the history of the development of the park.

The Artillery Monument, 43rd Wisconsin/180th Ohio Marker, U.S. Regulars Monument, General Bragg's Headquarters Marker, Rosecrans's Headquarters Marker, Cannonball Pyramid, Standing Cannon Markers all meet the test of Criterion Consideration F. All have gained significance in their own right for their connection with the long history of commemoration and remembrance at the Stones River battlefield.

The War Department initially developed the park between 1928 and 1934, after the bulk of property acquisition had occurred. After the park was transferred to the NPS in 1933, development continued, chiefly in the Mission 66 period. The park's 1963 Visitor Center has been determined not to meet the test of exceptional significance for Mission 66 visitor centers. Evaluation criteria for other structures, such as residences, from the Mission 66 period have not been developed as of yet. It seems unlikely that the residences, roads, and other development from this period at STRI would meet the test of exceptional significance.

Current vegetation management practices in the park, including agricultural planting and successive woodland growth, approximate vegetative conditions at the time of the battle. These practices and the subsequent patterns of growth are not historically significant. The majority of vegetation in the park exists despite, not because of, a demonstrated intent or park planting plan designed to restore the landscape of 1863 or preserve the commemorative War Department landscape. At present the park is making a major effort to manage exotic plant species.

Integrity of Historic Resources

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. According to NR Bulletin 16, the seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These are applied to each contributing property, taking into account its level of significance and the criteria under which it derives its significance. For example, a property that is significant under Criterion A for its association with an event is not held to the same standard of integrity as one that derives its significance from Criterion C, as an example of art or architecture. For a property to contribute to the historic district, it must possess several, and usually most, of the aspects of integrity.

The Artillery Monument, 43rd Wisconsin/180th Ohio Marker, U.S. Regulars Monument, Standing Cannon Markers, Cannonball Pyramid, and both headquarters markers retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. All possess ample integrity to convey their significance under the context of commemoration of the Battle of Stones River. Structures associated with the national cemetery built from 1866 on (grave markers, cemetery wall, flagstaff, and the Bivouac of the Dead markers) also possess a high degree of integrity.

The main entrance gates, although altered, retain sufficient integrity to be eligible for the National Register. Wing walls were added to the original pillars as part of the Mission 66 construction plans, and the pillars themselves have undergone some alterations. The pillars originally installed at the intersection of Old Nashville Highway and Van Cleve Lane (see above) were dismantled, and the stones from these structures were used to construct walls joined to the pillars at the main entrance. A wall extends from each pillar towards the road leading into the Visitor Center parking area. Superintendent Melroe Tarter, the first superintendent of the new park, originally placed a chain between the stone pillars in order to close the gates at night, but in the early 1960s, wooden crossbars which are retracted during the day and locked shut at night were added. These crossbar posts were mounted into the new stone walls. Initially, a metal plaque reading "Stones River National Military Park" was mounted on each post. These plaques were later removed and other National Park Service signs put in their place. The original cannonball pyramids atop the pillars were removed sometime prior to 1949. In 1982, park staff placed new cannonball pyramids on the pillars, and also at this time, a metal flag holder was added to the back of each wing wall.[64]

The tour road, which was reconfigured during the Mission 66 period, no longer retains integrity from the period of the park's initial developments. The tour road's viewshed has been affected by the release to succession vegetation management practice adopted by the park.

Contributing Properties

Stones River National Cemetery (1864-1869)[65]

43rd Wisconsin and 180th Ohio Marker (1865) (IDLCS 007041)

Stones River National Cemetery Markers (1867) (IDLCS 007032)

64. On the Mission 66 construction on the main park entrance and the dismantling of the pillars that stood at the intersection of Van Cleve Lane and Old Nashville Highway see "Planting Plan and Incidental Construction," NB-SR/3067A, February 26, 1963, page 4 of 4, folder 3, drawer 10, Stones River National Battlefield Map Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; see also documentation concerning construction on the main entrance gate in folder 314 "D-32 Landscape Construction Project," Stones River National Battlefield Central Files Collection. Concerning the use of a chain to close the entrance, see H. J. Conner, Captain, Quartermaster Corps, Officer in Charge to Harry Brackman, Keith Simmons Company, Inc, Nashville, Tennessee, March 3, 1931, folder 82 "H-14 History" Stones River National Battlefield Central Files Collection. For information about the cannonball pyramids and flag holders, see early images of the main entrance gates such as STRI-NN-0092 and STRI-NN-0093, Stones River National Battlefield Nitrate Negative Collection, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; for an image showing the pillars without cannonball pyramids see Mike Pirtle, editor, *A Pictorial History of Rutherford County, Tennessee: A Tennessee Bicentennial Edition* (Marceline, MO: Heritage House, 1995), 77; concerning the installation of the new cannonball pyramids and flag holders in 1982, see personal communication with Albert Pomplun, Maintenance Worker, Stones River National Battlefield, August 23, 2001 (in the author's possession).
65. The cemetery's significance and integrity were evaluated under the previous context, but the cemetery is also significant under this context, because much of the cemetery was developed from 1865 to 1869.

Stones River National Cemetery Wall (1867) (IDLCS 090222)

Standing Cannon Markers (1867) (IDLCS 090227)

U.S. Regulars Monument (1882) (IDLCS 007040)

Cemetery Flagstaff (1888) (IDLCS 090226)

Artillery Monument (1906) (IDLCS 007034)

Bivouac of the Dead Markers (1927) (IDLCS 090223)

Cannonball Pyramid (1930) (IDLCS 090228)

General Bragg's Headquarters Marker (1931) (IDLCS 007038)

Rosecrans's Headquarters Marker (1931) (IDLCS 007039)

Main Entrance Gates (1931, with 1960s alterations)

Noncontributing Properties

Visitor Center (1961-1963): Because it is less than 50 years old, the visitor center would have to possess exceptional significance to be eligible for the National Register. Sarah Allaback's study, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type*, establishes five areas of potential significance for Mission 66 visitor centers. A determination of eligibility in May 2001 concluded that the STRI visitor center did not exhibit exceptional significance in any of the five areas.

Loop Tour Road (1962), Utility Building (1962), Residence No. 1 (1962), Residence No. 2 (1962), Pumphouse (1962), Residence No. 3 (1963), Parking lot at Artillery Monument (1964): As of this writing, evaluation criteria for Mission 66 structures other than visitor centers had not been established. These structures are less than 50 years old, and no evidence has been discovered to indicate that they possess exceptional significance as prototypes for subsequent structures, as examples of the work of regionally known architects, or for any other reason. Therefore, these structures are considered noncontributing to the significance of the historic district.

Michigan State Historical Commission Marker (1966): This structure is considered noncontributing because of its age. It is managed by the NPS as a cultural resource, under an NPS policy that considers all commemorative structures and markers within park units to be cultural resources.

Stone wall along Stones River (1976): This structure is ineligible because of its age.

Chapter Five: Cultural Landscapes, Ethnographic Resources, Archeology, and Museum Collections

Cultural Landscapes

A Cultural Landscape Inventory-Level 1 was prepared for Stones River National Battlefield in 1994.[1] The CLI-Level 1 identified eight historic landscapes within the park, six of which are potentially significant. These six, each classified as a component landscape, are:

1. Stones River National Cemetery
2. Hazen Memorial
3. Main Park Area
4. Artillery Memorial
5. Bragg's Headquarters Site
6. Rosecrans's Headquarters Site

The regional cultural landscape program determined that two landscapes — Lunettes Palmer and Thomas and Curtain Wall Number Two of Fortress Rosecrans and Redoubt Brannan of Fortress Rosecrans — lacked sufficient integrity to be potentially significant. Every effort has been made to incorporate the findings of the CLI-Level 1 in the evaluations of historic resources contained in chapters three, four, and five.

Under a contract with NPS, Clint Genoble began a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for the Stones River National Cemetery. As of January 2004, STRI staff member Miranda Fraley was in the process of expanding and revising the draft CLR.

