Stones River National Battlefield

Administrative History



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Dr. Angela Sirna, Project Historian

Dr. Rebecca Conard, Principal Investigator

Middle Tennessee State University

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List of Acronyms

AAHS	African American Heritage Society
ABPP	American Battlefield Protection Program
AGRC	Albert Gore Research Center
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ANPR	Association for National Park Rangers
ARRA	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
CESU	Cooperative Ecosystems Study Unit
CETA	Comprehensive Employment and Training Assistance
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CHCH	Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park
CLI	Cultural Landscape Inventory
CLR	Cultural Landscape Report
CPC	Crafts, Protective, and Custodial
CWA	Civil Works Administration
CWCC	Civil War Centennial Committee
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EOA	Economic Opportunity Act
EODC	Eastern Office of Design and Construction
ESA	Environmental Study Area
FRV	Fundamental Resources and Values
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GMP	General Management Plan
HBCU	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
HPTC	Historic Preservation Training Center
LRIP	Long-Range Interpretive Plan
MTSC	Middle Tennessee State College
MTSU	Middle Tennessee State University
NAACP	National Association of Colored People
NACP	National Archives College Park
NBFCWRT	Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Round Table
NC&StL	Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railway
NEED	National Environmental Education Development
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NHA	National Heritage Area
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NPS	National Park Service
NRCS	Natural Resource Conservation Service
NYC	Neighborhood Youth Corps
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
OIRV	Other Important Resources and Values
PMIS	Project Management Information System
PWA	Public Works Administration
RCHS	Rutherford County Historical Society
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Center
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math
STRI	Stones River National Battlefield
TCWNHA	Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area
UCV	United Confederate Veterans

UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization
USCT	United States Colored Troops
VSP	Visitor Services Project
WODC	Western Office of Design and Construction
YCC	Youth Conservation Corps
YOC	Youth Opportunity Campaign

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This project was only possible in the time frame we were given because of the wonderful work of the scholars who have come before us. We must recognize the works of Ann Wilson Willett, Miranda Fraley, John George, Sean Styles, and Gib Backlund.

We were very fortunate to have a sizable group of people with intimate knowledge of the park agree to share their personal memories. Much thanks to Mary Ann Peckham, Jim Sanders, Don Magee, Larry Hicklen, Bart Gordon, Kent Syler, Stuart Johnson, Gayle Hazelwood, Jim Lewis, Eddie Macon, Teresa Watson, and Gib Backlund for participating in the project's oral history component.

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Finally, we would like to say how much of a joy it has been to work with park staff that are dedicated to preserving the park's institutional memory. This is often not the case in the National Park Service. The park is in the midst of an important transition this year, and we feel honored to help transmit that institutional knowledge on to another generation of park managers.

Executive Summary

Stones River National Battlefield (STRI) occupies 709 acres in Rutherford County, Tennessee, near the city of Murfreesboro, approximately thirty miles southeast of Nashville. The park includes only a portion of the 4,000 acres over which the armies of the Union and Confederacy fought, beginning December 31, 1862, and concluding January 2, 1862. Nearly 24,000 men were killed, wounded, or missing during the Battle of Stones River. Some 6,000 Union dead are buried in Stones River National Cemetery, established in 1865.

The park itself contains seven non-contiguous sites in addition to Stones River National Cemetery. It includes the headquarters for the commanding generals of both armies (Braxton Bragg and William Rosecrans), which are situated along Old Nashville Highway. The "core battlefield unit," is located south of the national cemetery, and is where Confederate forces turned the Union flank on December 31, 1862. The Hazen Brigade Monument, believed to be the oldest intact Civil War monument, is situated between Old Nashville Highway and CSX railroad (historically the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railway). On a hill overlooking the Stones River, the NPS owns an area of land, called the McFadden Farm Unit, where Union artillery thwarted a Confederate assault on the last day of the battle. The park also owns portions of Fortress Rosecrans, one of the largest Union earthworks built during that time, which was a forward supply base for the Union army constructed after the battle. Redoubt Brannan is located adjacent to Old Nashville Highway and overlooks the Stones River. President Calvin Coolidge signed a law creating the Stones River Battlefield Commission on March 3, 1927, which completed a report on creating Stones River National Military Park. The War Department was responsible for managing Stones River National Military Park, when Congress authorized the War Department to construct park facilities and roads in April 1930. The park was dedicated in 1932. President Franklin D. Roosevelt transferred the park from the War Department to the National Park Service in 1933. Congress changed the name to Stones River National Battlefield in 1960.

This administrative history builds upon the work of Ann Wilson Willett, who wrote the park's first administrative history in 1958 as a master's thesis for Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU), then known as Middle Tennessee State College (MTSC). Willett was married to the park's superintendent, John T. Willett, who was also a historian by training. In her thesis, Ann provided an overview of the area's history and the battle, but also covers early efforts to create the park, development of the War Department, and a brief overview of the National Park Service's management.

In the past dozen years, graduate students, faculty, and contractors have made significant strides in fleshing out periods of the park's history. In her 2004 dissertation for Indiana University, Miranda Fraley explored the development of Civil War memory in Rutherford County and placed park-making efforts at STRI as a central feature of her analysis. John George similarly examined park creation efforts in his 2013 MTSU public history doctoral dissertation, "Stones River: Making a Battlefield Park, 1863-1932." Gilbert J. Backlund, then the park's Chief of Operations, wrote his 2005 MTSU public history master's thesis on the park's Mission 66 program. Angela Sirna, the Project Historian for this study, wrote a graduate seminar paper on the park during the 1930s. Sean Styles, who was contracted by the NPS, undertook a Historic Resource Study of the park, finished in 2004. While this study mostly focuses on the Civil War-era, it does cover some aspects of the War Department's administration of the park, and the

NPS's administration during the New Deal. Dr. Rebecca Conard, this study's Principal Investigator, also published an article in the *George Wright Forum,* called "The Changing Face of the Countryside: Environmental History and the Legacy of the Civil War at Stones River National Battlefield," which argued that environmental history can be a useful lens in interpreting the legacies of the battle and African American history at the park.

This administrative history aims to bring together this scholarship into one document, while embarking on new research covering the park's more recent years. To accomplish this, Project Historian Angela Sirna completed twelve oral histories with current and former park staff, park neighbors, and stakeholders. These people, who graciously shared their time and personal memories, have helped shaped the narrative from the 1970s to this year.

In addition to these oral histories, the authors have used primary source material found at the park, Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, National Archives, and MTSU's Albert Gore Research Center, including NPS documents, newspapers, maps, drawings, and photographs. The park has a nearly complete set of superintendent's reports, which were extremely valuable. The scope of this study extends from the creation of the national cemetery in the wake of the battle to the current activities leading to the NPS centennial this year. Upon discussions with park staff and regional historians, this study addresses various aspects of park's development and operations, including legislative history and changes in park interpretation, natural and cultural resource management, interpretation, and staffing. This study also attempts to incorporate local, national, and agency history to provide essential context for these developments.

Stones River National Cemetery was created before the Civil War ended. The cemetery became the focus of Union and African American commemorative efforts in Rutherford County after the war. A freedmen community established itself on the former battlefield after the war was over. It was called Cemetery community because of its proximity to the national cemetery, which some of its residents helped build. Cemetery residents were active contributors to Union commemoration activities at the national cemetery until the 1920s.

Chapter One explores Reconstruction politics during this period, which yielded the battlefield preservation movement in the 1890s, in the spirit of "sectional reconciliation." Earliest efforts to create a battlefield park date to the 1890s, a period historian Timothy B. Smith calls the "Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation," when Congress established military parks at Chattanooga-Chickamauga, Gettysburg, Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Antietam. Veterans of the Battle of Stones River also tried to have a battlefield park established, but Congress grew concerned at the size and expense of these battlefield parks.

Battlefield efforts continued in the first two decades of the twentieth century, which is the focus of Chapter Two. Battlefield preservation did not gain traction in Congress until the 1920s, when patriotism from the First World War and the rapid decline of Civil War veterans spurred another wave of battlefield park creation. In 1927, Congress authorized the Stones River Battlefield Commission. This three-member commission consisted of a Union veteran, Confederate veteran, and an active duty officer. They completed an investigation of the former battlefield and found four historic sites, including the Hazen Brigade Monument, the Artillery Monument erected by the railroad in 1906, portions of Fortress Rosecrans, and the national cemetery.

The commissioners focused land acquisition efforts on a 325-acre area of land across from the national cemetery roughly bounded by Old Nashville Highway, Van Cleve Lane, and Manson Pike. Although the battle itself covered approximately 4,000 acres, the commissioners knew Congress would not designate the whole battlefield area for a national military park, as was the case with the first battlefield parks. Instead they focused on areas where pivotal moments in the battle occurred, relying on the assumption that the surrounding area would remain farmland in the future. This particular area that they chose was where Confederate forces turned the flank of the Union army on the first day of the battle. They also had practical reasons for choosing this area. They thought it would be economical to purchase because there was an African American community living there, who managed to eke a living on the

land's poor soil. The War Department began purchasing the core battlefield area in 1929, which meant the displacement of a portion of Cemetery community.

The War Department oversaw the initial developments of the park, and held a dedication ceremony in July 1932. Its administration of the park was short-lived, however. In August 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, which transferred all military parks and some national cemeteries to the National Park Service. The NPS took over management of Stones River National Military Park and National Cemetery that year, just as the agency was experiencing a fervor of park-making activity thanks to New Deal funding. Stones River received a small share of this funding, which is examined in Chapter Three. However, the NPS did not do much with the park until the 1950s.

In 1956, the NPS kicked off a national campaign called "Mission 66" that aimed at modernizing the national parks in time for the agency's fiftieth anniversary in 1966. Stones River National Military Park got a much-needed upgrade with Mission 66 funds, including a new visitor center, tour road, maintenance service area, and three staff residences. This program is explored in Chapter Four. The park also got a name change in 1960, when Congress passed the legislation changing the name to Stones River National Battlefield. The park's facility upgrades coincided with the battle's one hundredth anniversary. Civil War centennial observances were very much an exercise in Cold War patriotism, which emphasized sectional reconciliation after the war and how the country was made stronger than ever, which by extension implied the country's ability to defeat communism abroad. However, the emerging Civil Rights Movement provided an important counter-narrative that undermined centennial efforts. Observations at Stones River were understated compared to other centennial events in the country.

During the 1970s, the NPS returned to a more austere fiscal reality, which forced park staff at STRI to be more outward looking. Park staff incorporated new interpretive programs aimed at engaging the local community, which are discussed in Chapter Five. The modern environmental movement, which had gained much ground in the early-1970s, prompted park staff to develop environmental education programming aimed at bringing in local youth. Park staff also became more aware of the park's natural resources, notably the cedar glades, and began incorporating the importance on the park's physical setting in how it affected the battle. Living history programs became popular at parks and historic sites across the country as people became interested in the lived experience of their ancestors. STRI instituted a variety of living history programs, which remain an important part of its programming today. These programs also aimed to bring in local community members as audience members and volunteers. With this new outward outlook, park staff noticed that the rural nature of surrounding park lands were starting to diminish as new transportation corridors and industries began to urbanize the area.

From the 1970s until the 1990s, land acquisition was the main issue of concern for the park, which is covered in Chapters Five and Six. Rutherford County became one of the fastest growing counties in the country, and development threatened the greater battlefield area, diminishing the rural qualities of the park. The park completed a General Management Plan in 1980 that outlined desired land acquisition efforts, but the park needed Congress to approve an expanded park boundary. After several years of Congressional inaction, Congressman Bart Gordon successfully introduced legislation to expand the park's boundaries by approximately fifty acres in 1987. In 1991, Congress passed another boundary expansion, this time by over three hundred acres. However, relationships between the park and its neighbors grew tense as landowners felt that their property rights were being threatened. The window for boundary expansion closed by the mid-1990s, due to strained community relations and changes in Congress.

The park completed another General Management Plan in 1999 that focused on preservation and telling a broader story at the park. Between 2001 and 2012, the NPS rehabilitated the park's facilities, including renovating the visitor center, upgrading the tour road, and installing new waysides. Chapter Seven examines how the NPS essentially remade the park for the second time after Mission 66. Park staff were at the leading edge of conversations about incorporating socio-cultural history into park interpretation, including

the centrality of slavery and emancipation in the war's causes and consequences. They also worked to build up the park's natural resource program to address some of the environmental issues, most notably the spread of invasive plant species.

At the end of 2012, the park commemorated the battle's 150th anniversary. Park staff sought to create more inclusive programming, but still struggled to bring in a more diverse audience. In the past four years, the park has made great strides in community outreach and creating partnerships with African American organizations. The Epilogue describes how the park has committed itself to telling the history of Cemetery community, while simultaneously dealing with renewed controversies surrounding Confederate symbols. The Epilogue also covers the revitalization of the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield, the road to the National Park Service's one hundredth anniversary in 2016, and how park staff are looking toward the next century of management.

While putting together this administrative history, several important themes emerged that may have lasting implications to park management. First, and perhaps most important, the park's creation was indelibly shaped by racial politics. Stones River National Cemetery was the focal point for Union veteran and African American commemorative activities from after the war until the 1920s. African Americans from the surrounding area had vibrant celebrations there every year with picnics, speeches, and yard games. However, tensions mounted as local whites increasingly viewed these displays as vulgar. Having abandoned the battlefield for over two decades, Confederate veterans decided to reclaim space on the former fighting ground to validate the cause that they lost. The creation of the battlefield park meant the displacement of a portion of Cemetery community from this area. Until the 1990s, African American history had largely been absent from the park's interpretation. As the park continues to reach out to African American audiences, it is important to keep in mind that African Americans felt unwelcome from the park for a very long time.

Congress's reluctance to create large military parks has inhibited the park's ability to tell its story ever since its creation. The War Department in the 1920s relied on the assumption that the surrounding area would remain rural for an indeterminate amount of time. Urbanization came swiftly to Rutherford County and the battlefield was under threat by the 1970s. Congress did not expand the boundaries until 1987 and 1991. The NPS had a very narrow window in which to act. Today, the park is firmly an urban park. Although the NPS abandoned an aggressive land acquisition agenda by 2000, development continues around Stones River National Battlefield. Park staff continue to work with partners to help mitigate that development.

Politics, both local and national, have influenced park management in more ways than just land issues. The culture wars of the 1990s brought historical interpretations of events like the Civil War into sharp focus. Some politicians pushed the NPS to be more inclusive in its programming and specifically asked the agency to incorporate the centrality of slavery into its interpretation, much to the dismay of southern heritage groups, who wanted the NPS to focus more on military history. Today, these tensions are heightened by the advent of social media, which can broadcast conversations all over the world.

Federal funding for the national parks has also impacted how the park has operated over the years. Periods of fiscal austerity or bipartisanship have forced park staff to be more outward looking in their approach. They have counteracted budget limitations with creative approaches to volunteer development and reciprocal partnerships. This is unlikely to change in the near future.

Stones River National Battlefield is unique for its relationship with Middle Tennessee State University. This relationship dates back to at least the 1930s when students were hired as historian aids at the park during the New Deal, but really expanded during the 1990s and 2000s. MTSU students and faculty have been instrumental in increasing the park's research and operations capacity, by completing baseline natural and cultural resource data, providing seasonal labor, and more.

Chapter One

Reconstruction and Reconciliation at Stones River, 1865-1900

Confederate General Braxton Bragg commanded his Army of Tennessee to retreat south toward Tullahoma after the Battle of Stones River, leaving a force of Union soldiers to address the battle's immediate aftermath. African Americans, many having escaped bondage from nearby plantations and towns, helped Union soldiers and local whites to bury thousands of dead soldiers and discard the remains of livestock killed in the conflict that littered the landscape among ruined homes and farms. The Union army hastily buried the dead and built Fortress Rosecrans, a forward supply depot and one of the largest earthworks built in the South during the war. Soon, hasty interments gave way to a formal national cemetery, completed in 1867, in a location between the Nashville Pike and Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The battle itself was closely fought, but Confederate withdrawal from the battlefield gave the Union the tactical victory and inadvertently forfeited their rights to commemorating those lost on the Stones River battlefield to the Union. Confederate veterans would not claim space on the battlefield until old age, after the spirit of reconciliation brought these former foes together in the 1890s to lobby Congress to create a battlefield park at Stones River, as was being done at other Civil War battlefields at the time.

Historian David Blight revealed that several threads shaped by race and politics ran through Civil War memory, which emerged in the last years of the conflict and defined the war's memory for years to come. First, there were African Americans and their white abolition supporters who held an "emancipationist vision" of the war, which centered the conflict's cause and legacy around slavery and civil rights. Second, there were Union veterans who harbored a "reconciliationist vision." They had witnessed mass death and believed it was a necessary sacrifice to save the Union, and that the nation could be reborn from the blood spilled. And, third, defeated Confederates who subscribed to a "white supremacist vision" that romanticized southern heritage and made the war seem like a noble but ill-fated venture. The last two threads largely omitted slavery from the war's cause in order to use white supremacy as a unifying factor for sectional reconciliation.[1]

In her study of Civil War politics and memory in Rutherford County, historian Miranda Fraley contends that two views were prevalent in Rutherford County, both of which had interesting internal dynamics shaped by race and gender. The first group included African Americans and northern white migrants committed to commemorating Union victory and emancipation. In contrast, the second group consisted of local whites sympathetic to the Confederacy who glorified its past to safeguard the supremacy of white males in the community. Women spearheaded the commemorative efforts of the latter group, but were challenged by white men who took over their projects at strategic times when their own power was being tested by social and political changes. She found that these gendered debates helped propel Confederate commemoration from a culture of mourning to celebrating Confederate soldiers' heroism and

1. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 2.

then to a mode of entertainment that glorified Confederate heritage and white supremacy.[2] Both Stones River National Cemetery and the battlefield were focal points for these groups who each conceived of these spaces in their own way in the immediate decades following the battle and the Civil War—conceptions that were very much shaped by politics, memory, and race as experienced by these groups across the country.

Stones River National Cemetery became the focus of Union commemoration from 1865 until the 1920s.[3] African Americans also honored the sacrifice of the Union soldiers at Memorial Day activities held at the national cemetery every year. Confederate veterans and local sympathizers essentially avoided the battlefield for many years, not wishing to reflect upon the South's defeat. Because of Confederate abandonment and the federal presence at the national cemetery, newly emancipated people settled on the battlefield landscape to build new lives for themselves, forging a new community called Cemetery. However, this community was threatened as white veterans, both Union and Confederate, sought to preserve the battlefield site as a place of reflection and to tell a narrative that emphasized honor, valor, and sacrifice over the actual cause of the war—slavery—and the war's consequence—emancipation and the inauguration of civil rights legislation.

Reconstruction is one of two historical themes that provides critical context for understanding the establishment and early development of Stones River National Cemetery and Battlefield. Historians have demonstrated that emancipation wrought tremendous economic, political, and social change in the South, including Middle Tennessee.[4] In recent years, historians have sought to understand the slippery transition African Americans experienced moving from slavery to freedom after the war. John Lodl confirmed his suspicion that predominantly black communities found in Murfreesboro today are living legacies of those formed during Reconstruction.[5] Lydia Simpson also looked at African American community building during Reconstruction, on the battlefield directly, in her examination of the Cemetery community. Compared to other African American rural hamlets in which residents left few written records, she found that it was possible to trace African American residents in the Cemetery community because a number were United States Colored Troops (USCT) veterans in the Civil War, had worked at the national cemetery, and were landowners who sold their land to the government for the creation of the battlefield.[6] Both Lodl and Simpson demonstrate the importance of marriage and family, education, religious institutions, and land ownership to these communities and describe their tenuous relationships with local whites who were also coming to terms with the loss of the war and end to slavery.[7]

Sectional reconciliation, the second historical theme, soon followed Reconstruction when it officially ended in 1877. Part of this reconciliation between former Union and Confederate foes was to forge narratives about the war that honored both sides of the conflict. To do so meant leaving out the central issue of slavery in the war's origins and the realities of emancipation as a consequence of the conflict. This omission (or distortion) of the African American experience reflected complicity among many white veterans on both sides of the conflict to disenfranchise African Americans of their newly conferred rights through the restriction or denial of voting rights, *de facto* and *de jure* segregation, and even outright violence. As white veterans of both Union and Confederate armies worked to exclude African Americans from white society, it is little wonder these white veterans kept African Americans separate from their commemorations of the war.[8]

2. Miranda Fraley, "The Politics of Memory: Remembering the Civil War in Rutherford County, Tennessee," dissertation, Indiana University, 2004, vii-viii, 16.

3. Ibid., 71.

4. Eric Foner, *America's Unfinished Revolution,* 1863-1877 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), xxvi; John Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee,* 1861-1865 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 4-5; Stephen Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 195.

5. John Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1860-1880," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2004, 2.

6. Lydia Simpson, "Settling In: Tracking the Formation of the Cemetery Community through Public Records," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011, 1-2.

7. Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," 40-61; Simpson, "Settling In," 52-66.

8. Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 9, 361.

America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1977 by Eric Foner (1988) ushered in a new wave of historical scholarship on politics, memory, and race after the Civil War.[9] The work of Foner, Blight, Kammen, and others has greatly influenced the study of Civil War commemorative sites, including Stones River National Battlefield and National Cemetery. Fraley's work was certainly influenced by Blight in her interrogation of Civil War memory in Rutherford County and how different groups perceived spaces like the national cemetery and battlefield in different ways based upon politics, race, and gender. She shows that the national cemetery and battlefield became racialized landscapes since the national cemetery and battlefield were central to Union and African American commemoration after the war. In the 1890s, white Confederate veterans and their descendants sought to reclaim the battlefield landscape through federal preservation, which resulted in the removal of a local African American community.[10] While Fraley describes the instances at Stones River National Cemetery and Battlefield as episodes in a larger drama of evolving Civil War memory in Rutherford County, John George delves deeper into the early efforts to create the battlefield park. By focusing on the long process to designate a national battlefield, he reveals how local and national politics and power dynamics shaped battlefield park legislation. His work informs our understanding of how Civil War memory and commemoration yielded two waves of battlefield preservation, the first in the 1890s and the second in the 1920s.[11]

This chapter will synthesize recent scholarship about the cemetery's establishment and efforts among local veterans to create a battlefield park in the 1890s. It will demonstrate how both the cemetery and battlefield landscape are intrinsically tied to Reconstruction and reconciliation experiences of African Americans, Union veterans, and Confederate veterans and their descendants. It will also place efforts to create the battlefield park in context with the Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation that occurred in the 1890s, which resulted in the protection of Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Antietam, Vicksburg, and Shiloh battlefields. But the very nature of the battlefield preservation movement was shaped by the devastation that marked these battles at their conclusion.

Need for a National Cemetery

After the Battle of Stones River was over, evidence of the carnage in which approximately 23,500 souls were killed, wounded, or reported missing remained on the 4000-acre battlefield for days, months, even years.[12] Union survivors and members of the local community buried the dead—or what remained—in shallow graves near where they had fallen. They buried others in mass graves, sometimes intermingling Union and Confederate dead since there were few bits of material evidence identifying who they were. Strewn among the bodies and parts of bodies were dead horses and livestock, burned homes and outbuildings, ruined crops, splintered trees, abandoned rifles and supplies, artillery shells, and broken cannon carriages and wagons.[13] The fields and scattered woodlots that previously made up the battleground were now imbued with new

9. This body of scholarship is quite broad, but it is worth mentioning several influential works that inform commemorative sites like Stones River National Cemetery and Battlefield. Foner, *Reconstruction*; Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998); Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Blight, *Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South*, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Thomas Brown, ed., *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States* (New York: Oxford, 2006); Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton Press, 1997).

10. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 70-71.

11. John George, "Stones River: Creating a Battlefield Park, 1863-1932," dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013, 158-59.

12. "Frequently Asked Questions," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/stri/faqs.htm (accessed June 9, 2015).

13. Ann Wilson Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958, 52; Elizabeth Goetsch, "'All Could Not Help But Feel It': A Cultural Landscape Approach to History at Stones River National Battlefield," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011, 17-18.

meaning to those who had survived the devastation.[14]



Figure 1 Hazen Brigade Monument. This is the earliest known picture, taken sometime between 1863 and 1869. Source: Library of Congress.

The armies moved on before many survivors could process what they encountered, but the impulse to memorialize their fallen comrades came swiftly as soldiers sought meaning in the deep chasm that comes from violent, sudden, complete loss. Not long after the battle, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. Shepherd proposed raising funds for a monument dedicated to the U.S. Regulars who fought at Stones River, which was followed by a broader (unsuccessful) effort to honor the entire Army of the Cumberland.[15] George points out that the Battle of Stones River was unusual in that a number of Union soldiers did not move forward with the rest of the Army of Tennessee but remained to help construct Fortress Rosecrans, and consequently had time to build a physical monument to those they had lost. In fact, Captain Amasa Johnson of the Ninth Indiana Infantry selected the Round Forest area as the final resting place for members of Hazen's Brigade—the group that fought on Hell's Half-Acre. A limestone monument in the middle of these gravesites, completed in 1863, is the oldest Civil War battlefield monument that remains in its original location (see Fig. 1).[16]

In an effort to address mounting public concern for the mass casualties from the first year of the war, Congress authorized, in 1862, fourteen national cemeteries for the Union deceased.[17] In March 1864, General George H. Thomas, then Commander of the Army of the Cumberland, ordered General Horatio Van Cleve to establish another national cemetery at Stones River.[18]

Van Cleve, commander of nearby Fortress Rosecrans, elected Captain John A. Means of the 115th Ohio to select and lay out the site of the new cemetery. Means was suited for this duty because he was a civil engineer and had already spent considerable time surveying Murfreesboro's topography for the army. He selected a site near the Hazen's Brigade monument on a hillock between the Nashville Pike and the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. He likely chose the spot because of the proximity of the railroad and the road, but also because the U.S. Regulars were already buried there. Means oversaw the preparation of the cemetery until his unit was mustered out at the end of the war. Chaplain William Earnshaw continued Means's work.[19]

14. George, "Stones River," 16.

15. For more on these commemorative efforts to honor the Army of the Cumberland, see Ibid., 17-20.

16. For more on Hazen's Brigade Monument, see Ibid., 22-28.

17. Richard West Sellars wrote that Congress authorized twelve national cemeteries in 1862, but the National Cemetery Administration lists fourteen. These cemeteries included: Alexandria National Cemetery, Alexandria, VA, Annapolis National Cemetery, Annapolis, MD, Antietam National Cemetery, Sharpsburg, MD, Camp Butler National Cemetery, Springfield, IL, Cypress Hills National Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY, Danville National Cemetery, Danville, KY, Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery, Fort Leavenworth, KS, Fort Scott National Cemetery, Fort Scott, KS, Keokuk National Cemetery, Keokuk, IA, Loudon Park National Cemetery, Baltimore, MD, Mill Springs National Cemetery, Nancy, KY, New Albany National Cemetery, New Albany, IN, Philadelphia National Cemetery, Philadelphia, PA, Soldier's Home National Cemetery, Washington, DC. Richard West Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," *Common Ground* (Winter 2005): 32; "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, January 2014, http://www.cem.va.gov/docs/factsheets/history.pdf, accessed June 11, 2015.

18. George, "Stones River," 28-29.

19. Ibid., 29.

Members of the 111th USCT undertook the gruesome task of preparing the ground, identifying Union graves, and exhuming, moving, and reinterring the badly decomposed bodies. When Earnshaw arrived to take up his new assignment in June 1865, the reburial program had been suspended until early October because of the effect of the summer heat on the bodies.[20] The fact that this ghastly task was left to African American soldiers is enormously significant. Most of these men were likely freshly emancipated from slavery and experiencing freedom for the first time. Having such employment was a way for them to demonstrate their political assertiveness and show gratitude and respect toward the Union fallen.[21]

Emancipation in Middle Tennessee

The institution of slavery dissolved around the Union army in Tennessee as enslaved African Americans fled to Union lines seeking refuge and freedom. After Confederate forces retreated to Shelbyville, a large number of African American refugees decamped outside Murfreesboro.[22] The Union Army referred to them as "contraband" because they still considered these people to be the enemy's "property." In August 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant had ordered his troops to provide tents and whatever other supplies they could spare to the huddling masses of refugee slaves that met his men in western Tennessee. They formed the first contraband camp in Grand Junction, Tennessee. Similar camps cropped up around the state and elsewhere in the South, following the protection of the Union army.[23]

The timing of the Union victory at Stones River was critical for upholding northern morale and ensuring support for President Abraham Lincoln's controversial Emancipation Proclamation. This document freed enslaved individuals in rebelling states, although Tennessee's 270,000 slaves were excluded from this policy because Union forces occupied most of the state.[24] Lincoln issued the proclamation on September 22, 1862, but it went into effect on January 1, 1863, as the Union and Confederate armies fought it out along the Stones River. The proclamation affected three million slaves in the areas in which it applied, confirming Lincoln's goal was to both secure the Union and destroy the institution of slavery.[25] However, not all Unionists' motives were purely moral; military commanders used emancipation as a tool of war because they knew it would destroy the southern economy.[26] Indeed, the proclamation ushered forth a tremendous social, demographic, economic, and political upheaval that would take generations to reconcile, but the Union victory at Stones River helped secure the edict's effectiveness in the days after it became official. However, there is a certain degree of irony that this battle was fought in Tennessee, where the proclamation did not apply.

Military governor Andrew Johnson was unable to end slavery in Tennessee until February 1865, but that did not prevent slaves from escaping their owners before then.[27] In Middle Tennessee, refugee slaves made their way to Murfreesboro,

20. Ibid., 30.

21. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 226-7.

22. Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee*, 3, 50.

23. Bobby Lovett, "Contraband Camps," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, December 25, 2009, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=305 (accessed May 29, 2015).

24. Jerry Daniel, *Battle of Stones River: The Forgotten Conflict between the Confederate Army of Tennessee and the Union Army of the Cumberland* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013); Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee*, 17; Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 239-242.

25. Foner, *The Fiery Trial,* 240-242.

26. Initially, Lincoln, Congress, and the War Department did not intend to interrupt slavery in the South. However, they rethought their position when slaves began escaping to federal lines. Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, which allowed the army to impress slaves for military labor. Then, the government passed an article of war that prevented the return of fugitive slaves in case their sale would benefit the Confederacy. Military field commanders also initially refused to take in fugitive slaves, but the need for labor and the influx of refugees made them change their mind, ultimately undermining the government's exclusion of Tennessee from the Emancipation Proclamation. Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee*, 33-35.

27. Johnson was unable to hold elections about the abolition of slavery, because the state still did not have a functioning civilian government. Instead of holding elections, he endorsed a convention of self-appointed Unionists, which adopted a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in the state. Only voters that met Johnson's guidelines were able to vote on the amendment. They approved the measure in February 1865. Foner, *The Fiery Trial,* 280.

where Union forces afforded a measure of protection. Rutherford County, the sixth largest slave-owning county in Tennessee before the war, already had a large African American population. There were 12,984 slaves living in Rutherford County, Tennessee in 1860, slightly less than half of the total population. However, the 1870 census enumerated a total of 16,478 free African Americans in the county, indicating a large in-migration during and after the war.[28] Lodl infers that this noticeable uptick in the African American population was due to the Union presence in Murfreesboro, particularly the national cemetery and Fortress Rosecrans. He also interprets the data to show that many of the African Americans within the county moved from rural areas into the city, indicating that plantation slaves moved into Murfreesboro where they outnumbered whites in 1870.[29] In the battle's aftermath, these refugees took up residence in any available shelter, including the former city jail, a Presbyterian church, and the campus of Union University. The contraband camp in Murfreesboro, located near Fortress Rosecrans, grew to about 2,000 people in the winter of 1864.[30] The Union Army employed a number of refugees to build the massive earthworks at Fortress Rosecrans and repair the railroad.

White Murfreesboro resident and Confederate sympathizer John Spence recorded Rutherford County's slaves' flight to freedom during the war in his personal diary. He blamed Union soldiers for "poisoning the minds of the negros," and wearily watched as newly emancipated people tested the limits of their newfound freedom. He commented that they were becoming increasing "impudent," "lazy," "slow," and "contrary." He also remarked how the Union army was taking advantage of African Americans by paying them below market wages.[31] Spence's observations reflect the anger that many white southerners felt toward the Union army, not only for freeing their slaves but also for destroying their homes, businesses, and way of life.[32]

Finding protection behind Union lines was but one way African Americans sought freedom during the war, but historian Antoinette Van Zelm reminds us "there was no single emancipation experience."[33] For example, some enslaved people chose not to leave the plantation because they heard about the uncertainties and harsh conditions of contraband camps. Others did leave plantations to camp behind Union lines only to find that some Union commanders were turning asylum-seekers away. For those that did cast their luck with contraband camps, they discovered that Union commanders pressed many men and some women into work, such as Brigadier General James St. C. Morton, who put men to work building Fortress Rosecrans and repairing the railroad.[34] A number of former slaves also mustered into the newly formed USCT and pursued freedom through military service.[35]

Recovering the Dead

Members of the 111th USCT provided the workforce for reinterring bodies at Stones River National Cemetery from 1865 to 1866. According to historian Michael Gavin, the 110th and 111th USCT were originally formed at Pulaski, Tennessee, between late November 1863 and mid-January 1864, and were known as the 2nd and 3rd Alabama Infantry Volunteers (African Descent). However, the U.S. reorganized its African American troops and renamed the regiments as the 110th and 111th on June 25, 1864. Many of these men had escaped plantations in northern Alabama and Mississippi and were recruited from contraband camps. They received rations,

28. Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," Table 1, 27; Janet Hudson, "A Profile of Black Landownership in Rutherford County," honor's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1989, 9.

29. Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," 32.

30. Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee,* Table 4, 53.

31. John Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War* (Nashville: Williams Printing Company, 1993), 21, 72.

32. Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee,* 27-32.

33. Antoinette van Zelm, "Hope Within A Wilderness of Suffering: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom During the Civil War and Reconstruction in Tennessee," Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area, 2, http://www.tn4me.org/pdf/TransitionfromSlaverytoFreedom.pdf (accessed May 29, 2015).

34. Mabel Pittard, "Daniel C. Miller: A Yankee in Rutherford County," *Rutherford County Historical Society* 26 (Winter 1986): 33; Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War*, 73; John Fitch, *Annals of the Army of the Cumberland* (Philadelphia, PA: J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1863), 190, http://tnmap.tn.gov/linked_docs/Fitch1863p190.pdf (accessed August 4, 2015); Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," 30-31.

35. Cimprich, Slavery's End in Tennessee, 81-97, states that Congress allowed blacks to serve in the military in 1862. Union forces raised the 13th and 17th USCT regiments in Murfreesboro in the summer and early fall of 1863. See Michael Gavin, "Rutherford County's African American Soldiers during the Civil War: The 13th and 17th Regiments, USCT," Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area (May 2007), 1, 5.

uniforms, and pay after they committed to serve for three years. However, they were not received very well and had a long way to go to prove to white Union soldiers that they were trustworthy and valuable as soldiers. Men of the 111th did see action in Georgia and Alabama, and Confederate forces captured a number of them.[36] In November 1864, they marched to Tennessee's state capital and took part in the Battle of Nashville. From January 1865 through the spring, the 111th guarded bridges along the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad. In July 1865, the regiment was assigned to Stones River National Cemetery. The men remained there until they were mustered out of service on April 30, 1866.[37]

National cemetery supervisor William Earnshaw and his laborers first had to account for the Union dead scattered across the countryside (see Fig. 2).[38] Starting with one hundred men, Earnshaw directed the USCT to disinter and then reinter nearly 3,000 bodies that had been buried in the immediate vicinity of the national cemetery, including the adjacent battlefield, Murfreesboro City Cemetery, and various points around Murfreesboro. Next, Earnshaw sent detachments to retrace the route taken by the Army of the Cumberland during the Tullahoma campaign, stopping at Hoover's Gap, Liberty Gap, and Guy's Gap, to find and recover the remains of soldiers who fell and were buried there. They then went north of Stones River, following the railroad to the towns of Florence, Stewart's Creek, Smyrna, and La Vergne, which were located along the army's route towards Murfreesboro on the eve of battle. The cemetery team also went south to northern Alabama and northeast to the Kentucky border. Earnshaw's force grew to as many as three hundred men to finish the reburials, which amounted to nearly 6,000.[39]



Figure 2 "Map of Cemeterial District showing section of country from which the Union Dead have been disinterred and removed to the 'Stones River' National Cemetery near Murfreesboro, Rutherford Co. Tenn."

George notes that the cemetery work was "gruesome...but also exacting." Earnshaw and his men scoured the many rural roads where soldiers could have travelled, looking for bodies, sometimes encountering hostile locals. Once they recovered a body, they placed it in a substantial coffin and wrote whatever identifying information they found with or near the body on the lid and then the wooden grave marker. This information also was recorded in a book, which was checked before the coffin was placed in the ground. Faust believes this emphasis on identifying remains was due in part to the war's upheaval of grieving norms that emphasized a "Good Death," a death where one died at home, among family—a clear reflection of the life they lived. Therefore, it was deeply upsetting for families to have their husbands, brothers, and sons die far from home, and part of their coping was ensuring that their loved one's remains were properly identified and cared for.[40] Despite meticulous procedures, workers could not identify 40 percent of the remains they found. However, once committed to the national

36. William Holland, a former slave and veteran of the 111th, worked as a day laborer for the national cemetery. He later purchased a farm adjacent to the Hazen Brigade Monument. His family buried him right outside of the wall that encloses the cemetery and Hazen Brigade Monument. Jason Perkins, "William Holland: Fighting for his Freedom," Stones River National Battlefield, http://www.nps.gov/stri/learn/historyculture/holland.htm (accessed August 5, 2015); Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 89-90.

37. Michael Gavin, "A History of the 110th and 111th Regiments United States Colored Troops (USCT)," Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area, October 2004, 1-5.

38. This "accounting," according to Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 61, 218-9, 221, was essential to finding the humanity that was lost during the battle and demonstrate the federal government's willingness to be accountable to the rights of its citizens who answered the call to defend to the nation and paid the ultimate sacrifice.

39. George, "Stones River," 31.

40. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* 6-9.

cemetery, the dead were no longer individual soldiers but part of a collective community known as "the Union dead."[41] Ironically, the carnage wrought by mass-produced weaponry in the first modern war, which killed indiscriminately, also required personnel to employ systematic procedures for mass burial after the conflict was over.

Earnshaw's efforts at Stones River National Cemetery contributed to fashioning federal policy for the Union dead after the war. During the summer of 1865, the federal government still had not made a solid commitment to dealing with deceased Union soldiers, and officers individually responded to conditions in the field. According to Faust, only gradually in the years following the war did the federal government firm up its commitment to the dead. Earnshaw himself was present at a Congressional committee meeting that convened in Memphis after the May 1866 riots targeting the African American community. Congressmen were concerned about how to control southern white defiance, and from this conversation came related concerns about the possible desecration of graves of Union soldiers buried in the South. Faust believes this meeting led to the passage of the National Cemetery Act in 1867 and helped broaden the scope of the reinterment program.[42]

Cemetery Community

Some members of the 111th USCT remained in Murfreesboro after their time in the service was over. A few even settled on the old battlefield near the national cemetery in a community that became known as "Cemetery." Other Union soldiers also remained in the area after the war, including a number of colored troops from the 8th, 13th, 17th, 18th, and 75th USCT. Lydia Simpson, who took a detailed look at the USCT in the Rutherford County's Ninth District (the district in which that national cemetery and the Cemetery community were located) after the war, found that one-third of the African American landowners in the district in 1878 were former servicemen, but she also infers that many most likely had pre-war connections to the area because these regiments mostly originated in Middle Tennessee and Nashville. She also found that a number of these men were hired to work at the national cemetery as late as the 1890s, and this shared military and job experience combined with proximity to work created the foundation for a community.[43]

Landownership was a critical step for African Americans in making the tenuous transition from slavery to post-emancipation life, and USCT veterans were not the only African Americans buying ground on the former battlefield in the Ninth District. A close examination of property ownership, c. 1865-1930, in an area of the Cemetery community known as the Cedars, located within the present-day boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, revealed a mix of white and black landowners. White landowners generally held larger, and more productive, tracts of land, but the pattern of African American property ownership clearly delineated a cluster settlement. Additionally, the surnames of some African American property owners correlated with those of slaveholding plantation owners in the Ninth District before the war, indicating that many formerly enslaved people either chose to remain in the area or found it difficult to leave.[44]

The pattern of white and black land ownership that prevailed on the tract of land that would become Stones River National Battlefield complicates our understanding of post-emancipation communities. African American communities are typically characterized as segregated from or on the periphery of white society. Indeed, African Americans tended to group together to form communities and protect one another from intimidation and racial violence, a common threat in the South after the war. Lydia Simpson and Elizabeth Goetsch have both pointed out that the national cemetery, coupled with the devastated battlefield landscape, meant that African Americans may have been drawn to the area because it was on the margins of town and the federal presence in the person of a cemetery superintendent provided some measure of

41. George, "Stones River," 32; Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* 82-3.

42. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* 224.

43. Simpson, "Settling In," 15.

44. Rebecca Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, May 2016), ii. Jennifer Hudson also reached this conclusion in "A Profile of Black Landownership in Rutherford County," iii.

protection as well as employment.[45] However, more recent land-use studies indicate that many of these people living in this area, both black and white, had pre-war connections to this land. With a fresh look at land deeds and other records, researchers have been able to reconceptualize the way in which blacks and whites resettled the former battlefield after the war. In this rural area, which includes a large portion of District Nine of Rutherford County, groups of African Americans gravitated to distinct settlement nodes within a larger area of farms owned by both whites and blacks. Within the larger Cemetery community, which refers to an African American community that included both cluster settlements and outlying farms, there were two specific places known as the "Cedars" and the "Bottom." The Cedars was located southwest of Old Nashville Pike along Van Cleve Lane. Northwest of the Cedars, the Bottom was closer to the intersection of Old Nashville Pike and Asbury Road. It was called the Bottom because the area flooded frequently.[46] So, while whites and blacks both occupied the former battlefield, African Americans did tend to cluster together. Both settlements had access to the railroad, which ran adjacent to the national cemetery.

Churches and schools were the anchors for black residents in the Cedars and the Bottom, and for the Cemetery community as a whole. Both institutions represent African Americans efforts to exercise their newfound freedom and build their own communities during Reconstruction.[47] Even during the war, newly emancipated African Americans in Middle Tennessee organized independent churches and schools for themselves. John Spence wrote in November 1863 that contraband camp dwellers organized a school in the basement of a Methodist church in Murfreesboro, and 130 "schollars, of all ages, colours and sexes, some young as eight years"[48] attended the first day. Residents of the Cemetery community also established a school, which was located in the Bottom near Asbury Road. Stones River Methodist Church was also located in this area and Mt. Olivet Missionary Baptist Church and Ebeneezer Primitive Baptist Church were located in the Cedars.[49] The Tennessee Manual Labor University served the greater Cemetery community for a very short period of time, from 1866 to the early 1870s. Peter Lowery, born a slave but later purchased by his Cherokee wife, founded the school along with his son, Samuel. They obtained a charter from the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee on December 10, 1866. This school focused on teaching African Americans practical skills in literature, science, mechanics, and agriculture. Students could work on the school's farm in exchange for tuition. Historians do not know the exact reason why the school closed, but it might have been because of poor financial management or because the Ku Klux Klan managed to shut it down through intimidation or other means. Despite the school's short tenure, its goal to educate newly emancipated African Americans through a work-study program and the challenges the administrators faced are instructive as to how African Americans used education to form their identities during Reconstruction.[50]

Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights, and End of Reconstruction

Local whites reeled from the dissolution of slavery and the loss of the war, and, as a result, "bristled at every assertion of black independence,"[51] which included everything from voting to landownership, education, employment, and even commemoration. In 1865, Congress created the U.S. Bureau for Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau, to help African Americans and poor southern whites in the aftermath of the war. The bureau established an office in Murfreesboro in 1865 to maintain a federal presence in the area while helping local blacks, where it remained until 1872. Along with northern benevolent aid organizations, the bureau assisted local blacks with employment contracts, legal matters, school organization, and investigated instances of racial violence in the area.[52]

45. Simpson, "Settling In," 29; Goetsch, "'All Could Not Help But Feel It,'" 39.

46. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 17, 31.

47. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 88-102; Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," 51-61.

48. Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War*, 110-1.

49. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* iii.

50. Simpson, "Settling In," 54-66.

51. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed,* 193.

52. Selected reports include, J.K. Nelson, "Correspondence," October 7, 1867, Selected Records of the Tennessee Field Office of the Bureau of Refugees, Freemen, and Abandoned

The Freedmen's Bureau in Murfreesboro reported fourteen instances of white violence towards blacks from April 15, 1865 to January 15, 1866. These cases ranged from intimidation to brutal violence to sexual assault. In one case, Bee Whitney (African American) accused Isaac Rucker (white) of beating his wife when Rucker told Bee and his wife to leave his farm. Rucker had hired the couple to work his farm in exchange for a third of the crop, but ordered them to leave in June, before the harvest. Whitney said, "he beat my wife in the head side & body with a piece of board, the last blow knocked her down. This was 6 days before she had a child." Rucker had to be brought to the Freedmen's Bureau by military force, where he confessed to beating Mrs. Whitney.[53] In another case, an African American man named Anthony accused a white man named Bill Murray for beating Anthony's wife and child with a stick "for singing a Union song." The officer sent an order for Murray to appear, but he "was taken with the appoplexy & it is said died of mortal fear of being put in the Bureau."[54] The incidences in the report do not specify location, so it is unknown if any happened in the Cemetery community, but it is known that the white vigilante group, the Ku Klux Klan, was active along the Old Nashville Pike and intimidated black residents in the Cemetery community and sometimes resorted to violence.[55] These two incidences provide some idea of the tensions between whites and blacks in Murfreesboro immediately after the Civil War. Both Rucker and Murray feared the authority of the Freedmen's Bureau, which indicates that it provided a reassuring presence to newly emancipated African Americans.

The government intended the Freedmen's Bureau to be a temporary measure, but Republicans were dismayed when President Andrew Johnson vetoed renewing the agency in 1866. He believed it was unconstitutional. Republicans were already displeased with how Johnson was handling Reconstruction and his lack of interest in providing suffrage for African Americans. Violent outbreaks in the South, including the 1866 Memphis riots, which occurred when southern whites sought retribution against African Americans, and the formation of the Ku Klux Klan, moved Congress towards a more radical approach to Reconstruction that ensured civil rights for African Americans[56] Radical Republicans wanted the government to use the government's military power to enforce these laws and provide some amount of protection to African Americans. Congress overrode Johnson's veto and passed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. In order to pass civil rights legislation, Radical Republicans in Congress needed to remove President Johnson. In 1868, Congress impeached Johnson when he removed Secretary of War Stanton, but Johnson was acquitted. His acquittal weakened the influence of Radicals within the Republican Party and essentially secured the nomination for Ulysses S. Grant. Grant was more conservative, but Congress was able to secure African American rights in the form of the Civil Rights Acts of 1870, 1871, and 1875.[57]

The presidential election of 1876 precipitated the formal end to Reconstruction. Republicans were struggling to hang on to the presidency with stories of political corruption and an economic depression threatening their stronghold. Protecting African American rights became a secondary concern and many Republicans questioned if their strategy for the south had been the right course of action. Democratic candidate Samuel J. Tilden won the popular vote, but neither he, nor Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, had enough

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Lands, 1865-1872, Roll 84, Series T142, Record Group 105, National Archives; "Indentures of Apprenticeships Dec. 1865-Feb. 1868, Contracts: Jan. 1, 1865- Jan. 1, 1868," and "Reports of Outrages, Riots, and Murders, Jan.15, 1866-Aug. 12, 1868," both Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freemen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, Roll 20, Series M999, Record Group 109, National Archives. For related scholarship on the Freedmen's Bureau, see W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (1901): 354-65; Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 207-9.

53. J. T. Alden, "Freedmen's Bureau Report of Outrages in Murfreesboro, Tennessee," January 1866, "Reports of Outrages, Riots and Murders, January 15, 1865 to August 12, 1868," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freemen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, Roll 20, Series M999, Record Group 109, National Archives.

54. Ibid.

55. Avery [single name only], "The Battlefield of Stone River," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* 30, no. 27 (September 27, 1869); J.K. Nelson, "Monthly Report of Freedmen's Affairs in the Nashville Sub Districts for the Month of June, 1868," June 1868, Selected Records of the Tennessee Field Office of the Bureau of Refugees, Freemen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, Roll 84, Series T142, Record Group 105, National Archives.

56. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* 224.

57. Foner, Reconstruction, 247, 333-37.

electoral votes to win the presidency due to voter disputes in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. After some backroom negotiations, Democrats conceded the presidency to Republicans; in exchange, Hayes ordered troops stationed outside the statehouses of South Carolina and Louisiana back to their barracks. This gesture signified that the military would not interfere with political matters.[58] Foner asserts that 1877 "marked a decisive retreat from the idea, born during the Civil War, of a powerful nation state protecting the fundamental rights of Americans."[59] Foner added that the federal government did not abandon that idea completely, just those matters concerning African Americans.[60]

Memorial Day

Despite intimidation, African Americans in Murfreesboro celebrated their newfound freedom publicly and with exuberance. Spence recorded that on May 4, 1864, local African Americans celebrated their one-year anniversary of freedom with a procession outside of town followed by speeches from white supporters, including Chaplain Earnshaw, along with black orators, congratulating the crowd on a year of freedom.[61] Fraley interprets this event as evidence that African American and Union commemoration converged in the face of hostile Southern whites.[62] This tradition would continue for decades after the war as both African Americans and Union veterans honored the Union dead at Stones River National Cemetery.

African Americans in Rutherford County and as far away as Nashville came for Memorial Day celebrations at Stones River National Cemetery in the late-nineteenth century to early 1930s.[63] There were even special trains that brought African Americans from Nashville directly to the national cemetery, mostly because African Americans were prohibited in joining the observances at Nashville National Cemetery, which was reserved for whites. White Northern migrants, curious local whites (whose Confederate Memorial Day celebrations were held on a different day), and cemetery staff joined African American observers at Stones River National Cemetery for Memorial Day activities.

There were tensions among these groups, particularly because African Americans saw the holiday as a time of celebration, which they expressed by holding large picnics and selling refreshments in areas outside of the national cemetery. These activities likely irritated the Grand Army of the Republic chapter that was responsible for the day's program and preferred a more formal, somber show of mourning. National cemetery staff were left to navigate between the two groups and had to ensure that the cemetery was properly maintained during the day's events. Fraley indicates that local whites associated Memorial Day activities with African American Civil War commemoration activities in Middle Tennessee, but their antagonism to these celebrations grew as race relations worsened, particularly in the 1890s. This placed pressure on national cemetery staff to maintain racial order at Memorial Day events in the ensuing decades by imposing certain rules and regulations, such as prohibiting picnickers from eating in the cemetery.[64]

Confederate veterans and sympathizers largely stayed away from Stones River National Cemetery. The federal government prohibited burials of Confederate soldiers in the national cemetery, so southerners chose to commemorate the Confederate dead in other parts of town. Women were at the heart of these observances and largely responsible for raising the necessary funds to find and reinter Confederate dead. They soon established the Murfreesboro Memorial Association, perhaps as early as 1865, to relocate

58. Ibid., 568-69; 575-76, 582.

59. Ibid., 582.

60. Ibid., 582-83.

61. Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War,* 157.

62. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 64-5.

63. The federal holiday known as Memorial Day supplanted Decoration Day, which according to Blight, originated in Charleston, South Carolina, when emancipated African Americans and their white Abolitionist allies held a ceremony for the Union dead that included a parade and the adornment of Union graves with spring flowers. General John Logan, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, called for Union veterans to honor their fallen comrades in a national day of observance on May 30, 1868. Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 64-69, 71.

64. Miranda Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, 2002 Draft, Chapter Three, 3-6; Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 87-109.

Confederate dead to their own cemetery close to the town square near the Shelbyville and Murfreesboro Turnpike and the railroad.[65] Faust asserts that these actions were sectional in attitude and that women wished to continue to devote themselves to the Confederacy by memorializing the loved ones they had lost.[66] Local whites also held separate Confederate Memorial Day observances in Evergreen Cemetery to remember those Confederate veterans that died during the war and had passed away that year. Their ceremonies were subdued, much in line with the culture of mourning, since for many the wounds of the war were still present, and took place at a location entirely separate from Stones River National Cemetery.[67]

Developing Stones River National Cemetery

Stones River National Cemetery thus remained the focus of Union commemorative efforts after the war and continued to undergo changes in the following decades. Earnshaw and the USCT laborers working at the cemetery finished the task of burying the bodies in 1867 (see Fig. 3). John A. Means, Earnshaw's predecessor, laid out the cemetery to include a central square with a flagstaff (called Lincoln Square), two drives named after Union generals killed in the battle, and equally sized graves to emphasize the individuality of the soldiers resting there in addition to their collective sacrifice.[68] The layout remained the same, but the USCT replaced a wooden picket fence with a limestone wall enclosure in 1865. Resident laborers finished the wall when the USCT mustered out of service in 1866.[69] In 1867, the State of Tennessee ceded jurisdiction over the national cemetery to the federal government, after the Quartermaster General, Attorney General, and Congress belatedly determined that the federal government had to request permission from states to place national cemeteries within their borders. A year later, in 1868, the federal government finally purchased the twenty acres they essentially seized for the national cemetery during the war from James M. Tompkins and "Richard Wasson et. al." [70] However, the government was unable to take ownership of the Hazen Brigade memorial and cemetery until 1875, when Cemetery Superintendent Doolittle purchased the property at auction for two hundred dollars after Nelson Cowan, an African American resident and former slave to the Cowan family, failed to pay a note for his property.[71] Sometime in or shortly before 1871, the government purchased four additional acres from Tompkins for the superintendent's lodge, a stone structure built in 1871 that provided on-site living space for the cemetery administrator, thus creating a permanent federal presence at the cemetery at all times.[72] Also during 1870s, the Quartermaster decided to replace the wooden headboards with headstones, since the wood was beginning to rot. DeWitt C. Sage received the contract for headstones for the graves of unknown soldiers on December 31, 1873, and Thomas P. Morgan won the contract headstones to mark the graves of identified soldiers a few weeks later in January 1874. Civil engineer T. M. Robbins supervised the installation of both sets in 1876.[73] Robbins noticed that nearly 4,000 of the graves were sinking, revealing decayed bodies and crushed coffins, which prompted cemetery staff to take on major grading projects to fill the graves, grade low lying areas, and top dress the avenues.[74] Cemetery laborers also worked to make the cemetery into a park-like setting by maintaining a nice lawn and planting trees, bushes, and flowers.[75]

65. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 116-9.

66. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* 247.

67. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 128-30.

68. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter One, 9.

69. Ibid., Chapter One, 5-7.

70. Ibid., Chapter One, 4; George, "Stones River," 35.

71. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter One, 4; George, "Stones River," 36.

72. There was one lodge previous to the one built in 1871. The first was a wooden structure located across Old Nashville Pike, built on private lands in 1867. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter One, 8-9; Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., John Milner Associates, Inc., and Liz Sargent HLA, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, November 2015, 25.

73. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter One, 7-8.

74. Ibid., Chapter Two, 1-2.

75. Ibid., Chapter Two, 5.



Figure 3 Earliest known photograph of Stones River National Cemetery, circa 1866. Source: National Archives.

Rise of Veterans' Organizations

In 1882, the government issued a contract for a rostrum to be constructed in the cemetery. Composed of brick pillars supporting a lattice roof, officials intended the rostrum to be used by speakers during Memorial Day activities (see Fig. 4).[76] The need for a rostrum raises questions about changing commemorative practices during the 1880s and the rising popularity of veterans' organizations. Blight says that while veterans' activities were not completely in "hibernation" during the 1870s, there did indeed seem to be a "revival" in the 1880s. He cited the economic depression, political differences over Reconstruction (which officially ended in 1877), and a general desire to forget the war as reasons why veteran activities remained low in the 1870s, only to be followed by a great wave of fraternalism that swept across the country in the 1880s. Membership in the Union veteran organization, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), for example, exploded from 40,000 in 1880 to 400,000 in 1890.[77] Blight asserts that the "unheroic Gilded Age" prompted veterans to relive the glories of battle by holding Civil War roundtables, publishing their battle accounts, and erecting memorials to themselves.[78] Confederate veterans, specifically, took over commemorative efforts, previously dominated by women, and promoted the "Lost Cause" mythology—a view of the war that celebrated the Confederacy as a heroic, but ill-fated cause. Both the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) emerged during this time period to reclaim Civil War spaces and associate Lost Cause mythology with commemoration of the Confederate dead.[79] In 1888, a mix of elite and non-elite Confederate veterans came together and organized a Murfreesboro chapter of the UCV.[80] The rostrum at Stones River National Cemetery would be used by these groups to further parse Civil War memory and politics.



Figure 4 Rostrum in Stones River National Cemetery. Photographed by Oswald E. Camp, circa 1933-1939. Courtesy of STRI.

Union and Confederate veterans groups undertook separate commemorative activities in Rutherford County during the 1880s and 1890s. In 1883, twenty years after the battle, a group of Union veterans led by Major F. L. Guenther raised funds for a monument to be placed at Stones River National Cemetery to honor the soldiers and officers from the U.S. Regulars in the Army of the Cumberland that died at Stones River. The monument consists of an inscribed sandstone pillar resting on a granite base and surmounted by a bronze eagle (see Fig. 5).[81]

76. Ibid., Chapter Two, 7-8.

77. Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 171.

78. Ibid., 182, 188.

79. Ibid., 158, 258.

80. The national UCV was organized in 1889.

81. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter Two, 8-9.



Figure 5 U.S. Regulars Monument in Stones River National Cemetery. Photographed by Oswald E. Camp, circa 1933-1939. Courtesy of STRI.

The first major effort of the Murfreesboro UCV was to relocate the Confederate dead to Evergreen Cemetery, a predominately white cemetery, where they were placed in a mass grave called the "Confederate Circle." This project simultaneously plucked the responsibility of the Confederate dead from the local women and placed it under the purview of the city of Murfreesboro.[82] The UCV also held its own separate Memorial Day celebrations from the 1880s to 1910s in Evergreen Cemetery.[83] In 1899, the UCV, with help from local women in the UDC, selected a site in the town square adjacent to the courthouse for a monument to the Confederate dead, which was officially dedicated in 1901.[84] The placement of a Confederate monument near the seat of county power and its dichotomous relationship to the memorialization of Union dead at the national cemetery demonstrated that while the Union may have won the war, former Confederates regained local power after Reconstruction was over (see Fig. 6).[85]

82. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 121-4.

83. Ibid., 128-30.

84. Ibid., 132-43.

85. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 264.



Figure 6 Confederate Monument in Murfreesboro, TN. Photographed by Albert Kern, date unknown. Source: MTSU Walker Library.

Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation

Sectional differences were set aside in the 1890s when battlefield preservation dominated Civil War commemoration. Indeed, the 1890s are known as the "Golden Age for Battlefield Preservation" during which time Congress established five military parks: Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Vicksburg, Shiloh, and Antietam. This unprecedented federal commitment to historic preservation of battlefield landscapes came about because many Civil War veterans served in Congress and state legislatures, thereby providing the necessary political support for these endeavors. Furthermore, many veterans were still able and willing to visit these battlefields and mark where major events occurred. Blight writes that these veterans were the first "Civil War buffs," because of their intense focus on the war's military minutiae, but conveniently did not discuss slavery as a cause of the war or emancipation as its legacy.[86] Interestingly, when Congress established these parks, it provided the funds to tell both sides of the battle. According to historian Timothy Smith this both exemplified reconciliation and set an important precedent for how these sites are interpreted today, and helps to explain, at least in part, why introducing slavery to the story has been difficult.[87]

86. Ibid., 182; Sellars, "Pilgrims Places," 36-40.

87. Timothy Smith, *A Chickamauga Memorial: The Establishment of America's First Civil War National Military Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 65; Sellars, "Pilgrim Places," 31.

Murfreesboro residents were certainly aware of the tourism potential of these former battlefields as crowds made their way to the dedication of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in September 1895. Not coincidentally, H.R. 1996, the first bill for a military park at Stones River, was introduced a few months later in December. James Daniel Richardson, a Confederate veteran, prominent Murfreesboro resident, and Congressman representing Tennessee's Fifth District, introduced the bill, which contained very similar language to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park's legislation and even mistakenly left the words “Chickamauga and Chattanooga” in the document. The bill called for the purchase of 1,000 acres for "preserving and suitably marking for historical and professional military study the fields of some of the most remarkable maneuvers and most brilliant fighting in the war of the rebellion."[88] The 1,000 acres were supposed to contain "all the grounds occupied by the Union and Confederate armies," but that was really only a fourth of the actual battlefield. Like Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Richardson's bill called for a three-man commission that included two Civil War veterans appointed by the Secretary of War and an active duty officer. Unlike other military parks at the time, the Stones River bill did not stipulate that a Union and Confederate veteran both had to be appointed to the commission.[89] To appease local landowners, the new park would incorporate Nashville Pike, Wilkinson Pike, and Franklin Road for a distance of four miles from Murfreesboro, but they would be held open as public roads to be maintained by the federal government. Furthermore, landowners could retain their holdings so long as they maintained the buildings, fields, and forests and helped take care of all tablets and memorials that might be installed around the park.[90] The bill instructed the commission to install tablets marking the lines of U.S. Regular troops and raise monuments dedicated to them. The commission would be allowed to hire an assistant to help with this historical research. The appropriation for the proposed park was the same as Chickamauga and Chattanooga, $125,000, even though Stones River would be much smaller.[91]

88. H.R. 1996, 54th Cong., 1st sess., 6.

89. George, "Stones River," 64.

90. Ibid., 65.

91. Ibid., 66.

Richardson's H.R. 1996 did not move forward because the House Committee on Military Affairs did not take up the measure. George surmises that Richardson acted hastily in the excitement of Chickamauga and Chattanooga Military Park's dedication, and did not make a solid case for Stones River National Battlefield's creation. Indeed, after the financial depression of 1893, Congress was reluctant to create additional battlefield parks on the scale of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, which was over 6,000 acres. Instead of discouraging Stones River veterans and local residents, Richardson's initial efforts sparked enthusiasm for a battlefield project the following year.[92]

Unlike the military parks successfully created during this time, Stones River did not have a dedicated organization focused on the battlefield's preservation when Richardson introduced H.R. 1996. However, on April 28, 1896, the State of Tennessee incorporated the Stones River National Battlefield and Memorial Association. At its beginnings, the organization had about twenty-five members. The officers were Union and Confederate veterans, these positions almost split evenly between the former foes, which fits the trend of battlefield preservation groups being reconciliatory in nature at this time. While there were not any nationally known individuals involved, this group did contain some of the most prominent men in Murfreesboro and Rutherford County, including lawyers, politicians, clergymen, and bankers. The group sought support from national organizations, namely the GAR and UCV, and began a campaign of asking these groups to send signed petitions to Richardson supporting a battlefield park at Stones River. One hundred GAR posts and 62 UCV camps representing members of twenty-five states and the District of Columbia answered their call. The leading officers for both organizations visited the battlefield, first GAR commander-in-chief, Thaddeus S. Clarkson, in 1897, followed by UCV commander-in-chief, John B. Gordon in 1898. Both lent their support for the battlefield project.[93] In addition to raising national support, the association also sought to secure options on the land where the most significant events of the battle occurred so that it might in turn be deeded to the federal government for a

92. Ibid., 66-72.

93. Ibid., 72-86

battlefield park. Since options are not legally binding agreements, none of these are recorded in public records. Association records, however, indicate that this task was complete within a year, but do not mention a total acreage or sum of money.[94] The group also erected large painted wooden markers on wood posts to mark significant battlefield places. Cemetery Superintendent Edwin P. Barrett approved one marker, which was placed within the cemetery near the main entrance to protect it from vandalism.[95]

Richardson hoped the Republican gains made during the 1896 election might provide a suitable political climate for the passage of the Stones River bill. With the support of the Tennessee state legislature behind him, which passed a joint resolution supporting the Stones River battlefield park, Richardson introduced H.R. 1647, a nearly identical bill to his first, on March 20, 1897. This bill also called for 1,000 acres and an appropriation of $125,000. Again, opinions in Washington about additional military parks and their expense were not favorable. The bill languished in the House Committee for Military Affairs, but this time the committee made plans to visit the battlefield in April 1898. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Spanish-American War caused the committee to cancel its visit; Congress took no further action on the Stones River project during that session.[96]

Continued Efforts to Create a National Battlefield

When the Spanish American ended, Richardson tried again. This time, members of the association traveled to Washington to provide testimony for H.R. 3363 on February 17, 1900. The reaction of the committee was promising, and the battlefield project seemed to have better footing than the previous two bills. The association members presented a map that was professionally surveyed by Oscar Jones, a thirty-year old surveyor from Murfreesboro, which showed battle lines and contemporary land ownership.[97] The association members assured the committee that the land for the park could be acquired at or below market value. They also argued for the battle's significance to prove that it was worthy of designation, and described the markers the association had already placed there. The committee recommended that the land be increased from 1,000 acres to 3,100, or 3,700 maximum, to be more in line with Jones's survey and the actual area on which the battle had been fought. With this amendment, the committee recommended that the bill be passed immediately. Despite this success, the House never voted on the bill. There were many Civil War battlefield bills also being introduced that time and Congress members were ever conscious of their great expense.[98]

Conclusion

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the landscape of Civil War memory shifted at Stones River. The national cemetery remained the focus of Union and African American commemoration. African Americans from the surrounding area still continued to have vibrant celebrations there every year with picnics, speeches, and yard games. However, tensions mounted as local whites increasingly viewed these displays as vulgar. Having abandoned the battlefield for over two decades, Confederate veterans decided to reclaim space on the former fighting ground to validate the cause that they lost. However, emancipated slaves and their families now occupied much of that land, where many had settled, or resettled, after the war. Park designation would threaten the very community that benefited from the Union's victory there forty years ago. While Richardson's initial efforts at a park bill might have failed, the Stones River project was a cause he was bound not to lose.

94. Ibid., 86-88.

95. Ibid., 88-91.

96. Ibid., 91-93.

97. Ibid., 104-6.

98. Ibid., 110-115.

Chapter Two

Establishing Stones River National Military Park, 1900-1932

Initial efforts may have failed to designate a battlefield park at Stones River during the "Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation," but supporters did lay important groundwork for the second swell of Congressional support for such projects. By the time this second wave crested, the Civil War generation was quickly fading from the scene, signaling a shift in preservation advocacy. Additionally, development and agriculture threatened many of these hallowed landscapes' integrity, oftentimes irrevocably, underscoring the need for state or federal protection. Support for a battlefield project at Stones River remained strong among veterans' groups, and they finally achieved their goal on March 3, 1927, when Congress authorized Stones River National Military Park. Residents of the Cemetery community paid for the cost of this victory, however, since their homes and livelihoods lay at the center of the new battlefield park.

Continued and New Support for a Battlefield Park

Local, state, and national, support remained for the Stones River battlefield project, but the people involved in these efforts shifted as time went on. The Stones River National Battlefield and Memorial Association continued to meet after Representative Richardson's failed legislation, but their numbers started to decline as members passed away.[1] Richardson himself continued to sponsor legislation until he retired in 1905, but always with the same result.[2] Another veterans' organization formed in the late-1890s in Indiana called the Association of the Survivors of Stones River also supported the battlefield's preservation, although there is not a clear connection to the Stones River National Battlefield Association.[3] The influx of new personalities involved in the project meant different strategies to advocate for and preserve the battlefield.

Politicians working to preserve Stones River battlefield adjusted their tactics since Congress was still reluctant to designate national battlefields due to their high expense. Congress only authorized five between 1900 and 1925. Stones River supporters had to shift their efforts from an "all or nothing" approach like Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, which included all the lands occupied by both armies during the conflict, to other strategies much smaller in scope, oftentimes borrowing upon successful strategies executed by other organizations at different battlefield sites. For example, Antietam was the last military park designated during the first wave of battlefield preservation. By that time, Congress realized how expensive these parks could be, and so preservationists at Antietam purchased small tracts of land along battle lines, which could be acquired for reasonable sums, instead of trying to purchase the entire battlefield. Their "Antietam Plan," as it became to be called, also relied upon adjacent landowners to maintain the rural character of the area as well as the markers and monuments

1. John George, "Stones River: Creating a Battlefield Park, 1863-1932," dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013, 115-7.

2. Ibid., 142.

3. Ibid., 143-4.

erected to illustrate the battle's story.[4] On January 25, 1913, Representative Houston proposed a bill to erect markers at Stones River by commissioners at Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. The commissioners opposed the proposal, insinuating that the battlefield's integrity had diminished and there was nothing left to mark. Besides, the government did not own any property there.[5] Tennessee Senator Luke Lea tried another approach in August 1914 by proposing a bill that would allow the Secretary of War to accept deeds of gift of Stones River battlefield land from the State of Tennessee, local counties, or any citizens. This attempt failed and so did a second one in 1915. In 1917, Congress set a precedent when it accepted land from the Kennesaw Mountain Battlefield Association, which purchased sixty acres of the battlefield for a monument in 1914, but deeded it to the federal government in 1917 when the organization's members realized they could not afford the monument's maintenance. Lea reintroduced his Stones River bill merely days after Congress accepted the Kennesaw land, but ultimately Lea's bill was not approved.[6] Despite their lack of success, Stones River preservationists were constantly looking at other battlefield projects for a creative solution suitable to their own local project.

The battlefield project received a measure of private support from the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railway (NC&StL), which was interested in developing the tourism potential of Civil War sites along its route to Atlanta.[7] The man behind these efforts was John W. Thomas, who was the stationmaster in Murfreesboro during the war. Thomas, once a Confederate supporter, was named company president in 1884, partly because of his efforts during the war to protect company property. Thomas used his position to direct company resources to erect historical markers along the railway for passengers' benefit, and the railroad gave discounts to veterans traveling on NC&StL trains. Thomas supported the park project. He had plans for an artillery monument at McFaddens Ford, but that effort was completed posthumously in 1906 (see Fig. 7). Under Thomas's initiative, the NC&StL also purchased Redoubt Brannan in 1904 to protect it from development, since much of Fortress Rosecrans had been obliterated by erosion or human activity by that time. This is one of the first instances of preservation by private initiative in relationship to Stones River battlefield.[8]



Figure 7 Artillery Monument, sculpted using Portland cement with a granite dust finish. Photographed by Oswald E. Camp, circa 1933-1939. Courtesy of STRI.

The interwar period brought a new technological advancement that spurred interest in battlefields and historic sites across the country, including

4. Ibid., 141-2; Ronald Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1973), under "Antietam Plan," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/history_military/nmpidea6a.htm (accessed June 20, 2015).

5. George, "Stones River," 147-52.

6. Ibid., 152-4.

7. Incorporated in 1845, the Nashville & Chattanooga was the first railroad completed in Tennessee. It connected Murfreesboro with Nashville and Chattanooga, and was a strategic transportation route during the Civil War. The NC&StL was formed after the war in 1872 when the Nashville & Chattanooga merged with the Nashville & Northwestern. The Louisville & Nashville absorbed NC&StL in 1880, but NC&StL retained its name until the two were officially merged in 1957. In 1983, CSX Transportation absorbed L&N and operates the railway adjacent to the National Cemetery today. Styles, *Stones River National Battlefield Historic Resource Study,* 28; Edward A. Johnson, "Railroads," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture,* December 25, 2009, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1104 (accessed June 15, 2016).

8. George, "Stones River," 128-37; "The John W. Thomas Memorial," *Confederate Veteran 16,* no. 2 (February 1908): 55.

Stones River. The automobile became widely available to middle class Americans, which prompted boosters to advocate for better roads. In Tennessee, boosters were determined that their communities should connect to regional and national networks of highways, particularly a route stretching from Michigan to Florida called the "Dixie Highway."[9] There were two branches of the Dixie Highway in Tennessee; the western route took drivers through Nashville, Murfreesboro, Tullahoma, and Chattanooga, converging with the eastern route in Chattanooga that connected to Knoxville and Cumberland Gap. Local boosters in Middle Tennessee promoted the Nashville to Chattanooga route, touting the various historic sites along the way, including Stones River National Cemetery and adjacent battlefield. This route included the Nashville Pike, a state highway that ran through the battlefield area and passed the national cemetery. Rutherford County completed a major portion of this road improvement by 1920, and shortly thereafter Floyd Overall established a tourist camp called the Winter Garden Filling Station to serve visitors traveling the Dixie Highway. This camp was located near a new underpass, which took the highway under the railroad, close to the location of General Bragg's headquarters. Boosters used Stones River battlefield and the national cemetery to help sell the Dixie Highway on locating its route through Murfreesboro in order to help increase tourist interest in these sites.[10] The accessibility afforded by good roads increased the likelihood that some portion of the battlefield would later be developed as a national military park.[11]

Second Wave of Battlefield Preservation

The 1920s ushered in new opportunities for battlefield preservation. Victory in World War I unleashed a surge of patriotism. After the newly established American Battle Monuments Commission conducted its work overseas to survey battlefields and create cemeteries in the wake of the Great War, Americans increasingly venerated historic landscapes at home. This renewed the effort to preserve domestic battlefields as Americans reaffirmed traditional cultural values that appeared to be threatened by modernization and social change.[12] At the same time, widespread economic growth in the 1920s brought greater access to modern conveniences, especially automobiles, and increased leisure time. More Americans had the time and money to travel, particularly to sites located along popular automobile highways. Business-oriented booster organizations, such as the Kiwanis Club and local Chambers of Commerce, augmented or replaced Civil War veterans' groups, which were declining as members passed away. Business organizations supported battlefield park projects in their communities to capture the revenue of those frequent automobile tourists. The combination of these developments—a sustained effort to secure congressional legislation, a strong wave of patriotism generated by American participation in World War I, post-war economic growth, and increasing affordability of automobiles—provided the basis for a new wave of battlefield preservation in the interwar period.[13]

Despite Congress's reticence to authorize battlefield parks, the House Committee for Military Affairs was still being inundated by bills requesting exactly such action. In 1926, the committee reported that it had fourteen battlefield preservation bills pending with approximately

9. Howard Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Leslie Sharp, "Down South to Dixie: The Development of the Dixie Highway from Nashville to Chattanooga, 1915-1940," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1993, 16-20, 32-42; Megan Akerstrom, "Dixie Highway in Murfreesboro: Transportation and Change in an Early Twentieth-Century Southern Town," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2010, 28, 36,

10. George, "Stones River," 154-7; Ackerman, "Dixie Highway in Murfreesboro," 43-45, 66-67. It appears that park boosters and Good Roads advocates benefitted from both battlefield preservation and the routing of the Dixie Highway along the Nashville Pike, but historians writing about both efforts do not indicate if these boosters worked together to advocate both projects. A good starting point for future research might be to look at both groups to see if there were any connections.

11. Zada Law argued that automotobility-related factors influenced the establishment and development of ten national military parks in the interwar period, including Stones River National Military Park. The Dixie Highway converged with the Jackson and Southern National highways near the battlefield in Murfreesboro. Zada Law, "The Role of Automobility in the Creation of National Military Parks between World War I and World War II," unpublished paper, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011, 1-4, 26.

12. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, under "The 1926 Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/history_military/nmpidea6c.htm (accessed June 20, 2015).

13. George, "Stones River," 161.

$6,000,000 in requested appropriations. Nearly fourteen other bills dealt with marking battlefields or evaluating them for possible future designation.[14] The committee agreed that a general study of battlefields was needed to develop some sort of broad preservation policy, instead of the piecemeal approach Congress had been taking for decades. Initially, the committee proposed a bill that borrowed from a previous idea to create a central national military park commission.[15] However, Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis thought such a committee would be expensive and unnecessary and countered that the War Department make a suitable study and then submit a commemoration plan to Congress. Davis drafted H.R. 1163, which provided for the War Department study. Congress passed the bill and President Coolidge signed it into law in June 1926.[16] This piece of legislation was not only important for preserving battlefields, but, according to NPS historian and preservation-pioneer Ronald Lee, it was the first federal historic sites survey.[17]

As it so happened, the War Department had already begun classifying battlefields the year before, in 1925. This effort was led by Lieutenant Colonel C.A. Bach in the Historical Division of the Army War College. Bach and his staff reviewed fifty years of battlefield legislation and constructed a system of classification based on level of significance, which provided a rationale for future preservation action. The study found that Congress commemorated battles in three different ways: first, by establishing military parks; second, by highlighting important locations with markers and monuments; and, third, by erecting a single monument. Next, Bach and his team organized battles into two different classes. Class I included highly significant battles and required preservation of large areas of ground in the form of military parks. Only Saratoga, Yorktown, Gettysburg, Chickamauga-Chattanooga, and Vicksburg were placed in Class I. Class II included slightly less significant engagements that still had an important impact, but were recommended to be designated as national monuments with significantly less land. This class was still further divided into Class IIa and Class IIb, with Class IIa recommended for receiving more markers and monuments delineating battle lines and Class IIb recommended for receiving just a single tablet, marker, or memorial to mark a battlefield. Stones River was placed in Class IIa, along with fifteen other Civil War battlefields. Bach's preliminary work provided the basis for H.R. 11613, passed in 1926, which called for the Secretary of War to take on additional surveys and prepare a general plan for commemoration. No lands could be purchased for government military park purposes unless a report had been completed by the Secretary of War and submitted through the President to Congress. Between 1926 and 1932, the Historical Section of the Army War College continued to undertake historical studies of battlefields, followed by preliminary field investigations carried out by the Corps of Engineers. Once Congress authorized a military park, the Quartermaster General assumed responsibility for commemorating the new park.[18]

Tennessee Congressman Ewin Lamar Davis continued Richardson's efforts and submitted another Stones River battlefield park bill on December 21, 1925. This bill shared similarities with his predecessors' proposals, including a three-person commission comprised of a Union veteran, Confederate veteran, and an officer from the Army Corps of Engineers. Davis's bill, however, did not specify a particular amount of land. Instead, it stipulated that the commission to undertake a historical study of the battlefield area

14. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, under "The 1926 Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/history_military/nmpidea6b.htm (accessed June 20, 2015).

15. In 1902, the House Military Affairs Committee and the War Department drafted H.R. 14351, which would merge all the military park commissions into a single commission. It also advocated for focused preservation efforts as exemplified by the Antietam Plan. However, the bill was strongly opposed by present commission members, who exerted considerable influence in Congress and the bill failed. George, "Stones River," 137-42; Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, under "Proposal for a National Military Park Commission," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/history_military/nmpidea6b.htm (accessed June 20, 2015).

16. Lary Dilsaver, ed., "Study and Investigation of Battle Fields in the United States for Commemorative Purposes," in *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anps/anps_2d.htm (accessed June 30, 2015).

17. George, "Stones River," 161-4; Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea,* under "Proposal for a National Military Park Commission."

18. George, "Stones River," 164-6; Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea,* under "Proposal for a National Military Park Commission."

and the movement of troops thereon and identify portions of land that could be purchased at reasonable market rates—an approach far more in line with the Antietam Plan than previous efforts. The commission would make maps of the battle and recommend locations for markers. The new park was to include the national cemetery and Hazen Brigade Monument, but everything was contingent on an appropriation of $100,000 in a clear effort to keep costs low. Davis received support from General Benjamin Cheatham, commander of the Quartermaster Corps, whose father fought at Stones River. Congressman Davis also received the support of Secretary of War Davis, who was in the process of shepherding the Battlefield Study bill. Secretary Davis passed the Stones River bill on to the Director of the Budget, who initially opposed the project saying it was too expensive. Congressman Davis pointed out that his predecessors' plans had included 3,100 acres and $125,000 in initial appropriations. He also cited all the veterans' organizations that supported earlier legislative efforts, utilizing all the groundwork that had been laid before him, and touted the tourism potential of the site. His arguments were echoed by local editorials supporting the project. The House and Senate approved H.R. 6246 in February 1927, and President Calvin Coolidge signed the bill into law on March 3.[19]

Stones River Battlefield Commission

Congressman Davis was anxious for the Secretary of War to select a commission so it could begin its work without delay. When congressional appropriations in 1927 did not include funds for the commission's work, Davis cited the precedent established at Petersburg the year before, which allowed that commission to proceed without funds but was compensated by the government at a later date. He also suggested that local organizations pay for the commission's work to also be refunded by the War Department. [20]

Secretary of War Davis dismissed the congressman's requests and reaffirmed that he must wait until Congress made the appropriation for him to select the Stones River commission.[21]

The appropriation came the next year and Secretary Davis made his selections. The requirement for both a Union and Confederate veteran "familiar with the terrain of the battle field...and the historical events associated therewith" replicated provisions set forth by the first military parks established in the 1890s in the spirit of reconciliation. However, Congressman Davis realized that not very many veterans were left in 1927, so his legislation included the phrase "as far as practicable."[22] There were several candidates for the Confederate veteran, but Secretary Davis selected Sam Mitchell of Murfreesboro after receiving many letters from local residents on his behalf. Mitchell was born in 1843, and served in the Forty-fifth Tennessee Infantry during the war. His family's farm was close to McFadden's Ford, and he lived there until 1900, when he sold the property and moved into Murfreesboro. Therefore, he was very familiar with the area but had divested himself of any property interest many years prior.[23] A Union veteran was a bit harder to find, but Secretary Davis selected John D. Hanson of Shelbyville, who was quickly endorsed by prominent local residents. Hanson immigrated to the United States from Denmark in 1858 at the age of fourteen and enlisted in the Union Fifth Tennessee Cavalry in Nashville. He served the remainder of the war in Tennessee and worked as a postmaster and bookkeeper in Shelbyville after the war.[24] Major John French Conklin, Military Assistant of the District Office of the Corps of Engineers in Nashville, was selected to serve as the War Department's representative.[25]

19. George, "Stones River," 167-74; *An Act: To Establish a National-Military Park at the Battle Field of Stones River, Tennessee,* Public Law 69-777, 69th Cong., 1st sess. (March 3, 1927).

20. Benjamin Cheatham to Colonel Hampton, memorandum, March 15, 1927, and Ewin Davis to Dwight Davis, letter, May 9, 1927, both 1926-1927 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

21. Dwight Davis to L. D. Tyson, letter, May 28, 1927, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

22. George, "Stones River," 168; H.R. 6246, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1-2.

23. George, "Stones River," 175-7; Select letters include J.N Bagwell to Ewin Davis, letter, March 21, 1927, S.F. Houston to Ewin Davis, letter; Howard Henderson to Ewin Davis, April 1, 1927; Adjutant General to Ewin Davis, April 11, 1927, all 1926-1927 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

24. George, "Stones River," 177.

25. Ibid., 180-1.

The commission first met at the First National Bank in Murfreesboro on March 16, 1928, and elected John Hanson as chairman. The three men visited the battlefield many times between March 16 and July 17, when they submitted a preliminary report to the Secretary of War. Their report included historical findings, attitude of residents, maps, recommendations of land to be acquired, roads, tablets and monuments, estimate of cost, superintendent, and plans for expansion. They summed up their report with a list of four recommendations pertaining to land acquisition, locations to be marked by tablets, roads to be built and maintained, and a note on future commemorative monuments. The report not only provides a useful sketch of the commission's views of the battlefield at the time, but also opens a window into their decision making process. Their recommendations inevitably left an indelible legacy on the establishment and development of the battlefield and cemetery for years to come.[26]

The commissioners first surveyed any existing historic sites on the battlefield. After a "careful inspection," they wrote, "the Stones River Battle Field shows no evidence of earthworks, trenches or other remaining evidence of the battle."[27] They did note four monuments that commemorated the battle, including the Hazen Brigade Monument, “Old Union Fort” (referring to the earthen remnants of Fortress Rosecrans), Artillery Monument, and the national cemetery. Their survey indicates that much of the landscape had lost features of the battle, but the monuments created in its wake could serve as focal points for the new battlefield park.

Probably the commission’s most important consideration was selecting tracts of land to be acquired by the government. Unlike initial park bills, which called for upwards of 3,100 acres for the proposed park, the commission was driven by the spirit of economy and looked for a section of the battlefield that could be acquired for a reasonable sum while still conveying the importance of the battle. They focused their efforts on a 325-acre section, approximately ten percent of the whole battlefield (see Appendices C and D). This particular section was located in the vicinity of the intersection of Old Nashville Pike and Van Cleve Lane. This was the place of the most intense fighting on December 31, 1862, when Confederate forces attempted to envelop the Union in a pivot maneuver. There were other practical reasons for choosing this area. It was located along the main thoroughfare and was near the national cemetery and Hazen Brigade monument. The commissioners wrote that the land north of Stones River, where the battle occurred on January 2, 1863, was nearly "inaccessible" with no bridges to cross the river and only "poor country roads."[28] Furthermore, they expected the land along Old Nashville Pike to be cheap because most of it was not suitable for agriculture. They wrote, "The central portion of this tract is rocky, slightly rolling land covered with cedar trees. It is considered that the open land, combined with the rocky, cedar covered land is ideal for Park purposes."[29] The commissioners also recommended that the government acquire smaller parcels to mark General Rosecrans’s and General Bragg's respective headquarters. The federal government already owned the land for the national cemetery and Hazen Brigade monument. The NC&StL Railway deeded the Artillery Monument and Redoubt Brannan lots to the federal government earlier that year without monetary compensation strictly for “park purposes.”[30]

The commission's initial recommendations were fairly straightforward to ensure that the battlefield project stayed within the $100,000 appropriation. They believed the necessary land acquisition could be accomplished with $48,975. They also called for thirty-five markers within the park, including two on former railroad property that had been conveyed to the United States at McFadden's Ford and at the intersection of Old Nashville Pike and the river. They also asked for ten pointers to be installed within the park and an additional ten on private property "where necessary." To acknowledge both Union and Confederate military forces, they also requested that two monuments be erected marking headquarters for Union General William S. Rosecrans and Confederate General Braxton Bragg. To improve park infrastructure, the commission

26. John Hanson, Sam Mitchell, and John Conklin, "Report on Inspection of Battlefield of Stones River, Tennessee," July 17, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

27. Ibid., 4.

28. Ibid., 7.

29. Ibid., 8.

30. Ibid., 5-6.

recommended that Van Cleve Lane, which they described as being in a "poor state of repair," be expanded to an 18-foot wide gravel road and joined to a new 18-foot wide gravel road to wind down the center of the park (see Appendix E). They concluded the report by suggesting that park administrators should reach out to states whose soldiers were involved in the battle to erect monuments within the park sometime in the future. Other than roads and markers, the commission did not propose a sizable development plan.[31]

The commission was also conservative in projecting the number of staff positions required for the new battlefield park, accounting for the positions of superintendent, clerk, and laborers in estimated annual maintenance expenses.[32] Section 7 of the legislation stipulated that the superintendent of the national cemetery should also become administrator of the battlefield park as a cost-saving measure. Initially, when the bill was in Congress, an unnamed subordinate officer of the Quartermaster General opposed any combination of the two positions, arguing that national cemeteries required constant attention and that a person administering battlefield parks should have a different set of skills. At the time, a special statute for national cemeteries recommended that superintendents should be honorably discharged veterans who had been wounded in action. The person wrote, "Park [superintendents] should be able-bodied men with at least sufficient engineering ability [to] supervise construction and repair of roads and monuments."[33] However, the legislation included the language for a combined position, and the War Department informed Melroe Tarter in 1930 that he was now responsible for the battlefield park in addition to the national cemetery.[34]

Major Conklin himself was busy with his regular duties at the Nashville engineering office and considered his work on the Stones River Commission to be secondary.[35] He noted that the veteran commissioners were not much help since they were both over eighty years old.[36] He suggested that the Stones River project deserved the full-time attention of an officer, and the War Department agreed. However, the War Department could not find a suitable replacement and so he had to make do. He was further rewarded by the Secretary of War who added him to the Fort Donelson National Military Park Commission the next year.[37]

Conklin was not working alone, though. His historian counterpart was Lieutenant Colonel Howard Landers, who was undertaking a study of Stones River battlefield for the Historical Section of the Army War College.[38] Landers's findings were naturally of interest to the commission since the Historical Section had to include sites of historical interest in their report. In February 1928, Landers sent Conklin a preliminary report for the commission to use.[39]

Landers was working on multiple surveys of battlefields while he was assigned to the Stones River project, but he did visit the area to make sketches and prepare a series of maps.[40] He found the map commissioned by the Stones River Battlefield Association, completed by local engineer Oscar Jones in 1899, to be very accurate

31. Ibid., 10, 16-18.

32. Ibid., 14.

33. Memorandum, February 1, 1926, 1926-1927 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

34. Miranda Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, 2002 Draft, Chapter Four, 1.

35. W.R. Gibson to Quartermaster General, memorandum, October 12, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

36. John Conklin to Howard Landers, letter, June 15, 1928, 1932-1933 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

37. Howard Landers to John Conklin, letter, July 26, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

38. R.C. Moore to John Conklin, memorandum, "Nomination as Member of Stones River National Military Park Commission," January 16, 1928, and K.J. Hampton to Quartermaster General, memorandum, March 15, 1928, both 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

39. Landers's report is not included in the park's War Department files, but his draft is referenced several times in correspondence. It may have never been completed. Howard Landers to Conklin, letter, March 28, 1928, Howard Landers to John Conklin, letter, April 16, 1928, Secretary of War to Ewin Davis, letter, May 15, 1929, all 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

40. Landers to Conklin, letter, March 28, 1928.

and used it as the base for the troop movement maps he made for the commission.[41] During his work, the question arose about the exact location of General Bragg's headquarters. Sixty-seven years had passed since the battle, and many of the people with first-hand knowledge had passed away. The few that remained were very advanced in age or had second-hand knowledge from relatives. Apparently, "old timers" disagreed with the two locations marked as Bragg's headquarters in a volume titled *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, which also matched the maps drawn by engineers after the battle.[42] Landers was left to ponder the landscape, sixty-seven years after the battle, as well as the memories of old veterans who did not quite agree on the original, authentic locations of Bragg's headquarters. Pointing out that Bragg moved frequently up and down the Old Nashville Pike during the battle, Landers decided to keep the originally marked locations, thereby asserting an official narrative over a vernacular version of the battle.

The commission submitted its report on July 17, 1928, and received favorable support shortly thereafter. Assistant Secretary of War C.B. Robbins wrote to the Quartermaster General on August 15 and informed him the Stones River plan was "approved in principle." He prescribed that the gravel roads proposed for the project should be placed in the middle of a "boulevard with strips of land twenty-one feet on each side. These strips [were] to be beautified by planting grass seeds, shrubs and trees where the boulevard passes through open land, and clearing out underbrush and doing other forestration where it passes through woods." He also dictated that the commission should do further study on the design of the two headquarters monuments.[43] Aside from those requests, Robbins indicated that the commission could continue with the establishment of the park immediately.

Land Acquisition and Cemetery Community

Land acquisition became the commission's next priority, although several important changes altered the commission's role in the process. Conklin again was assigned to the task despite his heavy workload. He was at first unsure if the commission was responsible for actual establishment activities, and the Quartermaster General verified that it was the commission's responsibility and they should proceed right away. Conklin then asked the Quartermaster General's office to allow him to assign one of the staff from his office in Nashville to work on the project. He proposed to raise this person's salary, the remainder of which would be compensated by the Stones River Commission. The Quartermaster's office denied his request, and Conklin was left to supervise acquisition activities.[44] Conklin thus continued these activities and secured a number of tracts before he resigned from the commission in April 1929 to take a teaching position at West Point.[45]

Conklin's departure came on the heels of several important changes that affected the commission. The month before, the Judge Advocate General had ruled that it was the Quartermaster Corps not the commission that was responsible for establishing the park; submitting its report mostly fulfilled the commission's role.[46] Therefore, the commission became more of an advisory board, and the Quartermaster General assigned an "Officer in Charge" to oversee activities at Stones River. John Hanson also died the same week that Conklin resigned. The Secretary of War never replaced Hanson. Major Frank Besson took Conklin's spot on the commission in 1929, but did

41. Landers to Conklin, letter, April 16, 1928. For more on the Oscar Jones map, see George, "Stones River," 102-6.

42. Howard Landers, memorandum, "Headquarters of Bragg and Rosecrans at the Battle of Stones River," [December 1929], 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

43. C.B. Robbins to Quartermaster General, memorandum, August 15, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

44. George, "Stones River," 190-1; John Conklin to Quartermaster General, letter, August 25, 1928, and W.R. Gibson to John Conklin, letter, September 4, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

45. R.D. Valiant to John Conklin, letter, April 13, 1929, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

46. Benjamin Cheatham to Assistant Secretary of War, memorandum, "Establishment of National Military Park at the Battlefield of Fort Donelson, Tennessee," April 2, 1929, and Benjamin Cheatham to John Hanson, memorandum, "Stones River National Military Park," April 24, 1929, both 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

not contribute much to the park project. The Quartermaster General named Captain George Moseley Chandler as the new Officer in Charge. Chandler arrived in Murfreesboro in June 1929 and opened an office at the First Union Bank.[47]

Conklin divined that land acquisition would be a slow process, while others, including Landers, felt it could be done much quicker. Landers had been involved in several land acquisition projects for battlefield parks, including Petersburg and Fredericksburg, and was well aware of the common problems. He suggested mobilizing community support to publicize the government's commitment to the project, arouse local sentiments, and essentially apply peer pressure to encourage landowners to sell at a reasonable price.[48] The commission, accompanied by Landers, met with prominent community members to seek their help in the process to ensure that the land could be acquired for reasonable cost. Congressman Davis, Conklin, and Landers spoke at a joint meeting of the local Rotary and Kiwanis organizations on October 4, who both agreed to help the commission get fair prices for the land in the proposed park project.[49] From these meetings, the commission was able to enlist James R. Jetton of Union Commerce Bank in Murfreesboro to negotiate with landowners. Conklin felt that having a local representative involved in the negotiations would help the government achieve fair prices for the land in question.[50] However, there is no indication that they sought the counsel or help from leaders in the African American community.

Landers's sentiments were likely genuine, but he neglected the inherent biases of the commission and park supporters against the landowners, particularly the African American residents who owned 51 percent of the purchase area (excluding the tracts conveyed to the government by the railroad). In their July 1928 report, for example, the commission conveyed to the War Department that the land could be reasonably acquired because much of it was not prime farmland. In fact, they pointed out, "many tracts have located upon them negro shacks in a miserable state of repair."[51] They believed that the land would be best used as a park, ignoring the residents that had lived there for at least two to three generations. Furthermore, the commissioners displayed a paternalistic attitude toward these residents by adding that the government would pay more than the appraised value just to make sure property owners could afford a suitable new home. This bias continued as the government sorted out the land records, made offers, negotiated with property owners, and initiated condemnation proceedings. Conklin reported to the Quartermaster General that activities were moving slowly because "36 out of the 45 parcels to be acquired are owned by illiterate and uneducated colored people."[52] African Americans in the community may have lacked advanced reading, writing, and math skills and lived on poor land, but the commission's comments neglected larger institutional biases against African Americans during the Jim Crow era that made obtaining good land and a quality education difficult. Furthermore, the presence of Cemetery school, which African American residents organized shortly after emancipation, is evidence that education was important to the community.[53]

These biases in the commission report raise questions about equity in the land acquisition process that historians have sought to answer, first by analyzing the land ownership patterns between whites and blacks in the proposed park area and then how they were evaluated and the legal mechanisms the government used to acquire the

47. George, "Stones River, 194-6.

48. Howard Landers to John Conklin, letter, July 26, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

49. Howard Landers to Colonel Gibson, memorandum, "Conference with the Stones River National Military Commission," October 12, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

50. John Conklin to James Jetton, letter, November 12, 1928, 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

51. Hanson et al., "Report on Inspection of Battlefield of Stones River, Tennessee," 10.

52. Conklin quoted in B.F. Cheatham to Ewin Davis, letter, May 20, 1929, 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

53. Leonora Washington, "A Black Perspective of the History of the Area as Compiled during the Tennessee Homecoming Celebration in 1986 by a Local Resident," 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

land.[54] Of the total acreage owned by white property owners, the commission categorized 69 percent as "tillable," meaning suitable for agriculture, and the remaining 31 percent as "rough," indicating it had little agricultural value. In comparison, the commission categorized 54 percent of the land owned by blacks as "tillable" and 46 percent as "rough."[55] These figures give no indication if the appraisers exhibited any biases in determining which land was tillable or rough, since such a determination may be subjective. Nevertheless, based on arability, black-owned property was considered less valuable than that of their white neighbors, which perhaps explains why the center of the proposed park project at the intersection of Van Cleve Lane and Old Nashville Pike also correlated with a high concentration of African American residents (see Appendix). Despite the poor quality of the soil in this area, residents were able to eke out a living if they had some tillable land, which is supported by the presence of various fruit trees, blackberry and grape vines, and myriad agricultural outbuildings.[56] White-owned property tended to be on the periphery of the park project area, which meant that the government was less likely to condemn their land if they were unwilling to sell.

Land negotiations and condemnation cases can sometimes reveal power dynamics at play. Chandler, the officer in charge who replaced Conklin in 1929, commented, "In many instances the assessed valuations bear little relation to the true values. The land may not have changed hands or been revalued for years. The owners' valuations bear slight relation to what his property would bring were he to sell it to a neighbor. The Commission was an able one and yet sometimes I wonder how they valuations were reached, and behind it all is the personal equation of the owner."[57] Historians analyzing this process point out that the Earthmans, a prominent white family, asked for a price that far exceeded what their property was worth. Their property, Tract 8, had no improvements and was susceptible to flooding. Yet, they asked for $2,000 when Chandler determined it was not worth more than $1,000. This posed a problem since the Earthmans were a leading local family, and Chandler wanted to avoid condemnation if it meant maintaining good will. However, he could not avoid condemnation in this case, and the court awarded the Earthmans $1,500 for their property, more than Chandler believed it to be worth.[58]

In comparison, the Minters, an African American family, sought a higher price for their property when they learned that the War Department agreed to pay a higher amount to a nearby neighbor, Homer Gannon, a white man. The Minters's 11-acre property, Tract 10, had seven tillable acres, a four-room house, a barn and smokehouse, sheds, and fruit trees. Rowena Minter valued the property at $3,000, but the commission assessed it at $1,350.[59] In comparison, Gannon received $3,000 for Tract 3, which only contained five tillable acres and a three-room house. Tract 3 did abut the Hazen Brigade Monument parcel and the Old Nashville Highway, which may explain its higher value. Minter's land only shared a corner to the highway. Nevertheless, upon hearing of Gannon's offer, Rowena Minter went through condemnation proceedings, at the close of which she and the other heirs were awarded $2,393.47.[60]

African Americans property owners were far more likely to go through condemnation lawsuits. Twenty-two out of the forty-four black-owned properties were condemned, while the only white-owned property the federal government condemned was the Earthman tract. Most of these condemnation cases stemmed from a need to clear land titles and locate heirs, rather than price.[61] The difficulties in ascertaining clear titles to the land

54. See Rebecca Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, May 2016); George, "Stones River," 192-205.

55. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 18.

56. Ibid.

57. George Chandler to Quartermaster General, memorandum, "Purchase of Land," October 22, 1929, 5, 1928-1929 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

58. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 20-21; George, "Stones River," 200-4.

59. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 20-21; George, "Stones River, 202.

60. John George, "Stones River," 203, reports that the final amount was $2,200, according to a letter from George Chandler, but Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 48, uses the figure $2,393.47, which she obtained from a Rutherford County deed book.

61. George, "Stones River," 201-2, 204.

likely stemmed from informal land-transfer practices involving African Americans, since several landowners did not have deeds.[62] In the case of the Minter family, though, they did use condemnation as a way to seek a better price for their land.

John George found that the real determining factor for land value at Stones River was proximity to the highway or sites of historical interest. Most notably, all twelve tracts along Old Nashville Pike (excluding the location of Rosecrans headquarters) sold for an average of $237.72 an acre. White landowners received $234.61 on average per acre, and African Americans were paid $241.63 per acre. In comparison, land not adjacent to the highway sold for an average of $131.97 per acre. Overall, African Americans received an average of $178.24 per acre, or $177.96 if their property had been condemned—a very inconsequential difference. White landowners were paid an average $155.60 per acre.[63] These numbers indicate that African Americans received an equitable price for their land, and perhaps even better than some white landowners.

Both Conard and George seem to agree that the War Department was fair in its dealings with African American landowners, but that alone does not diminish the experience of those African Americans who had to move from their homes, some of which may have been in the family for several generations.[64] The exact number of those displaced is not known, but they left "seventeen houses, three cabins, eight barns, one smokehouse, one chicken shed, eleven miscellaneous sheds, four wells, 730 fruit trees (identified as peach or pear in some instances), 1000 blackberry vines, 200 grape vines, two churches, and one store" behind, which gives readers a sense of the impact of this dislocation. The perceived injustices of the War Department's handling of various land acquisition cases, such as with the Minter and Gannon properties, caused bitterness among families that has lasted for generations.[65] Oral tradition indicates that a number of Cemetery residents moved to other parts of the district, particularly along nearby Asbury Lane.[66] Others moved out of the county and state, matching the outmigration trend for African Americans in Rutherford County, whose population had been steadily decreasing since 1880.[67] As John George points out, that while the national cemetery encouraged the establishment of the Cemetery community, it also spelled its demise with the creation of the national battlefield.[68]

Constructing the Park

During Chandler's thirteen-month tenure, he and his clerk, George Williamson, made significant progress towards land acquisition, acquiring fourteen tracts by Chandler's departure in 1930. His replacement, Captain Henry J. Conner, would devote much of his time to constructing the park, while land acquisition continued.[69] The previous year, the Judge Advocate General ruled that Stones River's original legislation did not allow for actual construction of a park. Congressman Davis promptly introduced an amendment to the legislation, which passed in 1930, authorizing the War Department to construct "roads and walks and for the restoration and care of grounds and the planting of trees and shrubs," as recommended in the commission's July 1929 report.[70] Conner asked the U.S. Attorney's Office in Nashville if the War Department was allowed to proceed with work on tracts in the process of being condemned. The attorney said he did have the authority, but advised that he get permission from landowners

62. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 18, 27, explains that many African Americans received receipts for land purchases, but the deeds were not recorded to legalize the transaction. Therefore, the U.S. Government needed to clear title before purchasing the land, which often required condemnation proceedings.

63. George, "Stones River," 203-4.

64. Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community,* 18; George, "Stones River," 204-5.

65. Washington, "A Black Perspective of the History of the Area as Compiled during the Tennessee Homecoming Celebration in 1986 by a Local Resident."

66. Ibid.

67. Hudson, "A Profile of Black Landownership in Rutherford County during Reconstruction," 9; Miranda Fraley, "The Politics of Memory: Remembering the Civil War in Rutherford County, Tennessee," dissertation, Indiana University, 2004, 163-4.

68. George, "Stones River," 204-5.

69. George, "Stones River, 205.

70. George, "Stones River," 194. The amendment was H.R. 2825, 71st Cong., 2nd sess. (April 1930).

first.[71] Conner next requested an engineer to plan and supervise construction work, and three weeks later, Jacob Blanton, a civil engineer, arrived in Murfreesboro.[72]

With almost half of the land for the battlefield purchased, Conner contracted with the Forcum-Jones Company of Dyersburg, Tennessee, in December 1930, to construct the main park road and enlarge Van Cleve Lane.[73] The contract provided for 11,400 feet of "macadam" roads, eighteen feet wide, as requested by the War Department. The War Department allowed the contractor to use rock from stone fences in the park to crush and use for the road. The War Department also resurfaced the gravel avenues in the national cemetery. In 1931, Conner also hired Herbert Smith, a local African American stonemason, and his two assistants to build the entrance gate at the northern end of the park. This gate consisted of two limestone columns four feet square and eleven feet tall. Conner ordered that the columns be topped with cannonball pyramids and faced with bronze tablets reading "Stones River National Military Park." Smith also laid two more columns at the south entrance of Van Cleve Lane. Work crews installed a wire fence around the entire park boundary and Redoubt Brannan. Crews also removed underbrush for 150 yards on either side of Nashville Pike and the new park road, and planted over 1,000 trees and shrubs to create a boulevard aesthetic.[74]

The construction work proceeded quickly, but Conner and his staff paused briefly during the construction for an informal ceremony to raise the American flag on the new flagpole placed near the north entrance, surrounded by three cannons. Commissioner Sam Mitchell was present and to provided a few words. Calling attention to his Confederate veteran status, he remarked, "Imagine an old rebel out here pulling up this union flag...I used to want to tear down that flag when it was going up...but now its different."[75] This short exchange is highly illustrative of how Confederates could reconcile with non-southerners to achieve desired goals. At the same moment as the flag raising, the government was in the process of condemning African American residences for the battlefield park.

Reporters took notice of the improvements being made in the park, and were effusive over the progress that was being made.[76] One reporter was amazed by Van Cleve Lane's rehabilitation. The person also noted with pleasure how "The scores of dense underbrush, ramshackle negro cottages and a winding lane have been transformed overnight into a spot of unusual beauty."[77] The reporter apparently saw the removal of an eyesore, rather than a community. Continuing, the person declared, "There is no north, and no south, as far as the park, itself, is concerned for monuments depicting the heroic deeds of the Southland are just as welcome as tablets commemorating gallant work of Union armies." In a few short sentences, the author sums up how the park facilitated the transformation of the landscape from an African American community to a reconciliatory landscape, devoid of the ramifications of slavery and emancipation.

The next major project was the installation of historical markers in the new park. The War Department was compulsive about installing markers at Civil War battlefield sites to mark locations of troops, encampments, and dates of engagements with a specified color and typology scheme. At Shiloh National Military Park alone, the War Department installed 208 markers by 1901.[78] At Stones River, the commission

71. A.V. McClane to Henry Conner, letter, August 20, 1930, 1930-1931 Folder, 1928-1929 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

72. George, "Stones River, 205.

73. Henry Conner to General Accounting Office, letter, December 4, 1930, 1932-1933 Folder, Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

74. George, "Stones River," 207-9; Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter Four, 4; C.A. Bach to Inspector General, memorandum, "Inspection of Stones River National Military Park, Murfreesboro, Tenn. FY 1932," November 2, 1931, 1932-1933 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

75. Quoted in George, "Stones River," 211; "Aged 'Rebel' Unfurls First Flag over Battleground Site since Civil War," *Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro, TN),* October 27, 1931.

76. George, "Stones River, 212.

77. "An Achievement," [*Daily News Journal*], [October 1, 1931], newspaper clipping, 1932-1933 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

78. Charles Shedd, Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee,* (National Park Service, 1954), 40, http://www.nps.gov/shil/learn/management/upload/Administrative.pdf (accessed February 22, 2016).

recommended at least fifty markers to be placed on the battlefield. Landers took several months to review the markers' text before the park's scheduled dedication in July 1932. He finished his work in April 1932 and also provided Conner a list of markers that should be prioritized in case not enough funding was available for all 68.[79] The specifications included three-foot by four-foot cast-metal markers mounted on metal standards. Conner was able to purchase forty-five markers in time for the park's dedication.[80]

Stones River National Cemetery

Operations at Stones River National Cemetery remained constant while boosters, politicians, and government officials were busy establishing the national military park. The quartermaster general still administered the national cemetery, including overseeing interments and maintaining headstones, monuments, and grounds, with all activities supervised on-site by the cemetery superintendent. The quartermaster general even allowed for the national cemetery to modernize in the interwar period, with the addition of a telephone in July 1925, the first motorized lawn mower in August 1929, a new seventy-five foot well in November 1929, a new restroom facility with flush toilets, a new wooden lodge for the superintendent, completed in 1926, and a new 125-foot drive from Old Nashville Highway to the housing and maintenance area. The well-kept national cemetery was a major point of appeal for establishing the new battlefield park, and its inclusion was an important part of the project.[81]

The absorption of the national cemetery into the new Stones River National Military Park cast uncertainty about the cemetery's role, which was previously to honor the Union dead. The new park commemorated both sides of the conflict and interpreted the battle's events to the public. The national cemetery thus was no longer the centerpiece or primary focus of Union commemoration. It would be left to future park administrators to further define the cemetery's new role in the national military park.[82]

The transfer of the national cemetery under the broader umbrella of the national military park posed important administrative issues in the first few years. The legislation authorizing the national military park specified that the cemetery superintendent would become superintendent for both the national cemetery and battlefield park. Melroe Tarter took on the combined responsibility in 1930. While Tarter answered to the quartermaster general about things regarding the national cemetery, he was supposed to answer to the officer in charge for the national military park project while it was being established. Chandler, the second officer in charge, wrote to Tarter saying that he preferred to have Tarter continue to answer to the quartermaster general. However, Major John T. Harris informed Chandler that he was responsible for the cemetery funds, since the cemetery was now under jurisdiction of the national military park. Effective on July 30, 1930, the officer in charge was responsible for both the national cemetery and national military park, even though Tarter had been named superintendent.[83] Although this relationship seems confusing, there is no indication that it affected park management in any significant way.

Dedication of Stones River National Military Park

Conner had no extra funds for the park's dedication ceremony, which occurred on July 15, 1932. The event was much smaller and very much a local exercise compared to the pageantry of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park's dedication nearly forty years prior. There were no national dignitaries, no scores of Civil War veterans in old uniforms. Instead, Conner and his staff relied upon local organizations to help carry out the event. Chandler, Conner's predecessor, had done much to initiate relationships between the community and the War Department. Conner capitalized on these relationships and reached out to local chapters of

79. Howard Landers to Colonel Laubach, memorandum, "Historical Data for Markers at Stones River National Park," April 2, 1932, and Henry Conner to W.D. Smith, letter, April 27, 1932, both 1932-1933 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

80. George, "Stones River," 213.

81. Fraley, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report,* Chapter Four, 3.

82. Ibid., Chapter Four, 1.

83. Ibid., Chapter Four, 2.

the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the American Revolution, American Legion and Auxiliary, Murfreesboro Woman's Club, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis Club, and Boy Scouts. John C. Mitchell, the Murfreesboro Superintendent of Schools, served as chairman of the dedication committee.[84]

The day's activities took place at the rostrum in the national cemetery. The first speaker was Frank Cheatham, who had left the quartermaster general position by that time, but had been a supporter for the battlefield when the legislation was passed. Cheatham read a brief statement about the battle's history, probably prepared by Howard Landers. Major General Edward King followed Cheatham because he was supposed to take charge of the park after the dedication. Conner then described the physical development of the site and thanked local residents for their support. Congressman Ewin Davis gave an address about the legislative history of the park, underscoring the long road to create a national military park that begun in the 1890s.[85]

Conclusion

On May 13, 1932, the Quartermaster General James Laubuch considered the establishment of Stones River National Military Park "complete" and terminated the commission, the two survivors of which were Sam Mitchell and Major Besson.[86] On July 15, Laubuch transferred responsibility to the Commanding General of the Fourth Corps. This declaration, culminating with the park's dedication in July, represented the fulfillment of veteran commemorative efforts that had begun over thirty years before.

Creation of the national military park marked an important transformation of Stones River's commemorative landscape. Commemoration shifted from honoring the Union dead at the national cemetery to providing space where Confederate veterans and their descendants could nurture the Lost Cause memory by emphasizing the heroism and sacrifice of Confederate soldiers. By claiming equal space on the battlefield, local Confederates and their descendants could diminish the symbolic power of the Union dead in the national cemetery. After the park's establishment, the federal government became the purveyor of "official" narratives of the war, which meant navigating more “vernacular” versions of the events at Stones River. Nonetheless, the government’s recognition of Confederate veterans and their actions, while also omitting the centrality of slavery and emancipation from the park’s narrative, lent credibility to Lost Cause interpretation of the war. Furthermore, the federal government alienated the community that perpetuated Union memory and celebrated emancipation at the national cemetery for so long after the war when the War Department removed African American residents to create the national military park.[87]

The tenure of the War Department at Stones River National Military Park was short-lived, however. The National Park Service took over administration in 1933. With a different mission and approach to land management and interpretation, the NPS would have to reevaluate the commemorative purposes and strategies at the new national military park.

84. George, "Stones River," 218-9.

85. George, "Stones River," 220; "Stones River Park is Dedicated with Fitting Ceremony," *Daily News Journal*, July 16, 1932.

86. Laubuch to Personnel Branch, memorandum, "Termination of Commission," May 13, 1932, 1932-1933 Folder, Box 1, 7462 War Department Files, Park Archive.

87. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 151-2.

Chapter Three

National Park Service Administration, 1933-1956

A year passed by with Stones River National Military Park under the purview of the War Department. In the late summer of 1933, the federal government abruptly transferred management of the battlefield park and national cemetery from the War Department to the Department of Interior. On August 10, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, which shifted authority of eleven national military parks and national cemeteries from the War Department to the National Park Service, including Stones River. This move was not only important in the history of Stones River National Military Park, but ushered in an era of unprecedented growth of the national park system, fueled by New Deal funding and manpower.[1] While well-established battlefield parks such as Chickamauga-Chattanooga prospered under the NPS during the New Deal, Stones River did not receive the same attention. Subtle adjustments made by the NPS during this period, however, refocused the park's management from commemorating a sacred landscape to educating visitors.

The National Park Service brought its own mission and management style to the administration of these battlefields, which differed from the War Department's way of doing things. The War Department was concerned with preserving these historic fields, creating a memorial to the soldiers that fought there, and maintaining these landscapes for military study and maneuvers.[2] The National Park Service, established by Congress in 1916, less than twenty years prior to Executive Order 6166, brought a new mandate in the form of the Organic Act, which stipulated that the agency protect the natural and historic resources within its lands for present and future enjoyment of visitors. In the case of the Civil War battlefields, many of the veterans who had first hand knowledge of these places and pushed for their establishment were no longer around to voice their opinions about management. With the loss of veteran oversight, the NPS was perhaps more free to concentrate on increasing visitor services, including historical interpretation. Of course, this transition was not without its critics. Colonel Howard Landers, a historian with the Army War College who had investigated many battlefields for preservation in the 1920s, including Stones River, vigorously fought the transfer, believing that the War Department was far better equipped to manage these sites than the Department of Interior. He sent a memorandum to Roosevelt after the president signed the order for the transfer, but his note went unheeded.[3] The transfer went through, ushering in a new era of management for these battlefield parks.

1. For more on the National Park Service during the New Deal, see Harlan Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: Administrative History* (Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, September 1983), http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi.htm (accessed July 22, 2015).

2. Jennifer Murray, "'Far Above Our Poor Power to Add or Detract': National Park Service Administration of the Gettysburg Battlefield, 1933-1938," *Civil War History* 55, no. 1 (March 2009): 61.

3. Unrau and Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, under "Reorganization of 1933," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi2c.htm (accessed July 22, 2015).

The NPS's new History Branch bolstered emphasis on historical interpretation of National Park Service sites. Before 1933, NPS Director Horace Albright envisioned the young agency, then consisting mostly of western, scenic parks, to include historic sites in the eastern United States. In 1931, Albright hired Verne Chatelain, who had experience as a university professor and assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, as Chief of the History Division under Harold C. Bryant's Branch for Research and Education. Chatelain shared the same vision as Albright, which was a system of parks and monuments that reflected larger patterns of American history. He further emphasized the importance of using university-trained historians to research these sites, assist in park development, and interpret these resources to the public. He tested out this new approach with a limited number of university-trained field historians who helped with park projects at Colonial National Monument and Morristown National Historical Park. Chatelain's responsibilities expanded in 1933 when the NPS named him the acting assistant director of the new Branch for Historic Sites, which NPS Director Arno Cammerer created to oversee the agency's increased history activities triggered by Executive Order 6166 and the influx of New Deal funding and projects. Chatelain brought in additional university-trained historians to research historic sites, direct preservation activities, and develop public programs. These historical technicians, as the agency called them, helped former War Department sites, like Stones River, bring in new interpretive techniques and strategies to educate visitors. The agency's expansion east of the Mississippi during this time and subsequent foray into preserving, managing, and interpreting historic sites made the NPS the federal leader in historic preservation. This new leadership role was codified by the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which among many things, called for a national survey of historic sites.[4]

Administration

On August 12, 1933, just one day after Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, Melroe Tarter received a note from NPS Acting Director Arthur Demaray, informing him that he was to retain charge of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery.[5] Tarter had been superintendent at Stones River National Cemetery since 1924, and became the de facto superintendent of the battlefield park when Congress authorized it in 1927. However, he always answered to an officer in charge appointed by the War Department. The transfer of the park to the NPS did not give Tarter autonomy; in fact, he found a new "officer in charge" in the form Richard Randolph, superintendent at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park.

When all the battlefields and cemeteries were transferred to the NPS, several superintendents at larger parks became responsible for additional, smaller sites. Richard Randolph, Superintendent of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, became coordinating superintendent for Chattanooga National Cemetery, New Echota Marker, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Site, King's Mountain National Military Park, Cowpens Battlefield Site, Castle Pinckney National Monument, Fort Pulaski National Monument, Fort Marion National Monument, Fort Matanzas National Monument, and Stones River National Military Park.[6] The Battle for Stones River was part of the same campaign that included Chickamauga-Chattanooga during the war, so it made some sense that the NPS would keep these two parks under the same supervision. However, the practicality of such an arrangement became inefficient because the coordinating superintendent was responsible for so many sites that were geographically dispersed; thus, day-to-

4. Charles Hosmer, "Verne E. Chatelain and the Development of the Branch of History of the National Park Service," *Public Historian* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 28-38; Harlan Unrau and G. Frank Williss, "To Preserve the Nation's Past: The Growth of Historic Preservation during the 1930s," *Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 20-27; Frederick Rath, Jr., "Reflections on Historic Preservation and the National Park Service: The Early Years," *CRM Supplement* 14, no. 4 (1991): 3-4.

5. Arthur Demaray to Melroe Tarter, letter, August 12, 1933, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the National Park Service (NPS), Record Group (RG) 79, National Archives, College Park, MD (NACP).

6. Randolph remained superintendent of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park until 1937. John Paige and Jerome Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1983), under "National Park Service Administration," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/chch/adhi3.htm (accessed July 22, 2015).

day management fell to a park administrator or custodian who lacked the same kind of decisive authority.

Tarter served as the day-to-day administrator until his retirement in 1942.[7] Randolph and his successor, Charles Dunn, only travelled to Stones River intermittently, relying mostly on Tarter's reports to keep them informed about park issues.[8] Randolph, and later Dunn, entrusted Tarter to convey their orders to park staff at Stones River. Verne Chatelain, as Acting Assistant NPS Director, indicated that he was not pleased with this arrangement in a 1935 memorandum, which appears to have been written as a response to the suggestion that a superintendent's position be allocated at Stones River instead of falling under Chickamauga-Chattanooga.[9] Tarter seemed more focused on the cemetery than the park, or was better suited to run the cemetery than the park. Chatelain recommended separating the superintendency of the cemetery from the park. He stated explicitly, "The park superintendent should be someone other than Tarter and should have general jurisdiction over the cemetery as well as the park."[10] It may be that Chatelain was interested in making park superintendents more professional and adept at managing historic sites. Chatelain's memorandum went unheeded, however, because Tarter remained in his position until his retirement in 1942, when he received full disability, suggesting that he may not have been physically capable of carrying out all park management duties. However, regional staff gradually eroded the duties of the Stones River National Military Park superintendent position, reducing it to more like a caretaker position.



Figure 8 Melroe Tarter talks with Regional Historian Roy Appleman in 1938 at the park checking station. Source: National Archives.

There were few paid employees at Stones River other than the superintendent. They were mostly day laborers that focused on cemetery maintenance. Melroe Tarter's son, Dennis, was among them, and sometimes represented his father on official park business when his father was otherwise unavailable.[11] The park, however, did utilize subject matter experts from Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and the region to make up for its small staff. For example, historical technicians Oswald E. Camp, George S. Emery, and H.C. Landru, who worked out of Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, intermittently worked at Stones River researching the battle's history, developing interpretive materials, and documenting park projects.[12] Landscape architects, foresters,

7. Tarter took 122 days leave without pay from November 1, 1941 to February 28, 1942. Hillory A. Tollson, "Memorandum for Appointment, Records and Statistics Unit," April 8, 1942, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] 0-31 Military Parks, 1933-1948, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACO.

8. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park has an almost complete set of superintendent's reports. These reports note instances when Randolph or Dunn travelled to Stones River. The records from 1933 to 1956 indicate that there were long periods of several months when no one visited Stones River. See "Superintendent's Narrative Reports," Folders 1-52 and 160-175, Boxes 1-3 and 11, Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park Archive (hereafter CHCH Archive), Fort Oglethorpe, GA.

9. The other letter was not included in the files. Verne Chatelain, memorandum, September 12, 1935, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

10. Chatelain, memorandum, September 12, 1935.

11. Richard Randolph to Arno Cammerer, Inspection Report, October 13, 1933, Folder 1932-1933, Box 1, 7476 War Department Files, Park Archive.

12. For example, Oswald E. Camp photographed PWA projects at Stones River National Battlefield and cemetery in 1934. He left Chickamauga-Chattanooga in 1935 to become superintendent of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. George Emery worked on several projects, including a trailside marker project, an artillery plan, and a restoration plan for Redoubt Brannan. Herschel Landru coordinated the guide service at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, but his name appears in correspondence relating to Stones River. Oswald Camp, "Stones River National Park," July 16, 1934, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 618 Public Works Administration, 1933-36, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Harold Danz, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, rev. ed. (Denver: National Park Service, 2000), under "Park

engineers, and soil experts also lent their expertise to park administration and projects, including re-vegetation and road improvements.[13] These staff members were instrumental in communicating on-the-ground issues to park and regional administrators. Their expertise was also integral to larger planning efforts.

Cemetery Community

The NPS did not undertake any land acquisition at Stones River National Military Park in the immediate years after the transfer, but it did oversee the final chapter in the removal of the Cemetery community. The Attorney General returned the decrees for the final twelve condemnation suits to Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes in May 1934.[14] This marked the end of the land acquisition program that had begun under the War Department in 1927.

The NPS did not mention the loss of the community or mark the residents' final departure in its files from that period. The Minters were the last residents to leave the area in 1933. They and the other Cemetery community residents took the money awarded to them by the courts and found new homes elsewhere. The Cemetery community did not cease to exist; rather its boundaries shifted as families moved to other parts of the district.[15]



Figure 9 Log cabin taken over by UDC for Confederate museum. Courtesy of STRI.

The departure of Cemetery residents opened a rather peculiar issue with the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The UDC petitioned the War Department in 1931 to use and remodel an abandoned cabin, most likely a former home of an African American resident, for some kind of museum or shrine (see Fig. 9). The ladies of the UDC sought government support for their project, agreeing to pay for the preservation and upkeep of the museum, and the War Department eventually agreed to the proposal. The museum project remained unimplemented when the NPS took over administration of the battlefield. While the UDC waited, other organizations became involved in the project.[16] The Shawnee chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) planted a Japanese cherry tree by the cabin.[17] The UDC began

Superintendents," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm (accessed August 18, 2015); Paige and Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park*, under "Park Interpretation," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/chch/adhi5a.htm (accessed August 18, 2015); George Emery, "Exhibit Plan for Trail-Side Exhibits Stones River National Military Park," [March 12, 1937], Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; George Emery, memorandum, "Artillery Needs, Stones River National Military Park," January 6, 1941, and George Emery, memorandum, "Proposed Restoration of Redoubt Brannan, Stones River National Military Park," January 14, 1941, both Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

13. Evidence of these interactions are scattered throughout the park's files from this period, but a few examples are illustrative of the types of professionals the park consulted during this period and the projects they worked on. Forester A. Robert Thompson submitted a report on CWA work in 1934 that provided an update on woods cleanup, while also making several minor recommendations for forestry practices at the battlefield. Melroe Tarter consulted landscape architect Robert Frost about boxwood issues in the national cemetery. Assistant engineer A.D. Curradi oversaw road improvements in the national cemetery. A. Robert Thompson, Report, January 30, 1934, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 619 Civil Works Administration, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Robert Frost to Melroe Tarter, memorandum, May 13, 1940, and A.D. Curradi to John Cross, "Semi-Monthly Report of Activities—Oct. 1 to Oct. 15," October 16, 1937, both Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

14. J. Crawford Briggs to Harold Ickes, letter, May 4, 1934, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 601 Lands, General, 1933-45, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

15. Leonora Washington, "A Black Perspective of the Area as Compiled during the Tennessee Homecoming Celebration in 1986 by a Local Resident," N.D., 2-3, Folder 1928-1929, 7476 War Department Records, Park Archive.

16. Miranda Fraley, "The Politics of Memory: Remembering the Civil War in Rutherford County, Tennessee," dissertation, Indiana University, 2004, 173-79.

17. A newspaper clipping with date, paper, and page unknown, showing the tree dedication at the UDC cabin

restoring the cabin in 1934, indicating that the NPS did not thwart the group's efforts to present a Confederate history of the battle.[18] Nor did the NPS dissuade the idea to install an "Uncle Albert"[19] in the cabin to provide interpretation for visitors. Albert Averitt was a well-known African American man in Rutherford County that had been evicted from his home with his wife and sent to live on the county poor farm. For reasons unknown, Averitt presented himself as a black Confederate veteran, which fit into local whites' romanticized views of the war, and prompted some local citizens to propose using him as an interpreter in the UDC cabin. However, a severe storm, which likely included a tornado, swept across the battlefield on March 25, 1935, destroying the cabin and effectively ending the UDC's attempt for a Confederate shrine (see Fig. 10).[20]



Figure 10 UDC cabin after the storm. Source: National Archives.

While the storm may have ended this peculiar project, the very attempt raises important questions about how local whites sympathetic to the Confederate cause sought to remake the battlefield.[21] Historian Miranda Fraley articulated this well when she wrote,

> The idea that the UDC would actually take one of the homes formerly occupied by an African American family and transform it into a museum of sorts is a very bizarre and graphic example of how agents of the Lost Cause successfully infiltrated the national battlefield with the disruption of the local community caused by the development of the park.[22]

While the NPS certainly did not encourage this project, the agency did not discourage it either. In fact, the UDC chapter decided not to rebuild the cabin with the hope of having their own room in the park's new visitor center, which both they and the NPS hoped would be built soon.[23] This perhaps left an opening for the UDC and other pro-Confederate groups to assert their authority in the park's interpretation in years to come.

New Deal Work Programs

New Deal funding provided a momentous opportunity for the National Park Service to grow its system and implement a wide range of projects at existing parks. The agency took advantage of a myriad of government programs, including the Civil Works Administration (a short-lived job creation program during the especially hard winter of 1933 to 1934), Public Works Administration (large-scale public works program created by the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933), Works Progress Administration (another public works program that put people on relief to work on public projects), Civilian Conservation Corps (program designed to put young men to work on public lands doing conservation work), and National Youth Administration (program that provided work and education opportunities for youth between the ages of 16 and 25). These programs were a great boon to parks like Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, which had four Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps between 1933 and 1941 that together accommodated up to 700 men at a time.[24] In comparison, the projects completed by New Deal workers at Stones River were relatively small. Nevertheless, they indicate the general concern the NPS had for the site and parks in general

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can be found in the Folder 85 H30 Historic Structures, Series 1, Park Archive. See also Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 179, 186.

18. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory,"173-79.

19. This "Uncle Albert" character was likely inspired by "Uncle Alfred" at the Hermitage, a former slave turned interpreter who is buried in the Jackson family cemetery adjacent to the main house.

20. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, March 1935," April 8, 1935, Folder 8, Box 1, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

21. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 173-79.

22. Ibid., 169.

23. Ibid., 179.

24. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, December 1934," January 8, 1935, Folder 4, Box 1, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

during this period, including modernizing for automobile touring, "naturalizing" the landscape, developing the recreational potential, and implementing a historical education program.

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was the first New Deal program to arrive at Stones River. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration created the CWA during the winter of 1933 and 1934 to provide temporary employment until the spring construction season began. The CWA provided laborers at Stones River in late 1933 and early 1934 to remove the last remaining traces of the Cemetery community. The program was supervised by the NPS Southeastern Field Office of the Branch of Plans and Design. Junior Landscape Architect Harvey Benson was sent from Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park by Richard Randolph to monitor progress.[25] The CWA workers moved isolated rock piles to one central pile to be crushed later for use in road construction. They removed and disposed of refuse. They burned brush piles, removed dead trees and stumps, and removed old fences. NPS forester A. Robert Thompson reported on the work: "A large part of the area was occupied by tenants until the land was purchased a few years ago. Their use of the land resulted in the piling up of rocks or sprawls, the establishment of fence lines and accumulation of rubbish."[26] This is a rare NPS remark acknowledging the presence of the Cemetery community, and is evidence of the CWA's role in erasing this occupation layer from the landscape as the final condemnation suits were being settled.

Soon after the CWA program ended, the Public Works Administration (PWA) hired laborers to work at Stones River. The National Industrial Recovery Act created the PWA in 1933 to provide temporary employment through large-scale public works projects. The PWA completed two projects from March 28 to May 24, 1934, including erosion control and planting. Staff at Chickamauga-Chattanooga coordinated the projects. Karl Murton of Chattanooga, who had experience in landscaping and forestry, was appointed as foreman. Two men, James Garland and A.R. King, worked as the project foreman and were considered skilled labor. According to the "Final Progress Report" by Benson, the unskilled force fluctuated from a high of forty men to a low of nine men, the average being approximately twenty-five men.[27] These men were presumably local unskilled workers.

The Erosion Control Project (Federal Project 479) focused on grading and reseeding both sides of Old Nashville Pike, otherwise known as the Dixie Highway. The cut slopes were graded to an ogee curve, fertilized, and sprigged with Bermuda grass. The PWA crews also worked on the worst twenty of the seventy-five acres of eroded meadowlands in the park. The meadowlands were fertilized, harrowed, seeded, and rolled. They graded, fertilized, and seeded all wagon trails that ran through the woods. The crew also worked on the north entrance to the national cemetery where they installed a culvert, and filled and graveled an area fifty feet long on each side of the gateway between the wall and highway.[28]



Figure 11 PWA workers on project to widen northern gate of the national cemetery. Source: National Archives.

The Planting Project (Federal Project 481) consisted of removing exotic material scattered around the park and along roadsides and planting native stock purchased from local nurseries. The NPS purchased the nursery stock because it was "better developed and more economical," but not necessarily part of the historical ecology of the Civil War period. In general, the planting projects

25. Harvey P. Benson, "CWA Program at Stones River National Military Park," December 22, 1933, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 619 Civil Works Administration, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

26. A. Robert Thompson, Report, January 30, 1934.

27. Harvey Benson, "Final Progress Report," August 14, 1934, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 618 Public Works Administration, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

28. Ibid.

undertaken at Stones River were to give the battlefield landscape a more "natural" aesthetic. The PWA crew also broke up the rigid line of existing plant material parallel to the park drives by planting additional nursery stock into existing groups.[29] Thompson reported earlier in January (while working with the CWA) that 150 feet on either side of the park roads had been kept mowed, which produced a definite line of demarcation that needed to blend better with the natural growth.[30] Workers also planted several hundred dogwoods, red bud, moss locust, and coralberry in informal masses in the southern section of the park where most of the low and intermediate plant material was removed. Crew members also placed several groups of maple, sourwood, sweet gum, and sour gum trees in the open meadows east and west of Old Nashville Pike to relieve the open expanse of the field and to add variety in mass and height. They removed and transplanted the formal avenue of maples along the highway to serve as a screen between the railroad tracks and the cemetery. Workers removed all exotic material along park drives, but left some near the two main park entrances. They planted screens to obscure a store near the north entrance (see Fig. 12) and a barnyard south of Hazen's Brigade Memorial. In all, Benson estimated that about 2,000 exotic plants were removed and approximately 4,250 native shrubs and trees were purchased from local nurseries.[31]



Figure 12 PWA workers used plants to screen out store adjacent to the park. Source: National Archives.

PWA funds for Stones River projects were expended in 1934. However, the NPS developed a proposal for additional projects in 1935. None of these projects were funded, but the project proposals and their accompanying justifications reflect the NPS's interest in developing the recreational and historical aspects for visitors. First, the NPS proposed a contact station to capitalize on the motorists traveling on Highway 41. It is unclear why the park needed a new contact station because in September 1934 Superintendent Randolph had CCC corpsmen relocate to Stones River a small building first built by the CWA to be used at Point Park at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park (see Fig. 8).[32] Perhaps that particular building was inadequate because the person arguing for a new facility wrote, "A contact station is particularly vital at Stones River because of the fact that a straight paved modern highway runs through the area, and the tendency is for travelers to race by the park without knowing it is there."[33] NPS staff also proposed several visitor amenities to support recreational activities, including bringing water into the park, building comfort stations (for "white and colored"), and installing tables, benches, and fireplaces or grills.

> The area has certain parts which are scenically attractive, and could be readily used as a recreational area to serve the people of Murfreesboro. This would enable them also to benefit from the park's historical-educational program, and generally stimulate stronger interest in the history of the area.[34]

A central feature of this "historical-educational" program was a museum, which was the last item in the proposed projects list. Planners felt that such a building was "badly needed" to display a collection of objects relating to the Civil War and the Battle of Stones River and also to serve as a base for education work at the park. At the time, the few artifacts held at the park were unsatisfactorily displayed in the caretaker's office. The NPS also requested a large contour map to show the relationship of the Battle of Stones River

29. Ibid.

30. A. Robert Thompson, report, January 30, 1934, Folder 619 Civil Works Administration, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

31. Benson, "Final Progress Report"; National Park Service, "Screen Planting near North Park," April 1, 1934, Drawing 1002, E-TIC Catalog, Denver Service Center.

32. H.C. Landru to Verne Chatelain, letter, September 15, 1934, Folder 1934-1935, Box 1, 7476 War Department Files, Park Archive.

33. "Justifications for PWA Projects at Stones River," December 10, 1935, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 618 Public Works Administration, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

34. Ibid.

to the whole western campaign. Staff intended this map to be housed in the museum.[35] Despite the persuasiveness of the justifications, none of these projects were funded during this time.

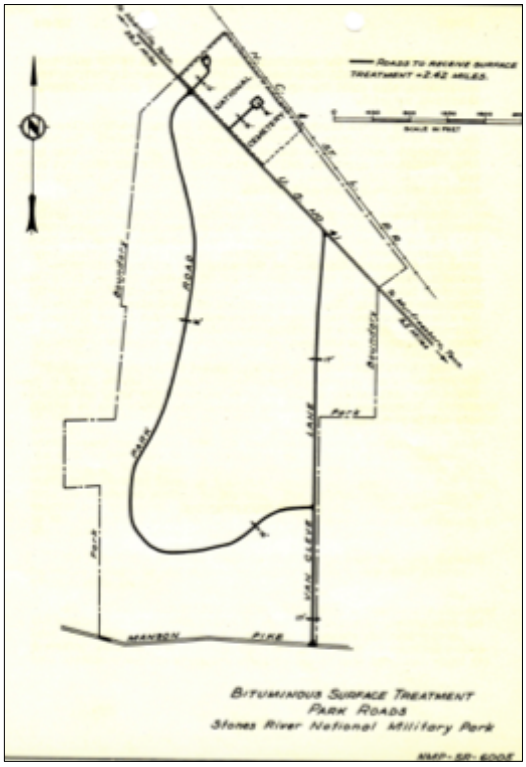


Figure 13 1937 roadwork project map. Source: National Archives.

The last major project undertaken by the NPS during the New Deal was modernizing the existing park road system in 1937 to support automobile traffic (see Appendix E). The War Department had constructed the original roads in the cemetery shortly after its creation in 1865 and, after the park was established, added a park loop road in 1932. These roads basically consisted of a few inches of crushed stone that was replenished periodically.[36] When the NPS took over park administration in 1933, it was only appropriated fifty dollars a year for road maintenance. Thus, no major repairs were made, and deferred maintenance continued until 1937. That year the park was appropriated $4,250 from Roads and Trails funds to repair the roads. Overseen by the Branch of Engineering the project began September 14, 1937, and was completed October 21, 1937 (see Fig. 13). These new NPS roads had a six-inch water-bound macadam base with a bituminous surface treatment, which were more substantial than those roads constructed by the War Department.

The north and south cemetery drives were widened to accommodate automobile traffic and eliminate the dangerous narrow entrances to the national cemetery from Nashville Pike (see Fig. 11). North Cemetery Drive was widened from nine feet eleven inches to twelve feet. South Cemetery Drive was widened from eleven feet nine inches to sixteen feet from the entrance to the turn around. Road improvements also eliminated the square edges of the turnaround and widened the roadway to eighteen feet. Both roads were macadamized and finished with a bituminous surface treatment. To accommodate the newly widened roads, it was necessary to widen the cemetery entrances and install new gates. It was proposed that the South Cemetery Entrance be reconstructed into the shape of a hemicycle (i.e. half circle) and moved back approximately thirty feet, but insufficient funds prohibited actual construction. Van Cleve Lane was also widened to sixteen feet. All the other park roads were thoroughly cleaned and received a bituminous surface treatment.[37]

The CCC did not allocate a camp to Stones River, namely because the park was too small.[38] However, Superintendent Randolph did submit an application in February 1941 for a project to expand Stones River National Cemetery's burial ground. Landscape architect Robert Frost anticipated as early as 1938 that a new addition would be needed upon the completion of the new veterans hospital, less than five miles away, and it would be necessary to preserve the historic character of the original cemetery.[39] Perhaps Randolph was motivated by the hospital's

35. Ibid.

36. National Park Service, "The General Repair of Existing Roads," January 1938, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 630 Roads, 1938-49, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP

37. National Park Service, "The General Repair of Existing Roads," January 1938, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 630 Roads, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP

38. Arno Cammerer to J.R. Mitchell, letter, May 14, 1935, Folder 1934 to 1935, Box 1, 7476 War Department Files, Park Archive.

39. Robert Frost to Regional Director, letter, December 7, 1938, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

completion to submit the project proposal. This project intended to use corpsmen from a nearby Soil Conservation Service CCC camp located about a mile away from the cemetery. The work plan for these corpsmen included grading nineteen additional acres and adjusting the grades of the original cemetery to match the new portion and eliminate the problem of standing water in certain portions (see Fig. 14). The plan for the new area would extend the cemetery from the southern boundary wall to the southern portion of the Hazen Brigade Monument.[40] Although NPS officials signed an agreement with Soil Conservation Service representatives, the national cemetery was never expanded.[41] The project was suspended when the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad objected to the extension, arguing that the wall would be within the company's right-of-way. After some investigation and deliberation, the NPS decided not to extend the cemetery. In an abrupt turnaround, NPS officials thought it best to place the cemetery in inactive status once the available gravesites were taken.[42]



Figure 14 Flooding in national cemetery, circa 1930s. Courtesy of STRI.

Research and Interpretation

The new History Branch hired historical technicians to work at the battlefield parks after their transfer to the NPS in 1933. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park quickly accumulated personnel to undertake a vigorous research and education program.[43] Oftentimes, these historical technicians travelled to sites that were coordinated by the park. Stones River National Military Park did not have any historical technicians on staff, but frequently relied upon the services of Oswald E. Camp, George Emery, and Herschel C. Landru,[44] all stationed at Chickamauga-Chattanooga, to complete baseline research and create a brand new interpretive program that was more in line with NPS standards and expectations. Not only did they report back to Superintendent Randolph, but frequently communicated with Verne Chatelain, the first head of the History Branch. Chatelain himself visited Stones River one or two times.[45] During their time at the park, Chatelain and his technicians became aware of some of the park's challenges in research and interpretation.

40. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, February 1941," March 10, 1941, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, 1938-1941 Bound Volume, CHCH Archive.

41. "Memorandum of Agreement By and Between the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, and the Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture," January 7, 1941, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

42. Ann Wilson Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958, 99-100.

43. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, February 1934," March 20, 1934, Folder 1, Box 1, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

44. Paige and Greene indicate that these men had a college education, presumably in history. Both Camp and Emery rose through the ranks quite quickly to become superintendents. Camp became superintendent at Statue of Liberty National Monument (1935-1937) and then Kings Mountain National Military Park (1937-1942). Emery left Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park to become superintendent at Andrew Johnson National Historical Site in 1942, but was soon furloughed to serve in World War II. After the war, he served as superintendent of Petersburg National Military Park (1946-1952) and later Gettysburg National Military Park (1966-1970). Paige and Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park*, under "Park Interpretation," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/chch/adhi5a.htm; Danz, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, under "Park Superintendents."

45. Chatelain wrote a letter to Tarter in September 1933, shortly after the park's transfer, in which he tells Tarter that he will visit him and the park soon to discuss specifically the challenges of "public contact work involved in the Historical Service." However, there is no report from this trip to ascertain what was discussed. Chatelain also visited the park with Oswald Camp sometime in or before October 1935. See Verne Chatelain to Melroe Tarter, letter, September 6, 1933, and Owald E. Camp to Verne Chatelain, memorandum, October 29, 1935, both Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

Perhaps the first (and perennial) issue that came to light was the need to have a historian on-site for research and to provide the park's free guide service. There was no permanent historian position for the park, and the History Branch realized they needed someone present at the park to answer visitor questions and lead tours around the battlefield. Camp, Emery, and Landru would sometimes spend prolonged periods of time at the park conducting research and providing interpretive services, but their obligations at Chickamauga-Chattanooga forced the park to rely on a variety of seasonal positions during the 1930s.[46] For example, the History Branch hired five "college men" through the CWA who worked as “historians” at Stones River in 1934, which likely meant they were used as guides, although it is unclear what exactly their duties were and what they accomplished.[47] It is also unknown what their qualifications were and if they received any training.[48] The CWA program was short-lived, and there is no indication that any of these young men remained at the park after February 1934. In 1936, the History Branch utilized the National Youth Administration to hire ten students from Middle Tennessee State Teacher's College (now Middle Tennessee State University) to provide free guide service to visitors. In October of 1936, these NYA guides gave tours to 301 visitors.[49] However, the number of NYA guides fell in subsequent months with only one guide working between July and November 1937.[50] Five NYA guides reportedly worked in December 1937, the increased number perhaps reflecting winter break in school and the battle's anniversary at the end of the month.[51] Only one NYA worker was present from January to April 1938.[52] When CWA and NYA guides were not available, all park interpretation fell on Tarter, who exhibited only minimal interaction with visitors in his office at the national cemetery. In the summer of 1941, the park was able to use its own funds to hire Richard Owen Snodderly as a junior historical aide for two and half months. Snodderly greeted visitors and took them on guided tours, and, consequently, visitor contacts increased dramatically during his temporary appointment.[53] Snodderly was the last guide whose position was solely interpretation at Stones River until well after World War II.

George Emery realized the new battlefield park posed some problems for "field education," or on-site interpretation, which prompted him to devise a new approach centered on self-guided interpretation. This problem stemmed from several different factors: lack of an on-site historian, no park museum, the small nature of the park, and the incomplete marker system set in place by the War Department. When he visited Stones River in 1934, Emery reported back to Superintendent Randolph that the War Department had not finished the marker program. Randolph submitted a request to finish the remaining markers, but two years later Emery asked Chatelain to stop the project; he had a new idea.[54] Emery realized that, even if the NPS

46. Ronald F. Lee to George Emery, letter, September 8, 1934, H.C. Landru to Verne Chatelain, letter, September 17, 1934, and Oswald E. Camp to Verne Chatelain, memorandum, October 29, 1935, all Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

47. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, February 1934," March 20, 1934, Folder 1, Box 1, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

48. Benson's report show that two semi-skilled "historians" worked for seventy cents per hour. Two "skilled historians" were hired at one dollar per hour. Another "historian" served as foreman for $39.66 a week. There is little indication as to who these "historians" were, what their qualifications were, and what projects they were assigned to. Harvey P. Benson, "CWA Program at Stones River National Military Park," December 22, 1933, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 619 Civil Works Administration, 1933-34, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

49. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, October 1936," [November 1936], Folder 34, Box 2, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

50. See Superintendent's Narrative Reports between October 1936 and November 1937, Folders 34-37 and 157-174, Boxes 2 and 11, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

51. The guides are identified as being from the Works Progress Administration (WPA), rather than the NYA in this report, but the NYA was a division of the WPA. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, December 1937," [January 1938], Folder 175, Box 11, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

52. See Superintendent's Narrative Reports between January and April 1938, Folders 176-179, Box 12, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

53. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 1941" July 12, 1941, and "Superintendent's Narrative Report, July 1941," August 13, 1941, both Superintendent's Reports 1938-1941 Bound Volume, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

54. George Emery to Verne Chatelain, letter, August 19, 1936, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

installed the remaining markers, this would not help interpretation at the battlefield. The additional tablets would only confuse visitors because the small size of the park, compared to the actual, much larger size of the battlefield, meant that these tablets could not be placed where the events directly occurred. Furthermore, he and his colleagues found that these markers exceeded the learning capacity of visitors and what they could actually absorb during a visit. Ultimately, the markers were a hindrance to telling the narrative of the battle. Emery recommended that the funds allocated for finishing the War Department's marker series be used to create four new trailside markers. He probably recognized that the NPS would neither appoint a full-time historian to Stones River nor construct a new museum anytime in the foreseeable future.

These markers (see Fig. 15), complete with maps and limited text and placed in areas readily accessible, reduced the interpretation to four focal points. Exhibit 1, located at the Hazen Brigade Monument, depicted the battle lines of the two armies on the eve of battle in December 1862. Exhibit 2, at the intersection of Van Cleve Lane and park road, described the Confederate attack and the successful flanking maneuver pushing the Union line back. Further down the park road, near the flagpole in the park, Exhibit 3 told the story of the battle from eleven o'clock in the morning through the evening of December 31, 1862, during which time General Rosecrans formed a new position and repulsed the Confederate attack. Exhibit 4 concluded the story of the battle on January 2, 1863 in the national cemetery with the Artillery Monument in view to the visitor. Emery wrote the exhibits' narrative solely in military terms and did not discuss the social, political, or economic causes or consequences of the battle.[55] The NPS Director approved this plan on May 17, 1937, and Emery supervised installation of the markers in August.[56]



Figure 15 Design for new trailside marker. Courtesy of STRI.

Regional Director Carl Russell lauded Emery's project, writing "Mr. Emery's approach to the problem of marking a battlefield area and making it intelligible to the average visitor appeals to this office." He continued that he would like to see this approach to marking a historic site possibly replicated at other parks in the region, concluding: "We believe that Mr. Emery's experiment in trailside exhibits at Stones River is a distinctly important and valuable contribution to the effort that is being made to evolve the best possible type of marker for battlefield areas."[57] Russell's letter indicates that historical technicians were making advances in interpretation at Stones River National Military Park despite the park's limited resources, although it is unclear to what extent Emery's approach was employed at other NPS units.

The trailside exhibits complemented the already existing tour road to create a complete self-guided interpretive experience. The self-guided tour took visitors first to the Hazen Brigade Monument, then to the junction of Van Cleve Lane and Park Road, then to the flagpole near Nashville Pike, and ended at the national cemetery. A 1941 pamphlet gives a brief history of the battle, tells visitors how to get to the park, and maps the self-guided tour (see Fig. 16 and Appendix E). In the language of the time, the pamphlet presents the Confederates as "gallant" men who fought with "untiring energy," and the Unionists as soldiers of "cool resolution." There is no mention of slavery; rather,

55. George Emery, "Exhibit Plan for Trail-Side Exhibits Stones River National Military Park," [March 12, 1937], Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

56. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, May 1937," [June 1937], Folder 164, Box 11, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive; "Superintendent's Narrative Report, August 1937," September 15, 1937, Folder 170, Box 11, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

57. Carl Russell to Acting Superintendent Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, letter, December 20, 1937, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

it proclaims that both sides sacrificed many lives for the principles on which the nation was founded. Photographs of the artillery monument, park entrance, and cemetery indicated to readers that the park was easily accessible to the automobile tourist.[58]

Emery realized that beyond the guided tour there were very few developed historical places within the park, and so he submitted two reports in January 1941 that he thought might help guide future development. He wrote a report on artillery used at Stones River during the battle, recommending that replica guns be placed at a central point in the park since some of the original locations for the batteries were outside the park.[59] He also wrote a report recommending the preservation of Redoubt Brannan, which was relatively intact and located within park boundaries, as compared to the rest of Fortress Rosecrans.[60] However, reviewers in the History Branch wrote that his restoration plans were not entirely clear and required some additional research.[61] None of Emery's recommendations were implemented during this time, but would become important for management considerations in years to come.

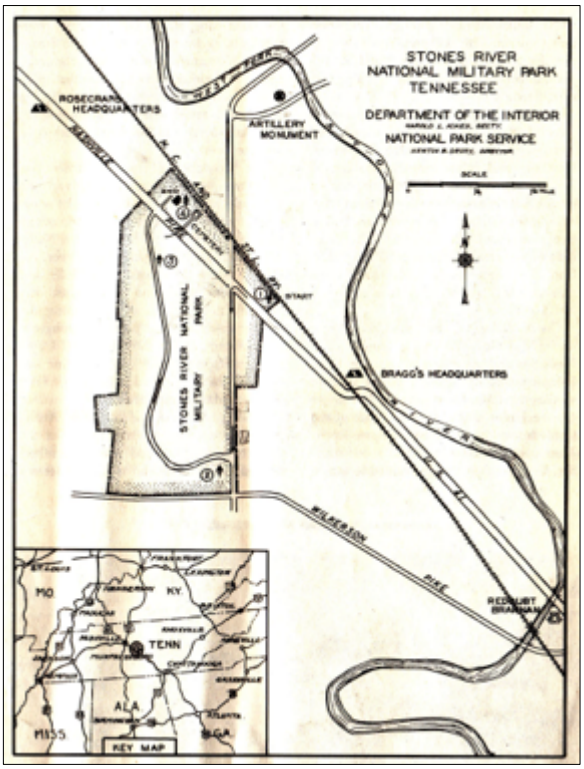


Figure 16 Tour map with exhibit marker locations included in the 1941 park pamphlet. Source: National Archives.

Despite these efforts, NPS educational outreach was sparse at Stones River National Military Park unless there was a historical technician or temporary worker present. Based on information Superintendent Tarter provided on a 1938 questionnaire concerning interpretive facilities at Stones River, he and his son apparently spent approximately three hours a day on interpretation. Visitors were usually contacted at the superintendent's office, where they registered and were given park literature and general directions on how to reach different points of interest. The NPS did not provide interpretive training to the Tarters or the park's maintenance workers. Tarter reported that there were no "interpretive facilities," revealing that he did not consider the War Department historical markers and NPS waysides to be in this category, but he did keep a few maps, pictures, and "relics" in his office. The only special event listed was Memorial Day.[62] This appears to have been how most visitors experienced Stones River National Military Park during the 1930s.

58. National Park Service, "Stones River National Military Park," 1941, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

59. George Emery, memorandum, "Artillery Needs, Stones River National Military Park," January 6, 1941, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

60. George Emery, memorandum, "Proposed Restoration of Redoubt Brannan, Stones River National Military Park," January 14, 1941, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

61. E.M. Lisle to Charles Dunn, memorandum, January 22, 1941, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

62. Melroe Tarter, "A Survey of Interpretive Facilities and Services Available in Historic and Archeologic Areas," June 6, 1938, File 207 Reports General, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

Planning

The War Department largely considered Stones River National Military Park complete at the time of its dedication in 1932, but the NPS saw potential for further development. The NPS Branch of Plans and Design was responsible for ensuring cohesive landscape design and utilized an important tool called the park master plan, a hallmark feature developed by NPS landscape architects in the 1920s and widely implemented during the New Deal.[63] Thomas Vint headed the Branch of Plans and Design, the main office of which had been relocated from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. in 1933. There was a Southeast Regional Office for the Branch of Plans and Designs located in Chattanooga, but Vint brought these staff members to his Washington, D.C. office in February 1935.[64] The main office communicated with landscape architects working in the field at various parks to develop a series of plans for each unit, which administrators used to guide recreational development in such a way to enhance natural and historical areas. Harvey Benson recommended that a landscape architect be stationed at Stones River National Military Park during the 1930s because he believed ninety percent of the work to be done there was of a "landscape nature," but a position was never allocated.[65] Despite not having a landscape architect on hand, staff from Stones River, Chickamauga-Chattanooga, the Southeast regional (then located in Richmond, VA), and Washington, D.C. offices worked to create a master plan for Stones River in 1938 and 1939, and a general development plan in 1941. Neither of these plans were finished.

The primary reason why these plans were not completed was because they lacked an adequate historical base map. Before any project could proceed at a historic site like a battlefield, the History Branch insisted that a historical base map be undertaken in order to best understand the site's historical features. Historical technicians were responsible for this work, but apparently they did not have enough time to devote to creating a base map for Stones River, which consequently impeded the rest of the planning process. Assistant Research Technician Joseph Hills Hanson states the case pretty explicitly in a letter that accompanied the 1939 edition of Stones River's Master Plan:

> From the historical standpoint this master plan is still so far from complete that there is little as yet on which to base specific comment. As is frankly stated in the text accompanying the General Development Plan, information was not available for the preparation for the historical base map. Such a map will be necessary, of course, as a preliminary to any sound development of historic roads or other historic features, and a General Development Plan should hardly be considered final until the historical base map has been prepared. Such a map would also be highly desirable for use in the preparation and location of a certain number of historical markers on the field.[66]

Hanson's statement makes it clear that without sufficient historical research, additional planning could not proceed. Historical technicians did not make much progress on the historical base map between 1939 and 1941, when NPS planners started the second plan, with the exception of Emery's research and recommendations on placing interpretive artillery in the park and restoring Redoubt Brannan.[67]

The outbreak of World War II in December 1941 cast most NPS projects into uncertainty. So without a historical base map to inform a suitable master plan, or additional funding to complete the planning process, the NPS left Stones River National Military Park in survival mode. The most the small park staff could do was maintain the status quo, which meant focusing on the national

63. Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 4.

64. Richard Randolph, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, February 1935," March 8, 1935, Folder 6, Box 1, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

65. Harvey P. Benson, "CWA Program at Stones River National Military Park," December 22, 1933, Folder 619 Civil Works Administration, 1933-34, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

66. Joseph Hills Hanson, "Master Plan 1939 Edition, Stones River National Military Park," September 8, 1939, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

67. "Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One," September 29, 1941, and E.M. Lisle, "Memorandum for the Superintendent, Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park," January 22, 1941,both Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] General, 1936-47, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

cemetery until planning efforts could be taken up again after World War II.

World War II

World War II certainly tested the NPS's assurance to the War Department in 1933 that it would be able to use the battlefields for military study and troop training during wartime. At the outset of the war, the military took over several abandoned CCC camps in battlefield parks for troop training and prisoner of war camps. The War Department placed a Women's Auxiliary Air Corps training center at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, and, according to Superintendent Charles Dunn, these women did less damage to the park than the CCC or other military groups before them.[68] Stones River National Military Park was too small to host these kinds of military activities, but it was certainly affected by the war in both expected and unexpected ways.

John F. Steffey, former superintendent of Vicksburg National Cemetery, replaced Melroe Tarter as Stones River superintendent in 1942. Steffey almost did not receive the appointment, because the superintendent of Vicksburg National Military Park tried to obstruct Steffey's promotion. By 1941, the cemetery and park at Vicksburg had two separate administrators. Superintendent McCorryline, in a confidential memorandum to NPS Acting Director Arthur Damaray, wrote that although Steffey was suited for general cemetery maintenance work, he was not suited to manage personnel or to interact with the public. McCorryline expressed particular frustration that Steffey interfered with his interpretive staff and often told visitors incorrect information. This memorandum was not only an attack on Steffey's personal demeanor; it also is indicative of the general expectations that McCorryline had for superintendents at battlefields and historic sites. He emphasized professionalism and the ability to communicate important historical matters to the public.[69] Disregarding McCorryline's scurrilous two-page memorandum, the NPS transferred Steffey to Stones River, where he administered both the cemetery and the park until 1947, still under the supervision of Charles Dunn at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park.

The war diverted both funding and staff away from the National Park Service, forcing the agency to sustain minimum maintenance levels at all units. This was certainly the case at Stones River as well. Staff focused most of their efforts on maintaining the national cemetery, which was still an active cemetery and accepted burials of those killed in the conflict. While parks were losing staff to military service, Stones River actually hired additional laborers to help with the national cemetery.[70]

Since the focus was on interments in the national cemetery, the NPS took measures to reduce maintenance burdens whenever and wherever it could. Acting NPS Director Arthur Demaray directed in January 1941 that all rostrums be removed in national cemeteries saying that they were no longer useful.[71] Park staff at Stones River removed the one in the national cemetery and when they finished razing the structure in October 1942, they sent some of the bricks to be used in a military hospital being built at Fort Oglethorpe adjacent to Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park.[72] Park staff also decided to sell the hay in the battlefield area to the highest bidder to reduce the need for mowing.[73]

Superintendent Steffey did not institute a formal guide program, but instead continued to make most of the visitor contacts himself. Superintendent's reports indicate that Steffey was far more active than his predecessor. He gave orientation talks and guided tours around the

68. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1944, January 11, 1945, Folder 40, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

69. James McCorryline, memorandum, July 14, 1941, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

70. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, April 1942," May 11, 1942, and "Superintendent's Narrative Report, May 1942," June 11, 1942, both Folder 38, Box 2, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

71. *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report*, Chapter Four, 7.

72. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, October 1942," November 10, 1942, Folder 38, Box 2, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

73. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, July 1942," August 10, 1942, Folder 38, Box 2, National Park Service, 1933 to Present CHCH Archive.

battlefield. While gasoline rationing meant that visitation numbers dropped precipitously at national parks during the war, these numbers actually increased at Stones River National Military Park thanks to large numbers of servicemen that came to visit the park.[74] A number of these servicemen came from Camp Forrest, one of the largest U.S. Army training centers in the country during World War II, located in Tullahoma, Tennessee.[75] It is not clear why servicemen visited the park—if they came out of their own volition or if they were required for training purposes. However, their numbers during this period indicate that Stones River and other Civil War battlefields were important to active service members. Beyond park visitors, Steffey also reached out to the local community, and, in 1945, was elected as the first president of the Rutherford County Historical Society.[76]

Postwar Management

In 1947, Roy Appleman, then NPS Region One Historian, visited Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery. He reported the cemetery to be in "excellent condition," and noted that park laborers were busy that day burying three soldiers killed in the War in the Pacific. His report of the battlefield park, on the other hand, comprised a list of deferred maintenance and noted that there were "practically no interpretive facilities available to the visitor, other than the War Department iron markers." Nor could he find any mark indicating that this was indeed a National Park Service area. He wrote that visitors, if they could even find the park, were unlikely to have contact with an NPS staff person.[77] A week or so later, Appleman composed a confidential memo to the Regional Director. He recommended that Stones River National Military be withdrawn from the coordinating superintendency of Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, stating, "I know of no area in Region One that is more in need of better guidance."[78] He wished that Stones River be placed under the supervision of Shiloh National Military Park. From Appleman's perspective, things were not looking very good at Stones River. Years of low funding and inattention had plainly taken their toll.

Appleman demanded new leadership, but actually Stones River had received a new superintendent just a few months prior. Victor Shipley took over Steffey's position on March 3, 1947. Shipley had been considered for the job when Tarter retired, but management hired Steffey instead, perhaps for his cemetery maintenance experience. Shipley either stayed on upper management's radar or simply maintained an interest in the Stones River job, or both. He accepted the position while he was a custodian of Santa Rosa National Monument in California.[79] Charles Dunn responded to Appleman's report saying that Shipley was new and would take care of Appleman's concerns. He also admitted that he and his staff did not devote much time to Stones River because work at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park kept them busy.[80] Regional Director Thomas Allen responded to Appleman's call to put Stones River under the guidance of Shiloh National Military Park, saying that Dunn seemed confident in Shipley and that it was up to Dunn to make sure improvements at Stones River progressed in a satisfactory manner. He continued that it was up to the regional office to provide Dunn necessary guidance and asked Appleman hold off on the criticism until he or his staff could visit these areas more frequently. In a handwritten note attached to the memo, someone else opined that personality issues were not grounds to change structural organization, although the origins of

74. In June 1942, for example, an estimated 1,500 servicemen visited the park, compared to 138 total visitors that month a year before. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 1942," July 9, 1942, Folder 38, Box 2, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

75. Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 1942;" Michael Bradley, "Camp Forrest," *Tennessee Encyclopedia for History and Culture,* https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=178 (accessed August 21, 2015).

76. "County Historical Society is Formed; Steffey President," *Rutherford Courier*, October 26, 1945.

77. Roy Appleman, "Historian's Report," October 17, 1947, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 207-03 Historian's Report, 1947-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

78. Roy Appleman to Regional Director, memorandum, October 31, 1947, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] 0-31, Military Parks, General, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

79. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, March 1947," April 9, 1947, Folder 43, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

80. Charles Dunn to Regional Director, memorandum, November 24, 1947, Folder 1940, 1947-1948, Box 1, 7476.War Department Files, Park Archive.

these personality issues were not mentioned.[81] Allen concluded that the regional and Washington offices should give Shipley some more time to improve conditions at the park. However, these exchanges demonstrate that the arrangement of Stones River National Military Park under a coordinating superintendency was not ideal, and both the regional office and Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park considered the superintendent's position at Stones River only a custodial role that focused more on maintaining the park and cemetery's present condition instead of thinking of ways to improve the area and connect to visitors and the local community.

Appleman visited Stones River again seven months later on May 24, 1948, but found no significant improvements. He met with Shipley, who expressed his concerns over the need for adequate water supply near the superintendent's house and a tractor mower. Appleman noted that weeds along the park road were as high as the car window. He wrote that the park needed a complete sign program, but noted that, since his last visit, Shipley and his crew had at least erected several name signs that had been in storage. However, Appleman still considered these signs inadequate for attracting visitors. In his previous visit, in 1947, he noted that a few of Emery's experimental trailside exhibits remained in decent condition, despite ten years deferred maintenance, but did not mention them in his 1948 report. He did note that no interpretive markers had been installed since his last visit, and he saw that the War Department markers and the few gun carriages and their mounts needed painting. These guns were located near the park entrance, near a flagpole that remained flagless. Shipley said the park did not have enough funds to purchase a flag or the personnel to raise and lower the flag daily. Appleman also called attention to farm equipment sitting idly on park property and a burned out car in a dump not far from the park road, indicating that adjacent residents were regularly intruding on parkland. He once again found the national cemetery and the Hazen Brigade Monument to be in excellent condition, further evidence that these areas were the primary focus of park staff. However, much less attention had been given to the Artillery Monument, which Appleman recommended needed significant vista clearing. Livestock were also getting into this area. He found the Rosecrans and Bragg headquarters to be in good condition, although the Bragg monument was missing a few cannonballs. Again, he found no interpretive services being offered to visitors and recommended that the NPS allocate a historical aide position for the park. The registration book kept in Shipley's office showed only 31 visitors since November 1947. Appleman wrote,

> I doubt whether any other area in the Park Service will show as low a number of registration for seven-month period. For an area that lies astride one the main U.S. Highways, such a register of visiting tells its own story concerning lack of proper development and facilities.[82]

Appleman saw something else on his visit that caused him concern. He observed work crews clearing an area north of the park for the new Highway 41, a larger road to replace the Old Nashville Pike. Appleman feared that this new highway would negatively impact the already suffering park (see Fig. 17).

81. Thomas Allen to Roy Appleman, memorandum, December 12, 1947, Folder [Stones River National Cemetery] 0-31, Military Parks, General, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

82. Roy Appleman to Regional Director, memorandum, June 24, 1948, Folder [Stones River National Military Park] 207-03 Historian's Report, 1947-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

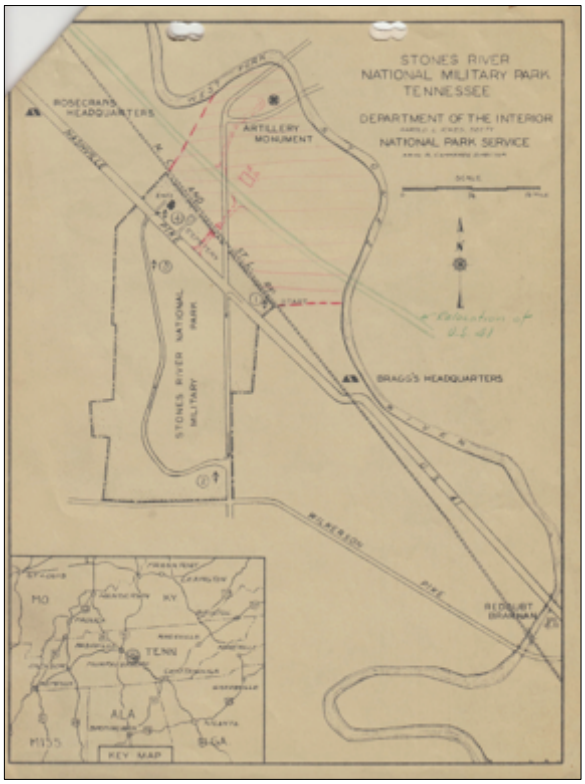


Figure 17 Proposed plan of new Highway 41 drawn in 1946 (shown in green) by Tennessee Highway Department. Source: National Archives.