Ethnographic Resources

Miranda Fraley's 1999 paper reveals a variety of contemporary cultural meanings associated with STRI — the battle, the cemetery, and the park itself — which are carried in the oral histories of a number of families in the surrounding area.[2] Some of these are indicative of strong sentiments about the park and the conditions of its establishment. Although there has not been an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment done of the park, the available information suggests the potential for a number of family groups and local civic organizations that might qualify as "traditionally associated peoples" under Director's Order 28, chapter 10 (managing ethnographic resources). In addition to descendants of families residing within the present boundaries of the park at the time of the battle and establishment of the cemetery, other families and groups (including church congregations) located on the property later in history should be surveyed. This would be especially true of any removed at the establishment of the park (or its state and local predecessors), as , for example, the apparent

1. Office of Cultural Resources Planning, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, "Cultural Landscape Report – Level 1: Stones River National Battlefield" (Atlanta: NPS, 1994).
2. Miranda Fraley, "Commemorating the Battle of Stones River: Memory and Oral History," Middle Tennessee State University, History 575, October 19,1999.

African-American hamlet of the 1920s and 30s (see page 71). Likewise, there might be park neighbors who had a prior use of present-day park lands, e.g., for livestock grazing (page 73 above), that should be considered in developing Ethnographic Resource Inventory records for the park.

The type of work Fraley has done should be extended to identify all groups currently having a sense of historical connection to the park — including family of former park staff — and to assay the whole range of cultural meanings that might be attached to the park, from family stories of battlefield incidents, to burials of kinsmen, to reunions and commemorative events, to "illicit" but culturally meaningful activities, e.g., trysts and "drinking."[3] Also within the scope of ethnographic resources are any cultural meanings that present-day American Indian tribes with ancestral ties to the region might attach to the site, whether evidenced by archaeological remains or not. For all the types of groups potentially associated with the park — tribes, local civic organizations, prior land-owners, latter-day residents, etc. — identification of ethnographic resources depends upon review of existing literature on the folklife, genealogy, history, sociology, and anthropology of the park and its environs, key informant interviewing (including present and former park staff), and consultation with representatives of groups associated with the park, including some that might not meet all the tests of being specifically a "traditionally associated people" under Director's Order 28, chapter 10.

Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield

From the 1970s to 2000, several archeologists assisted STRI managers in identifying and protecting archeological resources.[4] These studies chiefly focused on a few themes: assessing sites prior to ground disturbance, archeological investigation of portions of Fortress Rosecrans, surveys of areas thought to contain remnants of Civil War-era homes and other structures, and the excavation of the interior of the Hazen Brigade Monument.

Most of the archeological work performed at STRI aimed to identify Civil War-era cultural resources. However, researchers also evaluated park sites to determine whether they contained prehistoric artifacts. A few Native American artifacts such as lithic flakes were discovered, but in general archeologists found few prehistoric cultural resources on park lands.[5] None of the archeological

3. Fraley, 19.
4. The following is a list of reports produced in conjunction with archeological surveys at Stones River National Battlefield: Catherine H. Blee, "An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them" (Denver: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1976); John W. Walker, "Investigation of the Hazen Brigade Monument, Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee" (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1989); Archeologist, Wild, Southeast Archeological Center to Chief, Southeast Archeological Center, memorandum, "Trip Report on Archeological Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Removal of Line Towers, 9/4-9/6/90," Oct. 19, 1990; Stephen P. Bryne, "An Archeological Survey of the Visitor Center Addition and Parking Lot Expansion, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee," (Tallahassee: National Park Service, 1990); John W. Walker, J. Donald Merritt, and Steven J. Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1990); Archeologist, Wild, Southeast Archeological Center to Chief, Southeast Archeological Center, Archeologist, Wild, Southeast Archeological Center to Chief, Southeast Archeological Center, "Trip Report on Phase I Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Construction of a Trail and Parking Lots, 1/28-2/2/91," memorandum, March 27, 1991; John E. Cornelison, Jr., "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Parts of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Mufreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Accessions 993 and 1021" (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1992); Archeologist Horvath to Chief, Southeast Archeology Center, memorandum, "Trip Report for the Stones River Survey—SEAC Acc. 1134—May 23-25, 1994," June 3, 1994; Archeologist [John E. Cornelison, Jr.], Southeast Archeological Center to Chief, Investigation & Evaluation, Southeast Archeological Center, memorandum, "Trip Report on Archeological Monitoring at STRI, October 23-25, 1994, Accession 1149, Park Accession STRI-127," December 1, 1994; Archeological Technician Russell to Chief, Southeast Archeological Center, memorandum, "Trip Report for Archeological Testing at Stones River National Battlefield (SEAC 1351)," Sept. 9, 1998. See also: Interagency Resources Division, Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems Facility, "Survey of Battlefield Features at the Civil War Site of Stones River, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," Open File Report #1 (Winter 1993); Samuel D. Smith, Fred M. Prouty, and Benjamin C. Nance, A Survey of Civil War Period Military Sites in Middle Tennessee, Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archeology, Report Investigations No. 7 (Nashville: Tennessee Printing Division, 1990); Daniel A. Brown, "Marked for Future Generations: The Hazen Brigade Monument, 1863-1929," unpublished paper (1986). Each of these reports is available at Stones River National Battlefield library.

sites at STRI has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

Archeological investigations contributed greatly to knowledge concerning Fortress Rosecrans, particularly Redoubt Brannan, one of its component structures. John E. Cornelison Jr. documented that a cross-shaped elevation located in the center of Redoubt Brannan, thought to be the ruins of a blockhouse, is not actually the remains of this building. However, he speculated that this raised portion of earth may cover the original site of the blockhouse and have artifacts related to this structure underneath it. The Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) archeology field team also determined a probable location for a powder magazine within the redoubt and tested the sally port (entrance) area of the structure. The team excavated a trash pit in the redoubt conclusively dated to the 1880s that provided information concerning post-Civil War use of the earthwork. The investigators expressed surprise at finding few artifacts related to Civil War ordnance but speculated that this resulted from the army's peaceful and organized abandonment of Fort Rosecrans in 1866.[6]

Archeologists assessed and performed some excavations on other portions of Fortress Rosecrans. Prior to the construction of a boardwalk at Lunette Palmer, researchers conducted field tests in order to identify sites that contained artifacts. They discovered that erosion had significantly altered the area in front of Lunette Palmer, and tests did not reveal any period artifacts. In contrast, the archeology team located the remains of a substantial structure at the back of the lunette that had a brick floor and glass windows. Unfortunately, they found evidence suggesting that looters had disturbed this site in the past. At this location, they also discovered many nails and food remnants. They determined that a conical structure in the lunette was not a powder magazine and hypothesized that the magazine may have been built into the double traverse in the lunette's wall.[7] In addition to these investigations, archeologists also conducted other research such as shovel tests in conjunction with planning for constructing portions of the Stones River Greenway on park lands.[8]

The excavation of the Hazen Brigade Monument revealed the presence of artifacts placed by the monument's builders in its interior prior to the monument being sealed and completely filled.[9] This investigation also provided valuable information concerning the construction details of the monument. While repairing the monument, park staff members discovered two twelve-pounder cannon balls within the monument and requested the assistance of a SEAC archeologist at the site. In addition to these two items, one six-pounder cannon ball, an Archer, a Read, and a Burton artillery shell, two rifle barrels, and a cedar staff rested on the same level within the monument. John W. Walker identified the artillery shells as being of Confederate origin and suggested that the other items found in this cache were also representative of weapons used by Confederates attacking Hazen's brigade during the crucial engagement in the area known as the Round Forest, where the monument is located. During this series of Confederate artillery and infantry assaults, even the trees surrounding the Union troops became dangerous projectiles as cannon balls and shells tore through them, dangerously raining sharp fragments of shattered branches upon the troops below.[10]

In addition to revealing artifacts sealed within the monument's interior, this investigation provided information concerning the construction of the