Freshly elected to his first of fifteen terms as a U.S. Congressman, Joe L. Evins visited Stones River National Military Park in 1948, and was just as unimpressed with Shipley's leadership as Roy Appleman. He wrote to NPS Director Newton Drury recommending that Shipley be replaced. Acting Director Hillory Tolson responded to Evins letting him know that he had informed Regional Director Thomas Allen of his concerns and assured him that a swift investigation would be made into the matter.[83] Shipley remained at Stones River for nine more years, but Evins's letter indicates that the substandard conditions at the park did not escape members of the local community.

Despite the bleak picture painted by Appleman, administration at Stones River remained much the same until Shipley's departure in 1956. Only small improvements were made during this time, including a tractor mower, which the park finally received in 1950.[84] Shipley and his crew continued to focus primarily on the national cemetery. Occasionally Dunn or a regional staff member visited the park and reported that maintenance was much the same or not progressing in a satisfactory manner.[85] There were small projects to repoint the Hazen Brigade Monument in 1950 and rehabilitate the Artillery Monument at the end of 1953.[86] Park maintenance staff intermittently worked on Rosecrans and Bragg headquarters.[87] They also worked on Redoubt Brannan in fits and starts over a few years time.[88] Probably the biggest project undertaken during this period was the installation of a new well at the superintendent's house in 1952. However, it took several months to finish this project because the park lacked the necessary funds for a pump once the well was drilled.[89] In addition to purchasing a new lawn tractor, the park reduced some of its maintenance burden by leasing some of the battlefield land to local farmer Marvin Short in 1952, who planted corn, grain, and hay.[90] As part of this arrangement, Short agreed to undertake grounds maintenance in the battlefield area with the exception of roadside cleanup, which was left to park staff. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park historians completed a Historical Base Map in 1952, which they based on those maps completed

83. Hillory Tolson to Joe Evins, letter, August 4, 1948, Folder Stones River National Military Park, 1933-48, 2nd Subseries, Central Classified Files, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

84. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, July 1950," August 9, 1950, Folder 46, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

85. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, March 1950," April 11, 1950, Folder 46, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

86. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, September 1950," October 11, 1950, and "Superintendent's Narrative Report, December 1953," January 8, 1954, both Folders 46 and 49, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

87. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 1952," July 11, 1952, Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

88. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, January 1950," February 8, 1950, Folder 46, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

89. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, March 1952," April 9, 1952, and "Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 1952," July 11, 1952, both Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

90. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, February 1952," March 11, 1952, Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive

by Howard Landers for the War Department.[91] In 1953, the new highway opened, diverting potential tourists away from the site.[92] While it is unclear whether this had a significant impact to park visitation, a report on Memorial Day activities in 1952 suggests that the national cemetery was declining in importance for community-organized commemoration activities.[93] That year Memorial Day celebrations took place in Murfreesboro rather than at the national cemetery, although some citizens still visited the cemetery that day. Lackluster interpretation and the relocation of the Dixie Highway coincided with decreases in visitation and community participation during the 1950s.

Conclusion

The New Deal ushered in an important transitional period for Stones River National Military Park. The park was no longer under the auspices of the War Department, which was concerned about preserving the fields for commemorative purposes and military study. In 1933, the National Park Service came in as new management, bringing in a cadre of experts, including landscape architects, historians, foresters, and geologists, who were concerned with developing the recreational potential while also balancing historic preservation and landscape management. Only a limited number of projects were completed using CWA and PWA labor, while other proposals sat on the back burner. While other, larger parks received a significant amount of funding during this time, Stones River, a new park, received only a modest amount. The few changes that were made, primarily the introduction of trailside markers, a tour pamphlet, a contact station, and road modernization, helped reorient the focus of the park from purely commemoration to a more complex visitor experience that included interpretation and education, although these were poorly executed.

While the NPS imparted a new management direction for its battlefield parks, administrators did not successfully implement their ideas at Stones River National Military park during the New Deal or the dozen or so years afterward. The management arrangement with the superintendent of Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park acting as coordinating superintendent of Stones River was not effective. The coordinating superintendent and his staff were far too busy to give Stones River the attention it needed. Furthermore, NPS upper management eroded the position of the superintendent at Stones River to the point that it was primarily a custodial position for the national cemetery. Melroe Tarter, John Steffey, and Victor Shipley had enough funding and staff to keep the national cemetery maintained and little more, so that is what they did—and they did it exceptionally well. But even after periodic, detailed reports of Stones River's challenges, regional office and Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park staff did not improve conditions at Stones River. It would take a new, national development program, called Mission 66, to bring attention and funding to Stones River National Military Park again.

The NPS had a hard time finding an audience during this period. The War Department essentially marginalized the African American community who used the national cemetery as the center to their commemorative activities for decades after the Civil War by forcing them to relocate to make the battlefield park. Residents of the Cemetery community extended their resentment to the NPS, which took over the land just as the last condemnation suits were concluded. After World War II, NPS lost visitors as it struggled with funding, staff shortages, and lack of substantial leadership. The park remained much the same as it did when dedicated in 1932. Meanwhile, the town of Murfreesboro and surrounding area changed during and after World War II.

91. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, January 1952," February 8, 1952, Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive; Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," 110.

92. Dunn indicated in his May 1952 report that the new highway decreased visitation at Stones River National Military Park's, but his April 1954 report showed the park's visitation was steadily increasing two years later. It should be noted that the numbers listed in these reports are not consistent and appear to be very general approximations. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, May 1952," June 11, 1952, Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive; Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, April 1954," May 11, 1954, Folder 50, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

93. Charles Dunn, "Superintendent's Narrative Report, May 1952," June 11, 1952, Folder 48, Box 3, National Park Service, 1933 to Present, CHCH Archive.

Chapter Four

Mission 66 and Civil War Centennial, 1956-1971

The city of Murfreesboro continued to grow around Stones River National Military Park in the mid-1950s, but visiting the park was like stepping back into the 1930s. If a visitor wanted information about the battle, they had to go to the custodian's office, a room in his home, located in the national cemetery. They could follow the same tour loop and read the signs placed by the War Department and the few exhibits installed by the NPS in the 1930s. It is with little wonder then, that, in 1955, less than one-fourth of visitors received interpretive services. That is, if a visitor could find the park. New Highway 41 opened in 1953, replaced Old Nashville Highway as the main artery connecting Murfreesboro with Nashville. Consequently, traffic through the park dwindled. There were multiple entrances to the park, causing confusion among travelers. A NPS official, presumably Victor Shipley, wrote that the park seemed "antiquated" and needed new facilities for "management of Park affairs, protection and interpretation of Park values, and visitor comfort and experience."[1] Stones River NMP desperately needed new improvements.

The year 1956 marked the beginning of a transformative period for Stones River NMP. Mission 66, a system-wide development campaign from 1956 to 1966, gave the park a much-needed facelift. That same year, the agency separated Stones River from Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and expanded the roles and responsibilities of the superintendent at Stones River NMP. John T. Willett replaced Victor Shipley (1947-1957). Willett (1957-1960) saw the park through the bulk of the Mission 66 planning process and a key legislative change. Lawrence Quist (1960-1965) followed Willett and implemented Mission 66's various construction projects at the park, including a new visitor center, tour road, maintenance area, and three new staff residences. Sherman Perry (1965-1971) wrapped up the final construction tasks and organized several commemorative events during his tenure, showcasing the park's new facilities to local and national audiences. The fact that the park hosted four superintendents in fourteen years indicates that there were many hands involved in shaping Stones River NMP during this period, each individual with his own viewpoint and agenda indelibly shaping the park as we know it today.

Mission 66 was important to Stones River not only for upgrading park facilities; it was a testament to 1960s America. The program introduced modern design influenced by Cold War culture, embodying ideas about patriotism, anxiety over nuclear annihilation, and containment of communism. Furthermore, these facility upgrades coincided with the battle's centenary in 1962. National Civil War centennial celebrations initially began as an exercise in Cold War patriotism, but soon revealed tears in the American fabric as the Civil Rights Movement exposed the centennial's hypocrisies. Once again, contests over who would control Civil War memory in Rutherford County continued as the Civil War centennial gained national attention.

1. [Victor Shipley], "Mission 66 for Stones River National Military Park," [July 1955], Folder A98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

Mission 66 Overview

Stones River NMP was not alone in seeming antiquated or out-of-date; parks across the country were suffering from crumbling infrastructure, staffing shortages, and austere budgets, all made worse by increasing numbers of tourists that exceeded prewar levels. Free of their wartime constraints, Americans visited national parks in droves. Subsequently, visitation exploded from 17 million in 1940 to 56 million in 1955.[2] Articles in various popular publications highlighted the poor condition of the national parks. Notably, conservationist and historian Bernard DeVoto, penned an article for *Harper's Magazine*, called "Let's Close the National Parks," arguing that the parks should be closed until Congress provided adequate funding.[3] DeVoto hoped his shocking headline would draw attention to the plight of the ever-popular national parks and spark positive action.[4] NPS Director Conrad Wirth, a long-time landscape architect and manager for the agency, and who had been instrumental in the agency's New Deal programs, was well aware of these issues and was engineering a plan to modernize the parks.[5]

Wirth conceived a national plan that emphasized modernizing visitor services at parks because he believed that parks were for the people and should engender their support. He presented his plan to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and convinced him to support a multi-year program to improve park infrastructure, borrowing upon the Federal Highway Administration's development of the interstate highway system at that same time. Wirth called this program "Mission 66," because it was slated to culminate with the NPS's fiftieth anniversary. Congress supported the measure and agreed to fund Wirth's request for $700 million over a ten-year period by increasing the agency's budget annually.[6]

In preparation for a national construction program, Wirth reorganized the agency's design offices a year before Congress approved Mission 66. The few postwar construction projects that had been undertaken in national parks were funded and designed out of regional offices. In 1954, Wirth consolidated regional design offices into two centralized offices in Philadelphia and San Francisco. These two new offices, referred to as the Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC) and Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC), brought regional architects, engineers, landscape architects, and project administrators together. NPS administrators, including Wirth himself, had direct oversight over both offices, which helped generate park prospectuses, master plans, project specifications, plans, and drawings. In fact, he issued seven memoranda, written with input from the Mission 66 steering committee, to all field offices to articulate the philoabout Mission 66 planning. This consolidation ensured that many projects would follow similar design plans and style.[7]

Mission 66 marked an important change in park design as planners moved away from the "rustic" style to embrace postwar modernism, creating a style known as "Park Modern." Architectural historians have explained that modern design was not revolutionary for the time, but it was for national parks.[8] The rustic style was the standard choice for park structures in the 1920s and 1930s because it emphasized naturalistic design principles that let the structure conform, or even enhance, its natural surroundings. However, wartime shortages of construction materials and labor prompted park officials to embrace modern design, which used cheaper materials and more efficient construction techniques. Advancements in modern design and increasing numbers of visitors also gave way to new building types, most notably the visitor center, which centralized administrative, educational, and visitor amenities in one easily accessible building.[9]

2. Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 4; Ethan Carr, Elaine Jackson-Redondo, Len Warner, and Collaborative Inc., *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources Multi-Property Nomination,* August 14, 2015, E-2.

3. Bernard DeVoto, "Let's Close the National Parks," *Harper's Magazine,* October 1953, 49-52.

4. Lary Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Parks: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anps/anps_4.htm (January 11, 2015).

5. Gilbert Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield: The National Park Service and Mission 66 at Stones River," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2005, 51-53.

6. Carr, *Mission 66,* 10.

7. Ibid., 63.

8. Carr et al., *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources Multi-Property Nomination,* E-2.

Mission 66 had a tremendous impact on the national park system. Between 1956 and 1966, the government spent $1 billion on land acquisition, new staff, general operations, and new construction projects. The system grew by 70 units between 1956 and 1966, signaling Wirth's desire to "complete" the system. The NPS constructed or repaired 2,700 miles of roads and over 900 miles of trails. Some parks received electricity and sewer systems for the first time. The NPS constructed over one hundred new visitor centers and hundreds of staff residences. To meet these expanded operations, the NPS hired additional personnel and established the Albright and Mather training centers, named after the agency's first two directors.[10]

Mission 66 was the agency's largest construction campaign, but it was not without controversy. Scientists criticized the agency for not incorporating ecologically informed practices into park management. This was highlighted in a 1963 report undertaken by the Special Board on Wildlife Management called the "Leopold Report," after board chair and principal author A. Starker Leopold, which looked at the immediate and long-term management issues of managing wildlife in national parks. The Special Board recommended that the NPS manage natural resource ecosystems and park visitors using unified principles. The NPS received criticism not only from the scientific community, but also the general public. Public criticism mounted as the modern environmental movement gained traction, and more Americans were becoming aware of the harmful effects of pollution, development, and population increases on the environment and their own quality of life. They saw some of these Mission 66 construction projects as encroachments on natural areas that they felt should be free of human intervention. This groundswell of support led to the passage of key environmental laws, including the Wilderness Act in 1964. Conrad Wirth defended Mission 66 and the agency's treatment of resources, but Secretary of Interior Udall replaced him with George Hartzog Jr. in 1964, just two years shy of the agency's fiftieth anniversary.[11]

Hartzog had his own plans for the NPS. He focused his efforts in completing the system, bringing in minorities to the workforce, and developing urban recreation areas. While Mission 66 formally ended in 1966, many projects remained incomplete. These efforts continued under a new "Parkscape U.S.A" program, which was set to end in 1972, the one hundredth anniversary of Yellowstone National Park.[12] The continuation of Mission 66 under the Parkscape U.S.A. Program has prompted NPS historians to extend Mission 66's period of significance until 1973.[13]

Mission 66 Prospectus

The first step parks had to take before receiving Mission 66 funding was to develop a prospectus.[14] The purpose of this prospectus was to identify park problems and needs, which would then be reviewed by the regional office, EODC or WODC, and the director. The prospectus would then inform a new park master plan and various project proposals and funding schedules. Victor Shipley started the prospectus for Stones River National Military Park in July 1955, although he requested in April 1956 that the regional office prepare the final copy.[15]

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9. Ibid., E-2-4, 12.

10. Carr, *Mission 66,* 10.

11. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997; repr. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 215; Carr, *Mission 66,* 13-15, 46, 309; Carr et al., *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources Multi-Property Nomination,* E-4.

12. Carr et al., *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources Multi-Property Nomination,* E-4-5; Kathy Mengak, *Reshaping Our National Parks and Their Guardians: The Legacy of George B. Hartzog Jr.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 55, 129-31.

13. Carr et al. cite three distinct phases in regard to identifying Mission 66 structures in national parks. The first is "Pre-Mission 66" (1945 to 1955). The second is "Mission 66" (1955-1966). The third is "Parkscape U.S.A." (1967-1973). Carr et al., *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources Multi-Property Nomination*, E-1.

14. Wirth outlined directions for these prospectuses in a document called "Memorandum No. 3," issued on June 27, 1955. Roy Appleman, "A History of the National Park Service Mission 66 Program," unpublished report for National Park Service, 1958, 47-48, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/NPSHistory/mission66.pdf (accessed January 11, 2015).

15. Victor Shipley to Acting Regional Director, memorandum, "Mission 66," July 18, 1955, Folder 415 A-98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive; E.M. Lisle to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Mission 66-Final Prospectus, Stones River National Military Park," Folder 40 D18 Master Plan Study, Series 1, Park Archive.

Like other units, Stones River went through several iterations of the park prospectus until it was approved. One of the first versions, written in July 1955, called for a new "front door" for the park. Park administrators called for acquisition of land between the railroad and new Highway 41 to provide better access to park visitors and "halt intrusion of very undesirable private development."[16] Evidently, Highway 41 was already attracting a number of businesses that threatened the battlefield's agricultural setting. The prospectus also called for a new administrative building to house staff offices, a museum, and visitor services, with a new, circuitous tour route. Additionally, the park would have residences for staff to live onsite.

Gib Backlund, Chief of Operations at STRI, argued in his 2005 master's thesis that the Stones River National Battlefield's Mission 66 construction program was indicative of Cold War "containment" culture. American anxiety over the spread of communism and possibility of nuclear annihilation influenced park architecture during this time, thereby shaping how visitors experienced the park. The new visitor center and tour road, for example, would control visitor circulation, promote patriotism through new museum exhibits and interpretation, and reinforce the federal government's presence in the local community. Additionally, the new staff residences reflected the Cold War impulse to preserve and promote the nuclear family. Backlund asserts that these new homes promoted domesticity and reinforced gender roles, thereby supporting a "male-dominated culture [that] could not only defend against communism but also maintain hegemony at home."[17]

Van Cleve Lane Dispute

To rectify the issue of having too many entrances to the park, the park moved forward on closing the southern portion of Van Cleve Lane to through traffic in the spring of 1956, before the park's prospectus had officially been accepted. The NPS felt the road was unnecessary, confused park visitors, and enticed criminal behavior. Earlier that year, the NPS asked contractors for bids to obliterate this section of road, causing a firestorm among locals, who felt that the NPS was infringing on their rights to use the road.[18] These local citizens contacted all of their congressional representatives to intervene in this matter, asking that the road be kept open.[19] M.R. Harding, who sold a portion of this land to the NPS, described the area in question to Director Wirth: "The last ten years the South half [of Van Cleve Lane] has been left to grow in briers, grass, weeds, and bushes, creating a fire hazard, eye sore, harbor for wild dogs, rabid foxes, parked cars, and garbage."[20] Resident Ben Hall McFarlin submitted a petition on behalf of 160 residents in the 4th, 6th, 12th, and 13th Districts to protest the road's closure.[21] McFarlin claimed that "half" of Rutherford County would be "deprived" of "a good black top road that they and their ancestors used before the Civil War."[22] Acting Superintendent Shipley likely did not help matters when, in an attempt to get the community on board for Mission 66 development, he was quoted in the local newspaper that the road closing only affected four families.[23] The regional office sent A.C. Stratton, the Regional Chief of Operations, to investigate the matter.[24]

16. National Park Service, "Mission 66: Tentative 1966 Prospectus for Stones River National Military Park," July 22, 1955, Folder 415 A98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

17. Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 49.

18. Elbert Cox to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Closing of Van Cleve Lane—Stones River NMP," March 16, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

19. Correspondence with Congressional representatives include: Joe Evins to Conrad Wirth, letter, March 7, 1956, Carroll Reece to Conrad Wirth, letter, March 13, 1956, Estes Kefauver to Conrad Wirth, March 23, 1956, and Conrad Wirth to Albert Gore, letter, March 30, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

20. M.R. Harding to Conrad Wirth, letter, April 23, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

21. Ben Hall McFarlin to Conrad Wirth, letter and petition, March 10, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

22. Ben Hall McFarlin to Sherman Adams, letter, April 6, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

23. Douglas Sparks, "US Plans $250,000 Improvement at Stones River Park Here," *Daily News Journal,* April 18, 1956.

24. Elbert Cox to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Closing of Van Cleve Land in Stones River NMP," April 6, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-

Stratton visited the park in April 1956. He interviewed a number of local residents and counted traffic along the road. He found that about 55 cars drove through the park daily, with high traffic occurring during rush hour in the morning and afternoon. One school bus used the road and one milkman made deliveries to the Smotherman farm along Van Cleve Lane. Stratton also noted three unauthorized access entrances used by residents along the road.[25] More importantly, Stratton found that while most of the complaints were over-exaggerated, the park's community relations were quite bad. Overall, he found that the campaign to keep Van Cleve open was very much a political one waged by Judge Edwards, who was losing political power, and Ben Hall McFarlin.[26] Local politics aside, Stratton also discovered that some residents strongly disliked Acting Superintendent Shipley. He reported,

> Everyone I talked with complained to some degree about the present Acting Superintendent. All stated that public relations between the park and the community were practically nil and that the Superintendent was overbearing, dictatorial and, in most cases, uncooperative....Several expressed a feeling that the present Acting Superintendent is advocating the closing of Van Cleve Lane because of spite.[27]

Not only were residents hostile to the superintendent, but generally unsupportive of the park or the proposed Mission 66 program. Representatives from the Blackman community called the park a "disgra[c]e...not worthy of bearing the name National Military Park."[28] In his interviews with residents, Stratton noted that one neighbor preferred that the Mission 66 program be scrapped and the park build a swimming pool and picnic area for local citizens' use instead.[29] Although Stratton recommended that the NPS continue with its plan to close Van Cleve Lane, Regional Director Elbert Cox decided that the NPS needed to fix its community relations issues before moving forward.[30]

A New Kind of Superintendent

The Van Cleve Lane debacle made it very clear to Regional Director Elbert Cox that leadership needed to change at Stones River NMP. He wrote to Director Wirth,

> We have been aware of Shipley's shortcomings and have discussed them from time to time with your office. It is my feeling that as soon as we can fund the position we should set up a GS-9 Superintendent for Stones River who would be able to do a better job in handling our local public relations and in planning for the development of the area. This will be a necessary action before we undertake the MISSION 66 program for the area. In the meantime, we will endeavor to assist Mr. Shipley with matters which involve local public relations such as those arising from current plans to close the south end of Van Cleve Lane.[31]

Shipley's position had already gone through some important changes. The custodian position was abolished in 1954 by Public Law 763, which reclassified the position from the Crafts, Protective, and Custodial (CPC) Schedule to the General Schedule as Cemetery Superintendent.[32] This position changed again in April 1956, to Acting Superintendent, when Stones River became an independent unit, no longer under the authority of Chickamauga-Chattanooga NMP. The Superintendent was one of three permanent,

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1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

25. A. C. Stratton to Regional Director, memorandum, "Van Cleve Lane Closing in Stones River NMP," April 25, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

26. A. C. Stratton to Regional Director, memorandum, "Van Cleve Lane Closing in Stones River NMP," April 26, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

27. Stratton to Regional Director, memorandum, "Van Cleve Lane Closing in Stones River NMP," April 25, 1956.

28. Mr. and Mrs. W.K. Riggs, Jr. to Conrad Wirth, letter, April 5, 1956, D30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

29. Stratton to Regional Director, memorandum, "Van Cleve Lane Closing in Stones River NMP," April 25, 1956.

30. Elbert Cox to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Closing of Van Cleve Lane in Stones River National Military Park," April 26, 1956, D-30 Roads and Trails, Stones River National Battlefield, 1952-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

31. Cox to Wirth, memorandum, "Closing of Van Cleve Lane, Stones River National Military Park."

32. Ann Wilson Willett, "A History of Stones River National Military Park," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State College, 1958, 120.

full-time administrative positions included in the prospectus, along with an administrative aid and historian. Two full-time maintenance workers were also slated for the park.[33] Shipley was named Acting Superintendent in recognition of the additional responsibilities he now had, such as Mission 66 planning, even though it was clear the regional office wanted someone else in the position.

NPS administrators transferred Shipley back to Vicksburg NMP in November 1957 and hired John T. Willett as the first full-time superintendent of Stones River NMP.[34] Willett, was a seven-year NPS employee. He had a master's degree in history from the University of Arkansas and had advanced to doctoral candidate at American University, although it is unknown if he finished his degree. He worked at the NPS museum lab in Washington, D.C. and later took positions at Fort Sumter, Kennesaw Mountain, and Natchez Trace Parkway before becoming Chief Supervisory Ranger, the first employee, of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, in 1954.[35] At Stones River, he and his family moved into the old superintendent's house in the national cemetery. The Willetts welcomed a son in July 1959 and appeared to be doing their part setting an example of a Cold War American family living at the national cemetery.[36] More importantly, Cox's selection of Willett to the superintendency at Stones River NMP indicates that historians held a degree of power in regional administration, since Cox himself was also a reputable NPS historian.

Willett and his wife, Ann, helped professionalize the history program at Stones River. John was naturally interested in developing the history program at the park and was the first university-trained historian to work there full-time. Ann also contributed to park scholarship in a very important way. She was finishing her master's degree in history at Middle Tennessee State College when she decided to write her thesis on the history of the battlefield park. In 1951, the NPS started recommending that parks write administrative histories on individual units.[37] Ann tracked down some of the early records of the park and wrote a narrative that covered the area's early settlement, the Battle of Stones River, the formation of the national cemetery and battlefield park, early NPS administration, and a bit about the then-current Mission 66 program. Finished in 1958, "An Administrative History of Stones River National Military Park" has served as the park's official administrative history for over forty years. John also hired a seasonal historian for the park in 1958. Initially, he hired Dr. Bob Womack, a professor at Middle Tennessee State College, but Womack's teaching schedule changed unexpectedly and he was no longer available to work at the battlefield. Womack recommended Randolph Parks, a graduate student at Vanderbilt University, and Willett hired Parks. Parks did not remain at the park long, however. He left to pursue a doctoral degree at Harvard.[38] The presence of three university-trained, resident historians at the battlefield was a remarkable improvement for Stones River National Military Park.

Stones River NMP had the additional assistance of prodigious Civil War historian Edwin Bearss during this time as well. Bearss formerly had worked for the Army Historical Division before becoming the historian at Vicksburg NMP in 1955.

33. National Park Service, "Mission 66 Prospectus: Stones River National Military Park, Tennessee," April 1956, Folder 415 A98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

34. John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1957," December 5, 1957, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

35. Teresa Moyer, Kim Wallace, and Paul Shackel, *"To Preserve the Evidences of the Noble Past": Administrative History of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park*" (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies Frederick Community College and Center for Heritage Resource Studies Department of Anthropology University of Maryland, 2004), 110-11.

36. Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1957"; John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1959," August 4, 1959, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

37. Raymond Mulvany to Regional Director, memorandum, "Short Histories of National Park System Areas," June 30, 1955, Folder 82 H14 History, Series 1, Park Archive.

38. John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1958," June 7, 1958, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, July 1958," August 5, 1958, and John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1959," July 1, 1959, all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

He worked as a research historian from 1958 to 1966, during which time he was based at Vicksburg but reported to the Region Five (or Mid-Atlantic) office in Philadelphia.[39] This arrangement allowed him to do research on southern battlefields, including Stones River. Stones River NMP still lacked a historical base map, which was essential to the park master plan. Bearss started researching cavalry, artillery, and troop positions, and visited the park in January 1959. He completed a preliminary troop movement map in April, and another version in August 1960. That same year, he completed reports on "Morgan's Attack at Hartsville," 'The Rebels Concentrate at Stones River," and a history of Fortress Rosecrans.[40] In March 1962, Bearss submitted Stones River's "Fence and Ground Cover Map," drawn by J.C. Killian, an exhaustive study that shows the full extent of the battlefield and the composition of the landscape just before the battle occurred. The park continues to use this map today.[41]

The Willetts were very involved with local heritage groups. John was a founding member of the Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Round Table (NBFCWRT) organized in 1958. This group consisted of professors from Middle Tennessee State College and middle-class, white men from Murfreesboro and Rutherford County that met at Forrest Hall, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) building on campus. The primary reason for the group was "entertainment," but members also listed sharing research materials among participants, improving research facilities at the college, and "assisting in the promotion of Stones River Military Park," among the organization's goals.[42] Edwin Bearss, who was also a noted battlefield guide, gave talks and tours for the group, including the keynote address for the group's annual banquet in April 1963.[43] Fraley notes that it was mostly an informal group that exhibited a "lighthearted tone," which can be seen in the group's intermittent, official publication (called *Gaus' Bugle*). Fraley found the publication to be chocked full of jokes that reveal anxieties about economic and social changes, such as the city's expansion and civil rights.[44] John Willett's involvement in the group indicates his desire to keep the battlefield at the forefront of this influential group's activities as both a place where they could carry out sanctioned activities, but also be a recipient of their support. Women were excluded from the group except during events where spouses were invited to join. While John focused his activities with this and other local professional organizations, Ann gave lectures to local women's heritage groups, including the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).[45] By giving these lectures, she was exhibiting her own historical expertise and authority in the female sphere.

The Willetts' involvement in separate, gendered groups is indicative of local Civil War commemoration during this period as described by Miranda Fraley. Fraley asserts that the local UDC chapter was the most active group in upholding Confederate memory, but it was episodically

39. National Park Service, "Edwin C. Bearss (1981-1994)," Chief Historians of the National Park Service, https://web.archive.org/web/20130602195958/http://www.nps.gov/history/history/hisnps/NPSHistory/chiefhistorians.htm (accessed January 13, 2016).

40. John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1959," February 1, 1959, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1959," May 3, 1959, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, February 1960," March 3, 1960, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1960," September 7, 1960, and Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 1962," April 5, 1962, all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Elbert Cox to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Research Report—Stones River," Folder 82 H14 History, Series 1, Park Archive; Edwin Bearss, "A History of Fortress Rosecrans" (Murfreesboro, TN: National Park Service, 1960).

41. Edwin C. Bearss and J.C. Killian, *Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan, Part of the Master Plan* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1961).

42. Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable, *The Best of Gaus' Bugle: Selections from the Official Publication of the Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, 1978), 4.

43. John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report March 1959," April 5, 1959, and Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1963, May 13, 1963, both Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

44. Fraley, "Politics of Memory," 212.

45. Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1959"; John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 1960," April 3, 1960, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

marginalized by male-dominated groups at times that coincided with economic and social changes in the community. The NBFCWR was organized during a time of great expansion in Murfreesboro and Rutherford County, spurred by new highways, industries, and urban renewal.[46] The Civil Rights Movement was also gaining traction nationally, and Rutherford County residents felt the effects. For instance, the public schools were desegregated by 1968, when Holloway High School, the African American high school, closed. Integration was not entirely smooth; on April 21, 1971, two hundred students at Central High School staged a sit-in at the school's lobby as an expression of their frustrations.[47] The NBFCWR usurped the UDC's control during this time and played a major role in organizing local Civil War centennial events, including those at Stones River National Battlefield. The UDC continued to assist these endeavors in a way deemed suitable for women and that supported white, male dominance. The NPS at Stones River National Military Park supported these divisions by inviting them to use the battlefield for their various initiatives. In his monthly reports and the publication of *Gaus' Bugle*, it is clear that John T. Willett was an active participant, not just a federal administrator. He was a founding member, attended the annual banquets, solicited other NPS historians to speak to the organization, and organized field trips.[48]

1960 Legislation

In preparation for the prospectus in 1956, the regional office asked park superintendents to submit a wish list for desired land to be added to parks. Shipley immediately responded that the park should acquire a portion of the Henderson Estate between the railroad and Highway 41 directly across from the national cemetery. Shipley reasoned that the park needed a better, safer entrance that directly connected visitors from Highway 41, while also halting development near the park. He wrote that the General Electric Corporation was erecting a new plant nearby, the new water and sewer lines extending to the plant from the city were attracting businesses to the highway. Initially, the regional office felt that the cost for this land outweighed the benefits, but they included it in a land acquisition map submitted to Wirth, which also included tracts owned by Sam (Bud) Manson, Robert Murry, Suzie Orr, Edward White (including store), and Miles Jackson (see Fig. 18). However, the EODC decided that the Henderson tract should be sufficient enough for a new park entrance. The final prospectus approved January 7, 1957, included only the Henderson parcel.[49]

46. For a case study about urban renewal in Murfreesboro during this period, see Dallas Hanbury, "The Effects of Urban Renewal and Modern Urban Planning on Working Class Neighborhoods: Murfreesboro, Tennessee and the Transformation of Its First Industrial Suburb, Westvue," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2012.

47. Dallas Hanbury, "The Black Freedom Movement in Murfreesboro, TN," unpublished paper, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013, 1, 12.

48. Nathan Bedford Forest Civil War Round Table, *The Best of Gaus' Bugle,* 4; Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report March 1959"; John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, February 1959, March 1, 1959, and John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1960," May 3, 1960, both Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

49. E. M. Lisle to Region One Superintendents, memorandum, "Ten-Year Program for Acquiring Private Land," March 15, 1955, Victor Shipley to Acting Regional Director, memorandum, "Ten-Year Program for Acquiring Private Land," March 22, 1955, Elbert Cox to Victor Shipley, memorandum, "Mission 66 Prospectus Draft—Stones River National Military Park," August 4, 1955, National Park Service Region One, Map, April 30, 1956, E.M. Lisle to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Mission 66 Land Acquisition Proposals—Stones River National Military Park," May 17, 1956, Edward S. Zimmer to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, "Final Mission 66 Prospectus, Stones River National Military Park," November 19, 1956, and E.T. Scoyen to Regional Director, memorandum, "Approval of Stones River National Military Park Prospectus," January 7, 1957, all Folder 415 A-98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

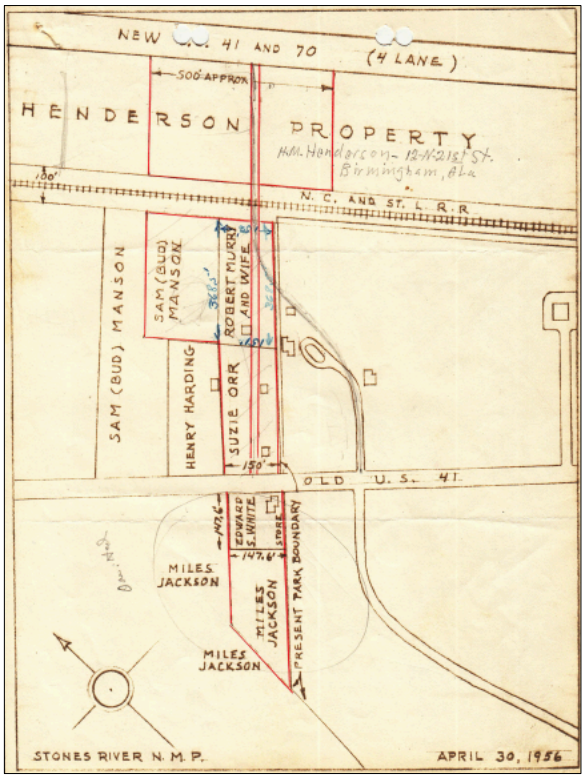


Figure 18 Drawing of proposed land acquisition with tracing of possible new entrance. April 30, 1956. Courtesy of STRI.

Although the final prospectus had been approved before his arrival, John Willet had his own ideas about where the new visitor center should be placed. He recommended that it be located between the national cemetery and Hazen Brigade Monument because he considered the national cemetery to have “no outstanding historical significance.”[50] He felt that the Hazen Brigade Monument and Artillery Monument were far more significant and that the visitor center should orient visitors to the “most vital historic actual part of the battlefield that the park owns.” He also thought that Bragg’s and Rosecrans's headquarters were “really secondary to the story to be told in the area” as well.[51] In Willett’s opinion, if the visitor center were located south of the national cemetery, the NPS would no longer need to acquire land north of the park for staff residences. They could be located within the national cemetery on the north end. Willett argued that, "If the residences are situated on the proposed acquisition they will be surrounded by a very undesirable neighborhood and will have to pay more than they are worth since they are residential."[52] The "undesirable neighborhood" he was referring to was the African American Cemetery community, specifically the area known as the "Bottom."

Development plans unraveled once more when NPS officials learned that the new interstate, I-24, would pass approximately one half mile from the southeastern corner of the park boundary (see Fig. 19). Highway 41 would no longer be the main thoroughfare through the area. On September 20, 1958, staff from the regional office and EODC met with Willett for a planning conference at the park to come up with adjustments in light of this new development. They all agreed that the new visitor center should be located across Old Nashville Highway from the national cemetery. They thought this site might be better for "lecture purposes" since the Hazen Brigade Monument was within eyesight.[53] The visitor center could be accessed from either Highway 41 via Van Cleve Lane or the new interstate. The group also agreed with Willett's recommendation that the residences be built within the national cemetery. The distance of the tour road remained mostly the same, but they planned the new park entrance to be located on Manson Pike in the southwest corner of the park once the new interstate was constructed.[54] Backlund aptly points out that planners anticipated a much more direct access to I-24 than actually materialized.[55]

50. John Willett to Regional Director, letter, August 24, 1958, Folder 415 A98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Planning Conference—Mission 66—Stones River National Military Park," October 11, 1958, Folder 415 A98 Conservation and Preservation of Area: Mission 66, Series 1, Park Archive.

54. Ibid.

55. Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 58.

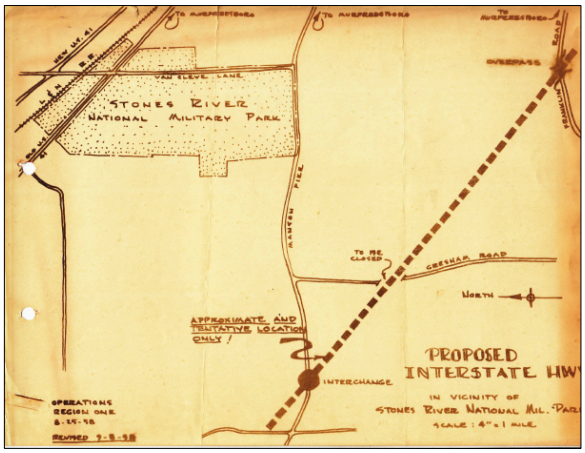


Figure 19 "Proposed Interstate HWY in vicinity of Stones River National Mil. Park," September 8, 1958. Courtesy of STRI.

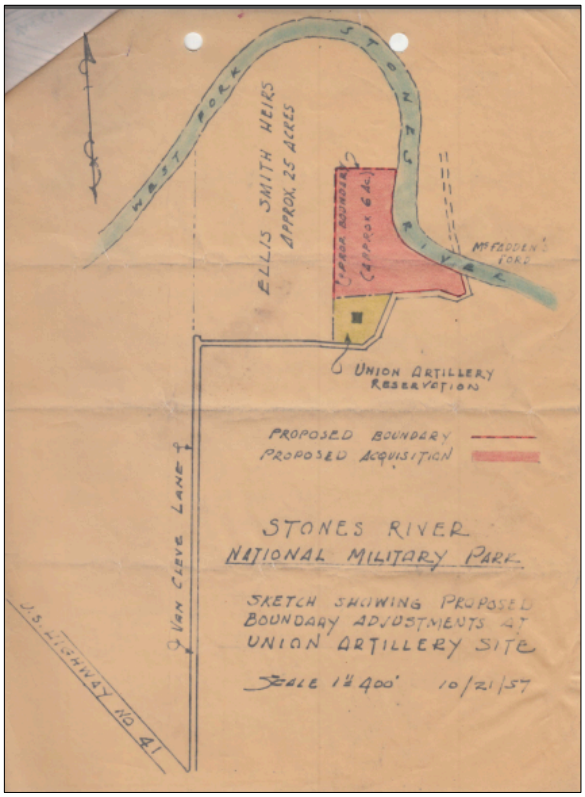


Figure 20 "Sketch Showing Proposed Boundary Adjustments at Union Artillery Site," October 21, 1957. Courtesy of STRI.

The prospectus changed again as the NPS moved forward on land acquisition. The agency had to get cost estimates for the land and put forward boundary expansion legislation. In 1957, the NPS added an area between the Artillery Monument and Stones River on the list of property to be acquired.[56] This change may have occurred at Willett's insistence, since he believed it was one of the most significant sites in the park, although there is no correspondence confirming this.

NPS officials wrote to the Henderson family to ascertain a price for their property. Initially, they thought they could acquire the land for about $1,000 an acre, but the Henderson family wanted $48,000 for 16 acres, or $3,000 an acre. The NPS decided to suspend negotiations because the price was too expensive. In 1959, they also deleted the Murry, Manson, and Orr tracts, because they were also too costly, leaving only the Smith tract near the Artillery Monument, a seven-acre parcel the NPS estimated in 1957 was worth $1,500.[57] This property was owned by an African American family (see Fig. 20).

As Congressional representatives drafted legislation to authorize this boundary adjustment, local politicians and community members shared their feelings about what land should be acquired. Homer Pittard—a history professor at Middle Tennessee State College, founder of the local historical society, official Rutherford County historian, and overall respected community member—had been trying to preserve Lunette Granger, one of the outer earthworks associated with Fortress Rosecrans (see Fig. 21). Located near the intersection of Highways 41 & 70S and Battleground Avenue, new development threatened the earthwork. Pittard argued that Lunette Granger was significant for its association with Fortress Rosecrans and tried to convince the city to purchase the area. When the city refused, the governor promised to fund the project, but it never came through. It seems that the federal government was his last hope. He wrote to Congressman Albert Gore, Sr., who in turn approached the NPS about including the tract with

56. E. M. Lisle to Superintendent, memorandum, "Boundary Status Report, Stones River National Military Park," September 27, 1957, Folder 111 L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

57. E. M. Lisle to Superintendent, memorandum, "Boundary Status Report, Stones River National Military Park," October 23, 1957; John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Proposed Acquisition of Lands at Stones River National Military Park," July 23, 1958, Ben H. Thompson to Regional Director, memorandum, "Boundary Recommendations, Stones River National Military Park," February 13, 1959, and Elbert Cox to Director, memorandum, "Boundary Recommendations, Stones River National Military Park," February 18, 1959, all Folder 111 L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

the boundary expansion legislation. Unfortunately for Pittard and Lunette Granger, the NPS did not find the earthwork to be significant because it was built after the battle. Pittard was perturbed that the NPS did not invite him to their survey of the property and complained to NPS Director Wirth and Secretary of Interior Roger Ernst. On April 22, 1960, Willett reported that the earthworks had been bulldozed, putting the matter to rest.[58] This episode is indicative of the NPS's attitude at the time that interpreting the area before or after the battle was of secondary importance to the battle itself. It also reveals the contradictions of Civil War interpretation considering that Willett and other NPS officials believed the Hazen Brigade Monument to be of primary importance to the park visitor, and that the monument was constructed at the same time as the earthworks.

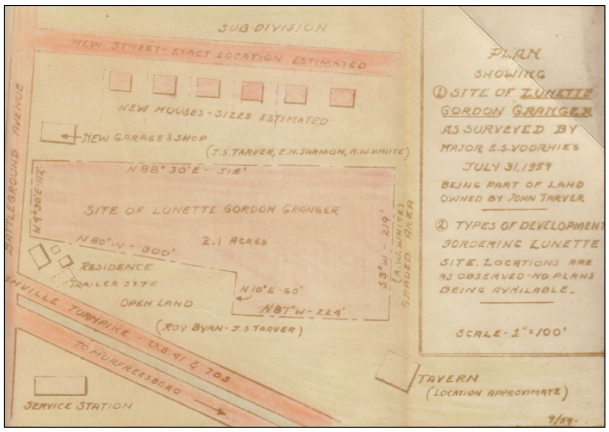


Figure 21 "Plan showing 1) Site of Lunette Gordon Granger as surveyed by E. S. Voorhies, July 31, 1959, being part of land owned by John Tarver 2) Types of development bordering lunette site," September 1959. Courtesy of STRI.

Local residents did support the NPS purchasing land near the Artillery Monument area because of its proximity to Confederate lines. Willett reported:

> There is a thought locally, which is true, that the park does not own any land over which the Confederate forces extended their battle lines. The land we own is all original federal positions. I think the local people interested in the park would like to have additional land acquired contigious [sic] to the Hazen Brigade and the Artillery Monument sites.[59]

What Willett did not mention to the regional director is that this area had been the focus of Confederate memorial efforts for much of the decade. Fraley states that the UDC targeted the Artillery Monument in the early 1950s as a problem area and "exerted an intriguing claim of ownership to this federal property based on their contention that the obelisk at this site was a Confederate memorial to the southern soldiers that died in a doomed assault against a Union artillery position here on January 2, 1863."[60] She indicates that this project had several phases. First, the UDC requested the state to improve Van Cleve Lane and install a historical marker. They then requested the railroad to repair the monument, even though it was owned by the federal government. They next asked the NPS to improve the entrance to the monument and stop interpreting the obelisk as a Union memorial.[61] Mrs. J. Bernard Alderson wrote to the NPS in 1952 specifically asking the park to change the Artillery Monument's photo caption in the publication that was given to visitors.[62] The NPS was reluctant to change its interpretation of the obelisk as a celebratory monument to that of a Confederate memorial, but NPS historians made an honest effort to research the matter.[63] Assistant Regional Director Daniel Tobin suggested the

58. Albert Gore to Conrad Wirth, letter, August 19, 1959, Conrad Wirth to Albert Gore, letter, September 1, 1959, James R. McConaghie to Regional Director, memorandum, "Report on 'Lunette Gordon Granger' proposed as an addition to Stones River National Military Park," September 16, 1959, E. M. Lisle to Wirth, memorandum, "Suggested Addition of 'Lunette Gordon Granger,' Stones River National Military Park," September 21, 1959, E .T. Scoyen to Gore, letter, October 27, 1959, Homer Pittard to Conrad Wirth, letter, January 13, 1969, Homer Pittard to Roger Ernst, letter, January 19, 1960; Roger Ernst to Homer Pittard, letter, February 4, 1960, and John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Suggested Addition of 'Lunette Gordon Granger,'" April 22, 1960, all Folder 111 L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

59. John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Boundary Recommendations, Stones River National Military Park," May 20, 1959, Folder 111 L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

60. Fraley, "Politics of Memory," 205.

61. Ibid., 206.

62. Mrs. J. Bernard Alderson to J. A. Krug, letter, April 17, 1952, Box 1553, Folder K3819 Publications, Service, Free Informational Literature, Stones River National Battlefield, 1949-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP. Alderson addresses her letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, but the letter was forwarded to NPS officials.

63. John Littleton, historian at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park researched the matter. For the report, see John Littleton to Superintendent Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, memorandum, "Report on Mendenhall Tract, Stones River NMP," June 30, 1952, Folder K3819 Publications, Service, Free Informational Literature, Stones River National Battlefield, 1949-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

neutral phrase, "Monument to the Last Charge at Stones River."[64] This position was politically astute, since visitors could interpret the monument as being a Union or Confederate monument that recognized the martial heroism of both sides.[65] Willett may or may not have known about the UDC's past efforts, but his work to include land near the Artillery Monument very much aided the UDC's desire to improve this area of the park as their own Confederate shrine on federal land in a manner similar to when they tried to open a UDC museum on the battlefield during the 1930s.

To acquire this land, the NPS needed Congressional action. Senator Estes Kefauver introduced Senate Bill 26280 on September 10, 1959, calling for the park's name to be changed from Stones River National Military Park to Stones River National Battlefield (STRI).[66] The legislation also called for a boundary expansion that included seven acres near the artillery monument. Kefauver's legislation did not pass, but Congressman Joe Evins introduced H.R. 9543 in the House of Representatives on January 12, 1960. With the help of Senator Albert Gore, Sr., the bill passed both House and Senate in March. President Eisenhower signed Public Law 86-443 on April 22, 1960, officially changing the park's name to Stones River National Battlefield (see Appendix C).[67]

64. Daniel Tobin to Director, memorandum, "Monument on Mendenhall Tract, Stones River NMP," July 7, 1952, Folder K3819 Publications, Service, Free Informational Literature, Stones River National Battlefield, 1949-1956, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

65. Fraley, "Politics of Memory," 209.

66. Park files do not indicate why a name change was desired. Land acquisition seemed to be the top priority. Hereafter, the park will be referred to as STRI, which is the four letter code used by the NPS.

67. John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, September 1959," October 6, 1959, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1960," February 5, 1960, Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 1960," and Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1960," all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; *An Act to Revise the Boundaries and Change the Name of Stones River National Military Park, Tennessee, and for Other Purposes of 1960*, Public Law 86-443, 86th Cong., 2nd sess. (April 22, 1960).

Park Master Plan and Mission 66 Development

The same month that the bill passed both houses of Congress, Willett submitted a final draft of the park's master plan to the regional office for review.[68] This master plan contained three volumes and was an expanded version of the prospectus. Here, Willett had the opportunity to flesh out the park's origin, the battle's historical significance, the park's current appearance and operations, and visitation patterns, all of which were used to inform the agency's design plans and operations recommendations.[69]

NPS officials put forth a number of specific policies that the park's development program should follow. Among these recommendations, NPS officials stated that the number of entrances for the park would be reduced. The Civil War would be adopted as the major theme, with natural history as a secondary theme, "only as it contributes to the historical scene." A small parcel of land near the Artillery Monument would be acquired because it was the most "climatic (sic) phase of the battle" and because it had frontage of Stones River. Interpretation would be mostly self-guided and visitors would be oriented at the visitor center. Woodland, pasture, and open fields would be established and maintained "to the extent necessary for proper interpretation."[70]

Willett did not remain at Stones River NB to see Mission 66 development through. He was promoted to Superintendent of Pea Ridge National Military Park in July 1960. Lawrence Quist replaced Willett as superintendent on August 24.[71] Quist brought his family with him and they moved into the superintendent's lodge. His eldest child enrolled in the first grade at a local school. During

68. Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 1960."

69. National Park Service, *Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Stones River National Military Park: Mission 66 Edition* (Murfreesboro, TN: Stones River National Military Park and National Park Service, April 9, 1960), Folder 40 D18 Master Plan Study, Series 1, Park Archive.

70. National Park Service, "Volume 1—Chapter 1, Objectives and Policies," Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Stones River National Military Park, April 9, 1960, 8-9, Folder 40 D18 Master Plan Study, Series 1, Park Archive.

71. Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1960."

his first week, he held an informal staff meeting over a Coca-Cola, which was followed by a sewage stoppage and water system failure—an indication that the park desperately needed some upgrades.[72]

Quist was the park biologist at Zion National Park when he was selected for the superintendency at Stones River. Staff at that park were just completing the new visitor center that year, the planning and construction of which must have been useful experience for Quist, who would be largely responsible for overseeing the Mission 66 development at Stones River NB during his tenure.[73] Quist inherited from Willett the park's master plan, which was a full draft but was still being adjusted as design and construction moved forward, including deliberations about the North-South Memorial. He also arrived in Murfreesboro as local and state Civil War centennial planning was in full swing. Despite his training as a biologist, he was thrust into Civil War centennial planning efforts that were happening agency-wide.

Like Willett, Quist was active with the local community. He immediately joined the Murfreesboro Lions Club and Chamber of Commerce. Quist also attended local Civil War roundtable meetings, although it does not appear that he was as active with the Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable as his predecessor.[74]

Quist stepped into the continued negotiations with the Smith heirs in acquiring the seven-acre tract near the Artillery Monument. This was an important tract for the NPS's Mission 66 development plan. Quist remarked that the farm buildings on the property "present a most undesirable view to the park visitor," but the NPS was only interested in acquiring a portion of unimproved land.[75] The NPS hoped to acquire the property for $1,500, but a 1961 appraisal placed the market value at $2,100.[76] Quist offered Mary Vaughter, the representative of the Ellis Smith heirs, $2,000, but the family declined. He remarked that the family would not accept less than twice the offered amount.[77] The regional office decided to move forward with condemnation proceedings.[78] On February 28, 1964, the court awarded the Smith family $7,500, to be paid by the National Park Service.[79]

Initially, the NPS hoped that the new development at Stones River National Battlefield would be completed in time for the battle's centennial in 1962, but that timeline quickly unraveled. The year 1961 was spent putting together project construction proposals and architects, engineers, and landscape architects from the regional office and EODC conducted site visits and surveys. In May 1962, Martindale Brothers Construction

72. Ibid.

73. Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 2000), under "Zion Visitor Center," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/allaback/vc6f.htm (accessed January 12, 2015).

74. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1960," November 2, 1960, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1961," February 7, 1961, and Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1962," February 7, 1962, all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

75. Lawrence Quist to Regional Director, memorandum, "Overlay for Master Plan Drawing, Artillery Monument Development Scheme," November 8, 1961, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

76. E. M. Lisle to Director, memorandum, "Proposed Acquisition of Seven Acres of Land for Addition to Stones River National Battlefield," March 31, 1961, Folder L1425 Acquisition and Disposal of Lands, Holdings other than Federal, Stones River National Battlefield, 1958-1963, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

77. Lawrence Quist to Regional Director, memorandum, "Proposed Acquisition of Land—Smith (Heirs) Property—Stones River National Battlefield," May 17, 1961, Folder L1425 Acquisition and Disposal of Lands, Holdings other than Federal, Stones River National Battlefield, 1958-1963, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

78. H. Reese Smith to Lawrence Quist, memorandum, "Proposed Acquisition of Smith Heirs Property, Stones River National Battlefield," June 6, 1961, Folder L1425 Acquisition and Disposal of Lands, Holdings other than Federal, Stones River National Battlefield, 1958-1963, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1971, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

79. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Narrative Monthly Narrative Report, February 1964," March 11, 1964, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

Company had the lowest bid on the visitor center and residences. Work commenced on the visitor center and tour road the next month. The tour road was completed in September and two residences were completed in November. The visitor center took a bit longer. It was opened to the public in May 1963. Construction for a third residence commenced in June and was completed in November. The visitor center was not formally dedicated until April 11, 1964.[80]

The NPS settled on a teardrop-shaped tour route completely contained within the park boundary. There was some discussion about the route direction. Should it be clockwise, in order to tell the story of the battle chronologically? Or counterclockwise, to avoid traffic crossings? NPS officials selected the counterclockwise route. Their reasoning was that the park was so small that it did not matter if the route was chronological.[81]

The Mission 66 program not only addressed visitor facility needs but staff housing issues as well. Many parks lacked housing and were often located in remote areas without towns or cities nearby. The housing that did exist often lacked modern amenities. As the country experienced the beginning of the baby boom, Wirth asked a group of employees' wives to look at the issue and provide recommendations. In fact, in November 1959, Ann Willett submitted a questionnaire on housing conditions at Stones River when the Willett family was living in the old superintendent's house.[82] The Martindale Company constructed three staff residences, all of which were one-story modern ranch homes (see Fig. 22). They were tucked in the northern end of the cemetery, within the cemetery's perimeter wall, near the superintendent's lodge. Backlund argues that these "sheltered" and "contained" homes mirrored not only American suburban living so popular at the time, but also reflected Cold War culture by emphasizing containment, American values, and the importance of the nuclear family.[83] The cemetery wall also segregated the white park employees from their African American neighbors.

The Willett family never got to enjoy the new house, but Superintendent Quist and his family moved into one of the new residences. They were soon joined by two other park employees and their families who occupied the other residences. Quist commented, “This makes for quite a community of Service personnel living in the area, and marks the first time that adequate, full-time, surveillance and protection for the area can be achieved.”[84] By having park employees living close to one another, this fortified Quist's desire that park staff work and act like a family while simultaneously ensuring security for themselves and park resources. Former park employee James Brown purchased and removed the superintendent's lodge in 1963.[85]



Figure 22 Staff Quarters. Photographed by Angela Sirna, February 2016.

The new visitor center was located across Highway 41, near the Chicago Board of Trade Battery site (see Fig. 23). The purpose of the building was to

80. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1962," May 8, 1962, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1962," November 7, 1962, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1963, June 6, 1963, David Daniels (Acting Superintendent), "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1963," July 11, 1963, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1963," December 12, 1963; Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1964," May 14, 1964, all Folder A2823 Superintendents’ Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield,"66-67.

81. Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 62-63.

82. James Sanders (Acting Superintendent), "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1959," December 4, 1959, Folder A2823 Superintendents’ Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

83. Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 64.

84. Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1963."