5. On archeological investigations involving prehistoric sites, see Blee, "An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them," 4-6; Wild to Chief, "Trip Report on Archeological Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Removal of Line Towers, 9/4-9/6/90)," n.p.; Horvath to Chief, "Trip Report for the Stones River Field Survey – SEAC Acc. 1134 – May 23-25, 1994," 2, 4-5; Bryne, "An Archeological Survey of the Visitor Center Addition and Parking Lot Expansion, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee," 5, 8-10.
6. Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations at Redoubt Brannan," 6-9, 15-38. See also Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan," 21, 28.
7. Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan," 27.
8. See particularly Wild to Chief, "Trip Report on Phase I Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Construction of a Trail and Parking Lots, 1/28-2/2/98," n.p.; Russell to Chief, "Trip Report for Archeological Testing at Stones River National Battlefield," 3-4.
9. On the construction and early history of the Hazen Brigade Monument, see Brown, "Marked for Future Generations."
10. Walker, "Investigation of the Hazen Brigade Monument," 6-13. The Stones River National Battlefield visitor center museum currently has an exhibit on this excavation that contains some of the objects found.

monument. Archeologist John W. Walker discovered that the monument's builders filled most of the interior with small pieces of stone left from constructing the monument walls and some soil that contained a few artifacts from the battle. Removing the contents of the monument's interior revealed that "the base underlying the monument walls was found to be a dry-laid limestone block floor, which was about 10 inches thick and which extended outward from the walls for about 16 inches. Removal of one block from this floor indicated that it was underlain by a second stone floor." However, in order to avoid the possibility of disturbing the foundation of the monument, excavation ceased at this point.[11]

Park managers employed archeological research as a means of exploring battle-related structures. This included sites such as the remains of houses that served as hospitals, other structures such as a toll house that once stood next to the Nashville Pike, and the Cowan House, a large brick home that burned sometime shortly before the battle and greatly hindered the Confederate assaults upon Hazen's Brigade in the Round Forest. Perhaps the most studied yet still elusive site is the Blanton House. The remains of a home thought to have served as a field hospital during the Battle of Stones River are present on privately owned land. However, property owner William Ketron Jr. agreed to allow NPS personnel to examine these ruins on several occasions. Walker described this site as "the remains of a rather large house. They consist of stone foundations and the ruins of two brick and stone chimneys, each of which contained two back-to-back fireplaces." Although archeologists located some artifacts within the house site consistent with a Civil War-era date for the structure, they were not able definitely to date the remains because the items found were of a type that continued to be used into the late nineteenth century. Researchers have not performed any excavations at this site, although this is a recommended course of action for the future. Archeologists also speculated that the brick ruins may actually be covering the remnants of an earlier wood structure that may have been present at the time of the battle.[12]

The toll house site near the intersection of Nashville Pike and Van Cleve Lane has been excavated. The investigation of this structure revealed evidence of chimneys, and archeologists positively determined that this was actually the toll house structure. They also concluded that it was destroyed during the battle by artillery fire.[13]

The McFadden's Ford site, scene of the devastating Union artillery bombardment of Confederate troops, has received some attention during archeological investigations. In order to ascertain whether farming would have an effect on historic resources, archeologists Elizabeth Horvath and Christian Russell examined recently disked fields in this area for period artifacts, but Horvath determined that little material evidence of the Civil War remained in the upper levels of soil at this site. The widow Holly McFadden and her family lived on a farm in the McFadden Ford area at the time of the battle, but no conclusive archeological evidence has yet revealed the site of the house and outbuildings. However, archeologists and other researchers identified some post-battle structures in this area. For example, Cornelison determined from a burnt home's foundation and nearby artifacts that it was built following the battle. In 1999, the Middle Tennessee State University Center for Historic Preservation completed an investigation on the Vaughter House, a home located in the McFadden Ford area on property owned by the National Park Service. The purpose of this study was to ascertain whether the home was present at the time of the battle and to assess its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. After examining documentary and structural evidence, researchers

11. Walker, "Investigation of the Hazen Brigade Monument," 6-7, 12-13, quote on 12.
12. Concerning the toll house, see Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield," 14-22. For information about the Cowan House site, see particularly Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems Facility, "Survey of Battlefield Features at the Civil War Site of Stones River Murfreesboro, Tennessee," 5-6, 8. On the Blanton House, see Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 25-33, quote on 25. Concerning the Blanton House, see also Blee, "An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them," 15; Wild to Chief, "Trip Report on Phase I Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Construction of a Trail and Parking Lots, 1/28-2/2/91," n.p.; Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Parts of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Assessions 993 and 1021," 25, 28.
13. Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, 14-22.

concluded that the house was constructed following the battle and that it failed to meet the National Register's criteria for inclusion.[14]

The exact location of the Cowan House is presently unknown, although archeologists speculated that its remains lie near the Thompson Lane bridge on property now owned by the New Vision Baptist Church. Researchers have been unable to locate the remains of a block house, which documentary evidence suggested once stood next to the railroad in the area now encompassed by the national cemetery. No conclusive evidence has been found concerning several log structures described in soldiers' reports of the battle that were thought to exist in what is now the main park area near the Nashville Pike.[15]

Archeologists conducted some field tests in the main park area near the visitor center in conjunction with proposals for expanding the parking lot, altering the picnic area, and prior to the removal of large metal electric transmission line towers. These surveys indicated that the ground in this area of the park had been previously disturbed, and the surface layers of soil were largely devoid of Civil War artifacts.[16]

Museum Collection

The museum collection at STRI consists of about two dozen historic cannon tubes, mostly on reproduction carriages; personal weapons; accoutrements; flags; and personal items from the Civil War period and after; archeological artifacts recovered from park property; and archival items.[17]

The park's 1999 Collection Management Report identified 83,259 museum objects in the collection, some 71,000 of which were not cataloged at that time. Approximately 77,000 of the objects are part of the archival collection, and approximately 5,000 are artifacts recovered during archeological projects.

With the exception of 5,000 archeological artifacts housed at the Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, Florida, and some natural history objects are on loan to and stored at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, the remainder of the park's collections are on-site. Most of the objects are stored in the curatorial storage room in the basement of the Visitor Center. The park's museum exhibits were originally installed when the Mission 66 Visitor Center was opened in 1966. Site-specific objects have been added to the museum display since then. Among the highlights of the objects on display are four cannon tubes that were present at the battle in 1862-1863; the regimental flag of an Arkansas unit; muskets and small arms, and uniforms.

The park's museum planning documents include: a Scope of Collections Statement (1983, with a 1992 addendum); a Housekeeping Plan (1999); an Integrated Pest Management Program Plan (in draft as of December 2001); an Access and Use Policy for the park's library (1997); an Archives and Records Management Plan (2001); a Museum Fire and

14. Horvath, "Trip Report for the Stones River Field Survey – SEAC Acc. 1134 – May 23-25, 1994," 1-6; Cornelison, "Report on Archeological Investigations of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Part of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Accessions 993 and 1021," 21, 25, 28; James K. Huhta, Carroll Van West, Edward A. Johnson, Michael Strutt, Abbey Christman, and Anne-Leslie Owens, "The Vaughter House: Recordation Drawings, Photography, and Architectural Description; Review of Historic Documentation; Invasive Investigation and Analysis; and Eligibility Determination," (Murfreesboro: Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, January, 1999).
15. On the Cowan House see Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems Facility, "Survey of Battlefield Features at the Civil War Site of Stones River, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," 5-6, 8. On the blockhouse, see Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 13-14; concerning log structures that possibly existed in the main park area at the time of the battle, see Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, "Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee," 22-24.
16. For information about archeological surveys conducted in the main park area see especially Blee, "An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them," 21-25; Wild to Chief, "Trip Report on Archeological Investigations Conducted at Stones River National Battlefield for the Removal of Line Towers, 9/4-9/6/90," n.p.; Russell to Chief, "Trip Report for Archeological Testing at Stones River National Battlefield (SEAC 1351)," 2-3.
17. Summary information on STRI's museum collections was derived from a draft Museum Collection Management Plan dated October 31, 2001, and Sara L. Van Beck, "Stones River National Battlefield: Archives and Record Management Action Plan" (Atlanta: National Park Service, 2001).

Security Survey Report (1997); and a Museum Emergency Operations Plan (in draft as of December 2001).

When National Register of Historic Places additional documentation is prepared for Stones River National Battlefield based on the finding of this study, the park's museum collections should be included as objects contributing to the significance of the National Register district.

Chapter Six: Management Recommendations

The Southeast Regional Office Cultural Resources Stewardship Division offers the following management recommendations to help resource managers identify areas for further research, expand existing interpretive programs, and maintain records related to historic cultural resources at Stones River National Battlefield (STRI). These management recommendations are a direct result of the program to update the List of Classified Structures (LCS) and to initiate the Cultural Landscape Inventory–Level I (CLI–Level I). Included are some preliminary recommendations for the management and treatment of cultural resources that may require additional funding and that the park should incorporate into its Resource Management Plan (RMP). Projects to accomplish the recommendations should also be entered in the Project Management Information System, if they are not already represented there.

The park's significant resources fall into two categories: those directly associated with the Civil War period and those associated with the commemoration and subsequent development of Stones River as a national military park. The resources related to the battle include the historic district encompassing the battlefield and Fortress Rosecrans, the roads present at the time of the battle, extant earthworks, the railroad, archeological sites, cannon tubes, and some items carried by soldiers in the battle. All retain aspects of integrity that contribute to the national significance of the park as a whole. The maintenance and preservation of these resources should be the park's top cultural resource management priorities.

Vegetation

Further research into and evaluation of the vegetation at STRI are needed to understand the potential historical significance of this resource in the context of the battle action and as it defines the historic setting. A Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) is the primary landscape treatment document and could be the vehicle by which vegetation management alternatives for restoring the historic setting are explored. Capts. Francis Mohrhardt and N. Michler, topographical engineers on Brig. Gen. Phillip Sheridan's and Gen. William S. Rosecrans's staff, respectively, drew maps of the battlefield that are the most complete graphical representations of the battlefield during the period of significance.[1] An in-depth analysis of historic vegetation patterns would require study of Mohrhardt's and Michler's 1863 maps, and overlaying the various Historical Base Maps (1952, 1963, and 1976) with the Landers troop movement map (1928).[2] Combined with baseline data on the existing park vegetation that was captured in the park's CLI–Level I, this might provide a framework by which a Scope of Work for the CLR could be created. Additional biotic

1. "Topographical Sketch of the Battle Field of Stone [sic] River by Capt. Francis Mohrhardt, Top. Eng. Of Gen. Sheridan's Div. (Washington: National Archives, RG 77: Z 338-1); "Topographical Sketch of the Battle Field of Stones River near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, December 30, 1862 to January 3d, 1863. Major General W. S. Rosecrans Commanding the Forces of the United States, General Braxton Bragg Commanding the Forces of the Enemy. Sheet No. II. Position of the U.S. Troops on the 31st of December 1862, Surveyed under the Direction of Capt. N. Michler, Corps of Topographical Engrs., U.S.A., by Major J. E. Weyss." (Washington: National Archives, RG 77: T 28-4).
2. National Park Service, "Historical Base Map, Part of the Master Plan," NPS map Number NMP-SR-2003 (Richmond, VA: Division of Planning & Construction, 1952); National Park Service, "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan, Part of the Master Plan," NPS map Number NMP-SR-3011 (Richmond, VA: Eastern Division of Design and Construction, 1962); National Park Service, "Historic Conditions," NPS map Number 327-20,031 (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1976); "Stones River National Park Commission Maps Nos. 1 to 10 Incl. to Accompany Report of Commission," Stones River National Park Commission (July 17, 1928) on file at Stones River National Battlefield.

research should be conducted in order to evaluate whether extant vegetation could yield information on historical agricultural field patterns. This process should consider the management of earthworks at Fortress Rosecrans and the role vegetation plays in their current preservation and interpretation.

Cultural Resources

Protection of historic resources within the park's boundaries is, of course, an important management consideration. Park management is well aware of this responsibility and has adopted a proactive stance toward resource conservation. Because of the fragility of historic resources, it is recommended that the park maintain this level of awareness. Located in a rapidly urbanizing area, the park's historic resources, particularly the viewsheds, are threatened by existing and proposed adjacent development. The park has opposed nearby development that is incompatible with the historic rural character of the battlefield. Although not always successful in protecting the park's viewsheds, park management has made a commendable effort that should continue.

Many historic properties not owned by the park are also threatened by urban expansion, and decisions affecting their preservation or alteration will significantly influence the park's historic resources. Structures that date to the time of the battle, including houses, earthworks, roads, and railroads, have significant value in helping us comprehend and interpret the course of the battle. Even properties that are not visible from the park, such as the Hord House, the Widow Burris House, and Asbury Road, are historic resources that increase our understanding of the battle and the area where it took place. The destruction or compromise of these resources negatively influences the park by reducing the historic fabric of the whole battlefield, of which the park is the major part. Incompatible development, such as high-density commercial or residential construction, could jeopardize these structures and indirectly undermine the park's integrity by compromising vistas that are key to the interpretation of the battle's noteworthy events. Similarly, widening of historic roads or constructing new roads could introduce heavy and unsafe traffic within the park's boundary. These developments can affect historic properties directly, but they also create noise, light, air, and water pollution that would be detrimental to the park visitor's experience and hazardous to the environment. In light of these considerations the park has recently pursued alternatives to development within and adjacent to its boundaries, in cooperation with state, local, and private interests and the Tennessee Historical Commission. The park should continue these efforts and may want to initiate National Register nominations for adjacent historic properties, also in cooperation with local or state preservation groups.

Old Nashville Highway marks the northern boundary of the battlefield, separating it from Stones River National Cemetery. Manson Pike is currently the battlefield's southern boundary. Both played a crucial role in the course of the battle but neither is owned or maintained by the park. Old Nashville Highway is maintained by Tennessee Department of Transportation, while Rutherford County is responsible for Manson Pike. Because these thoroughfares are crucial to telling the story of the battle, the park should adopt a proactive stance toward their preservation and be vigilant about state, county, or city plans to widen or change their alignment. Van Cleve Lane north of U.S. Highway 41, another historic road maintained by the county, borders the park near McFadden's Ford. The park should attempt to curb any proposed change in the width or alignment of this historic lane. The battlefield's core area is bounded on the eastern side by a new road, the Thompson Lane Connector. This intrusive causeway has had a detrimental impact on the park's off-site views and contributes to developmental pressures on the park's fringe. Park managers should monitor new roads and use their influence to deflect construction away from historic property. It is unlikely that CSX, the current operator of the railroad, will add new trackage or attempt to change the alignment of the existing tracks near the park, but a commuter rail has been proposed. The park should watch for any change.

The earthworks on adjacent properties are of particular value to the park. The first of these, the Chicago Board of Trade Battery earthworks, is on private property adjacent to the park's core area. Located in a heavily wooded area, they are unlikely to suffer from erosion; however, the potential for vandalism of this site is high. Because these earthworks are on private land, there is always a possibility that they could be compromised or destroyed by development.

The remains of Curtain Wall No. 1 are adjacent to Lunette Thomas and owned by the City of Murfreesboro. The park should provide vigorous input throughout the golf course plan review process to create a design that is compatible with the resources and to lessen the impact of the course's construction on park property. The park should study the feasibility of acquiring the remnants of Curtain Wall No. 1, and acquire the tract if practical. Curtain Wall No. 1 is one of the last remaining intact portions of Fortress Rosecrans not in federal hands, and its acquisition and interpretation would greatly increase visitor appreciation of the site.

One fragment of Fortress Rosecrans, a portion of Lunette Negley, is privately owned. Located south of Manson Pike, less than half a mile from Redoubt Brannan and Lunette Palmer, its isolation from the other remains of the fort gives it no association with its surrounding landscape. Issues of current setting aside, it should be stressed that Lunette Negley was one of Fortress Rosecrans's six perimeter strong points, and this remnant contributes to the appreciation of the fort's size because it marks the perimeter. The park should study the feasibility of acquiring this earthwork fragment. If acquisition is not feasible, the park should explore the possibility of a preservation easement with the earthworks' owner to ensure its protection.