85. Daniels, "Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Report, June 1963."

orient visitors to the park, teach them "proper use" of the park, and provide a brief history of the battle through a museum exhibit and audiovisual presentation.[86] The building itself consisted of three main wings. Visitors entered a lobby, where a park ranger presumably greeted them. They could continue on to the museum exhibit space beyond the lobby or go to an auditorium to watch a slide presentation. The other wing held administrative offices and restrooms. The basement doubled as a fall-out shelter (see Fig. 24). Made from reinforced concrete the basement/fallout shelter could hold up to one hundred people. This feature certainly was indicative of Cold War culture.[87]



Figure 23 Visitor Center at Stones River National Battlefield, April 1965. Source: Tennessee Department of Conservation Photograph Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

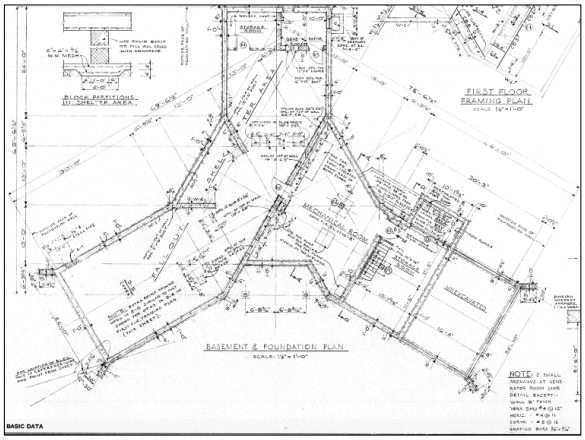


Figure 24 "As Built Drawings Basement & Foundation and Other Details, Visitor Center, Headquarters Area, Stones River National Battlefield," Drawing 3004 E, by Lukens, EODC, National Park Service, July 25, 1963. Courtesy of E-TIC.

A team at Harpers Ferry Center for the visitor center completed the museum exhibits and Bearss assisted with research.[88] Quist was happy with the exhibits, commenting, "The story was humanized and made more meaningful to a layman."[89] In his study on interpretation at Stones River NB, historian Jeff Sellers found that Mission 66 interpretation was "characterized by a narrow battle-only scope with courage, honor, and sacrifice as the emphasized ideals," and was very much a product of Cold War culture.[90] These themes were reflected in the museum exhibits, which included panels on Confederate commander Braxton Bragg and Union commander William Rosecrans, loneliness and homesickness felt by soldiers during the Christmas of 1862, and the "Battle of the Bands," when musicians of both armies allegedly played "Home Sweet Home" together. Texts about Confederate loss were tempered by statements pointing out its cavalry's skill and capability. Individual sacrifice and valor were highlighted in a dramatic and poignant display of one of the medals of honor earned during the battle. Exhibit panels were supplemented by an audio-visual slide presentation that did little to explain the battle's causes or consequences. Again, the themes of bravery, sacrifice, and valor were evoked. The show ended with a slide of a white family enjoying the battlefield, highlighting the importance of the nuclear family in Cold War America.[91]

Civil War Centennial

Centennial observances for the battle for Stones River New Year's Eve 1962 to January 2, 1963 were understated in comparison to national commemorative activities. A group of fifty people attended a brief ceremony in the national cemetery, sponsored by the NBFWCRT, on New

86. Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 61.

87. Ibid.

88. Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1962."

89. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1961," July 7, 1961, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

90. Jeffrey Sellers, "Battle for the High Ground: The Challenge of Expanding the Interpretation at Stones River National Battlefield," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2010, 37.

91. Ibid., 40-43.

Year's Day 1963.[92] This relatively small ceremony was much more subdued than the events that occurred at other NPS sites, like the pageantry at Fort Sumter or the "sham battle" at Manassas. The low-key programming at Stones River National Battlefield can be easily attributed to winter weather or—a more likely reason—preoccupation with development plans. However, Robert Cook's *Troubled Commemoration*: *The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* indicates that there may have been additional reasons that can best be understood in a national context.

Planning for national observances began enthusiastically in the 1950s, drawing in both amateur historians and scholars. NPS Director Conrad Wirth suggested a national body be organized to coordinate events and work closely with NPS Civil War sites. President Eisenhower signed a joint congressional resolution in September 1957, creating an official U.S. Civil War Centennial Committee (CWCC), headed by Ulysses S. Grant's grandson, Ulysses S. Grant III. The NPS was assigned to help the CWCC undertake its centennial plans. Many states also set up commissions and encouraged local communities to follow suit. Although there was a national body providing leadership, centennial activities were largely decentralized, which allowed for both official and vernacular expressions of Civil War commemoration.[93]

With Grant as chair, the CWCC's conservative approach to the centennial was an exercise in Cold War nationalism that emphasized consensus, dignity, and pageantry to promote patriotism and ease sectional tensions.[94] The commission also left space for Lost Cause observances of the war so as not to antagonize southern states. Historian Michael Kammen asserted that these centennial observances fit within a larger pattern in American history and culture, which he called "heritage syndrome," a "predictable…impulse to remember what is attractive or flattering and ignore all the rest."[95] Furthermore, Cold War patriotism propelled Americans to make "pilgrimages" to Civil War sites as part of their civic duty, which were made easier by the automobile.[96]

Local citizens in Rutherford County had similar enthusiasm and desires in 1959, which Superintendent Willett attempted to manage. A contingent of local residents met with him and suggested reenacting the Battle of Stones River for the one hundredth anniversary. He countered that a permanent memorial might be a better idea. The group proposed a "North-South Memorial" to honor the twenty-one states that had soldiers in the battle. The regional office suggested incorporating this memorial into the visitor center.[97] NPS designers came up with the idea for a North-South Memorial Room with a Hall of Flags. They developed two different designs that incorporated this space into the visitor center. The first included the flags around the perimeter of a rectangular-shaped lobby.[98] The second placed each flag in a niche in a circular "Memorial Room" situated between the museum and lobby (see Fig. 25). An overhead light shone down on each flag in this design. NPS reviewers in the Interpretation Division were not in favor of the flag concept. One reviewer commented that a flag on display "will not make a good showing in a limp, furled position around the staff. In order to demand dignity and have the design seen, a flag must be unfurled."[99] To

92. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1963," February 9, 1963, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

93. Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2007), 15, 24-26, 30-35.

94. Ibid., 31, 37.

95. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 626.

96. Ibid., 547-48.

97. John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Dwg. No. NMP-3004 A, North-South Memorial, Stones River National Military Park," November 20, 1959, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

98. This design was found at the National Archives at College Park, MD. Unfortunately, the drawing was too large to photograph and could not be found in E-TIC. Project Historian Angela Sirna was able to photograph portions of the drawing, which are included in her notes. "Drawing No. NMP: SR 3004, North-South Memorial, Stones River National Military Park," EODC, National Park Service, July, 27, 1959, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

99. E. D. Merrill, note, November 9, 1959, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and

others, the flags lacked interpretive purpose if just left alone in the stand. NPS Chief Historian Ronald Lee suggested incorporating this feature into something more functional, such as an auditorium with special audio-visual equipment.[100] After receiving these unfavorable comments and noticing that the group had not raised substantial funds up to that point, the Washington Office decided to develop another design that separated the Memorial Room from the visitor center and placed it adjacent to the facility (see Fig. 26). That way, construction of the visitor center could move forward and the North-South Memorial could be built once the funds were raised. This design came at a higher price tag of $31,000, as compared to the $21,000 estimate for the previous designs. The Washington Office certainly did not make it easier for the group to raise funds.[101]

Centennial planning efforts by members of the NBFCWRT boosted local enthusiasm for the North-South Memorial.[102] Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington promised $10,000 toward the project with the idea that the twenty-one states to be represented in the memorial would each donate $500 to the cause, but then the NPS raised the price to $21,000 and again to $31,000.[103] Momentum for the project slowed, particularly when John Willett was promoted to Superintendent of Pea Ridge National Battlefield.[104] It does not appear that the group made any significant headway in raising funds for the project. When Lawrence Quist became superintendent, he reported, "None of the local interested parties, those who originated the idea, have contacted me about the Memorial."[105] He asked the Regional Director, "Is it best to 'let a sleeping dog lie'?" He offered, "My feelings on the Memorial are middle ground, except on this point: I would not want to try to get this project off the ground again and possibly impede the progress, design and construction, of the visitor center here at Stones River." Quist must have let sleeping dogs lie, because the North-South Memorial never made it past the design stage. However, the entire project conception is indicative of how local groups sought to memorialize the Civil War during the centennial by focusing on valor, patriotism, and sectional reconciliation, and how the NPS sought to mediate that memorialization by marrying design with interpretation.

Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

100. E. M. Lisle to John Willett, memorandum, "North-South Memorial," October 15, 1959, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

101. Merel Sager to Acting Chief of Design and Construction, memorandum, "Drawing No. 3004-A, North-South Memorial, Stones River," January 12, 1960, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

102. Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1959"; John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1959," November 3, 1959, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1959," January 4, 1960, John Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1960," June 4, 1960, and James Sanders (Acting Superintendent), "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, July 1960," August 9, 1960, all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

103. John Willett to Regional Director, memorandum, "Dwg. No. NMP-3004 A, North-South Memorial, Stones River National Military Park," November 20, 1959.

104. Willett was assigned to Pea Ridge National Military Park in Arkansas, a new Civil War park created thanks to public interest in the centennial. He remained there until August 1963, when he was assigned the superintendency of Petersburg National Military Park. He remained there until 1968. Harold Danz, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, rev. ed. (Denver: National Park Service, 2000), under "Park Superintendents," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm (accessed August 1, 2016). Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 264.

105. Lawrence Quist to Regional Director, memorandum, "North-South Memorial," October 17, 1960, Folder D18 Planning Program, including Development Outline and Master Plan: Stones River National Military Park, 1957-1961, Records Concerning Master Plans and Construction Programs, 1957-1961, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

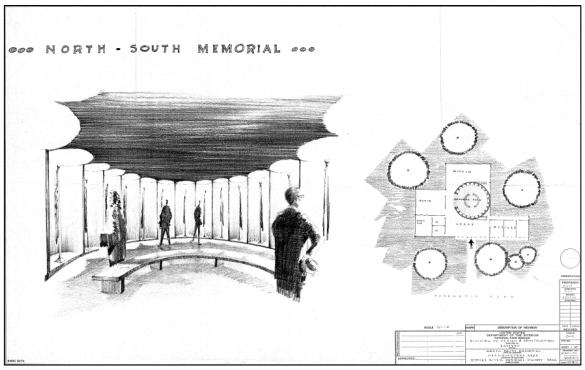


Figure 25 "North-South Memorial" Drawing, EODC, No. 3004 A. Courtesy of E-TIC.

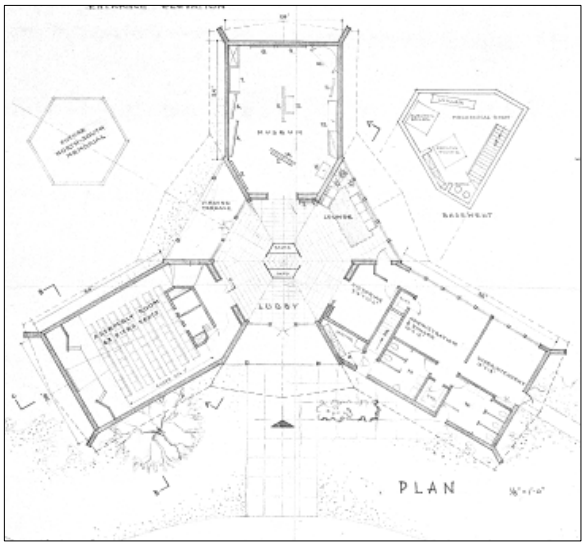


Figure 26 Visitor Center Plan, EODC, 1961. Courtesy of E-TIC.

National centennial activities also hit a snag with intense southern resistance to integration. The CWCC could not escape the issue of segregation when planning its assembly in Charleston, South Carolina, for the one hundredth anniversary of the bombardment on Fort Sumter in April 1961. Some northern state commissions had a handful of African American members, including Madaline Williams who was part of the New Jersey Civil War Commission. The New Jersey commission refused to attend the assembly in Charleston if Mrs. Williams could not be accommodated at the official hotel, the whites-only Francis Marion Hotel. Other northern commissions followed suit when the CWCC made no change. With the help of the Kennedy administration, the assembly was moved to an integrated U.S. Naval base in Charleston so that all could attend. But the damage had been done, according to Cook. The CWCC was never able to regain the momentum it lost in Charleston.[106]

Interest in the centennial waned in the South the last three years of the centennial, due to a number of factors. Funding for centennial activities fell, and some state commissions like Tennessee operated with few funds. Cook asserted that it was tough for commissions to keep the public interested in activities that were scheduled to take place over the course of four years. Some planners seemed inclined to rest on the success of the 1961 events, like the popular reenactments at Manassas. Lastly, Confederate memory only had limited utility among southern segregationists who saw themselves as loyal Americans. Despite the decline in interest, observances of important military engagements in the South, like the Battle of Stones River, occurred, but usually on a much smaller scale.[107]

Individuals and organizations formed the Rutherford County Civil War Centennial Committee sometime in 1959 to carry out local observances, while NPS administrators focused their energy on improving park infrastructure. Homer Pittard served on this committee and also was appointed to the state commission. Pittard's papers indicate that before 1962, the park was the center for county commemoration plans, as demonstrated by the plans for the North-South Memorial. According to Pittard, Lawrence Quist seemed reluctant to cooperate because of ongoing construction at the park. But perhaps the committee's interest in the battlefield declined when progress on the North-South Memorial stalled and national interest in centennial events declined after 1962.[108]

Many of the cooperating organizations that did support centennial activities in Rutherford County had a Confederate focus, which certainly shaped local programming. Member organizations included the NBFCWRT, Oaklands Association, UDC, Dixie Muzzle-Loading Association, Sam Davis Association, and Association for Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities. The county committee planned a series of events that centered

106. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration,* 59-62, 88-121.

107. Ibid., 201-11.

108. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 221-22.

around the one hundredth anniversary of Forrest's Raid on Murfreesboro on July 13, 1862. They also held a book exhibit, costume luncheon, memorial service for Confederates, parade, costume ball, musket-firing contest, and Sam Davis Pageant. Fraley points out that memorializing Union dead was not among the listed events, indicating that Confederate memory was prevalent in the centennial activities and the African American view of the war was virtually ignored. She also notes that women were relegated to supportive roles that reinforced gender norms.[109]

Quist was not altogether absent from local observances and did utilize his local network of business leaders and professionals, many of whom were members of these cooperating organizations, to help plan the dedication for the visitor center. The dedication ceremony itself, held on April 11, 1964, was sponsored by the NPS, NBFCWRT, and Rutherford Chamber of Commerce.[110] NPS leadership encouraged these types of partnerships, but cautioned Quist that it was important to "hold the reins" on the event to ensure it met NPS standards.[111] Tennessee Governor Frank Clement gave the keynote address (see Fig. 27). New NPS Director George Hartzog Jr., Conrad Wirth's successor, attended the ceremony and dedicated the park's new improvements. Local women helped coordinate refreshments for the dignitaries and attendees (see Fig. 28). Local coverage of the event was underwhelming although three hundred people attended.[112]



Figure 27 "Tennessee Governor Frank G. Clement Addressing Spectators at the Dedication Ceremony," April 11, 1964. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 28 Eleven women standing behind refreshment table at visitor center dedication ceremony, April 11, 1964. Photographer unknown. This photo reinforces Fraley's argument that women were relegated to subordinate roles during Civil War centennial commemorative activities in Rutherford County. Courtesy of STRI.

On October 24, 1965, Quist was promoted to be the first Superintendent of Herbert Hoover Birthplace in West Branch, Iowa.[113] Sherman Perry, supervisory historian for Kings Mountain National Battlefield in North Carolina, entered duty as superintendent on December 4, 1965.[114] The

109. Ibid. 221-24.

110. Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1963"; Daniels, "Superintendent's Monthly, June 1963."

111. Quoted in Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield," 67.

112. Ibid., 67; Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 227.

113. Quist remained superintendent at Herbert Hoover National Historic Site until 1969. He then became head of public relations at Yosemite National Park from 1969 to 1971. He finished the rest of his 33-year tenure with the NPS in the Western Regional Office, where he continued to work in public relations. Franklyn Hambly (Acting Superintendent), "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1965," November 3, 1965, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Cong. Rec. 106th Cong., 2d sees., 2000, 146, pt.84, https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/CREC-2000-06-28/CREC-2000-06-28-pt1-PgE1133-3 (accessed January 10, 2016); Danz, *Historic Listing of NPS Officials,* under "Park Superintendents."

114. Perry began his NPS career as a clerk at Morristown National Historical Park and moved on to be an administrative assistant at George Washington Birthplace. He was supervisory historian at Kings Mountain National Military Park when he was selected for the superintendency of Stones River National Battlefield. Ron Cockrell, *Grand Portage National Monument: An Administrative History*

transfer of Quist signaled that the construction period of Mission 66 was close to an end and so was the Civil War centennial.

The Great Society: Civil Rights and Antipoverty Programs

The year 1964 brought some important changes for the National Park Service and Stones River National Battlefield. Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall and NPS Director George Hartzog were responsible for implementing a broad social and economic agenda set forth by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who took office in November 1963 after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Johnson's administration proposed legislation that focused on civil rights and equalizing economic opportunity among all Americans, collectively referred to as the "Great Society." Parks like Stones River National Battlefield played a role in implementing those policies.

As Jim Crow segregation deepened in the South, cemetery and park superintendents followed southern conventions and Washington administrators looked the other way. The Civil Rights Movement brought pressure to park administrators to desegregate the national cemetery in particular. Other national cemeteries, including Arlington National Cemetery, had desegregated in 1948, after President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which ordered the integration of the Armed Forces.[115] Other national cemeteries located in the South did not comply so readily. For example, in 1961, the NPS decided to close Vicksburg National Cemetery, which was near capacity, to future interments even though 80 acres were available outside the cemetery's boundaries. Local veterans' organizations did not protest the closure at Vicksburg, because they were informed that future burials would be integrated. Richard Meyers, who wrote an administrative history of Vicksburg National Cemetery in 1968, alluded that white locals preferred to close the national cemetery, rather than be buried next to an African American.[116] This mirrored other occasions during this period when white Americans chose to close public spaces instead of integrating, such as swimming pools.

Relations between the NPS and African American relatives of veterans buried at Stones River National Cemetery were strained in the 1960s due to segregation policies. The cemetery was prone to flooding in some areas, but Section Q, the African American section, was more susceptible to flooding than Section P, an area reserved for whites. In 1964, the national cemetery allowed burials in Section P, but not Q because it was so badly flooded, causing much anger from African Americans who felt the sharp sting of segregation. The regional office instructed the park to desegregate the national cemetery pursuant to the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Flooding remained a problem in the national cemetery, but desegregating the national cemetery was a step forward.[117]

The NPS had a pretty dismal record of hiring African Americans, women, or other minorities, but in the 1960s and 1970s Secretary Udall and Director Hartzog focused on correcting these issues. In 1962, Secretary of Interior Udall tried to improve these conditions by sending recruiters to Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) to find seasonal employees to work in parks across the country that summer. About half of those appointed had second thoughts and did not show up for their assignment. It was likely an overwhelming prospect of probably being the first and only black person working at a national park. Udall ran these initial efforts from his own office, but Director Wirth neither helped nor hindered his initiatives. Udall expected Director Hartzog to lead a much more concerted effort, which he did of his own volition. Hartzog placed pressure on his

(1982; Omaha, NE: National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, 1983), under "Appendix E: List of National Park Service Personnel at Grand Portage National Monument, Minnesota," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/grpo/adhiae.htm (accessed January 5, 2016); Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1965," January 10, 1966, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

115. "Black History at Arlington National Cemetery," U.S. Army, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Notable-Graves/Minorities/Black-History-at-ANC, accessed July 11, 2016.

116. Richard Meyers, *The Vicksburg National Cemetery: Vicksburg National Military Park, An Administrative History* (Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, 1968), 197-99.

117. Fraley, "The Politics of Memory," 226-27.

subordinates to do the same.[118] In May 1965, before he left for Herbert Hoover Birthplace, Superintendent Quist accompanied a personnel specialist to Fisk University, a HBCU in Nashville, to recruit students to work for the NPS.[119] Sherman Perry also met with Fisk personnel during his first year on the job.[120] It does not appear these students were hired to work at Stones River National Battlefield, but their actions indicate that they were trying to meet Hartzog's vision for a diverse NPS workforce and commitment to Johnson's equal rights agenda.

President Johnson made ending poverty a key component to his 1964 legislative program. Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, which created a number of programs to be organized under the new Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Johnson called upon federal agencies to help implement these programs when possible. The NPS was already involved in planning the Job Corps program, a residential job-training program for low-income young men modeled after the New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps, as the bill moved through Congress. Luis Gastellum, the agency's Job Corps Conservation Center Officer, saw a great deal of possibility in other programs created by the EOA, particularly as they related to Johnson's special message to Congress on "Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty."[121] Gastellum wrote to Hartzog:

> The fact that the President's message on Natural Beauty followed so closely after the launching of the Anti-Poverty Program leads me to believe that a very strong argument can be made that we can accomplish a great deal in conservation of our natural resources while at the same time conserving or rehabilitating our human resources.[122]

Gastellum believed the NPS was in a "strategic" position to provide aid for the War on Poverty because its work in environmental conservation and recreational development was ripe with possibilities for public projects for disadvantaged youth.

Beginning in 1965, Stones River National Battlefield participated in two antipoverty programs, the Youth Opportunity Campaign (YOC) and Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). President Johnson announced the YOC (also called the President's Youth Opportunity "Back-to-School Drive") in June 1965, the purpose of which was to help unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 21 find summer jobs so that they might return to school.[123] Johnson and liberal policymakers attributed lack of education to be a root cause of poverty, so giving youth the financial stability to return to school was a primary goal. Johnson urged federal agencies to do their part and create summer positions. That month, Stones River National Battlefield hired two YOC workers who helped with park maintenance throughout the summer. Quist commented that the exit interviews with these workers indicated that the program did help them. He hoped that the program would be renewed the next summer.[124] It was renewed, and

118. Mengak, *Reshaping Our National Parks and Their Guardians,* 74; William Everhart and Janet McDonnell*, Oral History Interview with George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service 1964-1972* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2007), 14-16.

119. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1965," June 10, 1965, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

120. Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1966," December 7, 1966, Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

121. For that message, see "Special Message to the Congress on Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty," Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1966): 1:155-65, http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/650208.asp (accessed January 8, 2016).

122. Luis Gastellum to Director, memorandum, "Service Participation in Various Programs of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964," March 8, 1965, Folder A98 Neighborhood Youth Corps, Administrative Files of the Job Corps Program, 1964-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

123. Lyndon Johnson, "Remarks on the Youth Opportunity Campaign," June 3, 1965, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=27016 (accessed January 5, 2016); Department of Interior Office of the Secretary, "Personnel Management Bulletin No. 66-59 (300)," May 2, 1966, Folder A98 Neighborhood Youth Corps, Administrative Files of the Job Corps Program, 1964-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

124. Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1966," July 12, 1966, and Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1966," September 8, 1966, both Folder A2615 Monthly Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries,

although Quist was no longer at the park, Sherman Perry continued hosting the program and hired an additional four YOC workers. Perry commented, "This program has been a big help to the Park, as well as giving the boys a work experience."[125] This began the park's participation in antipoverty programming.

The NYC program was created by the EOA in 1964 and administered by the OEO. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park was the first park in the NPS to utilize this program by bringing in participants from the Chattanooga NYC to work in the park in 1965, and the NPS was very pleased with the results.[126] Secretary of Interior Udall reportedly read the report on the Chattanooga NYC and wrote a note saying, “Excellent, let’s do this everywhere we can.”[127] In May 1966, the Washington Office requested regional offices to review park projects and put together a list of parks suitable to the NYC program; Stones River was identified as being able to support ten NYC workers.[128] That same month, Superintendent Perry and Historian Dutcher visited Chickamauga-Chattanooga NMP to discuss the program with park management. The NYC was similar to the YOC because it targeted youth between the ages of 16 and 21 with the intention of providing work experience and training. While the YOC was paid for by the host agency, 90 percent of funding for a NYC worker came from the OEO and the other 10 percent from the sponsor organization.[129] As the Washington Office explained, “Essentially, this program can furnish a very usable work force for little more than the cost of supervision.”[130] NYC workers came from nearby communities and lived at home, which meant is was better suited for parks that had nearby towns or cities.

In November 1966, Stones River received its first group of NYC workers. Immediately, Perry noticed that this group was different from the YOC workers.

> The first of the NYC group of boys arrived for work at Stones River. The number of boys has varied all the way up to fourteen on the payroll. The Department of Labor pays the salaries. All Stones River has to do is supply a place to work, the tools to work with, and the supervision. We are not dealing with inanimate objects, but with disadvantaged youth which has presented some serious problems. However, as we begin to communicate through the torturous task of learning about these boys' feelings, we believe we cannot only add to the conservation movement of the National Park Service, but of a larger conservation movement of possibly aiding these boys to be a credit to the United States.[131]

Two months later, Perry reported on the NYC's progress:

> The NYC boys have been with us nearly two months now. Absenteeism is pretty high, especially after pay day. Because these boys are special cases, we have not released them but have tried to counsel them as to proper work habits. Although frustrating at times, we may be doing some good as two of the original enrollees now have permanent positions in private industry.[132]

Perry's comments indicate that the NPS was ill-equipped to handle the challenges of working with disadvantaged youth, but the park did see a measure of improvement.

Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

125. Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1966," June 7, 1966, Folder A2615 Monthly Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

126. John O. Cook to Dalton Roberts, memorandum, “Evaluation of the NYC,” June 24, 1965, Folder A98 Neighborhood Youth Corps, Administrative Files of the Job Corps Program, 1964-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

127. Luis Gastellum, “Special Report to the Director,” June 23, 1965, Folder A98 Neighborhood Youth Corps, Administrative Files of the Job Corps Program, 1964-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

128. A. C. Stratton to All Regional Directors, memorandum, “Service Participation in the Neighborhood Youth Corps,” May 27, 1966, and National Park Service, “Areas Where Neighborhood Youth Corps Can be Effectively Utilized by the National Park Service,” May 1966, Folder A98 Neighborhood Youth Corps, Administrative Files of the Job Corps Program, 1964-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

129. Department of Interior Office of the Secretary, "Personnel Management Bulletin No. 66-59 (300)."

130. Stratton to All Regional Directors, memorandum, “Service Participation in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.”

131. Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1966."

132. Sherman Perry, “Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Report, December 1966,” January 5, 1967, Folder A2615 Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

In contrast, Perry commented that the "Back to School" boys were a "wonderful help to the park." They seemed easier to manage than the NYC workers. Perry enthusiastically reported that one YOC worker, who had been at the park for more than a year as a Student Aid, won an eight-week scholarship for training and a scholarship to Fisk University.[133] Perry complained that the NYC program was "at times most frustrating"[134] due to absenteeism and discipline issues.[135] However, some NYC participants did go back to school or find permanent jobs, indicating that the program was meeting Johnson's goal. The park did hire one of the YOC workers, James Dattilo, who was a disabled college student.[136] Perry's comments and characterizations of both programs raise questions about the selection process between the two programs. Why did the park have better success with the YOC than the NYC?

NPS involvement in key Great Society antipoverty programs declined as the Johnson administration fell out of favor due to domestic unrest at home over foreign intervention, racial violence, and its inability to solve poverty issues. President Richard Nixon reduced several programs, including the Job Corps. His administration closed all but three of the NPS Job Corps Centers.[137] It is likely that Nixon discontinued the YOC program, but he did keep the NYC. Despite its challenges, Stones River staff continued to utilize the NYC program until 1973. Park administrators requested workers for 1974, but none were sent for reasons unknown. The program was discontinued in 1975.[138]

End of Mission 66 and Centennial Observances

The last centennial event at Stones River National Battlefield coincided with the agency's fiftieth anniversary in August 1966. The Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission led an effort to place a monument at Stones River National Battlefield to honor the state's volunteers that fought there. Michigan was the first and only state to place a monument at the battlefield, in stark contrast to other Civil War battlefields that are liberally marked with state monuments. The commission negotiated the location, design, and text for the monument with the NPS and then acquired funding from the state legislature. Fraley points out that the park used this marker's dedication on July 1, 1966, not only to honor the sacrifice of Michigan soldiers that fought at the battle, but also the agency's preservation efforts over the previous fifty years to save places from the "ravages of time" and "thoughtless waste."[139] Unfortunately, rain forced dedication activities to be moved from the marker site to a nearby school. Attendees enjoyed music from the 101st Army Airborne Division Band and an address from NPS Assistant Regional Director Charles Marshall.[140] A reception followed (see Fig. 29). The park marked the agency's fiftieth anniversary a month later by offering refreshments at the visitor center (see Fig. 30).

133. Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1967," June 7, 1966, Folder A2615 Monthly Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

134. Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1967," February 11, 1967, Folder A2615 Monthly Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

135. One incident occurred on June 26, 1967, when one NYC boy was part of a group arrested for throwing firecrackers at "minority race members." The judge warned the group that such actions could spark a riot, which is evidence of the anxiety Americans felt towards the consequences of racial unrest. Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1966"; Sherman Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1967," July 7, 1967, Folder A2615 Monthly Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1966-67, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP.

136. Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1967."

137. Irwin Unger, *The Best of Intentions: The Triumphs and Failures of the Great Society Under Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 200, 203, 22, 284; Allen Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984), 171; "News Release from Department of Labor: Plans Announced for Closing of Centers," Gap Gazette, May 1969, 21, Folder 10, Box 2, Subseries 1, Series 7, Cumberland Gap National Historical Park Archive, Middlesboro, KY.

138. James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1974," February 21, 1975, and James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975," February 17, 1976, both "Superintendent's Annual Reports" binder, Park Administrative Files.

139. Fraley, "Politics of Memory," 228.

140. Ibid., 228-29.



Figure 29 Superintendent Sherman Perry, Mrs. Perry, and Tennessee Secretary of State Joe C. Carr talk during reception following Michigan Marker dedication, July 1, 1966. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 30 Refreshment table in visitor center for the NPS's fiftieth anniversary, August 25, 1966. Card says "National Park Service 1916-1966." Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

Park Staffing

When John T. Willett arrived to assume the superintendency in 1957, he had the assistance of a two permanent laborers and a clerk. He hired Parks Randolph, a graduate student, as a seasonal "Ranger-Historian," who provided intermittent interpretive services. The Laborer positions were reclassified to "Caretaker" in 1960.[141]

Under Lawrence Quist's tenure, the NPS was able to hire additional staff. The park reclassified the GS-4 Clerk position to a GS-5 Administrative Aid, which was filled by David J. Daniels in 1961. The Administrative Aid position was upgraded again in 1963, to a GS-7. In 1962, Quist hired a full-time historian, Donald Mawson, who came to the park in November 1962 from Tumacacori National Monument. Richard Denny was named to the Caretaker position in May 1963, and was promoted to the position of "Maintenanceman" in February 1964. In March 1964, Quist hired Frances McPeak as a GS-3 temporary Clerk (Typist). A month later, Quist hired Shirley Keathley, daughter-in-law to Dr. Belt Keathley at MTSC, as a seasonal historian. She began researching and developing an interpretive program on Civil War music.[142]

Several important personnel changes occurred after the visitor center dedication in April 1964. Historian Donald Mawson transferred to Joliet Arsenal in Illinois in August 1964 and was replaced by Barbara Sorrill, a student-trainee at Colonial National Park. Sherman Perry replaced Lawrence Quist as superintendent in December 1965. Sorrill remained at the park less than a year before transferring to Fort Leavenworth in May 1965. Historian David Dutcher from Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park transferred to Stones River in June 1965. That same month, Administrative Assistant David Daniels transferred to Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park.[143]

Historian Dutcher may have been the first STRI staff person to attend the brand new Horace Albright Training Center at Grand Canyon National Park. The center was first established in 1957 at Yosemite National Park, before moving to the Grand Canyon in 1963. There, permanent NPS employees could receive specialized training and learn about the agency and its mission. Dutcher spent eleven weeks there. However, he only

141. Willett, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1960."

142. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 1961," April 3, 1961, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1962," December 11, 1962, Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Narrative Monthly Narrative Report, March 1964," April 9, 1964, all Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1963"; Quist, "Superintendent's Narrative Monthly Narrative Report, February 1964"; Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1964."

143. Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1964," September 9, 1964, and Lawrence Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1965," July 12, 1965, both Folder A2823 Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports, Stones River National Battlefield, 1956-1965, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-1969, Records of the NPS, RG 79, NACP; Quist, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May 1965."

remained at STRI until December 1966, when he left for a position at Castillo San Marcos National Monument. Shirley Keathley was appointed to the historian position in June 1967.[144]

Unfortunately, there is a gap in the superintendent's reports between 1967 and 1972, so it is unknown what personnel changes occurred during this time. But between Willett's tenure and the first few years of Perry's administration, the park saw the addition of a ranger-historian and upgrades to the administrative and maintenance positions.

Conclusion

Perry and his family suffered a devastating loss on January 14, 1967, when Benjamin Elliott Perry, his six-year old son, was struck and killed by a vehicle 87 feet north of the park boundary on Old Nashville Highway.[145] The Perry family remained at Stones River National Battlefield until 1971, when Sherman was promoted to superintendent of Grand Portage National Monument.[146] Perry was the last of four superintendents involved in planning and executing the Mission 66 program and centennial events at Stones River National Battlefield. His departure marked the end of that era.

Park staff at Stones River National Battlefield were largely inward looking, concentrating on the physical development of the Mission 66 program at the park. As Backlund has pointed out, these efforts very much invoked Cold War culture and themes of patriotism, Cold War "containment," and nurturing the nuclear family. However, the agency's preoccupation with itself during Mission 66 meant that staff were not looking outward for the Civil War centennial activities. Instead, dominant community members, who were white, male, and often sympathetic to Lost Cause ideology, set the tone for Rutherford County's Civil War centennial observances, as demonstrated so well by Fraley's research. The NPS did not let these groups, most notably the NBFCWRT, completely usurp centennial planning, but the agency did not incorporate black counter-memories in the observances either. In the end, centennial observances at the battlefield were mostly about Cold War patriotism, Mission 66, and new development, not about the legacies of the war.

By 1964, larger forces in American society outpaced the NPS. The burgeoning Civil Rights Movement derailed centennial observances, exposed the agency's lack of diversity among its ranks, and shone light on the agency's discriminatory policies. The growing environmental movement provided a strong critique to the Mission 66 program. Environmentalists believed the NPS was overdeveloping national parks and threatening the very resources the agency purported to protect. The NPS also found itself involved in antipoverty programming, much like it had been during the New Deal, but ill-equipped to deal with the social complexities of systemic poverty.

Despite these shortcomings, the Mission 66 period was truly transformative for Stones River National Battlefield in the physical sense. It essentially became a new park with a brand new visitor center, tour road, staff houses, and additional land at the artillery monument. When Superintendent Jim Sanders reported for duty several years later, in 1974, he felt as though he had inherited a brand new park.[147]

144. Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1965"; Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1966"; Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1967."

145. Perry, "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January 1967."

146. Cockrell, *Grand Portage National Monument: An Administrative History,* "Appendix E."

147. James Sanders Interview by Angela Sirna, Phone Interview, October 20, 2015.

Chapter Five

Preserving the Greater Battlefield, 1971-1980

If Cold War patriotism was driving park interpretation and development during the 1950s and 1960s, Stones River National Battlefield took a left hand turn in the 1970s, to follow the modern environmental movement. Park staff embraced environmental education as a way to connect new audiences to the park's resources. This new approach stemmed partly from larger changes in the agency spurred by environmentalists' critiques of the Mission 66 program and new environmental policies enacted by Congress. But the park's focus on environmental education also reflected local concerns as the park faced ever increasing urban pressures that threatened the rural quality of the area.

The 1970s ushered in a decade of more participatory visitor engagement—a significant departure from the civic pilgrimages that defined the Mission 66 years at the battlefield. Park staff organized youth and volunteer programs. They expanded the park's living history program, which allowed volunteers to participate in various Civil War programs. They also saw visitors using the park more for recreational pursuits, such as hiking, camping, running, walking, and biking.

Mission 66 did much to update park facilities, but it failed to address some key issues. Park planners never resolved the entrance issue, which was made worse by the opening of I-24 in 1970. The NPS closed Stones River National Cemetery to further interments, but flooding remained a major concern. Urban development continued to encroach upon the park and diminished the battlefield's viewshed. In 1974, the NPS funded a new General Management Plan (GMP) for Stones River National Battlefield, which it hoped would address some of these issues, including urban encroachment. An aggressive land acquisition program reveals the park's concern for the "greater battlefield" and efforts toward landscape preservation.

Environmental Education

Despite being a conservation agency, the NPS was slow to take up the growing environmental movement that gained traction in the 1960s. Because the NPS had a strong association with the profession of landscape architecture, park managers came to accept façadism, or maintaining the appearance of nature, rather than ecological integrity.[1] Conrad Wirth, like NPS directors Mather and Albright before him, believed that parks must have modern visitor conveniences to ensure their preservation. National parks desperately needed Mission 66's facility upgrades, but environmentalists grew concerned that the NPS was overdeveloping these places.[2] The modern environmental movement was gaining grassroots support from Americans who were becoming increasingly concerned for the dangers of pollution, urbanization, overpopulation, and diminishing natural areas. Public criticism was compounded by two reports published in 1963 by the Special Board to the Secretary of the Interior on Wildlife Management and the National Academy of the Sciences. More commonly known as the "Leopold Report," after principal author A. Starker Leopold, the Special Board on Wildlife Management found that the NPS needed to do a

1. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997; repr., New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 69-82.

2. Ibid.,185-191.

much better job in recognizing the diverse biological communities within parks and base management practices on scientific research. The NAS similarly found that the NPS needed to incorporate ecological thinking into its management practices.[3] Congress followed public concern and recommendations from the science community by passing an impressive amount of environmental legislation from 1964 to 1973, including the National Wilderness Protection Act (1964), Land and Water Conservation Act (1964), Endangered Species Protection Act (1966; amended 1969; superseded 1973), Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968), National Trail Systems Act (1968), National Environmental Policy Act (1969), Clean Air Act (1967; amended 1970), Clean Water Act (1970; amended 1972), Environmental Pesticide Control Act (1972), and Endangered Species Act (1973). These laws held federal agencies, like the NPS, to higher standards in managing ecosystems, protecting endangered species, and ensuring clean air and water on park lands, while also opening agency decisions to public comment.[4]

George Hartzog, Wirth's successor, shared Secretary of Interior Udall's sensitivity to environmental concerns. Udall's 1963 book *The Quiet Crisis* was part of a body of literature that helped mobilize environmental activists in the 1960s and 1970s. Hartzog had a close relationship with Udall, who remained Secretary of the Interior until 1969. Hartzog gradually made changes during his nine-year tenure, which was marked by his interest in developing urban parks, reaching new audiences, and bringing minorities into the agency's workforce. Under his direction, NPS managers had to implement new natural and cultural resource policies brought by the barrage of environmental legislation and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.[5]

During Hartzog's tenure, NPS officials began categorizing national park units based on their natural, historical, or recreational qualities. In 1968, the NPS produced manuals for each management category. However, Congress grew concerned that the NPS would neglect natural resources in historical parks and vice versa. Congress amended the Organic Act of 1916 with the General Authorities Act in 1970, which required the NPS to treat all park units as part of the same system, meaning the agency could not selectively choose policies to apply at some parks and not others. Congress reaffirmed the "single-system" principle in the Redwoods Amendment of 1978.[6] Staff at STRI would have to show as much concern about natural resources as they would cultural resources.

The agency's concern for environmentalism and environmental education was in full swing in 1971 when John D. Hunter arrived at Stones River National Battlefield to replace Sherman Perry as superintendent. Perry was promoted to superintendent of Grand Portage National Monument in Minnesota.[7] Hunter had begun his NPS career as a seasonal ranger at Badlands National Monument. His first full-time appointment came in 1963 when he was hired as a park ranger at Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Historic Site. Three years later he became the district ranger at Assateague Island National Seashore and was promoted to chief ranger in 1971, right before taking the superintendency at Stones River.[8] Hunter and his staff implemented a year's worth of activities for the NPS's "Centennial Year" in 1972—the intended capstone for

3. Ibid., 214-17.

4. Kathy Mengak, *Reshaping Our National Parks and Their Guardians: The Legacy of George B. Hartzog Jr.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 1-2.

5. Ibid., x-xi.

6. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks,* 244-46; Robert Keiter, "Revisiting the Organic Act: Can it Meet the Next Century's Conservation Challenges?," *George Wright Forum* 28, no. 3 (2011): 242; Lary Dilsaver, *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), under "Transformation and Expansion, 1970-1980," https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anps/anps_7.htm (accessed June 21, 2016).

7. Perry remained at Grand Portage National Monument until 1975. He then worked at the Chicago Field Office before retiring from the Midwest Regional Office. Ron Cockrell, *Grand Portage National Monument: An Administrative History* (1983; Omaha, NE: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), under "Appendix E: List of National Park Service Personnel at Grand Portage National Monument, Minnesota," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/grpo/adhiae.htm (accessed February 2, 2016).

8. W. Dwayne Jones, *Padre Island National Seashore: An Administrative History* (Corpus Christi, TX: San Padre Island National Seashore, 1999), under "Appendix B: Personnel," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/pais/adhiab.htm (accessed February 2, 2016).

Hartzog's "Parkscape U.S.A." initiative—which celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the "National Park Idea," the creation of Yellowstone National Park.[9]

While Mission 66 celebrations at Stones River National Battlefield tended to focus on the agency's accomplishments, the centennial programming was more outward looking and focused on environmental education. Park staff held a community seminar during Earth Week to raise environmental awareness among the local population.[10] The park also ran a day camp called "Summer Fun in the Parks."[11] These programs all focused on bringing in members of the local community, particularly youth, using the park's natural resources to talk about environmental issues. This reflects a larger agency trend in the 1970s in which NPS interpreters broke away from merely "cataloging" natural phenomenon and turned to explaining ecological relationships, raising awareness about environmental degradation, and hopefully inspiring visitors to action. In 1968, the agency began working with Mario Menesini, head of Educational Consulting Service, to develop National Environmental Education Development (NEED) materials for schools. As part of the NEED program, parks were encouraged to develop Environmental Study Areas (ESAs) and supplemental material so that school groups could use parks as outdoor classrooms or laboratories.[12] The park hired staff to specifically work on developing environmental education programs. After Barbara Brooks left in 1972, Bettie Cook, now Park Technician, worked on environmental education programs.[13]

Superintendent Hunter enthusiastically supported a new youth environmental education program called STEP, or Students Towards Environmental Participation. This program began in 1971, when Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield sent thirty-five students to attend the Fifteenth Conference on Environmental Education sponsored by United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Atlanta, Georgia. There, the students developed a program that would encourage their peers to become environmental advocates in their own communities. They would receive training from the NPS and form clubs at their high schools. They could organize field trips and workshops at ESAs in national parks all over the country.[14] UNESCO and NPS were ready sponsors for this innovative program. Hunter quickly brought the program to Stones River National Battlefield and began working with area high school students. That first summer, he brought in students from three Rutherford County high schools as part of the centennial celebrations. He also began working with Metropolitan Nashville Public Schools. When Tennessee state education officials saw the success Nashville schools were having with environmental education, they brought Hunter into discussions about implementing a statewide program.[15] In the fall of 1973, Bettie Cook, Superintendent Hunter, STEP members, and representatives from Metro Nashville Schools and the Tennessee Department of Education began planning a statewide STEP conference, which was held at Opryland in Nashville in April 1974. Three hundred students and teachers from twenty-nine Tennessee communities attended the three-day seminar. Other parks in the region, including Great Smoky Mountains, Shiloh, Chickamauga-Chattanooga, Fort Donelson, and Natchez Trace

9. John Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1972," June 12, 1973, Folder 82 H14 History, Series 1, Park Archive.

10. The first Earth Day was held April 22, 1970. The idea was proposed by Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson, who called for a national teach-in about environmentalism. A "teach-in" was a method made popular by anti-Vietnam War activists. Approximately twenty million Americans participated in the first Earth Day, signaling the arrival of the modern environmental movement that brought new modes of thinking and the power to shape public policy. Earth Day continues to be held on April 22nd every year, but some communities have extended the one-day celebration to an entire week. Thomas Robertson, *Malthusian Moment: Global Population Growth and the Birth of American Environmentalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 152, 168-71.

11. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1972."

12. Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1986), under "Environmental Education," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/directions_environmental.htm (accessed January 22, 2016).

13. John Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973," January 18, 1974, Folder 82 H14 History, Series 1, Park Archive.

14. Southeast Regional Director to NPS Director, memorandum, "Environmental Education—A Giant 'STEP,'" March 7, 1972, Folder 38 A-98 STEP, Series 1, Park Archive.

15. John Hunter to State Coordinator, memorandum, "Attendance at Meeting in Nashville Concerning S.T.E.P. and Environmental Education," October 30, 1972, and Vincent Ellis to Superintendent Great Smoky Mountains National Park, memorandum, "STEP and Environmental Education in the Nashville area," November 17, 1972, both Folder 38 A98 STEP, Series 1, Park Archive.

Parkway, provided services to the program, but personnel at Stones River National Battlefield helped consolidate the statewide STEP program.[16]

On April 21, 1972, the NPS dedicated the Cedar Glades ESA, marking an important change in managing the park's natural resources (see Fig. 31). Cedar glades are clearings in the forest characterized by patches of thin, gravelly soil enclosed by cedar trees (*Juniperus virginiana*) on the periphery. These cedar glades are primarily found in Middle Tennessee and a few locations in the southeast United States. To the casual observer, these glades look barren, and for many years, people thought of them as wasteland, because they are poor for agriculture. However, biologists found that they were extremely fragile habitats that supported several endemic plant species. Dr. Elsie Quarterman, a plant biologist and ecologist at Vanderbilt University, began studying cedar glades in the late-1940s as part of her doctoral research at Duke University and found that Rutherford County had an unusually high number of cedar glades.[17] Urban development was a major threat to cedar glades in Middle Tennessee and Quarterman spent most of her career advocating for their protection. Quarterman is also credited for discovering the Tennessee coneflower (*Echinacea tennesseensis*), a species that biologists had thought was extinct, with her student Dr. Barbara Turner in 1969.[18] Her student, Dr. Thomas Hemmerly, who taught in the Biology Department at MTSU, studied the Tennessee coneflower for his doctoral research and may have planted experimental seeds in the cedar glades at Stones River National Battlefield sometime in the 1970s.[19] When the NPS was looking to develop ESAs, Stones River National Battlefield decided to create one for the cedar glades. Elsie Quarterman was the keynote speaker for the dedication.[20] Superintendent Hunter commented at the time of the dedication that "...there is a long way to go to build an environmental ethic in our society."[21] The dedication of the ESA was an important first step for the park in bringing in an environmental ethic into its own management.

Quarterman and the GMP contractors completed a report on the cedar glade in Stones River National Battlefield in 1976, presumably to help inform the GMP. This report includes a general description of these areas and recommendations for management.[22] This report may have alerted park staff that they were using a fragile plant community as a "bone yard," or a place where staff stored material that might be used in the future. Once they realized what it was, they moved that material back to the maintenance area and fenced in the cedar glade area for restoration. Staff were surprised that the area came back "miraculously fast."[23]



Figure 31 Environmental education workshop at Cedar Glades National Environmental Study Area. Photographed in July 1979. Courtesy of STRI.

16. "A Brief Summary of the S.T.E.P. Program at Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro," [1974], Folder 38 A98 STEP, Series 1, Park Archive.

17. Elsie Quarterman, "Plant Communities of Cedar Glades in Middle Tennessee," Elsie Quarterman, doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1948; "Major Plant Communities of Tennessee Cedar Glades," *Ecology 31*, no. 2 (April 1950): 234-254.

18. Carol C. Baskin and Jerry Baskin, "In Memorial: Dr. Elsie Quarterman (1910-1914)," *Castanea 80*, no. 2 (June 2015): 74-76.

19. Thomas Hemmerly passed away in February 2016. He taught ecology at MTSU for sixty-one years and brought his students to the park to study the cedar glades. He was also a world-renown expert in mistletoe.

20. National Park Service, "Dedication Program for Cedar Glades National Environmental Study Area Trail," April 21, 1972, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

21. John Hunter to Theodore C. Bigger, letter, April 26, 1972, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

22. Miller, Wihlry, and Lee, Inc., and Elsie Quarterman, *Stones River National Battlefield Cedar Glades Report* (Nashville, TN: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1976).

23. James Sanders Interview by Angela Sirna, Phone Interview, October 20, 2015, 16-17.

While park records do not contain comprehensive records of visitor statistics for the environmental education programs during this period, the park's 1973 annual report provides a sketch of the number of programs offered that year, an approximate number of students contacted, and range of programs offered. For example, 18 school groups with 662 students used the Cedar Glades ESA. These groups varied from kindergarten to the sixth grade. Seven special groups numbering 162 young people used the Cedar Glades Trail. Staff presented multiple programs to school groups and assisted teachers with their own lesson plans. The park welcomed not only school groups, but students from MTSU, scouting organizations, churches, and the state youth correctional facility. Park staff were involved in eight environmental workshops, five of which were held off-site. The park sponsored a Film Festival during Earth Week, which was attended by 19 people. Staff continued to coordinate with the STEP program.[24]

Landscape Management

The NPS's interest in developing an environmental ethic in the Rutherford County community stood in stark contrast to the rapid pace of development that was overwhelming the battlefield. Sherman Perry noted in 1969 that a number of industrial plants were built along Highway 41 northwest of the park, including International Paper, Cummings Sign Company, and an $11,000,000 expansion to the General Electric Plant.[25] Interstate 24, opened in 1970, came within 2,000 yards of the park's southwest corner.[26] Superintendent Hunter, at the beginning of his tenure, likewise noted the prevalence of sprawl and industrial development near the park.[27]

Commercial development was also affecting other Civil War battlefields during this period, stirring up a debate between economic interests and scenic preservation. In 1970, there was public outrage when Thomas Ottenstein, a Maryland attorney and developer, proposed a 307-foot tower near Gettysburg. Preservationists decried Gettysburg National Tower, because it was taller than any monument on the battlefield and diminished the battlefield's scenic integrity. The local government and business interests supported the tower because of its promise to bring in thousands of visitors to the area. Without any zoning restrictions, the NPS could not stop the tower from being built.[28]

Similarly, in 1973, Manassas National Battlefield faced outside development pressures when Marriott announced a Great American theme park adjacent to the battlefield on land that was significant to the Second Battle of Manassas. While the NPS remained neutral to the proposal, preservation groups protested the theme park, which had the backing of local government. Marriott backed away from its plan when the Federal Highway Administration required the company to complete an Environmental Impact Statement for an essential interchange to serve the new theme park. While remaining neutral served the NPS in the short-term from preventing it in taking a controversial stand, it did not resolve the issue of when the NPS should get involved in adjacent land development, which would continue to embroil staff at Manassas for another fifteen years.[29] These events at Gettysburg and Manassas indicate that "scenic integrity" at battlefield sites was increasingly threatened by development in areas that were once predominately rural.

Urban development remained a challenge for Superintendent James Sanders when he replaced Hunter in 1974. Hunter was promoted to superintendent of Bandelier National Monument.[30]After serving in the U.S. Navy, Sanders earned his bachelor's degree in park

24. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973."

25. Sherman Perry to Regional Director, memorandum, "Interstate 24 Interchange," May 29, 1969, Folder 56 D30 Roads and Trails, Series 1, Park Archive.

26. J. Leonard Volz to Southeast Regional Director, memorandum, "Interstate at Stones River National Battlefield," Park Archive, Folder 56 D-30 Roads and Trails.

27. Bruce W. Black and John Hunter, "Management Objectives Stones River National Battlefield," March 22, 1972, Folder 43 D-18 Management Objectives, Series 1, Park Archive.

28. Jennifer Murray, *On a Great Battlefield: The Making, Management, and Memory of Gettysburg National Military Park, 1933-2013* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014), 123-24.

29. Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 85-98.

30. Hunter was superintendent of Bandelier National Monument from 1974 to 1988. He then served as superintendent of Padre Island National Seashore from 1988 to 1991. He worked in the Southwest Regional Office shortly before retiring to the Corpus Christi area in Texas. Jones, Padre Island National Seashore, "Appendix B."

management, planning, and interpretation at Colorado State University. He worked as a seasonal ranger at Badlands National Monument before being hired as an intake ranger at Yosemite National Park in 1969. He spent a year in the National Capital Region assisting the liaison to the White House and the deputy director for the National Capital Region. His first supervisory assignment was at Everglades National Park. He served as acting superintendent of Fort Frederica National Monument in southeast Georgia before accepting the position of superintendent at Stones River National Battlefield in 1974.[31] When he arrived, Sanders noticed that an industrial zone surrounded the Artillery Monument area. There were no trees screening these developments and from the visitor center you could see concrete batch towers adjacent to the Hazen Brigade Monument.[32] These developments were not only making it difficult for visitors to find the park, but were destroying the battlefield.

Sanders found Edwin Bearss's and J.C. Killian's 1962 Fence and Ground Cover Map and realized how much of the original battlefield was being lost to development. Sanders was also inspired by a project being undertaken by Chickamauga-Chattanooga NMP to restore an apple orchard that was present at the time of the battle. He realized that the mowed fields and cleared trees gave the park a memorial appearance, rather than an accurate representation of the landscape during the time of the battle. He and park staff used the Fence and Ground Cover Map as the guiding document to restore some the battlefield's features.[33]

The move to restore landscape features followed the rise of cultural landscape studies and its incorporation into historic preservation practice in the NPS. Cultural landscapes as an academic field of inquiry originated with the work of geographer Carl Sauer on "The Morphology of Landscape" in 1925, which is concerned with the relationships of humans and their environment. Cultural geographers and folklorists continued to build upon his work for the next several decades. In the 1950s, J.B. Jackson, who did not align himself with any particular academic discipline, began to make the term "cultural landscape" a familiar term in the design field. Jackson published the journal *Landscape* from 1951 and 1968, which influenced preservationists interested in historic districts and rural landscapes.[34] The NPS, too, became involved in identifying and preserving cultural landscapes. In 1978, Ebey's Landing on Whidbey Island, Washington, was declared a "National Historical Reserve," one of the first designated cultural landscapes in the NPS.[35] In 1980, the NPS hired its first cultural landscape staff and started to develop standards for identifying, treating, and preserving cultural landscapes.[36] Cultural landscapes were still a nebulous concept when Jim Sanders came to STRI. The NPS was just then developing standards for practice, but that did not deter him from reestablishing some landscape features at the park.