The park's authorized boundary was expanded in 1987 (Public Law 100-205) and in 1991 (Public Law 102-225). At this writing, several parcels of land are under consideration for acquisition by the park. Prior to the acquisition of new lands, the park must assess the property to determine whether hazardous materials are present. A Special History Study (SHS) of these areas should also be considered. This document could help the park determine the historical association of the property and further illustrate identified historic contexts. Depending on its scope, the SHS could contribute to assembling a land ownership history and possibly identify previously unknown sources.

No systematic archeological surveys have been conducted that conform to current NPS28 standards. The NPS has completed a General Management Plan that proposes a preferred alternative. Archeological surveys should be completed. It is recommended that the park survey the battlefield in accordance with the regional archeological survey program plan and Director's Order No. 28. The survey should attempt to locate prehistoric as well as historic archeological sites within the survey area. It is recommended that a team from the Southeast Archeological Center complete the work or oversee contracted archeologists hired by the park. The technical report should comply with NPS requirements and any standards established by the Tennessee state historic preservation office. Additional archeological surveys should be done on any land acquisitions.

The park has contemplated the restoration of Van Cleve Lane to a battle-era look upon the transfer of title to the surrounding property. Another option that has been considered is incorporating Van Cleve Lane into the park tour road. If Van Cleve Lane is to be restored, a period of significance for the resource will have to be determined.

It is recommended that the park compile complete information on all existing structures on its property. The resulting compilation should then be used to create building files or cultural resource files for these structures. The information collected should include the age, condition, alterations, and recommended treatment for each structure. The region's List of Classified Structures team has already captured much of this information; however, information about non-historic structures should be also be collected. Accurate information about structural and cosmetic changes to the park's more recent buildings will assist future cultural resource management decisions if these structures are determined to be significant because of their association with events such as the NPS Mission 66 program.

Interpretation

Traditionally, park interpretation has focused on the events of the Battle of Stones River, the decisions of the opposing commanders, and the subsequent Federal occupation of Murfreesboro. The park has also interpreted the camp life of Union and Confederate forces with living history exhibits. Opportunities exist to broaden the interpretation of the context of the battle's events. Topics for consideration include the effects of the battle and its aftermath on the political climate and home front morale, as well as the war's effect on the region, including the displacement of local residents and

the disruption of agricultural production as Murfreesboro was captured, abandoned, and recaptured by Union forces.

After the Civil War, the Stones River battlefield returned to agricultural production. The changing patterns of postwar land ownership have not been documented fully here, but it is apparent that a number of African-Americans settled along Van Cleve Lane and elsewhere on the battlefield. Additional research should be undertaken to further the park's knowledge of the evolution of Stones River National Battlefield in the postwar period. Additional archival research is needed to illuminate the Stones River Battlefield Association's role in spearheading the effort to create a park. The park also could explore a variety of other Reconstruction history topics, such as sharecropping, Gilded Age industrial development, and veterans' commemorations, to increase the visitor's appreciation of the impact the Civil War had on the development of the United States.

Archive and Manuscript Collection

The park has a small archive and manuscript collection that includes irreplaceable documents from the battle and occupation eras, as well as valuable graphic and photographic park development-era sources. Recent work to process and arrange the archives and manuscript collection has proven valuable for this report and others. The NPS should make every effort to continue processing and cataloging, provide appropriate storage facilities, properly curate, conserve as needed, and protect this valuable collection while making it more accessible to future researchers. To this end an archival survey would be beneficial to the park to define the scope of the its collection. Concurrently, the creation of a finding aid to help researchers identify and locate material would be very useful. The archival survey would also identify data gaps in the park's archives that could be bridged by acquiring microfilm copies of old newspapers, records from the National Archives, and copies of primary source material from libraries, academic institutions, historical societies, and private collectors. To further increase the collection's research value, rare and fragile original documents should be transcribed to prevent their degradation from handling and conserved by a professional paper conservator. Similarly, the park's graphic and photographic collections should be digitized for research access to reduce wear and tear on the originals.

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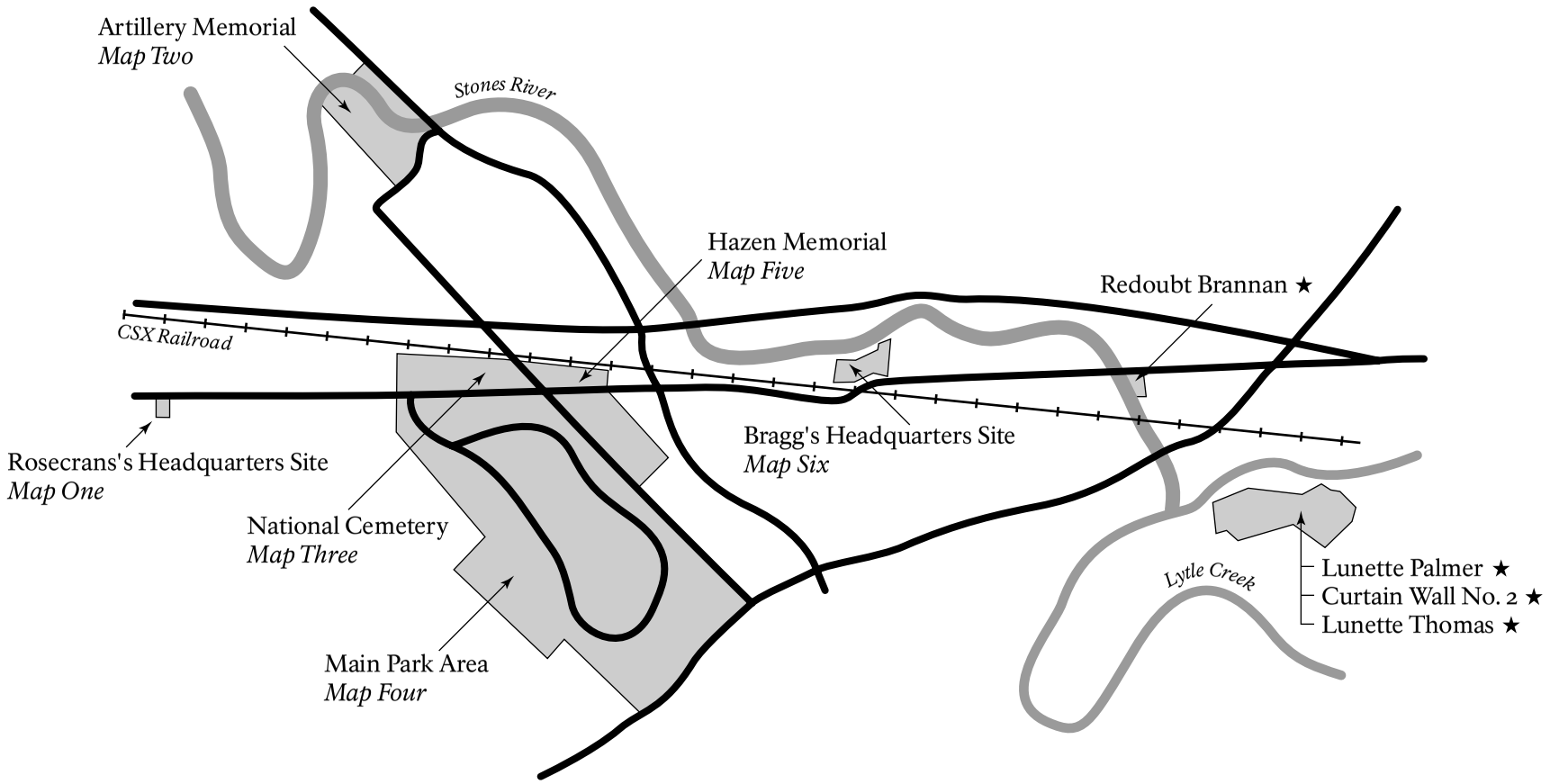
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Appendix:
Historical Base Maps

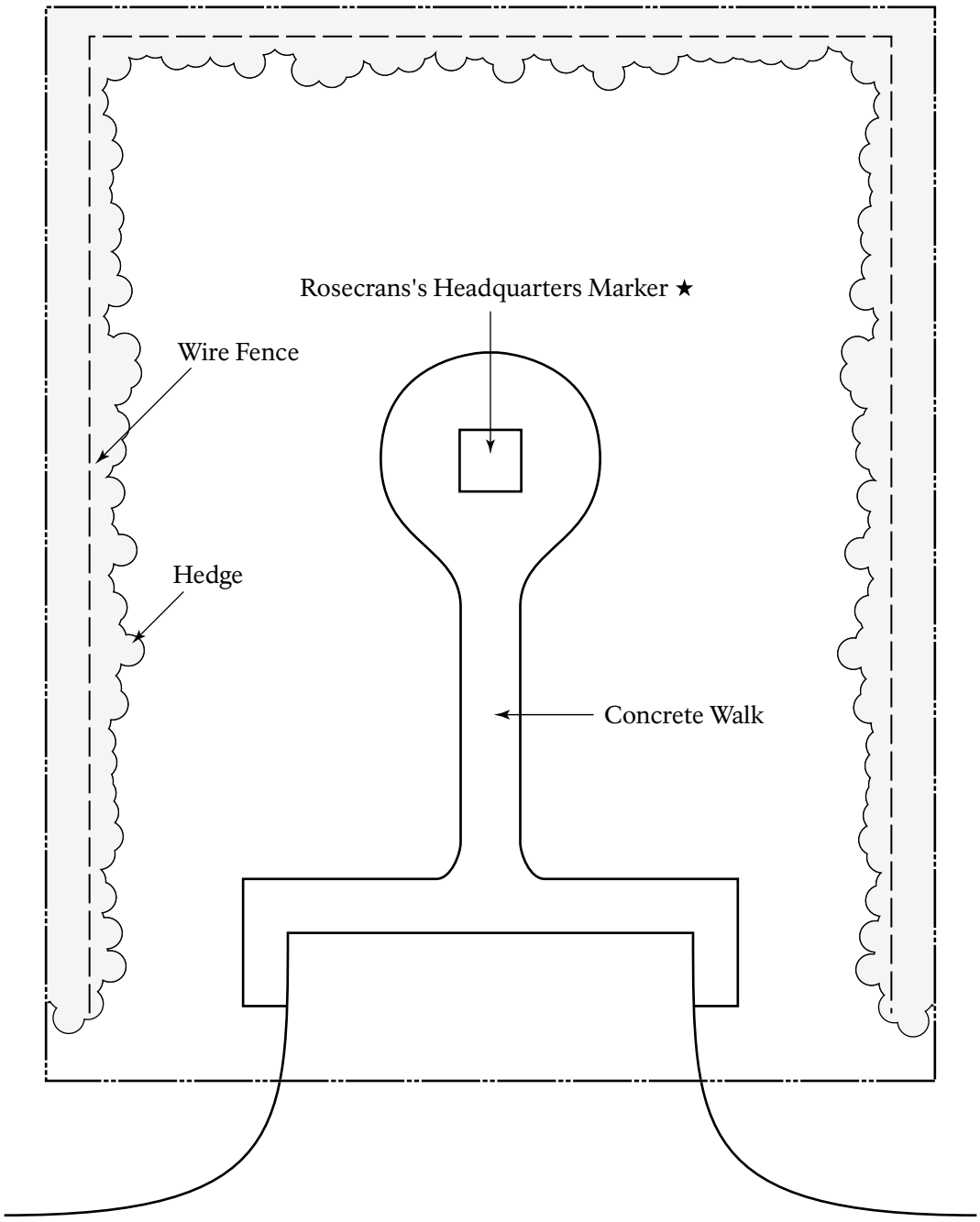


Historical Base Map - Location Map
Fortress Rosecrans
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 800 1600 2400ft

note: scale is approximate

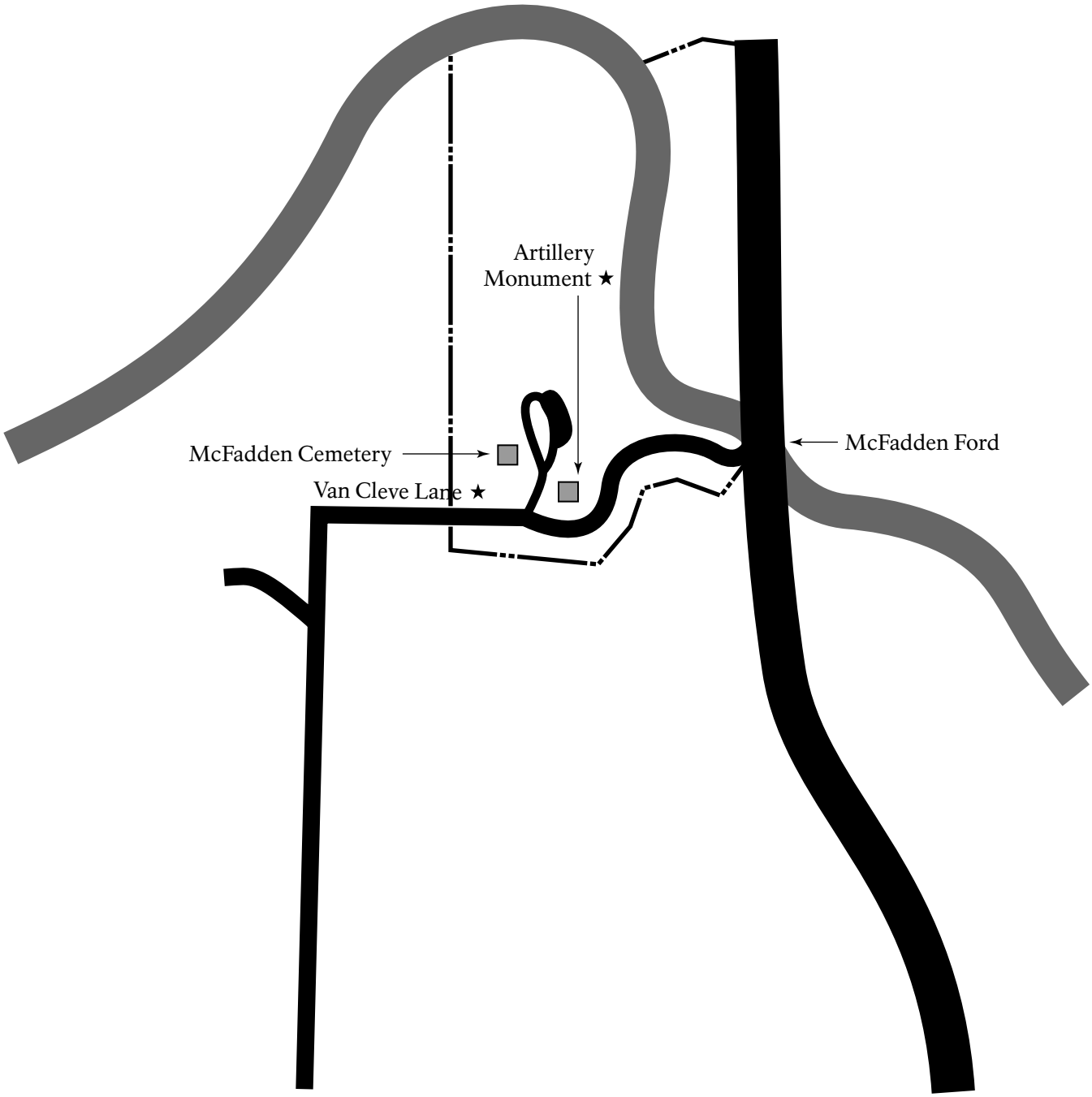


Historical Base Map - Map One
Rosecrans's Headquarters Site
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 10 20 30ft