NPS funding during Sanders's administration was very conservative, so he had to be creative about finding ways to restore these features for little to no cost. He issued special use permits to local residents to cut trees for firewood in areas where the park wanted to reestablish the tree line back at its 1862 location. The park borrowed a tree transplanter from Natchez Trace Parkway to remove trees from historically open fields to areas that were forested during the battle, namely the Round Forest near Hazen Brigade Monument. The park even bargained with local residents who had chestnut rail fencing to replace theirs with modern fencing so the park could have chestnut rail fencing in the park. The park also had an agreement with nurseries in McMinnville, TN, that gave the park balled, burlaped trees in exchange for clippings of trees in the national cemetery, which contained a pure strand of a particular species that they wanted to grow in their nurseries.[37] These small gestures

31. Sanders Interview, 1-4.

32. Ibid., 8, 17.

33. Ibid., 12-13.

34. For more on the influence of cultural geographers on cultural landscape studies and practice, see Julie Riesenweber, "Landscape Preservation and Cultural Geography," in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice,* ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 23-34.

35. For more on Ebey's Landing, see Nancy Rottle, "A Continuum and Process Framework for Rural Historic Landscape Preservation: Revisiting Ebey's Landing on Whidby Island, Washington," in *Cultural Landscapes,* 129-49.

36. Robert Melnick, "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards," *CRM Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (March 1980): 1-2.

37. Sanders Interview, 8.

added up, enabling the park to manipulate the landscape closer to its 1862 appearance.

While park staff looked for creative solutions to restore features on park land, they also were looking outside park boundaries to see if the agency could acquire additional land that was rapidly being developed (see Fig. 32). When Sanders arrived in 1974, the NPS funded the park to undertake a GMP. This new planning document supplanted the traditional park master plan. NPS planners incorporated new policies managing natural and cultural resources so that parks could determine potential impacts. These documents were also opened to public comment to ensure public participation in the process. The NPS contracted with a firm, Miller, Lee, and Wihry, to complete the park's GMP. Meanwhile, NPS staff, feeling that land acquisition was a "now or never situation," began developing a list of land acquisition alternatives.[38]



Figure 32 Auction sign adjoining Artillery Monument land. Photographed by Teresa (Bratcher) Watson, December 5, 1980. Courtesy of STRI.

Park staff and the contractors focused on several different areas for land acquisition (see Fig. 33). They recommended areas around the Artillery Monument, including a strip of land on the other side of Stones River to maintain the vista and integrity of McFadden's Ford. They also wanted some acreage between the Artillery Monument site and Highway 41, primarily for a new park entrance. On the west and north sides of the park they included several residential tracts, because park officials were concerned that this area could be subsumed by commercial development. The western area also contained the defensive trenches of the Pioneer Brigade, which NPS staff hoped to preserve. This area abutted Asbury Lane, where several African American property owners associated with the Cemetery community still lived. Park staff learned about the historic Blanton House site, located southwest of the park, so included it in its alternatives as well. Park staff and the contractors also recommended a strip of land along the southeast portion of Van Cleve Lane to provide a buffer for the historic road. They also recommended acquiring a long strip of land between the railroad and Highway 41 near the Hazen Brigade Monument to provide a buffer between the memorial and the industrial development on the other side. Finally, park staff and the contractors recommended purchasing land around Redoubt Brannan, a remnant earthwork located south of the park's core.[39] This acquisition scheme focused on expanding existing park areas, and concentrating on places threatened by commercial development.

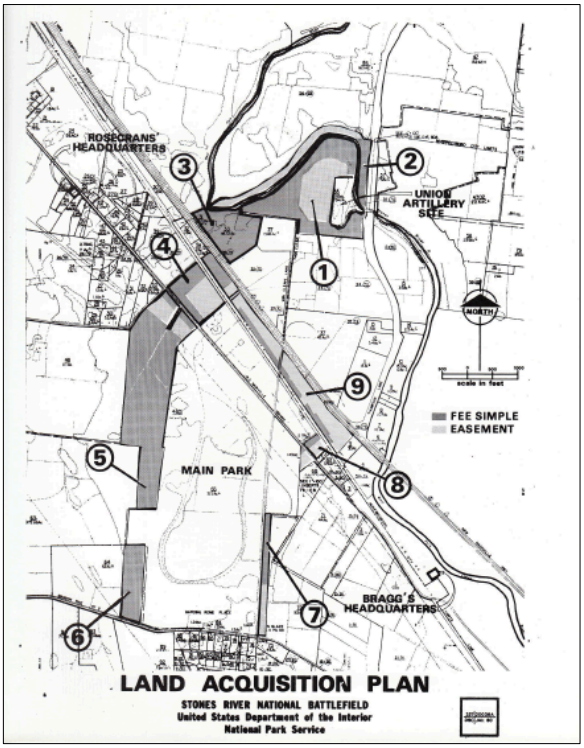


Figure 33 Land Acquisition Plan from 1980 GMP.

38. David D. Thompson, Jr. to John T. Bragg, letter, November 24, 1975, Folder 46 D18 Master Plan, Series 1, Park Archive.

39. John Hunter to Associate Regional Director of Professional Services, memorandum, "Stones River Master Plan, Proposed Land Acquisition," February 28, 1975, Folder 111. L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive; National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept* (Murfreesboro, TN: National Park Service), 79-89.

Living History Interpretation

The first Civil War battlefield reenactment at a national park occurred at Gettysburg in 1959. The popularity of the activity aroused interest for additional reenactments to commemorate the Civil War centennial in an extraordinary show of American Cold War pageantry. A group of Civil War enthusiasts formed a nonprofit organization, the First Manassas Corporation, to plan a major reenactment at Manassas National Battlefield to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the First Battle of Manassas in July 1961 and entered into an agreement with the NPS. The First Manassas Corporation experienced serious administrative, organization, and financial problems leading up to the reenactment, but the event went forward. Reviews of the event were divided: some spectators were enthralled by the pageantry, while others criticized the NPS for allowing such a vulgar display. The event also cost the NPS a significant amount in staff support and operations. Reenactors damaged some of the park's historic resources and administrators were concerned about liability issues. For these reasons, Director Wirth put forth a policy prohibiting reenactments on parklands.[40]

This policy, however, did not quell Civil War enthusiasts' desire to act out the past, or the agency's desire to present a more human element to the Civil War. As a way to channel both of these needs, the NPS began incorporating living history demonstrations into interpretive programs at parks all across the country in the mid-1960s through living history farms, domestic and craft programs, and weapons demonstrations. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park was the first Civil War park to incorporate historic firearms demonstrations in 1961, which soon spread to other military parks, including Stones River National Battlefield, although it's unknown when the park first began offering this program.[41]

The preponderance of living history programs in the 1960s and 1970s caused a number of NPS employees to clamor for professionalization and standards to ensure that interpreters were presenting accurate and authentic depictions of the past.[42] In 1970, the NPS published William Kennon Kay's handbook for living history interpretation called *Keep it Alive* as part of its Visitor Services Training Series.

Following national trends, park staff in the 1970s began using living history programs as a key interpretive tool to educate visitors about the war and also engage volunteers (see Figs. 34-36). They expanded the program beyond just firearm demonstrations to include cavalry and artillery programs, which were very popular among visitors. Volunteers In Parks, or VIPS as they were called, were instrumental in implementing these programs. For example, the cavalry demonstrations were conducted primarily by volunteers. Four volunteers restored a cannon carriage and gave the park's first artillery demonstration on September 1, 1973. Some volunteers camped at the battlefield for a few days throughout the year to demonstrate camp life to visitors. They would make minie balls to give to visitors.[43] Living history programs were a way for the park to offer new, interactive programs for visitors, while also providing a participatory activity for community members.

40. Murray, *On a Great Battlefield,* 91, 106-07; Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas,* 65-71.

41. Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service,* under "Living History," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/directions_living_history.htm (accessed February 25, 2016).

42. Interpretive park rangers interested in professionalization could join one of two organizations at the time. The Association of Interpretive Naturalists formed in 1954, while the Western Interpreters Association (WIA) was established in 1965. Both groups came together in 1988 to form the National Association of Interpreters. "What is NAI?," National Association of Interpreters, http://www.interpnet.com/NAI/interp/About/About_NAI/nai/_About/Who_We_Are.aspx?hkey=4be98c16-d970-4064-bdbc-e63a3984cab3, accessed June 27, 2016.

43. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1972," and Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973."



Figure 34 Living history program at STRI, circa 1960s or 1970s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 35 Individual identified as Tony Zeibel, wearing a period costume, is shown running across the area between the visitor center and national cemetery. Photographed in Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 36 Cavalry living history demonstration, June 15, 1987, photographed by Don Magee. Cavalry programs began nearly a decade earlier. Courtesy of STRI.

A year after Jim Sanders arrived at the park, the park increased its living history programs and attendance increased by 88 percent, while general park attendance was 120,876, up 12 percent from 1974. The park had a new Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management, Ron Gibbs, who replaced Greg Batista when Batista took at job at Gateway National Recreation Area. These new programs had interpretive messages, but were intended to entertain the entire family. For example, the park held hayrides through the park "to bring back traditions and fun of the 1860 farming period" in the fall, complete with a marshmallow roast half way through the tour (see Fig. 37).[44] Park staff gave programs on Civil War meal preparations and held Civil War song sing alongs. In December 1975, the First Brigade Band of Milwaukee, Wisconsin came to the park for a reenactment of the time before the battle when Union and Confederate bands played loud enough for the other to hear. The park replicated this event the following June, during the nation's bicentennial year, and had seven hundred visitors at the evening performance.[45]

44. James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975," February 17, 1976, "Superintendent's Annual Reports" binder, Park Administrative Files.

45. Ibid; James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1976," January 5, 1977, "Superintendent's Annual Reports" binder, Park Administrative Files.



Figure 37 Hayride in the fall of 1975. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

According to Sanders, 1976—the two hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence—was the height of the living history interpretive programs during the 1970s; attendance fell off in subsequent years as people lost interest and the cost of gasoline increased. In 1977, some of the park's VIPs found other interests and Sanders felt that the park needed a strong seasonal contingent to make up the difference. In 1980, the park was able to hire six interpreters for the summer season.[46] The park was able to hire a cadre of seasonal interpreters throughout the 1980s.

Preservation and Archeology

NPS administrators expanded their view of historic preservation during the 1970s. Planners and NPS administrators working in the previous decade quite clearly believed that their focus on historic preservation and interpretation should be limited to the three days the battle took place: December 31, 1862 to January 2, 1863. For example, Superintendent Willett was reluctant to work with Homer Pittard in preserving Lunette Granger because the earthwork postdated the battle. Superintendent Quist even proposed deleting Redoubt Brannan from the park's boundary for the same reason.[47] So it was a remarkable change that the NPS supported the city of Murfreesboro when it decided it wanted to preserve Fortress Rosecrans and develop it into a city park with the possibility that the NPS might eventually take over.[48]

This change in attitude coincided with growing public support for historic preservation both locally and nationally. Local civic organizations and national professional organizations were aware that urbanization, including suburban sprawl and urban renewal, were destroying many historic sites in communities across the country. In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which expanded the federal historic preservation program. This new law created the National Register for Historic Places and State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs). It also prompted NPS administrators to take a better look at the resources within their own parks that might be eligible for the National Register.[49] NPS archeologist John Cotter reported in 1971 that Redoubt Brannan was covered in kudzu, an invasive plant, and was being used as a shooting range by city police. He recommended that it be investigated by archeologists and developed to help tell the story of the Civil War at the park.[50]

In 1973, James Huhta, MTSU professor of history, nominated Fortress Rosecrans to the National

46. James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1977," January 3, 1978, James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1978," 1979, and James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1979," March 19, 1980," all "Superintendent's Annual Reports" binder, Park Administrative Files; Don Magee, "Stones River National Battlefield 1980 Annual Report," March 11, 1981, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

47. Lawrence Quist to Regional Director, memorandum, "Deletion of Brannan Redoubt from Stones River National Battlefield," February 1, 1962, Folder 111 L-1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

48. John Hunter to Southeast Region Chief Division of Lands, memorandum, "Draft of Proposed Transfer of Lands by the City of Murfreesboro," September 20, 1973, Folder 111 L-1417 Boundaries, Series 1, Park Archive.

49. The NPS, as noted by efforts at Stones River National Battlefield, was more diligent about complying with the 1966 NHPA than other federal agencies. Amendments in 1980 created Section 110, which required federal agencies to carry out their own historic preservation programs in pursuant to NHPA.

50. John Cotter to Chief of Eastern Service Center Office of History and Historic Architecture, memorandum, "Trip to Oklahoma and Arkansas May 5-12, 1971 (plus note on Stones River)," May 19, 1971, Folder 82 H-14 History, Series 1, Park Archive. Park staff think it may have been Lunette Thomas that was used as a firing range, but Cotter specified Redoubt Brannan. He may have confused the earthworks, or maybe officers used Lunette Thomas for target practice on another occasion.

Register of Historic Places.[51] The nomination argued that Fortress Rosecrans is the largest earthwork built by Union forces during the Civil War and is significant for its association with the Union occupation of Murfreesboro.[52] With this designation, NPS staff began to see these earthworks as worthy of preservation and interpretation. In 1976, the City of Murfreesboro with matching funds from the NPS commissioned Steven J. Fox to complete a preliminary archeological investigation of Fortress Rosecrans to provide more information about how the earthworks were constructed.[53]

As the park was preparing its General Management Plan, archeologist Catherine Blee from the Historic Preservation Division of the Denver Service Center completed an assessment of cultural resources at STRI and listed possible impacts from proposed projects. She provided a brief overview of the artifacts, structures, cemeteries, and earthworks that related to the battle, but noted that a more thorough archeological survey was needed.[54]

Four archeologists from the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) visited the park in September and October 1976 to undertake survey work. The surveyed areas on either side of Van Cleve Lane and the southeast side of the national cemetery in the event that Van Cleve was widened or the park built a new entry road. They found no evidence of historic or prehistoric occupation at those sites. They also did not find anything when looking for sites for luncheon areas within the main park area or widening existing parking areas. They investigated several sites within the park where there was historical evidence. They did not find any evidence for a blockhouse, which was purportedly used to defend the railroad. They did find a portion of the Nashville Pike Tollhouse, surmising that the structure burned after it was hit with artillery shells. They did not find evidence of a log house located east of Van Cleve Lane between the railroad and Old Nashville Highway. They found an artifact concentration near the reported site of a log farmhouse with a detached kitchen west of Van Cleve Lane and south of Old Nashville Highway, but found no structural evidence. They also did not find evidence of two log cabins west of Van Cleve Lane and north of Manson Pike.[55]

While undertaking their survey work, the SEAC archeologists attempted to survey sites that were not within the park boundary, but were on adjacent lands that were proposed for acquisition. The park was especially interested in the Blanton House site. This site is located outside the park boundary near Wilkinson Pike. The house was no longer extant, but it was believed to have been a hospital used by both Union and Confederate soldiers during the battle. The property also had ties to the Revolutionary War because Thomas Blanton, a Revolutionary War veteran, was buried in the family cemetery on the site. The SEAC team obtained permission from the Blanton site property owner. They dug five archeological tests within the standing foundations, but found no definitive mid-nineteenth century artifacts. They noted that this did not disprove that a portion of the house dated from the Civil War era. They dug a trench in the Blanton Cemetery and found three graves. The SEAC team requested permission to conduct survey work at the McFadden House site and cemetery on Van Cleve Lane, an unnamed road from Van Cleve Lane to McFadden's Ford, and the Pioneer Brigade earthworks, but property owners did not provide access.[56]

Park staff were eager to use professional archeologists to learn more about the battle, but they also feared amateur archeologists and relic hunters who might plunder the battlefield. The Civil War centennial had many shortcomings,

51. Huhta's research specialty was historic preservation. He founded the Center for Historic Preservation in 1984 and later served on the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation from 1994 to 2002.

52. Jim Huhta*, Fortress Rosecrans National Register of Historic Places Nomination,* September 1, 1973, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/74001926.pdf (accessed February 2, 2016).

53. Steven J. Fox, *Archeology of Fortress Rosecrans: A Civil War Garrison in Middle Tennessee,* prepared for City of Murfreesboro, Tennessee Historical Commission, and National Park Service, 1978,19-22.

54. Catherine Blee, *An Assessment of the Cultural Resources of Stones River National Battlefield and the Proposed Development Impacts on Them* (Denver, CO: Historic Preservation Division, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, January 1976), 1.

55. John W. Walker, J. Donald Merritt, and Steven J. Shephard, *Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, 1990), i-ii.

56. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept,* 85; Walker, Merritt, and Shepard, *Archeological Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee,* iii.

including making relic hunting a popular activity among hobbyists with metal detectors.[57] Park staff listed relic hunting as a law enforcement issue in 1972.[58] Their fears were likely not allayed in 1976, when Larry Hicklen, an industrial chemist by training, purchased the store next to the entrance to the park visitor center and opened Yesteryear, a Civil War relic store. Hicklen recalled that park staff were distrustful of his business at first, afraid that it might encourage visitors to do their own metal detecting in the park. Over the years, however, Hicklen has gained the trust of park staff because of his expertise in Civil War ordnance and military history. His store provides a visitor service that the park cannot by catering to collectors. Hicklen also explicitly discourages visitors from looting the battlefield.[59]

There is also evidence that NPS staff at Stones River National Battlefield were interested in incorporating African American history into the park's preservation and interpretation. In 1973, Mrs. Mary Stewart, a student at MTSU, submitted a paper to the park called, "Black History at Stones River National Battlefield."[60] As of the date of this administrative history, this paper was missing from the park's library and archive, but it may have contained information about William Holland, a USCT veteran. He and his grandson, a World War I veteran, are buried right outside of the Hazen Brigade Cemetery wall on land that he purchased in 1875. In any case, sometime in the 1970s park staff learned about the story of William Holland. They included his gravesite in the proposed land acquisition plan with the intention of interpreting African American history at the site.[61] This is another small example of how park staff began to broaden the story told at Stones River National Battlefield during the 1970s. However, park staff would not work to actively work to incorporate African American history into the park's interpretation for many more years.

Recreational Development

Preserving satellite historic sites that were not contiguous with the battlefield, such as earthworks, fit with NPS and community efforts to create recreational opportunities using park resources. Residential developments were cropping up in Rutherford County and residents wanted places to hike, walk, camp, and bike. Park staff realized they could use park land to capture these audiences and meet other management goals, such as historic preservation, ecosystem protection, and environmental education goals.

The same day that the NPS dedicated the new Cedar Glades ESA in April 1972, the park also dedicated a new historic hiking trail that was developed with cooperation from Heart of Tennessee Trails, a non-profit group operated by adult Boy Scouts interested in promoting outdoor recreation and history among young people.[62] The trail was in two, five, and ten-mile increments. It took hikers around the park to see both Civil War features and the new Cedar Glades ESA. A map noted landscape features, like old corn and cotton fields, cedar trees, and limestone outcroppings (see Fig. 38).[63] This new trail system emphasized recreation as a form of education, which was a departure from the way park administrators had treated the visitor experience as a civic pilgrimage in the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, this new trail tied natural and cultural resources together, perhaps for the first time.

57. Larry Hicklen Interview by Angela Sirna, November 13, 2015, Murfreesboro, TN, 1.

58. Black and Hunter, "Management Objectives Stones River National Battlefield."

59. Hicklen Interview, 6, 9.

60. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973."

61. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept*, 72.

62. John W. Justice to Park Superintendent, letter, January 11, 1972, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

63. National Park Service and Heart of Tennessee Trails, "The Stones River National Battlefield Trails," 1972, Folder 34 A-8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

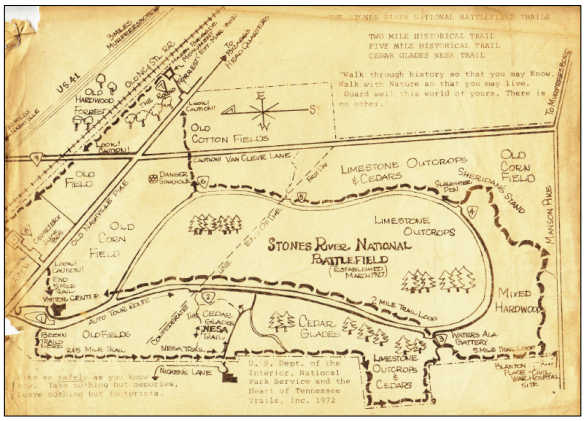


Figure 38 Stones River National Battlefield Trail Map, Heart of Tennessee Trails, 1972. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 39 Boy Scouts salute the American flag in Stones River National Cemetery, sometime in the 1960s or 1970s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

Superintendent Hunter also opened Redoubt Brannan for special event group camping. Despite the "jungle-like areas of bush and vines," he felt that it was an "ideal location" for youth group camping and public picnicking, since the earthworks offered views of Stones River.[64] Two hundred and fifty Boy Scouts camped there to inaugurate the new hiking trail in 1972, despite the kudzu growth.[65] Park administrators did not intend on making the earthworks a permanent campsite, but it shows that they were open to this kind of activity on the battlefield for special groups like the Boy Scouts, an organization geared toward outdoor recreation an education (see Fig. 39).

The nation's bicentennial stirred public interest in history. Locally, the City of Murfreesboro responded by seeking to develop some of its historic resources for recreation and interpretation. Previously, in June 1965, the city had purchased the remaining section of Fortress Rosecrans from the F.D. Bills family. The city briefly considered using this land for a "Pioneer Village" in 1969. Later, in 1975, the city decided to place "Cannonsburgh Village" in a different part of town.[66] In 1972, the Heart of Tennessee Trails was interested in developing trails at the old fort for recreation purposes, but momentum from the nation's bicentennial prompted city officials to rethink this area and develop it into Old Fort Park, complete with various recreational amenities for the community. Sanders recalled that people were using the earthworks to ride their motorbikes, leaving worn trails. The City of Murfreesboro developed a golf course and other recreational facilities on the west side of the property, but worked to preserve the remaining two lunettes and curtainwall. The city received $385,017.32 from the Land & Water Conservation Fund between 1973 and 1988 for land acquisition and development projects. Section 6(f)(3) of the Land & Water Conservation Act stipulates that the city maintain the area as some form of public outdoor recreation. In other words, in cannot significantly change Old Fort Park's use.[67]

64. John Hunter to Regional Director, memorandum, "Picnicking and Youth Group Camping," January 5, 1971, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

65. John Hunter to Regional Director, memorandum, "Inauguration of Stones River Historic Trail May 12, 13, 14, 1972," May 16, 1972, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, Park Archive.

66. "Open House at Fortress," *Rutherford Courier* (Smyrna, TN), November 20, 1969; Nancy D. Gennaro, "Cannonsburgh Village to Celebrate Pioneer Days," *Daily News Journal*, April 20, 2015.

67. Sanders interview, 21; Leonard E. Brown, "Fortress Rosecrans: A History, 1865-1990," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly 50,* no. 3 (Fall 1991): 139-40; "Mapping the Land Water Conservation Fund," The Wilderness Society, http://wilderness.org/mapping-land-and-water-conservation-fund-lwcf (accessed November 4, 2016); National Park Service, *Land and Water Conservation Fund State Assistance Program Federal Financial Assistance Manual,* vol. 69 (October 1, 2008), under "Section L: Significant Change of Use,"

Superintendent Sanders noticed that local residents enjoyed using the park for walking, running, and biking, and he did what he could to encourage those activities. The park painted mileage markers on the tour loop so visitors could keep track of their distance.[68] Sanders was also a member of the city's Hike and Bike Committee, an offshoot of the bicentennial activities. It was this committee that came up with the idea of developing a trail along Stones River that would connect various historic sites, including Old Fort Park, Redoubt Brannan, the Artillery Monument, and the national park.[69] This proposal eventually made its way into the 1980 GMP and represents the first effort to develop what is now known as the Murfreesboro Greenway system.[70]

Youth Programs

The park's involvement in environmental education and recreational development during this period indicates that park staff were working to engage visitors and community members in a variety of ways. The park remained active in youth programming, hosting NYC workers, STEP participants, Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), and Comprehensive Employment and Training Assistance (CETA) program. These allowed the park to help diversify the park's workforce by welcoming young women and African Americans into their ranks.

In addition to the STEP program, the park also engaged youth through work programs, which also incorporated environmental education into program goals. The NYC was a War on Poverty program, first implemented at the park by Sherman Perry. Superintendent Hunter also hosted the program in 1972 and 1973. These youth were primarily put to work on maintenance projects, presumably to give them job experience, since the program targeted underprivileged youth. Hunter did not detail the activities or the number of NYC workers, but in 1972 he reported that some NYC participants helped seal all the parking lots and the road leading to staff quarters and the maintenance area.[71] In 1973, he reported that the NYC supplemented the park maintenance program by 1,274 man hours, an estimated value of $2,039.60. He wrote that, "While the program requires a higher degree of supervision, there is no doubt as to the value the park receives in return for this effort."[72]

In 1977, Superintendent Sanders hired local high school students through a new program called the YCC (see Figs. 40 and 41). This program was loosely modeled after the New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps and other NPS youth programs, but it was nonresidential and welcomed young women to join. Sanders recalls that the park was able to hire thirty-two youths and leaders to help the park with restoration work.[73] Work accomplishment reports show that this group helped the park with trail maintenance, landscape restoration, and historic preservation.[74] The program also had a significant environmental awareness component. Three years after the program began, Sanders considered it a success, writing:

> It was believed by all to be a very successful summer for young people of its kind. This is due principally to the fact that monies are available for proper supervision and because it is a cross section of male, female, minorities, high income, and lower income families; which is a cultural mix and changed racial and economic attitudes for the better.[75]

Sanders attributed the program's success to proper funding levels and the diversity of the group.

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https://www.nps.gov/ncrc/programs/lwcf/manual/lwcf.pdf (accessed November 4, 2016).

68. Sanders Interview, 16.

69. Ibid., 21.

70. National Park Service, Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept, 75-76.

71. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1972."

72. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973."

73. Sanders Interview, 8.

74. [James Sanders], "Completed Projects Youth Conservation Corps, Stones River National Battlefield, June 19 to August 11, 1978," [August 1978], Folder 39 A98 YCC (1978-1981), Series 1, Park Archive; [James Sanders], "Completed Projects Youth Conservation Corps, Stones River National Battlefield, June 18 to August 10, 1979," [August 1979; Frances McPeak, "Youth Conservation Corps Work Projects, June 16 to August 8, 1980," [August 1980].

75. Jim Sanders, "1979 Report on YCC Camp 7602 Stones River National Battlefield," September 6, 1979, Folder 39 A98 YCC (1978-1981), Series 1, Park Archive.



Figure 40 Male and female YCC members wearing YCC jumpsuits working in a field. Date and photographer unknown, but appears to be from 1980s. Courtesy of STRI.

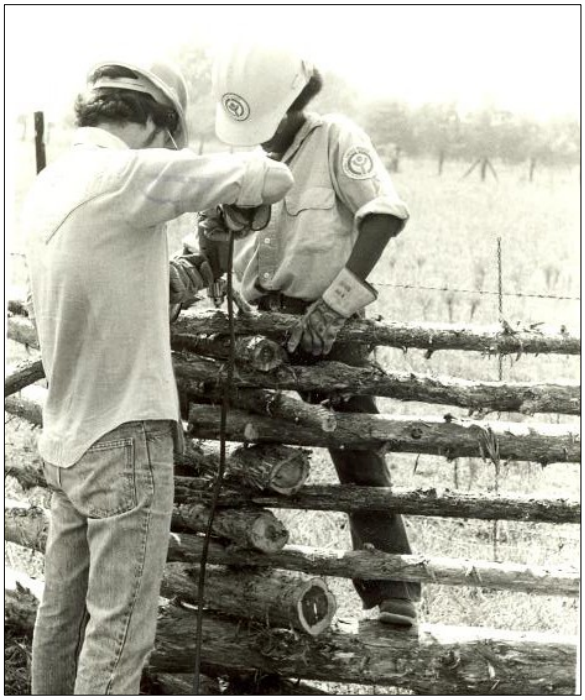


Figure 41 YCC crew members construct a fence. Photographed by J. Hesson in 1980. Courtesy of STRI.

Sanders found additional manpower through a program called the Comprehensive Employment and Training Assistance, or "CETA," which the park used to replace the NYC when it was discontinued in 1975.[76] In 1973, Congress passed a law called the "Comprehensive Employment and Training Act," which aimed at helping persistently unemployed workers or low-income youth during the summer months.[77] CETA was very much in line with previous efforts to alleviate poverty through job training, like the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. However, this new law was part of President Richard Nixon's "New Federalism," which strengthened ties between the federal government and local communities by giving block grants to local governments.[78] During the summer of 1975, Sanders was able to hire twenty to thirty individuals, plus the staff to supervise them, using CETA funds. At one point that summer, the park had as many as forty-six teenagers working at one time. The park used these workers for various maintenance projects, but park managers were becoming increasingly concerned about the presence of exotic plants in the park, namely Japanese honeysuckle, and used the CETA team to clear out large swaths of these plants. Park managers did not know how to treat these invasive species yet, but the work of the CETA workers helped them understand how fast these plants grew back.[79]

Like the NYA and NYC programs that the park had utilized in the past, the CETA program was a valuable, but ultimately short-lived program, designed to meet the federal government's goals for economic reform. The park hosted this program approximately three summers. The last time it was mentioned was in the Superintendent's 1978 Annual Report. The park had asked for ten workers, but only received eight. By the end of the summer, all but three CETA workers quit.[80] It is likely that the park became more involved in the YCC and discontinued participating in the CETA program.

National Cemetery Flooding

Flooding in the national cemetery continued to be a major problem in the early 1970s (see Fig. 42). As many as 250 graves might be inundated by flooding and it would take as long as three to four weeks for

76. Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975."

77. *Comprehensive Employment and Training Act,* December 28, 1973, Public Law 93-203, 93d Congress, 1st Session.

78. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act: Early Readings from a Hybrid Block Grant* (Washington, DC: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, June 1977), 3-6, http://www.library.unt.edu/gpo/acir/Reports/policy/A-58.pdf (accessed January 28, 2016).

79. Sanders interview, 8; Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975."

80. Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1978."

the water to recede.[81] In 1973, the NPS formally closed the cemetery to burials because the vacant sections were susceptible to flooding. When Sanders arrived in 1974, interments were still ongoing for those that already had reservations.[82] However, public relations were continually strained because water was still inundating gravesites.

Family members put pressure on the park to stop the flooding in the national cemetery. Margaret Whitaker of Murfreesboro was particularly aggrieved to find her son's grave inundated by water. Private First Class Lloyd Rushbrooke “Tim” Whitaker, Jr. had died after falling off a 20-foot cliff into the Tennessee River at Redstone Arsenal Space Center in Hunstville, Alabama, on June 18, 1973, and was buried at Stones River National Cemetery later that month.[83] His mother charged that no one from the NPS or the funeral home warned her family that her son's gravesite was subject to seasonal flooding. Mrs. Whitaker wrote to the upper echelons of the NPS, the park superintendent, congressional representatives, and President Nixon. She contacted a law firm and asked that her son be moved to a new gravesite.[84] Sanders offered two possible locations within the national cemetery, but she decided to move her son to Nashville National Cemetery.[85] Sanders granted her permission in November 1974.[86] Her efforts forced NPS personnel to address the flooding in the national cemetery.



Figure 42 Flooding in the national cemetery, showing graves under water. Photographed by Jack Totty, December 29, 1972. Courtesy of STRI.

Frank Nix, an NPS engineer from Everglades National Park, examined the national cemetery in 1972 and said there was little the park could do to stop the flooding, but adding drainage wells might offer some relief. He advised the regional director that the national cemetery be closed for burials.[87] Superintendent Hunter went along with Nix's recommendations to close the cemetery, but Margaret Whitaker's complaints prompted the NPS to reexamine the issue. In April 1974, engineer James (Marvin) Stump from Natchez Trace Parkway visited the site and found a clogged sinkhole near the intersection of Old Nashville Highway and Van Cleve Lane that was causing water to pond. He recommended installing a culvert under Old Nashville Highway so that water collecting in the national cemetery could be directed out onto the battlefield. The park would construct a swale in the battlefield to move the water out towards Asbury Lane. However, this meant coordination from the state and county, who were reluctant to get involved. Adjacent landowners were not pleased with water coming across their property.[88] Furthermore, the NPS had to undertake Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) compliance to make sure the project did not adversely impact the battlefield or national cemetery. Upon his departure in 1974, John Hunter told his successor that the regional office was aware of the potential legal issues, but

81. James Sanders, "Notice of Public Meeting," May 30, 1975, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

82. Sanders Interview, 4-5.

83. Martha M. Whitaker, "Letter to the Editor: Flooded Grave Disturbs Woman," *Daily News Journal*, January 20, 1974, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

84. Martha Whitaker to Frances McPeak, letter, January 29, 1974, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive; Joe Evins to Rogers C.B. Morton, letter, July 16, 1974.

85. [James Sanders], "Discussions with Mrs. Whitaker," [October 1974], Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

86. James Sanders to Martha Whitaker, letter, November 4, 1974, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

87. Frank Nix to Regional Director, memorandum, "Closure Stones River National Cemetery, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," March 6, 1972, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

88. [John Hunter] to [James Sanders], letter, [1974], Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

advised him to move forward "and deal with the consequences later."[89] Sanders was able to get the project through after holding a public meeting and submitting the necessary Section 106 documentation (see Figs. 43 and 44).[90] However, after the NPS and Rutherford County Highways completed the project in May 1975, adjacent landowners complained about flooding on their properties years after the project was completed.[91]



Figure 43 Construction of swale to alleviate flooding in national cemetery in 1975. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 44 Installation of culvert under park tour road in 1975 to help direct water. Courtesy of STRI.

With the water out of the national cemetery, Sanders turned his attention to restoring the cemetery back to its 1892 appearance using the landscape plan from that year. The plan itself was more like an as-built drawing than a formal landscape plan that offers prescriptions for planting and lists of vegetation, a distinction that complicated landscape management efforts for many years later. Nevertheless, research for this restoration began in 1975, and the park completed the project by June 1976, just in time for the nation's bicentennial. That same summer, Sanders also reinstituted Memorial Day activities, which had fallen to the wayside in recent years. Sanders was part of the local bicentennial commission to ensure the park's participation, and the park ended up hosting the very first event, which occurred on Memorial Day. Ceremonies began at the site of the historic rostrum and then proceeded to the flagpole in the national cemetery.[92] Sanders also worked with veterans groups, including the Disabled Veterans of America, which gave him an award for his accomplishments.[93]

1980 General Management Plan

Started in 1974, the NPS and the firm Miller, Lee, and Wihry completed the General Management Plan for Stones River National Battlefield in 1980 along with an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 required the park to undertake an EIS. This new law required the NPS to consider the impacts to natural and cultural resources prior to development and invites public comment on projects on federal land or using federal funds. The plan took nearly six years to complete, and experienced several set backs. The first delay occurred in 1974, when the NPS found that the draft submitted by the contractor was incomplete. The contractor had not properly considered the alternatives and did not do a thorough analysis of environmental impacts.[94] Once the park established better lines of communication with the GMP team, they found it difficult to keep up with the development surrounding the battlefield.[95] But when it was completed, the GMP was an important document codifying the NPS's commitment to the

89. [Hunter to Sanders].

90. James Sanders, "Notice of Public Meeting," May 30, 1975; "106 Compliance Statement: Flood Water Channel Construction Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery," [1975], Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive; Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975."

91. Danny Porter to Frances McPeak, telephone call, September 5, 1986, Folder 167 Floods, Storms, and Drains "1973 Flood," Series 1, Park Archive.

92. Sanders Interview, 9.

93. Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975"; Sanders Interview, 17-18.

94. James Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1974," February 21, 1975, "Superintendent's Annual Reports" binder, Park Administrative Files.

95. Ibid.

"greater battlefield" and restoring the landscape back to its 1862 appearance.

The 1980 GMP focused heavily on land acquisition for the first time since the War Department created the park. NPS staff were clearly concerned with encroaching development. They focused the acquisition program on nine different areas: the Artillery Monument, McFadden's Ford, land between the Artillery Monument and Highway 41, parcels adjacent to the northwest corner of the park, land along the west side of the park, land near the southwest corner of the park, land along Van Cleve Lane, parcels southeast of Hazen Brigade Monument, and a strip of land between Highway 41 and the railroad. The purpose of these choices was to give the park a new entrance off of Highway 41, create some buffer areas for the park to diminish the visual and noise effects of industrial encroachments, relocate TVA power lines running through the park, and acquire historic sites that would enhance interpretation, such as the Blanton House Site.[96]

The land acquisition program would affect African American residents living north of the national cemetery and those living between the park boundary and Asbury Lane, namely along Nickens Lane. Some of them may have been affected by the War Department's acquisition efforts in the late 1920s and early 1930s, or knew those who had been displaced. Mary Vaughter, the daughter of Ellis Smith who had land near the Artillery Monument, also had land that the NPS wanted to purchase. Seven acres of her family's land had been condemned for Mission 66 development of the Artillery Monument. In an oral history interview, Sanders believed that the African American community did not openly object to the proposals. In his words,

> They were very quite, reserved, respectful, and I don't think they would—My era, the era that I was there, they would not voice objections. They did not. And even when I met with each one personally, when we were trying to reroute our entrance to come to the north of them, wouldn't have bothered them because it was vacant land where we wanted to go. But they were not objection[able] to that. The only individual that had some second thought and we were going to actually move him—and I don't know if this would have been a second move for him or if he was already there—but he was the one that was [living] on the Chicago Board of Trade earthen works. And he used those earthworks for his garbage dump.[97]

Sanders hints that while his personal relationships with the park's African American neighbors were excellent, they may have felt uncomfortable vocally disagreeing with the federal government.[98] Another incident indicates that he also understood their ingrained reluctance to vocalize any disagreement with the federal government. Sanders lived in staff quarters in the national cemetery and his children played with their African American neighbors frequently. His family often invited them to play at their house and the maintenance area. He remembered feeling uncomfortable when he asked Mrs. King to babysit and she arrived wearing an all white outfit.

> And I felt when I went there a little bit embarrassed because I felt a little bit of the Old South still there and them kind of feeling like they needed to be in a certain place, you know. They kind of knew their place according to the old traditions.

The "old traditions" that Sanders refers were vestiges of Jim Crow segregation.

The NPS opened the GMP to public comment in 1979 and received mostly favorable comments supporting the park's plan to protect and interpret the area's history and natural history. However, landowners and other area residents did not feel the same way. Twenty-five of thirty-seven individual landowners affected by the plan responded. Fifteen opposed the plan, while ten others supported the plan or alternative easements. Those writers voicing opposition argued that such a plan would stifle economic growth, cost too much money, and impinge on the rights of property owners.[99] The NPS team would have to find a way to compromise with these landowners.

The park's congressional delegation informed the GMP team that the package was too expensive. The NPS needed to find a way to reduce the price in order for Congress to expand the park boundary

96. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept*, 79-89.

97. Sanders Interview, 15-16.

98. Ibid., 15.

99. [James Sanders], "Summary of Public Comments on GMP/GDC and DES," December 1979, Folder 438 D-18 General Management Plan, Series 1, Park Archive.

and satisfy local concerns. Sanders and the GMP team decided to use easements, a new landscape management tool, that would allow them to purchase development rights but not the land itself. Agricultural land would remain agricultural. They could also dictate building heights on commercial properties. The GMP team, then, came up with a new plan that mixed purchasing land in fee simple with purchasing land easements.[100] This new package included 185 acres to be purchased and 77 acres to placed under easement at an estimated cost of $4.3 million, reduced from $7.5 million. The new plan dropped all but two neighboring businesses—Larry Hicklen's Yesteryear store and Lester Smotherman's mobile home sales park. It also meant that four families on the west side of the park would be forced to relocate. Seven other landowners would be given the option to relocate or be granted life estates.[101]

The NPS approved Stones River NB's GMP and EIS, but congressional efforts to expand the park boundary failed that year. A bill to expand the park passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate.[102] The NPS would have to wait until politics were favorable in order to carry the land acquisition program forward.

Park Staffing

STRI staff underwent important adjustments during the 1970s, reflecting larger changes in the agency regarding professionalization and the hiring of women and minorities. The General Authorities Act of 1976 gave the agency authority to use law enforcement rangers to protect persons and property within national parks. Prior the General Authorities Act, agency law enforcement policy was vague. This new policy helped the NPS professionalize the Park Ranger position.[103] Backlund said that this policy change also led the Park Ranger position to be divided into two different categories in the 1990s: law enforcement and interpretation. Professionalization meant that Park Rangers would start to move away from being generalists to being more specialized.[104]

Another occupational series change was the creation of the Park Technician series, which, according to Backlund, occurred under Hartzog's administration. The original intention of this series was to create lower-graded positions in order to hire locals, who were more likely to stay at a park for a longer period of time, to help create a sense of continuity.[105] However, in 1978, the Association for National Park Rangers (ANPR) brought forward a number of problems posed by the series, primarily that there was little room for career advancement. Park Rangers and Park Technicians interested in professionalizing the field and building a social network had formed the ANPR the previous year. The ANPR membership noted that those serving in Park Technician positions worked in areas, such as interpretation and resource management, often lacked necessary academic credentials. Despite these grievances, the Park Technician series remained in use until the 1990s.[106] Several employees at STRI were under this series.

In his first year at Stones River National Battlefield, Hunter had the assistance of Administrative Clerk Frances McPeak, Interpretive Specialist and Historian Don F. Adams, Park Aid Bettie Cook (part-time appointment), Park Technician Barbara Brooks (temporary appointment), Maintenance Foreman Richard Denny, and Maintenance Worker August King in addition to several seasonal maintenance and interpretive staff. Don Adams was promoted and transferred to Virgin Island National Park and was replaced by Gregorio Battista in October 1972, who served as both the Law Enforcement Ranger

100. Sanders Interview, 22.

101. "Park Plan Altered, Discussed," *Daily News Journal*, March 2, 1980; "Battlefield Park Would Buy Fewer Acres under New Plan," *Nashville Banner*, May 6, 1980.

102. Magee, "Stones River National Battlefield 1980 Annual Report."

103. Tony Sisto, "Law Enforcement and the General Authorities Act: 20 Years Later," *Ranger* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 2.

104. Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, June 8, 2016, Part Three. Angela Sirna sat down for a third oral history session with Backlund, but the recording equipment malfunctioned before the audio file could be saved. Sirna took notes during the interview and wrote a summary immediately after.

105. Ibid.

106. Rick Smith and Jim Brady, "History," Association of National Park Rangers, https://aonpr29.wildapricot.org/History, accessed June 21, 2016; "ANPR Position Paper: Park Technician and Park Ranger," *Association for National Park Rangers Newsletter* 1, no. 2 (June 1979): 1-2.

and Park Historian. Barbara Brooks worked on the park's environmental programming during her nine-month appointment in 1972. After Brooks left in 1972, Bettie Cook, now Park Technician, worked on environmental education programs.[107]

When Jim Sanders arrived, he filled a few more key positions. In 1978, he hired Teresa Watson as a Clerk-Typist. He also hired Bobby Simerly as the Park Maintenance Foreman. Both became longtime employees.

As previously mentioned, Sanders worked to diversify the park's workforce through youth programs and seasonal positions. In 1975, Sanders reached out to Fisk University and Tennessee State University, both historically black universities, about seasonal positions for students in both interpretation and maintenance.[108] Teresa Watson recalled that a few young kids from the neighboring African American community were hired through the YCC program, which was an important way to getting this group involved in the park. Watson recalled one instance when he hired a young African American woman named Dawna Jones for a seasonal position, but Jones was not from Murfreesboro and was concerned about finding a place to live. Sanders reached out to the African American community along Asbury Lane and found a place for Jones to stay that summer.[109]

Conclusion

Superintendent Sanders was promoted while Congress discussed the park's boundary expansion bill. He became Superintendent of Biscayne National Park in Florida, where he remained for thirteen years.[110] In his six years at the park, he accomplished a great deal, oftentimes picking up projects begun by his predecessor, John Hunter. Park staff developed a more outward focus, concentrating their efforts on environmental education, living history, volunteers, and youth programs. Visitors also became more active participants, using the park for recreational pursuits in greater numbers. The battlefield and national cemetery were no longer places only for civic pilgrims. Visitors started to realize that the park was a refuge from the area's growing urbanization.

Urbanization brought people into the park and also pushed NPS staff to plan to expand the park's boundaries in an effort more aggressive than any previous period since the park was established. The land acquisition plan looked at expanding all corners of the battlefield to better protect the historic scene and natural resources. This expansion reveals a new understanding of the "greater battlefield," a better appreciation for the natural and cultural resources within, and a desire to restore the landscape back to its historic appearance. Park staff were able to implement new landscape management measures, despite no additional funds.

The failure of the park boundary expansion bill to pass the Senate in 1980 was another reminder that conditions in Congress had to be right, just like the conditions that finally prompted Congress to create the park in 1927. The park needed a congressional ally who could make the NPS's vision his or her own.

107. Hunter, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1973."

108. Sanders, "Superintendent's Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975."

109. Teresa Watson Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 18, 2016.

110. Sanders was at Biscayne National Park when Hurricane Andrew, a category five storm, ravaged the park, which was emotionally and physically draining for him. He asked for a transfer and elected to go to Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota, where he remained for almost six years. He then became superintendent of Harry S. Truman National Historic Site in Missouri. Sanders retired after forty-four years of public service on January 1, 2010, from his post as superintendent of Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois. Sanders Interview, 18-19.

Chapter Six

Expanding Stones River National Battlefield, 1980-2000

The 1980 General Management Plan demonstrated that despite the National Park Service's best laid plans, the park needed a Congressional ally for any land acquisition to move forward. Park staff and community supporters could only wait until Congress passed boundary expansion legislation, while watching more and more of the greater battlefield succumb to development.

While they waited, park staff, under the direction of Superintendent Don Magee, focused on the park's resources. They undertook a number of important preservation projects, including restoring the U.S. Regulars Monument in the national cemetery, which had been vandalized a number of years prior. They continued the environmental programs begun in the 1970s, but also refocused the park's energies on researching and presenting military history. Park staff forged new relationships with military groups, including the MTSU Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program, and invited active troops to study the battlefield. However, budget cuts made it difficult for park staff to maintain this momentum.

In 1986, people of Tennessee's 6th District elected Democrat Bart Gordon to Congress. He decided to make Stones River National Battlefield a priority during his term. In 1987, he sponsored successful legislation to expand the battlefield by approximately 50 acres. He did so again in 1991 by an additional 300 acres. This second boundary expansion also called for the park to write a new GMP.

Mary Ann Peckham brought new leadership to the park in 1989. She had a daunting task of carrying out the new land acquisition program and developing a new GMP. She was interested in bringing in new audiences, and supported the new Friends of Stones River National Battlefield, a non-profit group formed in 1989 to help the park in its efforts. However, the park and its supporters were racing against the clock to acquire land before it was purchased for development.

Historic Preservation and Archeology

Stones River National Battlefield experienced a change in leadership as the boundary expansion proposal went before Congress in 1980. Don Magee replaced James Sanders when Sanders was promoted to superintendent of Biscayne National Park. Magee had served in the Navy before studying forestry at the University of Massachusetts. He worked for the U.S. Forest Service and New Jersey State Parks before starting his career with the National Park Service. He attended Mather Training Center in the Grand Canyon in 1966 before being sent to Bryce Canyon National Park to work as a park ranger. He next went to Sunset Crater National Monument where he was essentially the area manager. While in Flagstaff, Arizona, Magee took courses in business management, which likely helped with his next assignment in Washington, D.C. as a management analyst for the National Capital Region. After a number of years in Washington, D.C., he wanted to get back to a park with real historical significance. He took the job at Stones River National Battlefield when it became available.[1]

1. Donald Magee Interview by Angela Sirna, Phone Interview, November 3, 2015, 2-4; Bill Cook, "Bill to Aid Murfreesboro Park May be Dead Issue," *The Tennessean,* December 30, 1980.

Magee's main priority was historic preservation. Land acquisition was the major topic of discussion, but the NPS was dealing with a lame-duck Congress.[2] The NPS would have to wait and see if the next Congress would take up the boundary expansion measure. Adding to the park's funding woes, the Reagan administration reduced federal expenditures. In 1981, Secretary of Interior James Watt issued a memorandum to NPS Director Russell Dickinson directing parks to focus on mission critical activities as outlined in the Organic Act of 1916. He wrote,

> I am concerned that in recent years the funding and manpower resources of the Service have not always been directed to fulfilling its basic mission as set forth above. The challenge to the Service in the 1980's, and my charge to you as Director, is to assure that the funding and staffing available to you in a time of reduced Federal expenditures are applied to achieve the most benefit for visitors to the most heavily visited parks, being always mindful of the preservation of park resources. I am particularly concerned that you give priority to protecting and maintaining the "crown jewels," the internationally known, unique natural parks in the system.[3]

Although there were fewer funds for park operations and expansion, there was sufficient money for rehabilitation and repair of historic structures (despite Watt's apparent dismissal of historic parks in his memo).[4] In the early 1980s, Watt did support the Park Restoration and Improvement Program, which concentrated on maintaining already existing development.[5] Magee focused much of his tenure on the resources the park already had, primarily the U.S. Regulars Monument, Hazen Brigade Monument, and Artillery Monument.



Figure 45 U.S. Regulars Monument without bronze eagle. Photographed by Teresa (Bratcher) Watson, April 1980. Courtesy of STRI.

The bronze eagle that surmounted the U.S. Regulars Monument in the national cemetery had been stolen about fifteen years earlier (see Fig. 45). The Bureau Brothers of Philadelphia cast the eagle, which is 37-inches high with a 57-inch wingspan. Magee wanted the eagle back for the monument's one hundredth anniversary in 1982. He began a well-publicized effort to retrieve the eagle, offering a five hundred dollar reward and no questions asked upon the return of the bronze bird. The eagle was returned by someone in Cookeville, Tennessee, lending credence to the theory that it was stolen by a Tennessee State University "Golden Eagles" fan. Chief of Maintenance Bobby Simerly was able to restore the eagle and return it to the top of the monument by Memorial Day 1982, despite the statue being painted brown and having both wings broken. Park staff then rededicated the U.S. Regulars

2. Magee Interview, 12.

3. James Watts to Director, National Park Service, memorandum, "Management of the National Park System," July 6, 1981, reproduced in Dilsaver, *America's National Parks,* https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anps/anps_8a.htm (accessed June 27, 2016).

4. Rebecca Conard, *"All Men and Women Are Created Equal": An Administrative History of Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Boston, MA: Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2012), 41.

5. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997; repr. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 281.

Monument one hundred years after it was first erected.[6]

In 1983, the park received $50,000 for special maintenance projects funded by the Emergency Jobs Appropriation Act. The country was experiencing an economic recession and the purpose of this law was to put unemployed people back to work through public works projects.[7] The Tennessee Department of Employment Security recruited twenty-two individuals who were hired on an intermittent basis between July 18 and December 30, 1983. Using a crew of five masons and laborers hired under this program, park staff were able to finish repointing the historic cemetery and Hazen Brigade Monument walls, a project that began in 1977. The wall project took up almost half of the project money, but these workers also repaired two miles of split rail fence, stained the exterior of the visitor center, painted buildings, maintained hiking trails, and repaired artillery equipment. That same year, park staff repaired the Artillery Monument using cyclical maintenance funds.[8]

The next year, 1984, park staff began researching the Hazen Brigade Monument in preparation for preservation efforts. Park Historian Daniel A. Brown wrote a thorough report on the monument's history, from its initial construction until the creation of the battlefield park in 1929.[9] Work began in 1985 to rehabilitate the memorial and was completed by January 1987 (see Fig. 46). A historical architect and architectural conservator from the Southeast Cultural Resources Preservation Center assessed the monument. At that time, many regional offices, included the one in Atlanta, had crews of cultural resource experts and historic preservation specialists, called "exhibits specialists," who worked throughout the region on various projects.[10] They found that the stones in the monument's upper courses had been compromised by rainwater and vibrations from nearby locomotives. After removing a capstone for inspection, they found that they needed to remove the fill in order to reset the stones.[11]



Figure 46 NPS staff working on the Hazen Brigade Monument in July 1985. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

No archeologist was present when park maintenance workers and employees from the Southeast Cultural Resources Preservation Center began removing fill from the monument's interior. However, on July 25, 1985, they uncovered about nine artifacts near the top of the fill, including a fresh water clam or mussel, a wood fragment, a thin disc, a bone fragment, and four or five horse teeth. The team considered these "unintentional inclusions" without any particular significance, but noted that the bone fragment may have come from the battle and the shell may have been from a worker's meal. They continued their work and on July 29 uncovered the tops of two cannon balls. They stopped their work and contacted John W. Walker, an archeologist with the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) in Tallahassee, Florida. Once Walker arrived, the crew continued excavations and found a smaller cannon ball, three artillery shells, two rifle-musket barrels, and a

6. Magee Interview, 12-13; Michael Tompkins, "Eagle Monument Rests Safely at Home," *The Morning Press* (Murfreesboro, TN), September 18, 1982.

7. *Emergency Jobs Appropriation Act,* Public Law 98-8, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 24, 1983).

8. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1983," February 10, 1984, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

9. Daniel A. Brown, *Marked for Future Generations: The Hazen Brigade Monument 1863-1929,* Stones River National Battlefield and National Park Service, 1985.

10. Regional offices no longer have historic preservation crews. There are two Historic Preservation Training Centers that serve the NPS. One is based out of Monocacy National Battlefield and the second is based out of Grand Teton National Park. For more on the development of these regional centers in the 1970s and 1980s, see Blaine Cliver Interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth Smith, Phone Interview, September 26, 2008, 10-14, Women's Rights National Historical Park Archive, Seneca Falls, NY.

11. John W. Walker, *Investigations of the Hazen Brigade Monument Stones River National Battlefield Murfreesboro, TN* (Tallahassee, FL: National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center, 1989), ii, 4-6.

wooden rod (see Fig. 47). These items were found on the sixth course of stone blocks, and Walker believed they were placed there intentionally. The artillery shells were manufactured by the Confederacy. The cannon balls and rifle barrels may have also been of Confederate origin, but Union forces used similar types as well. Walker asserted that these items probably dated to the battle and were more than likely deliberately placed within the monument as it was being constructed. Walker offered several interpretations for the artifacts' grouping. One interpretation he gave was that the monument's builders chose this grouping of artifacts as a symbol of the tools of death used by the enemy, which Hazen's Brigade was able to fend off. [12]



Figure 47 NPS archeologists working in the Hazen Brigade Monument in July 1985. Courtesy of STRI.

The preservation crew reinforced the interior of the monument with a concrete block inner wall with cement and steel rods connected to the exterior limestone blocks. The crew left a new "time capsule" with a copy of the park's research report with photographs of the original interior and artifacts inside the monument before the capstones were reset. The park then incorporated the original artifacts into a visitor center's display.[13]

In the midst of these preservation projects, Magee and his staff were particularly concerned with recovering some of the park's military history and using it as a way to connect with descendants of both Union and Confederate soldiers. Specifically, they were interested in coming up with a more comprehensive index of those buried at the national cemetery. For many years, park staff used the *Roll of Honor* published by the U.S. Government in 1866 as the authoritative list of those buried in the national cemetery, but soldiers were not listed alphabetically and commonly had only initials or misspelled names. The park then started comparing the *Roll of Honor* list with other records, such as the *Official Roster Of Soldiers from The State of Ohio*, and were able to fill in some of the missing information and correct names to better serve descendants who came to the national cemetery looking for their ancestors.[14] Park staff continue to use this list, but note that revisions are ongoing.