note: scale is approximate

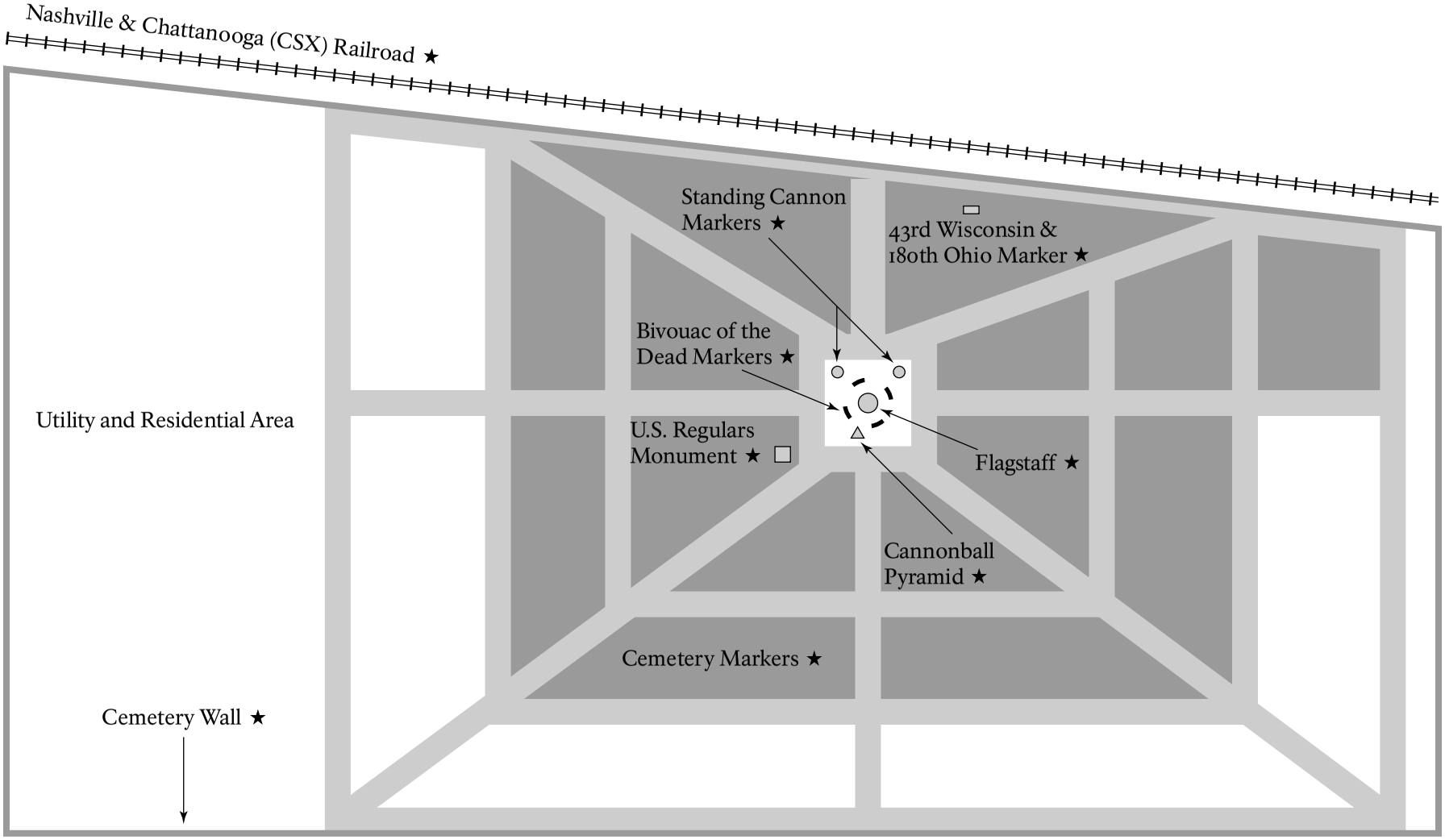


Historical Base Map - Map Two
Artillery Monument
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 500 1000ft

note: scale is approximate

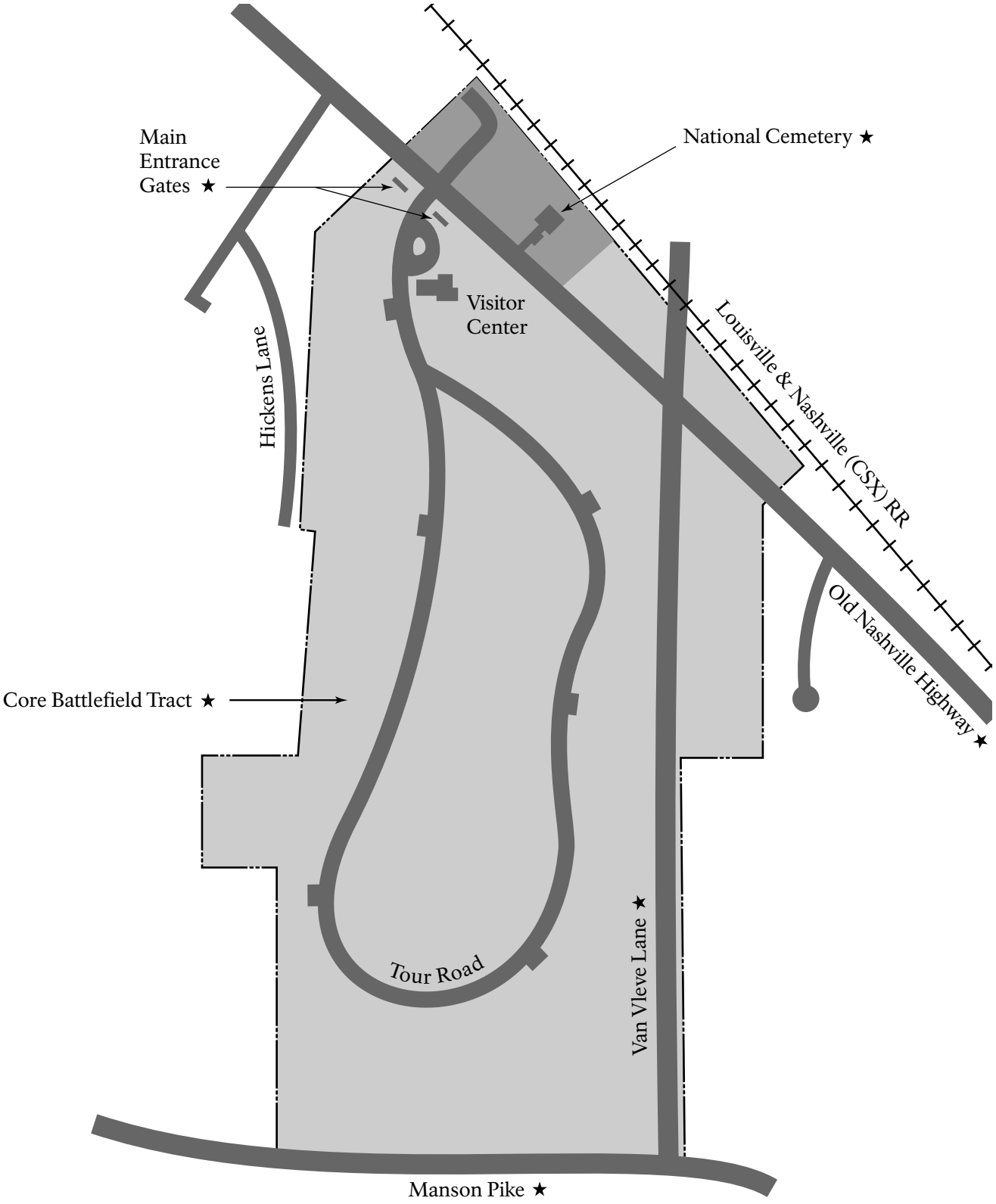


Historical Base Map - Map Three
National Cemetery
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 100 200 400ft

note: scale is approximate

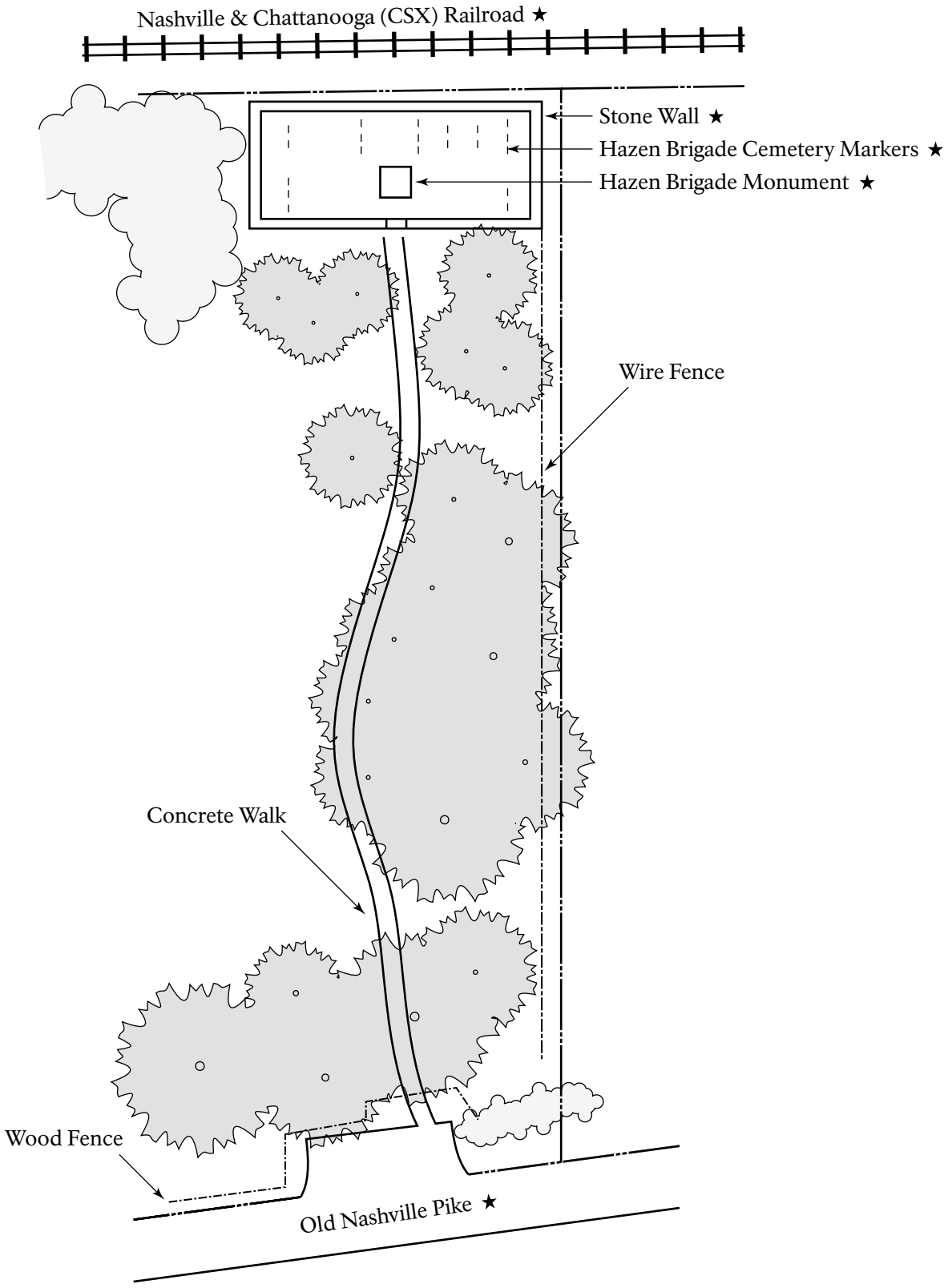


Historical Base Map - Map Four
Main Park Area
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 25 50 100ft

note: scale is approximate

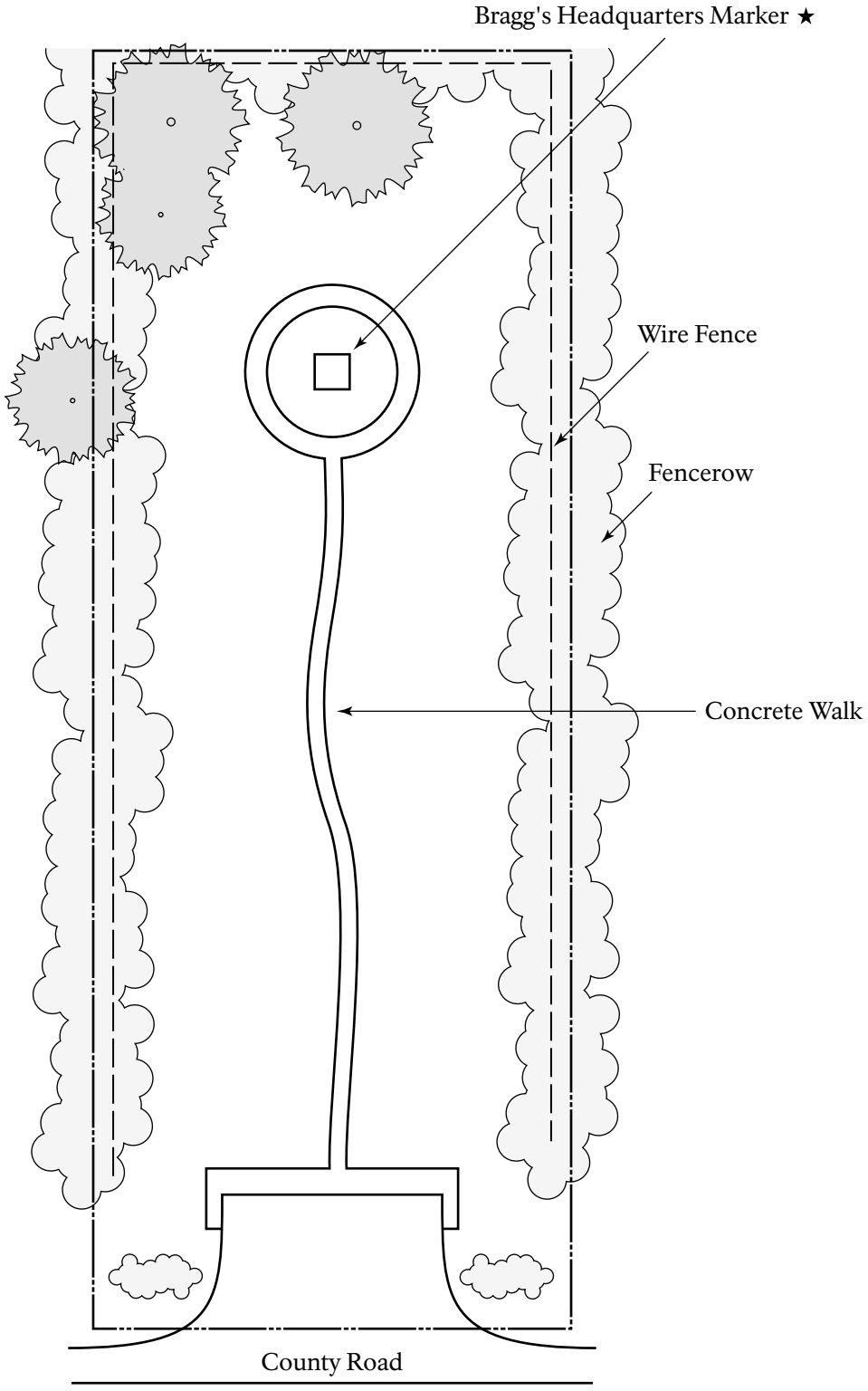


Historical Base Map - Map Five
Hazen Brigade Monument
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 25 50 100ft

note: scale is approximate



Historical Base Map - Map Six
General Bragg's Headquarters Site
Stones River National Battlefield

★ = contributing resource

0 20 40 60ft

note: scale is approximate

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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