While undertaking this research, staff found documentation that suggested some Confederate soldiers might be buried in the national cemetery in grave O-6315. They were part of a mass grave discovered by Dr. Burris in 1880 on his property about a quarter of a mile from the national cemetery. By that point, it was hard to tell if the remains were Union or Confederate, so the cemetery superintendent decided to reinter them in the national cemetery. Upon discovering these letters between Dr. Burris and the cemetery superintendent in 1984, park staff concluded that it was entirely likely that gravesite O 6135 contained Confederate remains.[15] Magee publicized this discovery to dispel the belief that the national cemetery was just a Union cemetery.[16]

Park staff were also able to acquire a few key artifacts under Magee's administration. Magee saw a family leave flowers at the grave of Lt. Christian Nix, 24th Wisconsin Infantry, on Memorial Day. He asked if Nix was their ancestor and learned that their grandmother still had Nix's papers and original headboard, which was fashioned out of a

12. Ibid., 6-7.

13. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1984," February 25, 1985, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP; and Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985," February 2, 1986, Folder 157 A2621 Annual Reports, Series 1, Park Archive.

14. Donald Magee, "Adjutant Records Help Stones River Research On Buried Union Troops," *Civil War Book Exchange & Collector's Newspaper,* March-April 1987.

15. Tammy Hall, "In Union Gravesite Stones River Holds Rebels," *Daily News Journal,* May 27, 1984.

16. Magee Interview, 31.

fence. The park acquired the headboard.[17] Magee also arranged a trade with the city of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, for a Napoleon cannon, which was one of four guns captured by Confederate forces from Battery C, First Illinois Light Artillery during the Battle of Stones River. The city of Oshkosh was using it as part of a memorial for Camp Bragg, a Civil War camp named after General E.S. Bragg. The memorial was situated on a street corner. The cannon had a special engraving for Colonel William D. Moore of the 8th Tennessee Volunteers, who was killed there on December 31, 1862. The city agreed to trade the Stones River cannon for something similar in the park's collection. The park placed the cannon on display in the visitor center in April 1987.[18] Both the headboard and cannon were artifacts the park could use to tell very personal stories about the battle.

Interpreting Military History

Park staff continued many of the programs started by superintendents Hunter and Sanders, particularly environmental education and living history, but they refocused their interpretive goals to telling the story of the battle. Park staff revived traditional military history, but tried to incorporate personal stories into the interpretive programs. At the same time, park staff also worked to discourage various recreational activities that they believed to be inconsistent with the park's mission.

Magee and his staff renewed relations with current military personnel and offered to host field trips at the battlefield, commonly referred to as “staff rides.” This partnership harkened back to the early years of battlefield preservation under the War Department, when national military parks were to be preserved in part so that military personnel could study these engagements. Park staff established relationships with ROTC departments at MTSU, Tennessee Tech University, and Vanderbilt University. The park also cooperated with the U.S. Army's Ordnance, Missile, and Munitions School in Huntsville, Alabama, which chose the battlefield as a site to teach military tactics and strategy.[19]

The park continued offering living history demonstrations. Magee and his staff worked to find new ways to utilize this tool to tell the battle's story. They held small encampments, regularly on the Fourth of July, complete with cannon demonstrations at the Artillery Monument. Magee recalled one living history interpreter presented a program as a Civil War doctor to talk about Civil War medicine and healthcare. Perhaps the most innovative program the park developed during Magee's tenure was Hallowed Ground, an evening program held in the national cemetery, which told stories about those affected by the battle (see Fig. 48). This program began in 1983 and remains a popular park program. Today, it covers a number of themes from the battlefield to the home front through letters and other primary source documents written by or about soldiers buried in the national cemetery.[20]



Figure 48 Park Ranger Bettie Cook giving Hallowed Ground program in December 1987. Courtesy of STRI.

17. Ibid., 16-17.

18. Barbara Schmitz, "Unusual deal offered for historical cannon," Oshkosh (WI) *Northwestern*, March 11, 1987; Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1987," March 2, 1988, Folder 157 A-2621 Annual Reports, Park Archive.

19. Magee Interview, 28; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1984"; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985."

20. Magee Interview, 15-16; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1983."

Magee felt strongly that the park should be used for preserving the historic resources associated with the battle to tell the history of the Civil War, which meant that he saw some recreational activities as inappropriate. He discouraged large group activities, such as bike-a-thons, rallies, concerts, and jamborees. Civil War history groups, in particular, supported this policy, because they preferred more reverent activities to take place at the park.[21] Magee acknowledged, however, that regular visitation came from hikers, walkers, and joggers, which he did not discourage. In fact, he continued to work with recreation groups, like the Boy Scouts of America, who have placed American flags at the gravestones at the national cemetery on Memorial Day every year since 1983. He worked with several Eagle Scouts to complete projects around the park. Magee also forged a relationship with MTSU's Park and Recreation program.[22] Magee and park staff worked to be proactive about what activities were appropriate and inappropriate for a national battlefield and cemetery. Ironically, Magee allowed weddings on the national battlefield, explaining, "love is a battlefield," in an oral history interview. The Artillery Monument area was a popular site for couples to get married because it afforded a view of Stones River.[23]

1987 Boundary Expansion Legislation

In 1984, Middle Tennesseans elected Democrat Bart Gordon to Al Gore, Jr.'s vacated seat in the House of Representatives. Gordon was a sixth generation Rutherford County resident. He attended MTSU before pursuing his law degree at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Gordon became the state chairman of the Democratic Party while he was practicing law. He ran a successful campaign for the House of Representatives in Tennessee's 6th District when Gore sought a seat in the Senate.[24]

Tennessee's 6th District was one of the fastest growing areas in the United States. Between 1980 and 1986, his district increased 12 percent with an additional 61,195 people. Rutherford County alone experienced a 22 percent increase during this period. Part of this growth was due to the establishment of the Nissan automotive plant in Smyrna, which represented the largest Japanese foreign investment in the world when the company broke ground in 1981.[25] This new factory brought in hundreds of jobs in addition to new businesses that were an outgrowth of Nissan.

With such rapid growth, Gordon was interested in improving quality of life in his district and decided that Stones River National Battlefield and Murfreesboro Greenway were keys to his vision. Gordon did not visit the battlefield much growing up, but he realized it was an under-utilized resource when he read the 1980 GMP. He recalled his reaction to the GMP in an oral history interview,

> So really that was sort of an epiphany in a couple of ways: one, we could better visualize what we could do for the battlefield; and the second thing is that in it, it had a greenway that was projected to go from the Rosecrans...which is more in town [and] connects and comes out here through the floodplain. And that really intrigued me.[26]

The GMP gave him a set of actions to take to help the park realize its full potential to better serve the residents of the 6th District.

Gordon arrived in Washington, D.C., shortly before other Civil War battlefields began waging preservation battles that made national headlines. Manassas National Battlefield was once again embroiled in controversy when Hazel/Peterson Companies purchased the Marriott property and started to construct a regional shopping center. While the NPS remained neutral about development on adjacent property, Congress did not. Preservation groups brought national attention to Manassas National Battlefield and the intensity of public interest in a site right outside of

21. "Membership Memo," Civil War Round Table Associates, May-June 1982, Personal Papers of Donald Magee.

22. Magee Interview, 16, 18; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1983."

23. Magee Interview, 14.

24. Bart Gordon Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, October 16, 2015, 1.

25. Kevin Ellis, "6th, 7th Districts Among Fastest Growing in U.S.," *The Tennessean,* February 9, 1988; Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture 2.0, s.v., "Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corporation, U.S.A.," https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=999 (accessed February 12, 2016).

26. Gordon Interview, 3.

the nation's capital motivated Congressional leaders to intervene. In 1988, Congress issued a "legislative taking," which meant that the federal government would immediately take ownership of the land, with costs determined at a later date. "Stonewalling the Mall" brought greater attention to battlefield preservation efforts across the country, such as development pressures that were happening at Stones River National Battlefield.[27]



Figure 49 Blanton House foundations, photographed during the winter of 1989-1990. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

STRI staff and local historic preservationists were dismayed to see more of the greater battlefield lost to development. In 1985, Richard Smith Buick purchased a 30-acre tract of land extending from Broad Street to Van Cleve Lane near the Artillery Monument (site of the Marbro Drive-In Theater) and opened a new car dealership. New businesses opened on Highway 41. Off Manson Pike, less than a mile from the southwest portion of the park boundary, developers began constructing a new residential area called Manson Retreat with ten new homes. Local historic preservationists from the Rutherford County Historical Society (RCHS) attempted to purchase the Blanton property, which was for sale, through a state program called the Safe Growth Acquisition Fund (see Fig. 49). The state had made the house site, which was the site of a Civil War hospital, its top priority for historic properties proposed for the program. The RCHS contacted the Trust for Public Lands to purchase the property until the state approved the funds. Unfortunately, the owner sold the property to a local developer before the Trust for Public Lands could act. Despite appeals from local preservationists, the developer did not preserve the Blanton house foundation.[28] The next year Congressman Gordon and his Chief of Staff, Kent Syler, toured the battlefield in preparation for submitting the land acquisition proposal. They and park staff found that much of the 284 acres proposed in the 1980 land acquisition plan were now developed or were planned for development.[29] Their 1987 proposal included 70 acres that potentially could be added to the park, and Gordon intended to introduce the bill in the early part of the 1987 session. However, when Gordon introduced House bill 1994, he had reduced the 70 acres to 53 acres. He did include in the bill a portion of Fortress Rosecrans owned by the City of Murfreesboro and a trail along Stones River connecting the earthworks with the park. The House held hearings on June 11, 1987, and legislation passed the House on June 29. Senators Jim Sasser and Al Gore sponsored Senate bill 963, which was identical to House bill 1994. The Senate passed the bill on December 11. President Reagan signed the legislation as Public Law 100-205 on December 23, 1987 (see Appendix C).[30]

27. Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 132-61.

28. Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985." Deed records show that William F. Ketron Sr. and William F. Ketron Jr. purchased this land from John and Patricia Booher in October 1984 for $45,000. The Ketrons subdivided the property into four parcels. Tract Number 2 includes an "old cemetery," presumably the Blanton cemetery. William F. Ketron Jr. was a local insurance agent, but became involved in county and state politics. He is currently a state senator. He and his wife lived on the Blanton property until at least 1999, when he did an oral history interview with Miranda Fraley, in which he describes the cemetery being in his backyard and finding Civil War era artifacts while doing yard work. Members of Friends of Stones River National Battlefield, who live nearby, indicate that he still lives there. In 1994, he and his father sold a 7.3-acre tract to the National Park Service for $73,000. Recently, Senator Ketron has been outspoken in favor of heritage preservation. In 2016, he sponsored the Tennessee Heritage Protection Act, which makes it difficult to change or remove monuments on public property that commemorate a historical event or person. Warranty Deed, October 16, 1984, Deed Book 339, Page 251, and Warranty Deed, July 15, 1994, Deed Book 530, Page 807, both Rutherford County Register of Deeds; William F. Ketron, Jr. Interview by Miranda Fraley, Murfreesboro, TN, June 22, 1999, 5-6, Park Library; Sam Stockard, "Heritage Act Passes," *Murfreesboro Post,* March 3, 2016.

29. Steve Rogers, press release, "Stones River Funds Clear House, Headed for Senate," October 11, 1990, Legislative Issues—Projects, Bart Gordon Papers, Albert Gore Research Center (AGRC), Murfreesboro, TN.

30. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1986," February 2, 1987, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP; Magee,

While Congress was deliberating the bill, a local landowner donated approximately seven acres to the Nature Conservancy, in anticipation of Congress expanding the park's boundary. This parcel of land was called the "Nature Conservancy Tract" and is situated across from the Artillery Monument and between Stones River and Thompson Lane.[31]

In 1988, Congress appropriated $565,000 for the acquisition of 53 acres, $35,000 for a study of Fortress Rosecrans, and $35,000 for a study of the hiking trail.[32] The 53 acres included in the boundary expansion focused on a few key areas. One area included the Pioneer Brigade earthworks, which was being used as a garbage dump by the landowner. Visitors could only see the earthworks through a fence. Another area was a parcel where the Regular Brigade had its first engagement. It also happened to be of ecological importance, because personnel found Tennessee coneflower growing in this area. The last acquisition area was around the Artillery Monument.[33] The NPS finished the Trail Study and Environmental Assessment in 1989. The study's authors presented three alternatives with trails east or west of Stones River, or an overland route. The park and city held public hearings and contacted individual landowners. The NPS selected the west side of the river as its "preferred alternative," and began preparing design drawings, undertaking environmental compliance and Section 106, and land acquisition.[34]

Friends of Stones River National Battlefield

Several individuals and community organizations were concerned about loss of the greater battlefield and wanted to support the park's land acquisition efforts as well as assist general park operations. For example, the park coordinated preservation advocacy efforts with RCHS to purchase the Blanton property. Even though their efforts were unsuccessful, this partnership shows that there were individuals and groups who had interests and priorities that matched the park's.

Some supporters decided to form an organization to assist the park. In 1988, volunteers helping with living history programs formed the Stones River Volunteer Historical Association to help with park interpretive programs and other efforts. It is unclear how long this group operated, because the next year, park supporters formed another group called the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield.[35] Group organizers filed the necessary paperwork for the organization to have 501(c)3 status as a non-profit. The Friends group hoped to assist the park in land acquisition efforts and aid park operations, including interpretive programs.

The first members of the Friends had a variety of interests in the park. Mike Liles, a park neighbor, was elected to the board along with Bob Ragland and Bertha Chrietzberg.[36] Bob and Sue Ragland were living history volunteers and Bob had been active with the Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Round Table.[37] Bertha Chrietzberg was an environmental activist and outdoor recreation supporter who taught recreation courses at MTSU. She was a founding member of the Tennessee Scenic Rivers Association in 1966 and

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"Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1987;" *An Act to Amend the Boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and for Other Purposes,* Public Law 100-205, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 23, 1987).

31. Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1987."

32. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1988," March 2, 1989, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

33. Matt Bolch, "Battlefield expansion awaited," *Daily News Journal,* October 23, 1988.

34. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report," March 2, 1990, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

35. Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1988"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report."

36. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report."

37. The Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable disbanded in 1978, due to waning interest and criticism against the Forrest name. Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable, *The Best of Gaus' Bugle: Selections from the Official Publication of the Nathan Bedford Forrest Civil War Roundtable* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University 1978), 1.

Tennessee Trails Association in 1968. Naturally, she was involved in the Murfreesboro Greenway project as well.[38] Together with Pennie Jekot, the group's president, Liles, Ragland, and Chrietzberg negotiated for donation of privately held lands adjacent to the Artillery Monument area.[39]

Change in Administration

The year 1989 proved fruitful for many changes at STRI. The park was expanding its boundaries to include an additional 53 acres. Park staff were working with the City of Murfreesboro to preserve Fortress Rosecrans and construct the new greenway trail. The park had a new friends group. Don Magee was promoted to superintendent of the USS Arizona National Memorial in Hawaii in June. Mary Ann Peckham took over the superintendency at STRI later that August.[40]

Like other superintendents before her, Peckham had a mix of NPS experience before taking the job at STRI. Peckham earned her bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. She pursued her master's degree in American history there, but did not finish as she became involved in her NPS career. Her first NPS job was a seasonal position at Little Bighorn National Battlefield (then known as Custer Battlefield National Monument). She worked there in 1976, during the battle's one hundredth anniversary. She then moved to Cape Hatteras National Seashore for an extended seasonal position where she worked as a cultural resource management technician. There, she earned her first permanent job as a park technician, in which she was tasked with law enforcement, resource management, and campground operation duties. After several years, she moved on to the Blue Ridge Parkway, where she worked as an interpretive specialist for a period of time before being named Chief of Interpretation for the park. She had experience in interpretation, law enforcement, resource management, and administration by the time she was named superintendent of Stones River National Battlefield.[41]

The 1987 legislation laid out Peckham's priorities for the next few years. She continued to work on land acquisition efforts, including putting together a Land Protection Plan with park and regional staff to prioritize the agency's efforts to expand the park. She continued to build a partnership with the city to preserve and interpret Fortress Rosecrans and build the Greenway.[42] The park also received funding in 1989 to add an extension to the visitor center for public restrooms, so she managed that process.[43] In 1990, the park was able to remove power lines in the park, which had been proposed in the 1980 GMP.[44] She and her staff initiated key planning efforts, including a Resource Management Plan and new GMP. To help the park accomplish these goals, she and her staff often looked to volunteers and the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield to increase the park's operational capacity.

Two years after Peckham's arrival, the NPS celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. Anniversary celebrations were capped off by a major conference of park superintendents in Vail, Colorado, to discuss the future of the agency in the twenty-first century. A number of recommendations came from this conference, collectively referred to as the "Vail Agenda," including the primacy of protecting park resources, ensuring visitor accessibility, educating the public, being proactive leaders, and incorporating science into park management.[45]

38. "Governor's Environmental Stewardship Award Winners: 25th Anniversary," Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation, June 2011, https://www.tn.gov/assets/entities/environment/attachments/gesa-25-anniversary.pdf (accessed February 8, 2016).

39. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report."

40. Ibid.

41. Mary Ann Peckham Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, October 13, 2015, 2-3.

42. Ibid., 10-11.

43. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report." SEAC archeologists completed a survey for the visitor center addition and parking lot expansion and found no diagnostic material. Stephen C. Bryne, *An Archeological Survey of the Visitor Center Addition and Parking Lot Expansion, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, May 1990), i-ii.

44. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1990 Annual Report," March 29, 1991, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

45. National Park Service, Steering Committee of the 75th Anniversary Symposium, *The Vail Agenda: Report and*

Some of the issues raised at the Vail conference had an impact on STRI operations, including resource protection and professionalization.

1991 Boundary Expansion

Congress continued to support battlefield preservation in the early 1990s. After the debacle at Manassas National Battlefield, Congress authorized a fifteen-member Civil War Advisory Commission in November 1990 at the request of Secretary of Interior Manuel Lujan Jr. This collection of historians, preservationists, Congressional members, and NPS Director were tasked with identifying sites related to the Civil War and determining their relative significance, similar to the War Department survey authorized in 1926.[46] In 1993, the commission released its report, which listed the status of every Civil War battlefield site and categorized them based on significance, integrity, and preservation priority. The commission ranked these sites in four general groups based on priority. Stones River was listed in the fourth priority group with other "fragmented battlefields" considered to have low integrity.[47]

Although the report was not published until 1993, Backlund indicated in an oral history interview that park staff and Congressman Gordon were aware that the commission was going to give the park a low priority ranking prior to the report's release. This caused Congressman Gordon and battlefield preservationists great concern because development continuously threatened the battlefield and they wished to protect additional land. Park and regional staff had put together a Land Protection Plan, which prioritized the parcels the park wanted to purchase. Park staff, supporters, and Congressman Gordon wrote letters to the advisory commission asking them to reconsider this low ranking. Gordon hoped a higher ranking would help additional legislation move through Congress.[48]

Despite this low ranking, Congressman Gordon sponsored another bill that Congress approved as Public Law 102-225 on December 11, 1991 (see Appendix C). This law expanded the park boundary again by an additional 300 acres, raising the land-acquisition cap of the park to 712 acres. Approximately twenty-five acres came from the City of Murfreesboro, which agreed to donate Fortress Rosecrans to the park. This piece of legislation also called the NPS to update its GMP, which typically is not required for most boundary expansions.[49]

Congressman Gordon and his allies in Congress were very much working against the clock. In 1991, the park lost a key property on the east side of Van Cleve Lane, called the Cowan-Gannon Tract. Congressman Gordon and his associates were negotiating on the park's behalf, while also preparing the 1991 boundary expansion legislation for Congress. Gordon indicated in an oral history interview that NPS staff were a bit hesitant in making an offer and this delay was long enough for another buyer, New Vision Church, to purchase the property. NPS staff, Gordon, and park supporters appealed to New Vision Church to consider selling the property to the federal government, but the church's board did not budge. They requested that the NPS exclude their property from the park's new boundary, and the NPS had to acquiesce.[50]

Once again, land acquisition affected African American residents of the historic Cemetery

Recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1992), 1-3.

46. Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas,* 160.

47. Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Table 7: Civil War Battlefields Based on Preservation Priorities," in *Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1993), https://www.nps.gov/abpp/cwsac/cwstab7.html (accessed June 27, 2016).

48. Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Part Two, Murfreesboro, TN, October 15, 2015, 5-6; National Park Service, "Land Protection Plan Stones River National Battlefield 1992 Update," October 15, 1992, Folder 48 L-14 Land Protection Plan, Park Archive.

49. *To expand the boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and other purposes*, Public Law 102-225, 102d Congr., 1st Sess. (December 11, 1991); Backlund Interview Part Two, 1.

50. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1991 Annual Report," March 26, 1992, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP; Gordon Interview, 7; Kent Syler Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 13, 2015, 6-7.

community. Backlund recalled that many, but not all, of the African American residents living in the expanded boundary area on the west side of the park and on the north side of the national cemetery had been previously affected by the creation of the park in the 1920s. Despite this disruption, he remembered park staff having a positive relationship with the park's African American neighbors.[51]

A major road change both helped and inhibited the park. Since the 1970s, the City of Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, and Tennessee Department of Highways had discussed building a connector road from Broad Street (Highway 41) to Old Fort Parkway, and included such a road in Murfreesboro's twenty-year transportation plan.[52] Backlund remembered that there was a small dirt road in that general area, but nothing that was used heavily.[53] STRI staff had been in support of such a road over the years, because it would divert local traffic off of Van Cleve Lane while also bringing visitors closer to the park.

In 1992 and 1993, planning for this road, called the Thompson Lane extension, was well underway.[54] Park staff and preservationists grew concerned about the potential impact on the park and the expanded boundary. They were able to seek research and planning support from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), a new federal program created by the Secretary of Interior in 1991, an outgrowth of the Civil War Advisory Sites Commission. The purpose of the ABPP is to promote preservation efforts of battlefield sites from all wars on U.S. soil by providing technical expertise to public and private partners. The ABPP also administers a grant program to help with battlefield preservation and planning.[55] Between 1992 and 1997, the ABPP awarded $79,150 to Rutherford County for various studies and projects related to Stones River National Battlefield, including Study Alternatives for Thompson Lane Beltway Corridor and Interpretation Project (1992), Interpretive Plan for Greater Stones River Battlefield (1993), Stones River Transportation Mitigation Study (1996), and Consensus Planning at STRI (1997).[56] According to Backlund, these efforts were parlayed into a Battlefield Protection District instituted in the mid-1990s (see Appendix F).[57] However, this zoning was superseded in the mid-2000s, when the City of Murfreesboro instituted the new Gateway Design Overlay District Zone. According to Donald Anthony, Principal City Planner for Murfreesboro, this new overlay incorporates and strengthens the original ordinance.[58]

The Thompson Lane extension opened to traffic on November 12, 1993, and the NPS closed Van Cleve Lane between Manson Pike and Old Nashville Highway the same day with the intention to close the part between Old Nashville Highway and Highway 41 at a later date. No community members protested the lane's closure, a notable change from when the NPS discussed closing the road in the 1950s.[59] The extension, however, did not help the park's land acquisition program. The city extended water and sewer along the connector road, which brought in commercial businesses close to the park.[60]

The park's land acquisition program brought tensions between the agency and landowners, preservationists and those interested in promoting the area's economic growth. The Land Protection Plan, which was a useful document for the NPS, became a negotiation tool for property owners. Some landowners tried to rezone their properties

51. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 7.

52. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Recommended Transportation Plan: Murfreesboro Area Transportation Study," N.D., Memphis, TN, Folder 437 D-18 Master Plan, Series 1, Park Archive.

53. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 5.

54. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield Report," March 12, 1993, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

55. "About Us," American Battlefield Protection Program, https://www.nps.gov/abpp/aboutus.htm (accessed June 28, 2016).

56. American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Tennessee* (Washington, DC: American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service, December 2009), 21.

57. Backlund Interview, Part Three.

58. Angela Sirna, conversation with Donald Anthony, Principal Planner City of Murfreesboro, July 26, 2016, author's notes.

59. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1993 Annual Report," March 16, 1994, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

60. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 5.

from residential to commercial. Mike Liles, a founding member of the Friends group, tried to do this three times with his property, a .65-acre parcel that fronts Old Nashville Highway. The NPS offered him $22,000 for his property in 1989. He turned down the offer and tried to rezone his property in 1990, but was unsuccessful. The NPS again offered him $22,000 in 1991, which he also dismissed. In 2004, the NPS offered him $32,000 for his property, which he again declined. In 2006, he tried again to have the property rezoned to commercial, because he had a buyer interested in building a Civil War relic store or antique shop. The *Murfreesboro Post* quoted Liles as saying "The property should belong to the battlefield, but like any owner of any piece of property I want what it is worth." The newspaper mentioned that a nearby parcel zoned commercial off of Gresham Lane near Medical Center Parkway sold for $215,000 an acre. Liles offered the NPS first refusal if they did not oppose his bid to rezone. The NPS did not take his offer, and once again park staff had to speak against his request at public meetings, since it was within the proposed park boundary. After this last request was denied, Liles decided to build a house on his property, which is currently a park in-holding.[61]

Another controversy ignited once the Thompson Lane extension was completed. The NPS sought to purchase a tract of land owned by a local veterinarian named Raymond Miller, which was located at the intersection of Manson Pike and Van Cleve Lane. At one point, he tried to rezone his property from residential to commercial to sell to the Middle Tennessee Electric Membership Corporation to build a service center. NPS supporters spoke on the park's behalf to prohibit that zoning change. Like Liles, Miller wanted to maximize the amount he could get from the federal government. While negotiating with the NPS, he purchased road frontage from his farmer neighbor on the other side of Thompson Lane, which raised the purchase price considerably.[62] Miller requested the federal government condemn his property so that he could obtain a fair price for his land.[63] The court awarded him $3,589,000 for fifty acres on October 16, 1998.[64]

Additional development proposals came from large corporations that also threatened the battlefield, similar to the proposed mall at Manassas National Battlefield. In 1998, the Dell Corporation bought options on two tracts totaling 400 acres south of Manson Pike, between Thompson Lane and I-24. The company abandoned its plans, however, after receiving a development offer from the City of Nashville and hearing local concern about the loss of historic land.[65]

The NPS faced development pressures not only from private landowners and corporations, but the city itself. The City of Murfreesboro developed a proposal for a conference center and business park just east of Stones River National Battlefield off of Manson Pike. Local citizens against this project formed a group called "Referendum Now" and presented city officials with a petition asking for a referendum on the project. The galvanizing concern was the use of tax dollars to fund private investment, but local preservationists joined the effort because of the center's potential impact on STRI. The city withdrew its plan before the referendum could be held.[66]

Cumulatively, the NPS land acquisition program in the 1990s unleashed feelings in the community that the federal government should not interfere with the rights of property owners. Larry Hicklen observed much of these discussions from his store, Yesteryear, right next to the park visitor center entrance. His property was also included in the proposed park boundary. He recalled that community relations soured after the federal government condemned the Miller property.

> There was a point in time where the park was making a run to acquire property. I think it was

61. Erin Edgemon, "Skirmish surfaces over lot adjacent to battlefield," *Murfreesboro Post,* October 8, 2006; Backlund Interview, Part Three.

62. Syler Interview, 6.

63. Peckham Interview, 13-14.

64. Chad Gillis, "Jury Says Land Worth $3.5 Million," *Daily News Journal,* August 16, 1998; Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1998- September 1999," Annual Report," January 25, 2000, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

65. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1998- September 1999."

66. Ibid.

> during Mary Ann Peckham's tour of duty as superintendent. And the methods the park went about procuring the land alienated a lot of the local landowners and it was like, "We're Big Brother and we're going to take it whether you like it or not." And that turned out, in my opinion, to be a huge mistake. Because just one parcel alone, the Miller farm, they offered a fraction of what he had already been offered for just a small part of it and it went to court. And Dr. Miller got like—I forget now but it was like in the million [dollar] plus area that ate up a couple or three years' budget for the park and created a real bad taste in the mouth of the neighbors of the park that it wasn't a cooperative environment. And after that, I think the government took on to, "We're not going to do that anymore."[67]

Hicklen indicates that local community members felt the federal government was overstepping itself, and the NPS realized it needed to scale back.

Backlund speculates that residents in Rutherford County were growing more conservative during this period. They were not always supportive of federal expenditures for park land, which they did not see as essential to their community. These feelings reflected larger political changes, particularly when Republicans took over both houses of Congress after the 1994 election. Gordon introduced legislation in 1995 to expand the boundary by an additional seven hundred acres, but it never made it out of committee.[68] Tensions between Democratic President Bill Clinton and the Republican Congress were so strong that the federal government shut down briefly from November 14-19, 1995, and again from December 16, 1995, to January 6, 1996, over Congressional disagreements regarding the federal budget. STRI had to close during those periods. It is unsurprising, then, that Gordon was unable to pass any additional boundary expansion legislation with the Republican-led 104th U.S. Congress.

Resource Management Plan

While Congressman Gordon and his staff were working to expand the park's boundaries, Peckham and NPS staff developed a new Resource Management Plan for STRI to evaluate its current policies and guide natural and cultural resource management. In 1989, the NPS Washington Office issued guidance to parks about how to prepare these documents, which they recommended be updated every four years.[69] STRI finished its plan in 1991.

The focus of the Resource Management Plan was mostly the restoration of the battlefield back to its 1862 appearance, but planners acknowledged the centrality of natural resource management in accomplishing that goal. In the Natural Resource Section, planners wrote that the park lacked all baseline data to meet Phase I of Servicewide Standards. In particular, planners showed concern for exotic plant species and the impacts of nearby development on wildlife habitat, water and air quality, and noise pollution. Now that the park was involved in the Greenway, which was located next to the river, park staff were now responsible for a riparian area. However, they could not determine the impacts of these issues, because the park lacked all baseline data. Planners put forth a number of project proposals to help the park meet some of these needs, mostly baseline data.[70]

It took more than four years for STRI to get the natural resources baseline data it needed. In fact, work on gathering this information did not begin until 1995, when the Nature Conservancy began an inventory and monitoring project on the cedar glades, producing the report *Vascular Plant Inventory, Baseline and Photo Point Monitoring, and Rare Species Monitoring of the Calcareous Glades of Stones River National Battlefield.* The Nature Conservancy started another inventory in 1997 for vascular plants within the park. *Vascular flora of Stones River National Battlefield including notes on natural communities and race species* was completed in 1999. In 1996, the park worked with staff from Great Smoky Mountains National Park on an exotic plant project by surveying the park for exotic plants and training staff in identification and control techniques.[71] In FY 2000, the park

67. Larry Hicklen Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 13, 2015, 11.

68. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 6;, "6th, 7th Districts Among Fastest Growing in U.S."

69. Associate Directors of Natural and Cultural Resources to Regional Directors, Memorandum, "Final Guideline for Resources Management Plans," March 15, 1989, Folder 391A N-16 Resource Management Plan, Park Archive.

70. National Park Service, "Resource Management Plan Stones River National Battlefield," 1991, 5-7, Folder 391A N-16 Resource Management Plan, Park Archive.

71. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-Septmber 1997 Annual Report," March 1998,

received funding from the NPS Water Resources Division for Water Quality Monitoring. MTSU Biologist Dennis Mullen completed a study of fish in Lytle Creek, which he shared with the park.[72] The park lacked the staff with the subject matter expertise to carry out this work, so staff forged partnerships with organizations and researchers to undertake this work.

The Cultural Resource Section of the Resource Management Plan also revealed gaps in the park's data. Primarily, planners noted the need for a Historic Resource Study to identify sites relating to the greater battlefield to inform land acquisition activities. The park did not have a comprehensive archeological survey, and the lands to be acquired needed to be evaluated for archeological sources. Planners noted that the national cemetery had lost some of the design elements included in the 1892 "as built" drawing, and needed a new cultural landscape report. They showed concern for the impact on the area's urbanization on the park's cultural resources, such as increased traffic on historic Van Cleve Lane and the effects of pollution on the Hazen Brigade Monument. They also noted that the park's administrative history had not been updated since 1958. But probably most concerning was that the park's museum collection, which included about 300 objects, was being stored in the basement of the Visitor Center without a collection management plan or an assessment of the space's temperature or humidity levels.[73]

Like the Natural Resource Section, it took much longer than four years for the park to start to address the issues outlined in the Cultural Resource Section of the Resource Management Plan. The NPS did manage to complete a Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) in 1994, which aimed at identifying, inventorying, and assessing the condition of features that comprised component landscapes within the park's boundary.[74]

In 1995, the park was selected for archeological investigations as part of the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP). The survey utilized five different testing techniques, including auger/shovel testing, test excavations, geophysical survey done by metal detector, EM 38 Ground Conductivity Instrument survey, and GSM-19 Overhauser Magntometer survey. Volunteers assisted with the metal detector survey and contributed 736 man-hours. They covered 103.65 acres and recovered 2,349 artifacts. Of these artifacts, 57 percent were related to the Civil War. Archeologists used location data to infer troop locations, types of weapons used, and intensity of fighting in certain areas. John Cornelison wrote in the survey report,

> This survey was the first major test of the metal detecting methodology on battlefield where the combatants used similar and generally indistinguishable weapons and tactics. Overall, the techniques were extremely successful and provided a wealth of information concerning the battle and other park resources.[75]

Despite these accomplishments, Cornelison did not publish his results until 2005.

The park lacked a dedicated cultural resource specialist to sustain momentum on cultural resource documentation and management, since permanent park staff were heavily involved in land acquisition activities and park planning efforts. Therefore, when Jim Lewis was hired in 1997, cultural resources became one of his collateral duties. The park hired a number of seasonal employees to help him with museum collections and other cultural resource work. By 1998, the park had a Scope of Collections Statement and had started work organizing its archives. That same year, the park received funding for a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for the national cemetery. Lucy Lawliss worked with Clint Genoble, a graduate student at Louisiana State University, on the CLR, which was the basis for his

"Superintendent's Annual Reports" Binder, Park Administrative Files.

72. Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1999 to September 2000 Annual Report," February 12, 2001, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

73. National Park Service, "Resource Management Plan Stones River National Battlefield," 8-11.

74. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield Cultural Landscape Inventory,* 1994.

75. John E. Cornelison, Jr., *An Archeological Report on a Geophysical and Limited Site Testing, Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee: A Regionwide Archeological Survey Program Project SEAC Accession #1167* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, 2005), 2.

master's thesis. The final report was never completed, however, and the park had to hire a contractor to restart the project in 2015. In 1998, the NPS completed a Cultural Landscape Inventory for the national cemetery.[76]

The Resource Management Plan also included a new technology, Geographic Information Systems (GIS), that was changing park resource management servicewide. Planners intended to use the technology for capturing baseline data for integrated management and long-term planning, including mapping exotic vegetation and land use planning. Recent innovations in GIS applications to historical sites, namely Civil War battlefields, also appeared promising for preservation and interpretation. The Washington Office commended the park for incorporating GIS in its management efforts and recommended ways the park might work with the regional GIS coordinator.[77]

Landscape Restoration and Earthworks Preservation

The Southeast Regional Office primarily dealt with land acquisition, but park staff were left to restore the landscape back to its 1862 appearance. Not all the land the park acquired from the 1987 and 1991 boundary expansions was free of modern intrusions. This meant removing houses, capping wells, and dealing with hazardous materials. Buildings over fifty years old had to be evaluated for the National Register of Historic Places. The NPS acquired part of a housing subdivision west of Thompson Lane across from the Hazen Brigade Monument, which included eleven-single family and duplex houses. Peckham and Backlund recalled that this was very new for Civil War parks to acquire land that was not "pristine," and the park did not have a lot of direction on how to proceed.[78] The staff eventually learned how to take the necessary environmental measures to remove the structures and restore the landscape, which is now a common issue for battlefield restoration.[79]

Most of the buildings acquired by the park were non-historic, but the park did partner with MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation to evaluate a few buildings for their historical significance. In 1996, the park acquired Tract 01-203 near the Artillery Monument. Known as the Vaughter tract, this parcel had a wood frame house that possibly dated to the nineteenth century with contemporary outbuildings (see Fig. 50). Tom Vaughter last lived in the house and raised pigs. He also had a number of peacocks that roamed his land.[80] Students at MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation investigated the house in 1993 and again in 1998. The 1993 team found that it did date from the nineteenth century and was built sometime between 1850 and 1890, but they could not specify whether or not the house was there during the battle. They suggested that it may be the same dwelling listed in the 1878 Beers Map, called the Collier-Leach House. Even if the dwelling post-dated the battle, the report noted that it may be significant for its relationship to Reconstruction.[81] The 1998 team confirmed these findings, but could not provide a specific construction date.[82] Although the investigators did not specify this, Tom Vaughter was African American. He was the son of Mary Smith

76. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-September 1997 Annual Report"; Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1997-September 1998 Annual Report," January 29, 1999, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP; National Park Service, *Stones River National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Inventory,* 1998.

77. Associate Director, Cultural Resources, to Regional Director, memorandum, "Resource Management Plan for Stones River National Battlefield," July 5, 1991, Folder 391A N-16 Resource Management Plan, Park Archive.

78. Quote from Peckham Interview, 9; Backlund Interview, Part Two, 6-7.

79. Peckham Interview, 9-10.

80. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-September 1997 Annual Report."

81. Edward A. Johnson to Mary Ann Peckham, letter, August 3, 1993, and James K. Huhta, Edward A. Johnson, and Liz M. Johnson, "Dating the Vaughter House: Preliminary Analysis of Material Evidence," Prepared by Middle Tennessee State University Center for Historic Preservation, Murfreesboro, TN, August 1992, both Folder 231 H-3015 Management, Preservation, & Maintenance, List of Classified Structures: Vaughter House, Series 1, Park Archive.

82. 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," Prepared by Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN, January 1999, Collection Number 0092, Series, 1, Stones River National Battlefield Museum Collection.

Vaughter, the daughter of Ellis Smith.[83] The federal government condemned a portion of her family's land in the 1960s to be added to the Artillery Monument area. Knowing what we know about Cemetery community today, this dwelling may have been part of that community. However, park staff did not know the story of Cemetery community very well at this point and thought that Cemetery community was limited to the "Cedars" area along Old Nashville Highway. The house, which was in poor condition, was razed after the NPS determined it was ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places.[84]



Figure 50 Vaughter House, included in 1999 MTSU Center for Historic Preservation Report. Likely photographed in 1998, photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

The park faced a pretty daunting environmental challenge when cleaning up a local garbage dump, called Rosebank, near Redoubt Brannan on the Clark tract, which was between the park boundary and Stones River, near the railroad. Removing houses was one thing, but removing a dump was another. Local residents began using this dump sometime in the 1950s. In fiscal year 1998, park staff began discussion with the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation about removing nearly forty years of detritus. The City of Murfreesboro began cleaning the dump in 1999.[85]

Park staff also had little guidance on earthwork restoration, which they realized as they began planning how to preserve Fortress Rosecrans after the City of Murfreesboro transferred it to the park. Peckham recalled the challenges to restoring the earthworks:

> Obviously, the earthworks, what we could know of them after surveying them, were highly invisible given the cover, trees, and whatever. There were pathways through it that were volunteer trails that were actually increasing the erosion of the earthworks. There was virtually no up-to-date thinking about how you preserve earthworks. So, first of all, you [needed to] "restore" some kind of a cover for those earthworks. And what do you do about the trees? And how do you stabilize them? What do you do here? There was very little guidance...that was available nationally. And maybe time is fortuitous here but we were very fortunate to have working with us the person who helped spearhead the whole planning effort to restore Fortress Rosecrans.[86]

The person that Peckham was referring to was Lucy Lawliss, who at the time was a landscape architect for the regional office. Lawliss helped staff at STRI put together an earthworks management plan.

83. Mary Smith Vaughter, Will, September 6, 1972, Book 13, Page 522, copy found in Vaughter House Research File, Collection Number 0092, Series, 1, Stones River National Battlefield Museum Collection; *1940 United States Federal Census, Civil District 9, Rutherford County, Tennessee*, Roll T627_3931, Page 5A, Enumeration District 75-10, (accessed through ancestry.com).

84. In the 1999 report, Carroll Van West determined that the house did not fit the larger pattern of African American settlement in Rutherford County, Tennessee, but the research of Rebecca Conard and her students has revealed that Cemetery community was more extensive than originally thought. The Vaughter property is located along historic Van Cleve Lane, which would have connected them to the Cedars area of Cemetery community. Huhta et al, "The Vaughter House"; Rebecca Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, May 2016), ii.

85. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1992 Annual Report"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1997-September 1998 Annual Report"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1998-September 1999 Annual Report."

86. Peckham Interview, 19-20. Lawliss finished her twenty-five year career with the NPS as superintendent of Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park, when she retired in 2015.



Figure 51 Photograph showing erosion at Fortress Rosecrans. Possibly photographed in 1930s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

NPS cultural resource staff were in the early stages of establishing standards for earthworks preservation and interpretation when the city of Murfreesboro transferred Fortress Rosecrans to the park. In 1989, the NPS published *Earthworks Management Manual*, which was based on investigations undertaken at four Virginia battlefields. These investigations uncovered two important conditions essential to earthworks preservation. First, vegetative cover with little human intervention is necessary to prevent erosion (see fig. 51). Second, earthworks in forested areas exhibit less erosion than those in open areas, and their features are more discernible.[87] This manual recommended that broomsedge (*andropogon virginicus*) be planted in open areas, which only needed to be mowed twice a year and discouraged visitors from walking on the earthworks. However, NPS cultural resource staff and consultants found that there needed to be more comprehensive guidance for sites outside Virginia, such as Fortress Rosecrans. In 1995, NPS cultural resource staff began work on a guide to sustainable earthworks management. The primary finding was that native grasses were equal to or superior to lawn-quality turf. Native grasses were better for adapting to changing climates and conditions.[88]

From their work at STRI, Lawliss and her colleague, Sean Eyring, used Fortress Rosecrans as a case study in earthworks restoration. When the NPS took ownership of the property, the earthworks were under unstable forest cover and infiltrated by exotic species. The park brought in an expert tree crew from parks in the Southeast Region to carefully thin the trees without using heavy equipment. The down trees were then put through a chipper on site and the mulch spread on trails and bare spots on the earthworks (see Fig. 52). They found that mulched trails were appropriate groundcover near the earthworks. The park also built a system of boardwalks at Fortress Rosecrans to help keep visitors off the earthworks and provide a better viewing platform for earthwork features. Before building the boardwalks, SEAC archeologists undertook subsurface testing along the proposed route. NPS staff removed the exotic species and hydroseeded a native grass-cover mix. The park then instituted a two-year monitoring program to observe the impact of invasive species, maintenance operations, animals, and visitors. This monitoring effort was conducted with the purpose of providing a site-specific monitoring protocol that could be adapted by other parks.[89] The park held a dedication ceremony in October 1994 (see Fig. 53).



Figure 52 Rehabilitation of Fortress Rosecrans. Photographed by Mike Mosley, 1994.

87. Andropogon Associates, *Earthworks Landscape Management Manual* (Philadelphia, PA: Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1989).

88. Shaun Eyring and Lucy Lawliss, "Preserving Battlefield Terrain: Technologies for Earthworks Management," *APT Bulletin* 31, no. 4 (2000): 14.

89. Eyring and Lawliss, "Preserving Battlefield Terrain,"16-18; John E. Cornelison, Jr., *Report on Archeological Investigation of Lunette Palmer and Redoubt Brannan, Parts of Fortress Rosecrans, Located in Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, SEAC Accessions 993 and 1021* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, October 1992), 2.



Figure 53 NPS Director Roger Kennedy, Congressman Bart Gordon, Murfreesboro Mayor Joe Jackson, and Superintendent Mary Ann Peckham cut the ribbon at the dedication of Fortress Rosecrans. Photographed by Lou Carter on October 31, 1994. Courtesy of STRI.

The park had to put planning and restoration work on hold for Redoubt Brannan in 1993 while someone investigated possible hazardous waste on the property due to the presence of Rosebank dump adjacent to the earthworks. The park was able to resume work and implement its plan in 1996. A tree crew comprised of staff from Blue Ridge Parkway, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, and Natchez Trace Parkway selectively removed trees from the site. Then, the site was hydroseeded with a mix of partridge pea, crimson clover, and annual rye grass, which was suggested by Historic Landscape Architect Darrell Morrison. Park staff continued to spot treat exotic species. A crew from Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Shiloh National Battlefield built an interior boardwalk in 1996. The park contracted Elkhorn Construction of Powell, Wyoming, to build a new parking lot and trail. However, the trail was unsatisfactory and the park had to find a new contractor. This new trail linked the site with the new Greenway trail.[90]

1999 General Management Plan

While the Southeast Regional Office worked to resolve land acquisition issues, park staff were tasked with updating the 1980 GMP, as required by Public Law 102-225. They quickly found that the GMP needed more than just an update; the park needed a completely new document. For this GMP, they had the assistance of the NPS Denver Service Center (DSC), which replaced the EODC and WODC in the early 1970s.[91] This centralized office helped parks like Stones River National Battlefield with planning and design projects by providing technical expertise in a variety of different areas. Despite the DSC's assistance, it took nearly eight years to complete a document that was meant to last fifteen years.

The process was languid for several reasons. At the park level, staff had to work through contentious land acquisitions, multiple planning projects, and various landscape restoration projects. The National Park Service implemented new initiatives, like the Vail Agenda, that park staff had to respond to. Furthermore, the 1990s brought a host of new technological tools that changed the way parks operated, with the advent of GIS and new centralized management procedures such as the Project Management Information System (PMIS). These new tools impacts how projects were formulated and funded.[92] Peckham indicated in an oral history interview another reason why the process may have been slow. She said that park staff and stakeholders wanted to take the opportunity to imagine a new vision for the park.

In fact, the planning team, with input from park staff and stakeholders, began work on the GMP by addressing the park's mission, vision, and interpretive themes first. Peckham recalled their approach:

> The lens through which that planning team, of which we were all a part, was to look at the resources and to explore and relate the significant stories to the resources. And focus less on building and infrastructure and more on what do we really need to save to tell the story.[93]

This meant they had to think through issues in interpretation, resource management, and visitor services.

The GMP team articulated the park's purpose, significance, and their vision for it. They stated that the purpose of the park "is to preserve and interpret the battlefield of Stones River, to mark

90. Peckham, " Stones River National Battlefield 1993 Annual Report"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-September 1997."

91. Kathy Mengak, *Reshaping Our National Parks and Their Guardians: The Legacy of George B. Hartzog Jr.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 219.

92. Backlund Interview, Part Three.

93. Peckham Interview, 16.

the significant sites, and to promote understanding and appreciation of the battle and related events."[94] Park planners noted several reasons for the battle's significance, including the "psychological and political" importance of the Union's victory for President Lincoln and the United States. They noted the commemorative aspects of the landscape, including the national cemetery and Hazen Brigade Monument. They also acknowledged the significance of Fortress Rosecrans in telling the story of Union occupation during the war. In their vision for the park, they wrote that the park should be "a non distracting environment where visitors can contemplate the sacredness of the battlefield, understand and appreciate the Battle of Stones River and its significance, [and] experience a personal connection with this past human conflict."[95]

Peckham and her staff were interested in creating a new interpretive vision for STRI. Planners were quite clearly unsatisfied with merely providing the military order of the battle in the confines of those three days that the battle took place. They were interested in getting at questions of causation and legacies of the war—why it mattered—although they refrained from saying slavery and emancipation explicitly. However, their line of thinking followed the direction of historical scholarship of the time. Historians were involved in creating a "New Military History," a new body of scholarship interested in larger socio-cultural issues.[96] The interpretive themes included in the GMP mark the influence of "New Military History" on park interpretation. Stones River National Battlefield seemed to have been at the leading edge of this conversation.

Park planners offered three possible alternatives in the 1999 GMP to achieve this new vision for the park. The first alternative focused on providing a "sense of place" to the visitor, and was most ambitious in acquiring more of the greater battlefield so that it could be restored back to its 1862 appearance. However, to achieve expanded land acquisition plans it would require an additional act of Congress. Alternative 1 also called for a 7.6-mile auto-tour route that would take visitors to all significant areas of the core battlefield. Park planners also envisioned a renovated visitor center, with a new documentary film, and new design plan for the Artillery Monument area, which they were now referring to as "McFadden Farm," named after the landowners there during the battle. Cumulatively, this alternative focused on restoring the battlefield's historic appearance and providing a quality visitor experience that encouraged them to leave the visitor center and engage with the landscape.[97]

Alternative 2 scaled down the boundary change proposal and instead focused on providing better interpretation and visitor experience within the authorized boundary. It called for many of the same things in Alternative 1, such as a new tour road, visitor center renovation, and McFadden Farm changes. However, the tour road would only be five miles long, not 7.6 miles as it had been prescribed in Alternative 1. Alternative 2 emphasized working with park neighbors, local agencies, and community groups to preserve and protect those landscapes with historical integrity outside of the park boundary.[98]

Alternative 3 is commonly referred to as the "No Action Alternative." It meant that park operations would continue as they currently were, but park planners were more interested in Alternatives 1 or 2. They did not feel that Alternative 3 was the most effective alternative, because they could not interpret the battle outside of the park boundary.[99]

Park planners presented these alternatives to the public in 1997 at three public meetings. The GMP team had regularly included public involvement throughout the process, starting in 1992, but this was an opportunity for stakeholders to share their thoughts on the entire document. Park planners preferred Alternative 1 at the time. However, public

94. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee: Final General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1998), 11.

95. National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, Environmental Impact Statement,* 11.

96. Jennifer Murray, *On a Great Battlefield: The Making, Management, and Memory of Gettysburg National Military Park, 1933-2013* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014), 169.

97. National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, Environmental Impact Statement,* 19-42.

98. Ibid., 43-48.

99. Ibid., 49-53.

comments varied in their support. Many respondents supported Alternative 1, because they felt the battlefield was worth protecting, the park's current size was inadequate to telling the battle's story, and the greater battlefield was under grave threat. But then there were many respondents who did not want to see the park expand and felt Alternative 2 was sufficient. They criticized the NPS for overreaching and taking too long to act on a property, consequently impinging on the rights of property owners. Interestingly, some of those supporting Alternative 1 were also displeased with how long the federal government took to acquire property.[100] These public meetings underscored the tensions between preservationists and those interested in economic development that colored the entire land acquisition process through the 1990s.

The NPS finalized the GMP and EIS two years later in 1999 and maintained Alternative 1 as the NPS's preferred action. However, the park lacked the necessary local support and favorable conditions in Congress to make an ambitious land acquisition program feasible. Contentious issues, such as the condemnation of the Miller property, really "poisoned the well" among local landowners, according to Jim Lewis.[101] A Republican-controlled Congress limited what Congressman Gordon could achieve. Additionally, he had his own challenges being a Democrat in an increasingly conservative area. It appeared that the window for land acquisition had mostly closed.

Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area

The GMP did place a new emphasis on park partnerships, which highlighted a national shift in Civil War preservation and interpretation. This shift was exemplified by the creation of the ABPP, which promoted private-public partnerships, since many people realized that the federal government could only purchase so much property. Communities would need a variety of tools to preserve their Civil War heritage. Under the guidance of Mary Ann Peckham, park staff were doing more to work with local organizations and Civil War preservation groups to help raise awareness of the greater battlefield. In the mid-1990s, Congress created a new type of national park unit called a Heritage Area that provided a unique opportunity to bring these groups together in a more formal manner to preserve and interpret the Civil War in Tennessee.

The National Heritage Area (NHA) program was created in 1995 as an innovative initiative to preserve and interpret large-scale landscapes that reflect the country's diverse heritage. This program is administered by the NPS, but the federal government does not own any land. These NHAs are partnership units, comprised of a variety of organizations, which is overseen by a board. Congress appropriated funds to help promote preservation, interpretation, and heritage tourism, but Congress intended NHAs to become self-sustaining after a period of years.[102]

James Huhta, Director of the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, put in a proposal in 1995 for the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area (TCWNHA), and it was one of eight selected for the new program. Huhta had been an advocate for preserving Civil War sites in Rutherford County and those that related to the Battle of Stones River. The TCWNHA is administered by the Center for Historic Preservation at MTSU and covers all the counties in Tennessee. It remains the only heritage area that encompasses an entire state. The NPS supported the TCWNHA when it was created, and park staff regularly work with the program. The creation of the heritage area in 1998 indicates that the NPS and preservationists realized there was a limit on what the federal government could do, particularly in terms of land acquisition. Partnerships were key in moving battlefield preservation and interpretation forward.[103]

Holding the High Ground

In 1998, superintendents from Civil War parks convened in Nashville for a conference called Holding the High Ground, where participants

100. Ibid., 123-133.

101. Jim Lewis Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 9, 2015, 12.

102. "History of the Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area," Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area, http://www.tncivilwar.org/who_we_are/history (accessed February 11, 2016).

103. Ibid.

were charged with answering the question, "How do we go about expanding the scope of interpretation on Civil War battlefields, giving visitors the opportunity to explore the fundamental contexts and meanings of the resources that comprise Civil War battlefields?"[104] NPS staff were joined by various stakeholders, including state politicians and real estate people, to discuss how various entities were managing and interpreting Civil War resources. Because the park is so close to Nashville, STRI staff helped organize the conference and hosted field trips. Discussants came to a consensus that slavery should be discussed as a cause of the Civil War, an argument based in historical scholarship, but could be unpopular with stakeholders with a firm hold on Lost Cause ideology.[105]

This conversation was notable in context with the "Culture Wars" of the 1980s and 1990s, when historical interpretations at museums, historic sites, and classrooms came under political scrutiny as long-revered narratives were challenged by new scholarship.[106] Indeed, the Sons of Confederate Veterans were not pleased with this new direction in Civil War park interpretation.[107]

Congressman Jesse Jackson sought to ensure that the conversation at the Nashville meeting was not just talk. In 2000, he attached an amendment to the Department of Interior's appropriation bill requiring the National Park Service to expand interpretation at Civil War sites, including the topic of slavery and its centrality as a cause of the Civil War. At the direction of the Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt, the NPS put together a report on the status of interpretation at NPS Civil War sites, which recognized that there were deficiencies in placing Civil War battles in larger context.[108] That same year, the NPS convened a conference at Ford's Theater, bringing in highly respected Civil War scholars such as James McPherson and Eric Foner to talk about the latest scholarship, particularly on the causes of the war, and issues in interpretation. One of the emergent themes in the symposium's proceedings was the link to the Civil Rights Movement, notably Congressman Jackson's remarks, which would influence sesquicentennial planning efforts in coming years.[109]

Staff at STRI were clearly influenced by these meetings. In Fiscal Year 2001, a year after Congressman Jackson's amendment, the park noted in its annual report that interpretive staff were now giving programs on slavery in Middle Tennessee.[110] This indicates that staff were responsive to these larger conversations. But it also means that planning documents like the GMP were out of date almost as soon as they were finished, because they could not keep pace with larger cultural changes.

Park Staffing

Magee had the assistance of Administrative Technician Frances McPeak, Maintenance Foreman Bobby Simerly, Park Technician Bettie Cook, Tractor Operator August King, Maintenance Worker Frankie King, Park Technician (Typing) Teresa Watson (then Teresa Bratcher), and Laborer Albert Pomplun. Ron Gibbs, Chief of Interpretation and Resources Management under James Sanders, left sometime before 1980. Dennis P. Kelly from Manassas National Battlefield replaced him, but the position was downgraded to GS-6 Lead Park Technician. Kelly helped fill the historian role at the park, but Magee had a hard time keeping historians at the park during his tenure. In 1982, Kelly switched positions with Daniel A. Brown at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield. Brown remained at STRI until 1985, when he was promoted to historian at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park. Charles Spearman from Fort Union National

104. Robert Sutton, "Holding the High Ground: Interpreting the Civil War in National Parks," *George Wright Forum* 25, no. 3 (2008): 47.

105. Ibid., 52.

106. Tom Engelhardt and Edward T. Linenthal, ed., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996), 5.

107. Murray, *On a Great Battlefield,* 170.

108. Robert Sutton, ed., *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War* (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National, 2001), under "Foreword," https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/rthg/fore.htm (accessed July 12, 2016).

109. Jesse Jackson, "A More Perfect Union," in *Rally on the High Ground*, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/rthg/chap1.htm (accessed July 12, 2016).

110. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2001 September 2000 to October 2001."

Monument replaced Brown in 1985.[111] These historians assisted with park research and preservation projects, but Magee said Bobby Simerly was just as essential in carrying out these projects. Magee remembers that Simerly, who was first hired by Jim Sanders, was "worth his weight in gold (see Fig. 54)."[112] He was a capable maintenance foreman and very helpful with the park's preservation projects.



Figure 54 Bobby Simerly observes historic preservation and archeology work on the Hazen Brigade Monument in July 1985. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

When Magee arrived at Stones River National Battlefield in 1980, he was mandated to report how the park was addressing Equal Opportunity Employment. NPS administrators were continuing the agency's drive to bring more women and minorities into the agency (see Fig. 55). Frances McPeak, Teresa Watson, and Bettie Cook were already at the park before Magee's arrival. The park continued to hire women and minorities for seasonal positions as well. McPeak, Watson, and Cook attended meetings and seminars on women working in the federal government. In 1982, the park held a mini-conference for women in the federal government.[113] These women offered invaluable skills and energy to their positions. Bettie Cook was the Environmental Education coordinator for the park, but also went through law enforcement training. Teresa Watson helped the park transition to the digital age when the park received its first computer in 1984.[114]



Figure 55 "Ms. Bettie Cook, Park Aid." Photograph, taken September 29, 1972, shows Cook in an NPS women's uniform standing next to STRI sign. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

Magee indicated that female employees were vulnerable to harassment from other male employees. He recalled one occurrence when one male staff member was relocated for harassing a female employee at the park.[115]

111. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1980," March 11, 1981; Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1982," March 7, 1983, both Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985."

112. Magee Interview, 8.

113. Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1980," March 11, 1981; Donald Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1982," March 7, 1983, both Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

114. Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1984."

115. Although this story of sexual harassment is anecdotal, it is worth noting since the Department of Interior inspector general recently investigated agency sexual harassment complaints and concluded that multiple women were repeatedly harassed at Grand Canyon National Park and Canaveral National Seashore. Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell has acknowledged that these findings are likely the "tip of the iceberg." Thus, anecdotal evidence like Magee's comment is important for recognizing a larger pattern servicewide. Magee Interview, 10; Lisa Rein, "Interior chief: 'Culture' of sexual harassment probably pervades the National Park Service," *Washington Post,* July 12, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2016/07/12/interior-chief-culture-of-sexual-harassment-likely-pervades-the-national-park-service/ (accessed July 13, 206).

Frankie King, a local African American man, continued to work in maintenance (see Fig. 56). King began working for the park in 1969 before enlisting in the Navy in 1971. He was released from the Navy a year later and resumed working for STRI. Park staff were stunned when, in 1989, Frankie was murdered in Nashville. His wife was convicted of the crime. Since he was a veteran, Frankie was buried in Stones River National Cemetery in Section Q.[116] As a longtime resident of the Bottom, Frankie provided a link between the park and the African American community.[117]



Figure 56 "Gus King and Frankie King setting up link chipper." Photographed by Teresa (Bratcher) Watson on December 5, 1980. Courtesy of STRI.

The death of Frankie King did not occur in the park, but Magee noted in the 1980 annual report that crime was on the rise in and around the park due to urbanization and economic insecurity.[118] A suicide occurred in the park during his tenure, and park staff found a decomposed head from another homicide.[119] Additionally, park staff found marijuana plants in the park. The police found that a former seasonal maintenance employee had used a shovel and fertilizer owned by the park to grow these plants. He was arrested and prosecuted.[120] Although these events were abnormal compared to regular park infractions, such as traffic citations and vandalism, they may have underscored the need for commissioned park rangers at Stones River National Battlefield. Charlie Spearman, the park historian and Chief Ranger, had a law enforcement commission. Bettie Cook also earned her commission while working for the park.

When Mary Ann Peckham took over the superintendency, she had the assistance of seven full time employees, including longtime employees Teresa Watson (then known as Teresa Warnack), Bettie Cook, and Bobby Simerly, who proved to be valuable assets for park administration, interpretation, and maintenance.[121] Frances McPeak retired in 1990 and Peckham promoted Watson to take her place.[122] Gilbert (Gib) Backlund joined the staff in 1992, followed by Jim Lewis in 1997. Both have remained at the park for long periods of time and have been influential in the park's management and operation.

Backlund earned a bachelor's degree in English from the University of Minnesota and gained a variety of experience in interpretation, law enforcement, and resource management working at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Mammoth Cave National Park, Glacier National Park, and Cape Hatteras National Seashore. He did a short-term detail at Stones River National Battlefield in 1991, before Superintendent Peckham hired him full-time in 1992. Backlund replaced Charles Spearman as Chief Ranger.[123] He was later promoted to Chief of Operations.

Under Peckham's direction, Backlund revamped the park's volunteer program as part of a larger effort to develop a more formal interpretive

116. "F. King," U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs BIRLS Death File, 1850-2010 (accessed through ancestry.com); Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1984"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report"; Magee Interview, 26-27; Hicklen Interview, 17-18.

117. Teresa Watson recalled the African American community being "standoffish," but employing people like Frankie King at the park helped ease tensions. Teresa Watson Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 18, 2016, 22.

118. Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1980."

119. Magee Interview, 19.

120. Ibid; Magee, "Superintendent's Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985."

121. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery 1989 Annual Report"; Peckham Interview, 7.

122. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1990 Annual Report."

123. Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Part One, Murfreesboro, TN, October 14, 2015, 1-3.

program. When Backlund arrived in 1992, the park had 282 volunteers, who donated 2,398 hours of their time. In Fiscal Year 2000, the volunteer program grew to include 599 volunteers with 5,783 hours.[124] Backlund indicates that upon his arrival, park volunteers were mostly self-directed and independent, which made it difficult for park staff to ensure quality, particularly in the living history programs, a popular volunteer activity. Backlund, under the guidance of Peckham, developed a list of standards for living history and a volunteer agreement form, which volunteers were asked to review and sign. He also devised an interpretive program schedule in order to make these programs more formalized and organized. Additionally, he arranged formal volunteer training. But there were definite power dynamics in the group. Some members felt a sense of ownership of the park and their programs, so introducing these new measures did cause some tensions between park staff and volunteers. With time, however, park staff were able to expand the volunteer program from primarily living history to other interpretive programs, visitor services, museum collections, maintenance, and resource management.[125]

Some park volunteers were active with the new Friends of Stones River National Battlefield. Bob and Sue Ragland, for example, were organizing members of the battlefield's living history group, while also members of the RCHS. Shirley Jones, who was a member of the RCHS, later became president of the Friends group, but became involved through land acquisition activities, which was a major concern for the group. Friends members often attended public hearings having to do with land acquisition and zoning and would speak in favor of the park. They informally talked to landowners, hoping to persuade them to sell to the federal government. They helped with some small transfers of land, but they did not have the budget for larger projects. Peckham was supportive of the group and often attended meetings to provide the park's perspective on matters.[126]

124. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1992 Annual Report"; Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1999 to September 2000 Annual Report."

125. Backlund Interview, Part One, 10-13.

126. Ibid., 9; Eddie Macon Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 3, 2016, 10.

In the early 1990s, there were further efforts to professionalize the agency, which were partly outlined by the Vail Agenda. Among the specific recommendations from the Vail conference was to establish or raise educational requirements for professional track positions.[127] This measure was supported by the ANPR, whose membership had formed to promote professionalization in the agency. Out of the Vail conference came the Ranger Futures/Ranger Careers program, which upgraded many ranger positions and eliminated the park technician series. This way, NPS personnel could move into higher rated positions that required additional educational knowledge and expertise.[128] This was an important development for STRI, as well as other parks in the system, because it allowed administrators to upgrade certain positions and bring in more experts for others. However, this had the effect of further specializing ranger positions and making it harder to hire individuals who could function as generalists.

Staff positions were upgraded over the next few years. In 1993, the superintendent's position was changed from GS-11 to GS-12. In 1998, it was raised again to GS-13. As Chief Ranger, Backlund was moved from a GS-9 to GS-11. He retained the GS-11 level when his position changed to Chief of Operations in 1996. The superintendent combined maintenance and ranger duties (which now included a Law Enforcement Park Ranger and an Interpretive Park Ranger) to form one division under his supervision. Teresa Watson, who was listed as a GS-7 Administrative Support Assistant in 1992 was later promoted to GS-9 Administrative Officer. Maintenance workers also saw wage increases. Bobby Simerly retired as the Maintenance Supervisor WS-6 in April 1996 after 23 years of government service. [129]

127. National Park Service, "National Parks for the 21st Century: The Vail Agenda," 1992, reproduced by Dilsaver, *America's National Parks,* https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anps/anps_8e.htm (accessed June 30, 2016).

128. "Association Actions," *Ranger* 10, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 6-7.

129. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1993 Annual Report;" Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1997-September 1998 Annual Report;" Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1999 to September 2000 Annual Report;" Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-Septmber 1997 Annual Report," March 1998, "Superintendent's Annual Reports" Binder, Park Administrative Files.

When Simerly retired, the superintendent abolished the Maintenance Supervisor (also referred to as Maintenance Foreman) position and created the Maintenance Work Leader position. Laura Stresemann transferred from Greenbelt Park to fill this position in May 1997.[130]

With a budget increase, Backlund was able to hire Jim Lewis as a Law Enforcement Park Ranger in June 1997. Lewis earned a History of Science degree from Cornell University before working as a seasonal ranger at Morristown National Historical Park and then a park guard at Edison National Historic Site. His position at Edison NHS was converted to park ranger and Lewis had the opportunity to go through Federal Law Enforcement Training. In addition to earning a law enforcement commission, Lewis became interested in managing museum collections while working at Edison NHS. When a position came open at Stones River National Battlefield, Backlund hired him for his law enforcement background and interest in interpretation, since the park needed someone to do both (see Fig. 57).[131] Despite the agency's move toward more specialized positions, this did not negate the need for the park to hire people that could fill multiple roles.



Figure 57 Park Ranger Jim Lewis during living history program. Photographer and date unknown. Courtesy of Jim Lewis/STRI.

Conclusion

The year 2000 brought not only a new millennium, but another change in administration at Stones River National Battlefield when Mary Ann Peckham retired from federal service. In early September that year, the Southeast Regional Office contacted her about a newly created position, Branch Chief of Partnership Programs, for the region. She discussed the position with them, but had reservations. She felt it was a bad time to change management at Stones River National Battlefield. She declined the position and the regional office informed her that if she failed to accept the reassignment, she would be removed from her position. She opted to retire. Peckham continued to volunteer with the NPS and then began working as Executive Director of the Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association. She continues to help communities preserve battlefields across the state of Tennessee.[132]

Peckham and her staff put up the last fight for expanding STRI's boundary in an attempt to preserve more of the greater battlefield. They had a small window to work with because they needed support from Congress and had to act before land prices increased with development. Fortunately, they had the support of Congressman Gordon, who was instrumental for both the 1987 and 1991 boundary expansions, in addition to the Greenway project and transfer of Fortress Rosecrans to the NPS. The NPS also had the support of local preservationists, including members of the Rutherford County Historical Society, and new partner organizations, such as the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield and Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area. The policies and procedures that the NPS had to follow meant that the NPS could not act as fast as some of their supporters would have liked, however. As that narrow window for land acquisition began to close, park neighbors complained that the NPS was overreaching in its agenda and were infringing upon property rights.

While the NPS might not have acquired all the land it had hoped for, the park did nearly double in size during this period, which offered new opportunities for visitor engagement, but also new challenges in battlefield preservation. First, park staff had to learn how to remove modern intrusions from the battlefield to bring it back to an appearance that fit with their idea of what the 1862 landscape looked like. In this respect, the park was at the leading edge of battlefield preservation along

130. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1995-Septmber 1997 Annual Report."

131. Lewis Interview, 1-6; Gib Interview, Part One, 11.

132. Peckham Interview, 24; Louis [Finkel] to Bart [Gordon], memorandum, "Status of Management Change at Stones River and Reassignment of Mary Ann Peckham," November 15, 2000, Peckham/SRNB Leadership Folder, Box 27, Legislative Issues—Projects, Bart Gordon Papers, AGRC.

with its treatment of Civil War earthworks and recreational development. The Greenway trail, completed in fiscal year 1998, was one of the first greenways in Middle Tennessee. Other cities were impressed by its success and wanted to use it as a model. The NPS helped the City of Murfreesboro with the first three-mile section. The city has gradually extended the trail, which is expected to reach fifteen miles with future extensions planned.[133] Park staff were also at the leading edge of Civil War interpretation by showing an interest in expanding the park stories beyond just military history.

133. Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield 1992 Annual Report"; Mary Ann Peckham, "Stones River National Battlefield October 1997-September 1998 Annual Report"; Syler Interview, 10-11.

Chapter Seven

Rebuilding the Park, 2000-2012

By the time Stuart Johnson arrived to take up the superintendency of Stones River National Battlefield in 2000, the NPS had largely stepped away from any ambitious land acquisitions. Regional and park staff still worked to acquire tracts within the 1991 authorized boundary, but not with the same gusto as before. Instead, with Johnson's guidance park staff began making preparations to breathe some new life into the park.

Park Ranger Jim Lewis recalled that the park felt very "dated" when he arrived in 1997.[1] The visitor center, museum exhibits, tour road, wayside exhibits, and staff residences all dated from the Mission 66 period. In fact, they had changed little since Mission 66, with the exception of an extension made to the visitor center during Superintendent Peckham's tenure. The 1999 General Management Plan outlined improvements to be made to the park, which were heavily emphasized in Alternative 2.[2] Once Johnson arrived, park staff focused on putting the pieces together for Alternative 2, which called for restoring the battlefield back to its 1862 appearance, rerouting the tour road, updating the visitor center and museum, and installing new wayside exhibits.[3] Congressman Bart Gordon remained a strong ally during this time and was able to acquire the necessary funding from Congress to make many of these plans a reality.[4]

Implementing GMP Alternative 2

Superintendent Peckham was involved with planning the new visitor center and tour road before she retired, but the process had stalled.[5] The planning team was struggling to figure out how to use existing park resources to make a better experience for visitors. The person that would help guide them through this process was the new superintendent, Stuart Johnson, who previously had been the Chief of Planning for the Southeast Regional Office. Johnson had the skills to turn their vision for the park into a reality.

Johnson had a wealth of experience in cultural resource management and park planning. Originally from Atlanta, Johnson earned a bachelor's degree in political science from Duke University. He went on pursue a master's degree in park and recreation from Clemson University. His first position with the NPS was as a seasonal interpreter at the Blue Ridge Parkway in 1973, upon the recommendation of his graduate advisor at Clemson, who was very much interested in interpretation. Johnson did not feel that interpretation was his wheelhouse, but he was interested in park planning. He took a Peace Corps position in Iran to help establish a national park there, but the project did not get off the ground. He returned to the United States and took an

1. James Lewis Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 9, 2015, 9.

2. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee: Final General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1998), 43-38.

3. Lewis Interview, 15-16.

4. Kent Syler Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 13, 2016, 18.

5. Lewis Interview, 15.

internship at Unicoi State Park in Georgia. His first permanent job was with the South Carolina Department of History and Archives, where he managed historic preservation grants. He then took a position with the Department of the Interior in the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, which was the agency that replaced the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service was a short-lived agency, created by President Jimmy Carter in the late days of his administration and almost immediately abolished by President Ronald Reagan. Many of the agency's responsibilities were transferred to the National Park Service, and Johnson found himself working for the NPS at the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta. He started working in historic preservation grants, but then later managed the historic preservation tax credit program for the region and then became involved in cultural resource planning. While working for the Southeast Region, he earned a master's degree in history from Georgia State University. Johnson realized that in order to move his career forward he needed to work at a park. After helping plan a new national park—Natchez Trace National Historical Park in Natchez, Mississippi—he was tapped to be the park's first superintendent in 1990. He remained there for three years, but family reasons prompted him to return to the Southeast Regional Office. There, he served as Chief of Planning for the Southeast region until 2001. Around that time, Johnson's family situation improved and he hoped to get back to a park. He expressed his desire to the Regional Director, who told him the position at Stones River National Battlefield would be open soon. It was a lateral transfer, so the regional office did not need to advertise the job. Johnson accepted and entered duty on February 4, 2001 (see Fig. 58).[6]

As Chief of Planning, Johnson helped coordinate a number General Management Plans that were occurring across the region, including Stones River National Battlefield. Denver Service Center helped the park with the 1999 GMP, but Johnson's staff were also involved. He recalled that the plan was very good, but it took too long. In his experience in park planning, he learned that "the longer a controversial planning effort goes on, the longer it stays a target."[7] Had the NPS been able to finish that document more quickly, the park may have been able to get a bigger boundary. But since planning lasted so long, it gave people more opportunities to become dissatisfied with the process. He recalled that Alternative 1 was "dead on arrival," but he thought the proposals in Alternative 2 were quite good.[8] He and his staff followed these plans closely in subsequent years.[9]

Johnson oversaw an unprecedented level of development at the park, at least since Mission 66. Congressman Gordon was a major reason why the park was able to carry development plans forward. Gordon was adept at using legislative earmarks to direct federal funding to projects for STRI. He had done so frequently during the late-1980s and throughout the 1990s to help the park expand its boundary twice. When it became clear that he would be unable to get any more boundary expansion legislation through Congress, Gordon continued to find funding for the park for capital improvements.[10] Johnson was also able to find money through various sources within the agency itself for construction and rehabilitation and was able to bring all the park facilities up to a "high-level."[11]



Figure 58 Stuart Johnson observes events commemorating the 148th anniversary of the Battle of Stones River, January 2011. Courtesy of Jim Lewis/STRI.

6. Stuart Johnson Interview by Angela Sirna, Phone Interview, 2-6; Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2001 September 2000 to October 2001," February 14, 2002, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980-2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NACP.

7. Johnson Interview, 9.

8. Ibid., 8.

9. Ibid., 9.

10. Angela Sirna, Interview with Bart Gordon, Murfreesboro, TN, October 16, 2015, 4-5.

11. Johnson Interview, 9; Gordon Interview, 4-5; Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Part Two, Murfreesboro, TN, October 15, 2015, 6.

Right as the park started to embark on new capital improvement projects, park staff received the results of a Visitor Study, completed by the Park Studies Unit of the University of Idaho in the fall of 2002. This study helped park staff and planners understand how visitors used the park. They included questions about park maintenance and what they would like to see at the park in the future. In fact, visitors were asked, “If you were a manager planning for the future of the park, what would you propose?” The top response was more detailed signage. The study also discovered that 71 percent of the visitors surveyed were first time visitors. Park staff also found that the average group expenditure was $226. These findings were important for helping staff determine the park’s planning priorities, while also showing the economic impact of the park to justify these projects.[12]

One of the first major projects the park completed during this time was a renovation of the Mission 66 visitor center (see Fig. 59). Mary Ann Peckham had been involved in the plans before she retired, but Gib Backlund recalls that Johnson had a very different approach. Peckham was not interested in expanding the building's footprint, since it was located on a landscape that the park wanted to preserve. Johnson felt it was more practical to expand the building to keep the staff offices there and be able to tell the battle's story from that location. The Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office did review the building because it was a Mission 66 visitor center and was close to turning fifty years old, meaning it might be eligible for the National Register for Historic Places. The prevailing thought in the NPS in the early 2000s was that it was important to upgrade these Mission 66 buildings before they reached fifty years old. Johnson shared this sentiment and felt that the visitor center should be functional and was not historic in its own right. The SHPO concurred, declaring the building ineligible for the National Register, which meant the NPS could move forward with the remodel.[13]

The visitor center expansion and rehabilitation took about two years, was completed in 2004, and cost about $2.8 million. This new expansion provided additional office space, enlarged the Eastern National store area, and created storage for museum collections. The museum rehabilitation also allowed park staff to invigorate the battle's story by presenting a broader story than the Mission 66 exhibits. The visitor center opened to the public in August 2004. Park staff held a formal dedication on September 18 that year with remarks from Regional Director Patricia Hooks, Congressman Gordon, and Director of the Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area Carroll Van West. Nearly 500 people attended the daylong event, which included living history demonstrations, book signings, and tours of the new facility.[14]



Figure 59 Visitor Center, photographed by Rebecca Conard, March 2016.

The next major component that the NPS addressed was reconstruction of the historic rostrum in the national cemetery, which had been removed in 1942 (see Fig. 60). This project was first proposed in the 1980 GMP and Congressman Gordon was really interested in bringing it back to the national cemetery. However, NPS administrators, including Mary Ann Peckham, resisted this idea for many years. First, the rostrum was built long after the Civil War was over, which some NPS employees felt was outside of the park's scope. Second, the NPS was very reluctant to take on reconstruction projects as a general policy. Congressman Gordon went beyond the wishes of the NPS and found the money to reconstruct the rostrum. In the 2004 fiscal year, archeologists from the Southeast Archeological Center conducted a ground penetrating radar survey of the rostrum

12. Bret H. Meldrum and Margaret Littlejohn, *Stones River National Battlefield Visitor Study Fall 2002* (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho, July 2003), 5, 53, 70.

13. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 9-10.

14. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004," February 20, 2005, Park Administrative Files.

site along with a partial excavation to identify the rostrum's exact location. The NPS contracted the rostrum's reconstruction to Leong Enterprises, which completed most of the masonry work in the 2006 fiscal year. The rest of the reconstruction, including installation and painting of the wooden trellis and handrails, was completed in 2007. The park dedicated the rostrum on March 31, 2007. The entire project cost $457,264.[15] Now organizations may use the rostrum for public events as veterans had intended back when the original structure was built in 1882.



Figure 60 Rostrum, reconstructed in 2007, in Stones River National Cemetery, photographed by Rebecca Conard, March 2016.

In 2009, the park was able to accomplish a significant amount of cyclic and emergency preservation work. The NPS Historic Preservation Training Center (HPTC) sent a crew to the park to repoint 1,100 linear feet of the cemetery wall, repoint 300 coping stone head joints, repair 60 linear feet damaged by a tornado that April, and repoint the Hazen Brigade Monument as well as install a drainage system. They also rehabilitated the Artillery Monument, after the MTSU Concrete Industry Program completed a structural investigation.[16]

That same year, the park received $99,271 from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) to realign the headstones in the national cemetery. Congress passed ARRA in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, hoping that major public works projects would help stimulate the economy. The NPS put forth a number of "shovel ready" projects and was able to invest $750 million in eight hundred projects across the country. STRI also received $13,000 for invasive plant removal through ARRA that year.[17]

NPS staff also focused their efforts on developing a new tour road and entrance, which had been in the works since the early 1990s (see Appendix E). Those working on the 1999 GMP reimagined the tour route to follow a more chronological manner to provide a better interpretive experience for visitors. Superintendent Johnson had more pragmatic reasons for a new tour road, which was to resolve the accessibility issues that had plagued the park since the opening of Highway 41 in the 1950s. Transportation corridors continued to change as the city and state developed additional roads in and near Murfreesboro. In 2000, planning began for two additional interchanges off of I-24 near New Salem Parkway and Manson Pike.[18] In 2002, the city and state started construction on Medical Center Parkway. Nicknamed Murfreesboro's "new door," Medical Center Parkway would connect I-24 to the city's center via the Manson Pike interchange. Additionally, a new medical center was being developed on land adjacent to the park and purchased by the city in 1998.[19] Instead of focusing on bringing visitors from Highway 41, park road planners wanted to reorient the entrance to the new Medical Center Parkway, which intersected with Thompson Lane just south of Manson Pike.

The park worked with DSC, Southeast Regional Office, and an engineer based out of Natchez Trace to develop the design and project

15. Gordon Interview, 5; Backlund Interview, Part Two, 10-11; Johnson Interview, 17; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004," Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2006 October 2005 to September 2006," March 21, 2007, Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2007 October 2006 to September 2007," July 25, 2008, all Park Administrative Files.

16. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2009 October 2008 to September 2009," May 28, 2010, Park Administrative Files.

17. Ibid; "The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/transportation/front_pdfs/ARRA_Project_Profile.pdf (accessed August 2, 2016).

18. Angela Cannon Hayes, "Two I-24 Interchanges Added," *Daily News Journal,* September 19, 2000.

19. John Callow, "City's New Door: Medical Center Parkway Will Run from a New Interchange to the Middle of Murfreesboro," *Daily News Journal*, September 23, 2002.

proposals.[20] This group began working on the Development Concept Plan in 2003 and completed the document in December 2005. The plan included new road segments, trails, wayside exhibits, and entrances. In July 2006, the park received $420,527 from the Federal Highway Administration, Public Lands Highway Discretionary Program. These funds were used to move the project into the next phase of planning including survey/topographic work, preparation for submittal to the Development Advisory Board, and preparation of contract documents.[21] In February 2010, the DSC contracted the next phase of the project to TAB Construction Company for $855,260, which began work on July 15 that year. Louis Berger Group was responsible for construction management. TAB Construction was responsible for improving the visitor center parking area; constructing accessible, paved interpretive trails; improving the Chicago Board of Trade tour stop, and repaving approximately half a mile of existing tour road. In September 2010, the DSC awarded a contract in the amount of $1,018,196 to Grahams Construction, Inc. for the next phase in the project, which also was managed by the Louis Berger Group.[22] Contractors finished the tour road project in 2011, including a new park entrance off of Thompson Lane (see Fig. 61). Johnson recalled that it was important to bring the park entrance back out to the community, and Thompson Lane now was the most accessible way into the park.[23] The new entrance was also close to new commercial businesses, including the new medical center and shopping mall called "The Avenue," built on land that, historically, was part of the greater battlefield. Instead of fighting development, park staff chose to orient the park's new entrance toward it.

The new tour road was supplemented by freshly designed waysides using text, images, and photographs to give visitors a better idea of how the battle unfolded and what they were looking at. Lewis noted that these new waysides were a major upgrade from the Mission 66 outdoor exhibits, which were metal plaques with minimal text and perhaps a line drawing.[24] The park was making a concerted effort to use the landscape to tell the battle story with the assistance of these waysides.



Figure 61 Entrance gates, constructed in 2011, along Thompson Lane, photographed by Rebecca Conard, March 2016.

Natural Resource Challenge

The park's natural resource program was bolstered during Johnson's tenure thanks to a new servicewide initiative called the "Natural Resource Challenge." The Challenge grew from a Vail Agenda recommendation to embrace an "ecosystem management culture."[25] The agency called upon NPS historian Richard West Sellars to undertake an administrative history of the NPS's natural resource management policies. Sellars, an insider, wrote a condemning critique of the agency's unimpressive record in natural resource management, including its willingness to ignore well-grounded recommendations of scientists. He published his findings in *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997).[26]
Instead of ignoring him, the agency used Sellar's findings to propel a bold initiative called the

20. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 12.

21. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2006 October 2005 to September 2006."

22. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2010 October 2009 to September 2010," June 17, 2011, Park Administrative Files.

23. Johnson Interview, 14.

24. Lewis Interview, 8.

25. National Park Service, Steering Committee of the 75th Anniversary Symposium, *The Vail Agenda: Report and Recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1992), 105, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002732350 (accessed July 16, 2016).

26. Sellars discussed the impact of his 1997 publication in the epilogue of revised edition published in 2008. NPS Director Jonathon Jarvis also mentioned Sellar's book in a 2008 retrospective presented at the George Wright Society meeting on the Natural Resource Challenge. 26. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997; repr. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 291-93; Jonathan B. Jarvis, "The Natural Resource Challenge: A Retrospective and View to the Future," *U.S. National Park Service Publications and Papers,* Paper 27 (2008): 87, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/natlpark/27 (accessed July 16, 2016).

"Natural Resource Challenge," a multifaceted, multi-year project aimed at overhauling NPS natural resource policy. Planning for the Challenge started in 1998 and was officially announced in August 1999. Agency officials estimated that it would need $200 million in base funding to carry out the Challenge, but reduced its request to $100 million, which seemed more feasible. Congress allocated about $80 million in varying amounts between fiscal years 2000 and 2006, far short of what the NPS had asked for.[27]

Most of this money went directly to parks. Several hundred scientifically trained permanent employees were hired to do labor-intensive fieldwork to help acquire baseline data and institute long-term monitoring programs, particularly efforts related to air and water quality. Challenge money also funded university-based research centers called Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Units (CESU), which cover bio-geographical regions and put parks in contact with researchers. Taken together, these programs were (and are) aimed at strengthening parks' competencies in managing natural resources.[28]

Stones River National Battlefield was a beneficiary of this program. In 2003, the park received a base increase to hire an ecologist. The park hired Terri Hogan, one of the researchers who had worked on the Nature Conservancy inventories when Peckham was superintendent.[29] Since Hogan had already completed some inventorying efforts at STRI, she was already familiar with the park and its natural resource challenges.

With Hogan at the helm, the park's natural resource program included reintroducing native grasses, using fire as a management tool, controlling exotic species, and acquiring baseline data. One person, however, was not enough to make all of this happen. Hogan continued to collaborate with like-minded individuals, organizations, and institutions to share ideas, data, solutions, and even manpower. For example, MTSU biology professor Tom Hemmerly, who had worked with Elsie Quarterman and planted Tennessee coneflower in the park many years earlier, brought his students to MTSU to study plants and wildlife within the park.[30] This partnership with the natural sciences at MTSU helped the park complete some of its natural resource baseline inventories.[31]

Landscape Restoration

The park continued work restoring disturbed lands back to an appearance consistent with the time of the battle. Johnson recalled that there was a debate about how to maintain Civil War battlefield parks during that time, whether it was appropriate to use turf or native grasses. Johnson decided to focus on reintroducing native grasses to the park after a successful test of warm season grasses in 2004. The park leased agricultural land to area farmers to help maintain the historic scene, but development pressures around the battlefield made farming more difficult. In 2005, the park removed thirty acres north of Broad Street from the agricultural special use permit because it was too difficult to move farm equipment to that area.[32] This was another reason that the park's move toward warm season grasses seemed favorable. To help with the restoration efforts, the park entered into a five-year agreement with the Natural Resource Conservation Service (NRCS) at Alderson, WV, in 2002 to grow plant plugs from seed collected on park property.[33] These plugs were then used to help restore portions of the battlefield.

27. Sellars, *Preserving Nature,* 295.

28. Ibid., 295.

29. Johnson Interview, 18; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004."

30. Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, October 14, 2015, Part One, 14.

31. Completed reports include, Michael Kennedy and Heidi LaMountain, *Inventory of Mammals at Stones River National Battlefield,* University of Memphis, prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, 2006, Brian Miller, Jeremy Spiess, and Matthew Niemiller, *Inventory of Amphibians and Reptiles of Stones River National Battlefield,* prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, November 2005, Dennis Mullen, *Fish Inventory at Stones River National Battlefield,* prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, 2006.

32. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2005 October 2004 to September 2005," March 24, 2006, Park Administrative Files.

33. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004."

Some park supporters did not agree with the park's shift to using native grasses. Larry Hicklen, the owner of Yesteryear, believes it gives the park an "unkempt" look and does not provide an accurate view of the landscape. He explained,

> The latest mode of management has been more to let the park grow totally natural….[visitors] come in the store, they mistake a naturalist management approach as it being just pure unkempt…. And the second complaint that I hear from visitors regularly… is the cotton fields should be like [they had] just been picked the previous season and would have made the soldiers charging across it totally exposed and [explains] why there were such massive casualties in the cotton fields. Well now, there're not being farmed and they are growing up and it's just like kind of raw thickets and does not present a historical accurate landscape to the day of the battle at all.[34]

Hicklen maintains that the park should at least take care to mow around cannons and monuments so that it appears that the park is well cared for and shows respect for those that died on the battlefield. While native grasses might be more sustainable for the park, Hicklen touches upon a real issue for the park. Some visitors may be given the impression that the park is not cared for, or, even worse, that naturalistic landscape management might give them an inaccurate idea of what the battlefield looked like during the engagement.

To help maintain open fields and vistas, the park completed a Fire Management Plan in 2001.[35] For many years, the NPS resisted using fire as a management tool until ecologists demonstrated that controlled burns were helpful in reducing fuel loads and restoring native plant communities. Policies began to change in the 1970s.[36] Park managers found that controlled burning was also useful in managing historic landscapes, such as open fields on Civil War battlefields (see Fig. 62). Upon completion of the 2001 plan, the park began using prescribed burns as a way to reduce fuel loads, keep fields open, and manage exotic and invasive species. They use prescribed burns on earthworks as well.



Figure 62 Team conducting a prescribed burn at STRI on March 8, 2011. Photographed by Jim Lewis. Courtesy of Jim Lewis/STRI.

Exotic and invasive species posed a formidable challenge to the park's natural resource management program, particularly Chinese privet, bush honeysuckle, and Chinese yams. Some of these invasive plants arrived in the area before the park was established, while others came by the way of suburban development or were introduced by the NPS. For example, between 2000 and 2002, park staff inadvertently planted weeping lovegrass on Fortress Rosecrans to help preserve the earthworks before learning it was highly invasive.[37]

Superintendents as far back as Jim Sanders sought ways to manage these exotics at STRI, but were largely unsuccessful. Don Magee was willing to experiment and even purchased a few goats when he learned that they eat honeysuckle. They do, but they do not eat the roots, which meant the plant continued to grow back. He also found that visitors thought the goats were pets and wanted to pet them.[38]

In the 1990s, park staff teamed up with subject matter experts in the Middle Tennessee area to find solutions, including professionals in the Tennessee State Department of Conservation and Environment and the Biology Department at

34. Larry Hicklen Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 13, 2015, 10.

35. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield Fire Management Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Stones River National Battlefield, 2001), http://www.nps.gov/stri/learn/management/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&PageID=908664 (accessed February 17, 2016).

36. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks,* 253-58.

37. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2008 October 2007 to September 2008," June 15, 2009, Park Files.

38. Donald Magee Interview by Angela Sirna, Phone Interview, November 3, 2015, 34.

MTSU. The park became an institutional member of a new group called the Tennessee Exotic Pest Plant Council.[39] However, park staff were still unable to thwart invasive species. In 2006, the park reported, "Of 138 exotic plants known to the park, forty are listed as severe or significant threats to native plant communities and eleven are listed as lesser threats or are on the state watch list."[40] That year, the park had the assistance of the Southeast Exotic Plant Management Team, which helped staff treat woody invasives over twenty-six acres. Park staff at STRI, like employees at other parks battling invasive species, found that they could not treat them fast enough. They needed more manpower, so they enlisted the help of volunteers. In 2007, the park hired high school and college age students through a program called the Student Conservation Association to help with invasive plant removal.[41]

While combatting the invasive species, park staff were continuing to acquire baseline data for the park's natural resource program. The agency's Natural Resource Challenge encouraged parks to gather baseline data to help monitoring efforts in seven different areas, including water quality, air quality, vascular plants, mammals, birds, fish, geology, and soils. The park utilized its relationship with MTSU to complete several of the studies. The park sent and continues to send its inventory information to the Cumberland Piedmont Network, which is administered from Mammoth Cave National Park, to manage the data and monitor projects within the network.[42]

In 2003, the state of Tennessee designated an area of 185-acres within Stones River National Battlefield as a Class II Natural-Scientific State Natural Area, called the Stones River Cedar Glades and Barren State Natural Area. This designation was made to recognize the NPS's efforts to restore this area, which protects the federally protected Plyne's ground plum (*Astragalus bibullatus*) and Tennessee purple coneflower (*Echinacea tennesseensis*), delisted as an endangered species in 2011. The Plyne's ground plum was planted in the area in 2001 from seeds grown at the Missouri Botanical Garden.[43]

The park's landscape restoration efforts received a heavy hit from Mother Nature on April 9, 2009, when an EF-4 tornado tore through the park. Dubbed the "Good Friday" tornado, this storm cut a swath through the center of the park and the Round Forest area, downing nearly 70 acres of trees. Park neighbors took shelter with NPS employees in the visitor center basement, which was originally constructed as a fallout shelter. In Rutherford County, the tornado killed a mother and her infant daughter, injured forty-two others, destroyed one hundred seventeen residences, damaged over two hundred more, and caused over forty million dollars in damages. The storm event required an NPS incident team in addition to considerable staff effort to clean up the debris. The park had help from other units in the region, including Natchez Trace Parkway, Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Mammoth Cave National Park, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area. Clean up lasted into the next fiscal year, even with the help of a contractor.[44]

Cultural Resource Studies

Between 2001 and 2007, several technical reports, documentation efforts, and academic research provided important information and treatment recommendations for the park's cultural resources. Taken together, this new research provided park staff with a better understanding of resources outside of its boundaries, expanded the park's historical contexts, and identified the resources associated with them.

39. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 14.

40. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2006 October 2005 to September 2006."

41. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2007 October 2006 to September 2007."

42. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 14.

43. A certificate acknowledging the natural area is located in the park's administrative area. It was signed May 14, 2003. See also "Stones River Cedar Glade and Barrens Class II Natural-Scientific State Natural Area," Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation, http://www.tn.gov/environment/article/na-na-stones-river-cedar-glade (accessed August 1, 2016).

44. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2009 October 2008 to September 2009"; Teresa Watson Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 18, 2016, 23-24; MTSU School of Journalism, "Good Friday Tornado Project," http://mtsujournalism.org/tornado/index.html (accessed February 27, 2016).

In 2001, archeologist John Cornelison, Jr. undertook a metal detector survey of the Harlan and Bigsby tracts, recently acquired by the park, and an agricultural field southeast of the national cemetery and the Round Forest area. He recovered 103 historic and Civil War era artifacts and a historic trash pit near the Harlan House. In 2003, SEAC archeologists returned to STRI and completed a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey on the Holland family cemetery outside the Hazen Brigade Monument. They found only two graves there. They also surveyed five other locations, including the area surrounding the Federal burial trenches at the Hazen Brigade Monument, the McFadden Cemetery, the Tollhouse site, Redoubt Brannan, and a site at Bragg's Headquarters. They were able to provide additional details about these sites, but nothing that required the park to change its management or interpretation practices.[45]

The park's National Register for Historic Places nomination form, last revised in 1977, got a much-needed update in 2003. The 1977 form was fairly simple, like most nominations written at the time. However, the park needed to incorporate new research and scholarship into the new form, plus expand the document to include new areas that were acquired in the 1987 and 1991 boundary expansions, including Fortress Rosecrans (which was previously listed separately in a 1974 nomination). The park partnered with the TCWNHA to complete the additional documentation, which was conducted my Michael Gavin, Preservation Specialist. Gavin also worked with Sean Styles of the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. The form was mostly focused on the military history of the landscape, but this new nomination did add African American Ethnic Heritage as a new area of significance, although research on Cemetery community was still in its early stages.[46]

That same year, seasonal Museum Tech Miranda Fraley (then a doctoral student at Indiana University), secured funding from the Southeast Regional Office for a Historic Resource Study.[47] The regional office entered into an agreement with Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation to undertake the study. Sean Styles was the historian that completed most of the research for this study; Fraley completed the report after his illness and death. The Historic Resource Study was arguably the most important historic research document for the park since Bearss's 1962 "Historical Fence and Ground Cover Plan." The HRS examined the historical contexts associated with the park and analyzed the extent that historic resources relating to these contexts have survived. This document was important because it not only evaluated those resources within the park's boundary but also those that related to the greater battlefield. The HRS noted that the most significant resources at STRI were related to two different themes: the Civil War period and the Commemoration and the creation of the National Military Park.[48]

In 2004, Fraley finished her dissertation, which examined Civil War memory in Rutherford County. As part of her graduate research, she completed a number of oral history interviews with local community members, which are now in the park library. Her dissertation followed the leading edge of Civil War scholarship at the time, which was focused on memory studies. She drew upon the work of David Blight, Cecelia O'Leary, and Michael Kammen, who examined the evolution of Civil War memory within national contexts.[49] Her research focused on local memory and asked critical questions about how race and gender influenced Civil War commemoration in Rutherford County. She drew upon her significant knowledge of Stones River National Battlefield, but also discussed commemorative efforts at Sam Davis Historic Site in Smyrna and the labors of the local United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter. Fraley provided essential critical analysis of park-creation efforts at Stones River National Battlefield. She also was one of the first scholars to

45. Charles Lawson, *Ground Penetrating Radar Investigations at Stones River National Battlefield* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, 2003), 16, 24-25.

46. Michael Gavin and Sean M. Styles, "Stones River National Battlefield," National Register of Historic Places, Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area, Murfreesboro, November 14, 2003.

47. Fraley began volunteering with Lewis in the museum collections and the park later hired her as a seasonal museum technician. Fraley did not continue her career with the NPS, but is now Director of Curatorial Interpretation at the Tennessee State Museum.

48. Sean Styles, *Stones River National Battlefield Historic Resource Study* (Murfreesboro, TN: Stones River National Battlefield, Southeast Cultural Resource Regional Office, and National Park Service, February 2004).

49. Miranda Fraley, "The Politics of Memory: Remembering the Civil War in Rutherford County, Tennessee," dissertation, Indiana University, 2004, 13.

start to uncover the history of Cemetery community.

In 2007, Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. and John Milner Associates completed a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for the park. The scope of the project focused on the core battlefield area, McFadden Farm unit, the two headquarters sites, the Hazen Brigade Monument site, and the Fortress Rosecrans parcels. The project scope did not include the national cemetery, or the greater battlefield area. The purpose of the report was to evaluate the existing conditions of these landscapes, provide comparative analyses to their historical conditions, determine their integrity, and then provide treatment recommendations. The contractors recommended a total of sixteen action items to rehabilitate the park's component landscapes, which included addressing invasive and exotic plant species, screening adjacent development to manage views, removing non-contributing wooded areas, rehabilitating portions of Van Cleve Lane, locating and marking historic structures missing from the battlefield landscape, and converting a portion of the tour road into a pedestrian trail that connects with the proposed tour road.[50]

All these researchers made apparent in their respective works that the park's African American history was important, but additional research would be needed for Cemetery community. Fraley started to uncover the history of Cemetery community in her dissertation. When Gavin and Styles outlined the historical context and significance of the park's commemorative period, they included African American history as well. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates and John Milner Associates also recognized the importance of the Cemetery community in shaping the landscape after the battle and recommended that the park include this history in its interpretive planning.[51]

50. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. and John Milner Associates, *Stones River National Battlefield Cultural Landscape Report,* Prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, 2007, 1-7.

51. Fraley, "Politics of Memory," 163-69; Gavin and Styles, "Stones River National Battlefield," Section 8, p. 10; Styles, *Stones River National Battlefield Historic Resource Study,* 75-76; Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. and John Milner Associates, *Stones River National Battlefield Cultural Landscape Report,* 157.

Harding House Survey

In 2008, the Civil War archeological community received a rare opportunity to perform a survey on a part of the greater Stones River battlefield on land slated for development. This survey was made possible through a partnership between the NPS, various MTSU departments, and developer Stonegate Commercial. Developers infrequently allowed archeologists to survey sites prior to development, but Stonegate Commercial allowed a special group to examine a piece of property that was believed to be the location of the Harding House and kiln site.[52]

The Harding House was a two-story log structure located off of Wilkinson/Manson Pike, north of Medical Center Parkway. The Hardings had intended to replace their house with a brick building, and thus had a brick kiln onsite. However, the Civil War interrupted their plans. Their home was enveloped by the Battle of Stones River. It was used as a Union field hospital before Confederate forces captured the house and took the patients prisoner. Union forces overcame the Confederates and retook the house. According to the park's *Historic Resource Study,* the Harding House survived until the 1870s, when it burned. Because the Harding House had seen much action during the battle and had served as a field hospital, the NPS included the site in its 1999 GMP for land acquisition.[53] However, the site was outside the park's authorized boundary, so the NPS could not stop a developer from purchasing the property. The resulting construction meant the destruction of important archeological data.

When Backlund learned the Harding House site was slated for development, he contacted Dr. Tom Nolan, director of MTSU's Laboratory for Spatial Technology, and archeologist Zada Law, Nolan's assistant and also an adjunct professor in the Geosciences Department. They had the support of the NPS, Dr. Hugh Berry, director of the MTSU Forensic Institute for Research and Education, and MTSU public history and anthropology students. They also invited the Middle Tennessee

52. Lisa Rollins, "Vols Find Spur of Historical Moment," *Daily News Journal,* July 22, 2008.

53. Styles, *Historic Resource Study,* 46-47.

Metal Detectors to assist in the survey, which they held during two weekends in July 1998.[54]

The volunteers used metal detectors to canvas the area. They found over forty different fragments, the most impressive of which was a spur that they initially believed was from the Civil War period, but later determined to be produced after the war. They flagged these points, photographed the artifacts, and marked these points using GIS to help historians and archeologists locate troop placements and movements during the battle. Artifacts collected during the project were given to the NPS. The group completed a pedestrian survey of the reported house and kiln site, but were unable to verify the locations.[55] Nolan was able to verify the house site in September, when the developer began to clear the site and uncovered the house's foundation. The developer allowed Nolan to photograph the foundation and take GIS data.[56]

The Harding House Survey Project is notable for several reasons. It was a remarkable example of a public-private partnership that allowed STRI to work closely with a developer to capture important information, even if the site could not be saved from development. When talking about the project, Law stated, "We can't save every place, but we can save information digitally."[57] The survey team's use of GIS to create a digital record to check and improve the accuracy of Civil War maps was much in line with NPS research and academic scholarship that was being produced in the early 2000s.[58] Also, the project was an excellent example of how the park was capable of turning out a large volunteer force, this time for a public archeology project.

Interpretation and Education

The 1999 GMP focused on providing a better interpretive experience through connecting visitors to the cultural landscape through various interpretive media and programs. This allowed interpretive staff to incorporate more recent scholarship on the Civil War and the battle for Stones River, including its causes and consequences. They also incorporated new interpretive methods, most notably "civic engagement," which encouraged NPS staff to incorporate more inclusive stories into its interpretation, expand the park's educational agenda, and to partner with communities to preserve these places and tell these stories.[59] Park staff with the assistance of specialists at the Harpers Ferry Center and contractors replaced the Mission 66 museum exhibits in the visitor center with new exhibits and a new video presentation. They also developed a new wayside exhibit plan to accompany the tour road and the various trails throughout the park. They formed partnerships with the city to install wayside exhibits outside of park property to help convey the larger magnitude of the battle.[60]

Chief of Operations Gib Backlund recalled some controversy when the visitor center first opened. There was a reproduction of a painting completed shortly after the Civil War that depicted enslaved African Americans running away from their southern owners as the Union Army advanced. The artist depicted these slaves with stereotyped imagery, including exaggerated facial features. Some visitors expressed dissatisfaction with the park's use of this image, particularly since it was near the entrance of the museum. It was one of the

54. Byron Wilkes, "Students Uncover History," *Middle Tennessee State University Sidelines,* July 30, 2008; Rollins, "Vols Find Spur of Historical Moment"; "Harding House Civil History Survey," information sheet, [2008], papers found in Fullerton Laboratory of Spatial Technology, Department of Geosciences, Middle Tennessee State University. This collection is in the process of being donated to STRI.

55. Ibid.

56. Harding House Excavation Photos, [September 1998], [Thomas Nolan], "Harding House site excavation" note, [September 1998], and Thomas Nolan, "Harding House Foundations & Artifacts GPS 2007 imagery" map, 2008, all found in Thomas J. Nolan Digital Document and Geospatial Data Collection 1993-2010, Fullerton Laboratory of Spatial Technology, Department of Geosciences, Middle Tennessee State University. This collection is in the process of being donated to STRI.

57. Quoted by Lisa Rollins, "Harding House Civil War History Survey to be Conducted," *Rutherford Reader,* July10-16, 2008.

58. Alberto Giordano and Thomas Nolan, "Civil War Maps of the Battle of Stones River: History and the Modern Landscape," *Cartographic Journal* 44, no. 1 (February 2007): 61.

59. Edward T. Linenthal, "The National Park Service and Civic Engagement," *Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 123.

60. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 10, 12; Lewis Interview, 16.

first things visitors encountered. The park had a group of people look at the painting and offer alternatives. Ultimately, the park decided to remove the portion of the painting that people felt was offensive. This incident indicates that park staff sometimes had to step back and adjust their approach as they sought to include the African American experience in the park's interpretation.[61]

The park continued living history programs and found ways to broaden the park's story in these demonstrations as well. Park Ranger Jim Lewis became heavily involved in the park's living history program, particularly the historical weaponry demonstrations, but found that only explaining the military aspects limited opportunities for engagement. He and park staff expanded beyond basic weapons demonstrations to include a wider array of demonstrations that included hands-on learning opportunities and focused more on individual stories and the relationship between military events and the larger political and social themes of the period. They looked to involve audience members, particularly children. For example, interpreters started bringing in the signal corps story as a way for audience participation. Lewis, himself, dabbled in first person interpretation, but acknowledges it was quite difficult to execute. He developed two characters based on historical actors: Marcus Woodcock of the 9th Kentucky Infantry and Charles Bennett of the 9th Michigan Infantry. Bennett, at one point in time, was a junior officer in the 13th USCT. This provided Lewis an avenue to talk about African American soldiers during the Civil War and their relationship to Stones River National Battlefield. The park was learning more about the USCT's relationship to Stones River National Battlefield and cemetery, including the story of William Holland, a USCT veteran who owned property adjacent to the Hazen Brigade Monument.[62] To help living history interpreters be more effective in their storytelling, Backlund arranged for Jette Holladay, an MTSU theater professor, to review and critique interpretive programs.[63]

Park staff integrated new media to help tell the park's story. Like all other parks in the system, STRI also got a webpage. Park staff uploaded lesson plans for teachers. They developed a cell phone tour, which supplanted the park's audio tour.[64]

The park hired John McKay as Interpretive Park Ranger in 2003, after Bettie Cook retired.[65] McKay had been in an intake training position at New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park. With his efforts, park interpretive staff continued to develop new ways to engage school-age children and encourage teachers to bring their classes to the park. They hosted teacher workshops and developed a new Junior Ranger handbook. Park staff also travelled to schools to do programs there, which helped those schools with limited travel budgets. For groups that were able to travel to the park, they developed "History Hikes," which utilized an "Inquiry Based" learning approach. Groups would hike with a ranger for about a mile and talk about history and ecology at various sites. This program also supported First Lady Michelle Obama's "Let's Move" Campaign, aimed at keeping children active.[66] In 2009, the park received a $10,000 grant from the National Park Foundation to hold a video contest for high school seniors and four-day events for elementary-age children and their families to better reach underserved communities.[67] In 2011, park staff formed a partnership with McGavock High School's Academy of Digital Design and Communication to develop a multi-disciplinary curriculum with the stories associated with Stones River National Battlefield as a central theme. Students produced seven short, student-produced interpretive videos. The park continues to build on this partnership.[68]

61. Backlund Interview, Part Two, 10.

62. Lewis Interview, 23-24.

63. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004."

64. Ibid; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2010 October 2009 to September 2010."

65. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield, Fiscal Year 2003 October 2002-September 2003 (Draft)," February 20, 2003, "Superintendent's Annual Reports" Binder, Park Administrative Files.

66. Stuart Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2011 October 2010 to September 2011 (Draft)," February 2012, Park Administrative Files.

67. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2009 October 2008 to September 2009."

To help the park stay abreast of recent scholarship, staff at STRI forged partnerships with the MTSU History Department and the TNCWHA to present yearly symposiums on the war and the battle for Stones River. Beginning in 2002, the park and its partners held day-long events covering topics on legacies of the battle, slavery in Tennessee, occupation and the homefront, Civil War memory, pathways to freedom, and reasons why soldiers fought.[69] These symposia were a way for the park to promote public scholarship.

The park further developed its relationship with MTSU, hosting graduate student researchers, interns, and seasonal employees from a range of disciplines. For example, Terri Hogan, before she was hired as the park's ecologist, completed the park's plant inventory when she was a student at MTSU.

MTSU Public History Program

Park staff developed a particularly strong relationship with MTSU's public history graduate program. Andrew Gulliford, director of the public history program, often invited Gib Backlund or Mary Ann Peckham to talk to his classes. Gulliford encouraged Backlund to take some history graduate classes, which eventually resulted in Backlund earning his master's degree in public history in 2005. His master's thesis was about the Mission 66 program at STRI.[70] Backlund was not the first or only MTSU public history student to produce a master thesis about the battlefield. In 1998, Robert Dunkerly compared general management plans of several Civil War parks, including STRI.[71] Jeff Sellers worked as a seasonal interpreter and also produced a thesis about the challenges of expanding interpretation at STRI.[72] Elizabeth Goetsch, also a former seasonal employee, wrote about the battlefield's cultural landscape.[73] Together, these scholars helped the park learn more about its own past, while the park helped prepare them for careers in public history.[74]

History graduate students, like Miranda Fraley, were particularly helpful in cataloguing and maintaining the park's museum collections. The park also hired John George, who was a doctoral student in public history at MTSU. George helped the park develop its Integrated Pest Management Plan.[75] While he was working at the park, George wrote his dissertation about the creation of the battlefield park.[76] He now works at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park. The park's use of graduate student workers to assist with museum collections not only brought museum collections up to professional standards, but yielded important scholarship as well.

The MTSU public history program was instrumental in helping the park learn about the historic Cemetery community, which it knew little about. Fraley's research on Civil War memory in Rutherford County uncovered some of Cemetery's history. Beginning in 2007, MTSU public history professor Rebecca Conard brought her graduate students to the park to research the Cemetery community for class projects. Over a series of semesters, her students were able to tease

68. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2011 October 2010 to September 2011 (Draft)"; Lewis Interview, 33.

69. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2004 October 2003 to September 2004"; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2005 October 2004 to September 2005"; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2007 October 2006 to September 2007"; and Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2010 October 2009 to September 2010."

70. Gilbert Backlund, "Patriotism on the Battlefield: The National Park Service and Mission 66 at Stones River," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2005.

71. Robert Dunkerly, "Reading the Battlefield Landscape: The Restoration, Preservation, and Interpretation of Historic Landscapes at Battlefield Parks," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1998.

72. Jeffrey Sellers, "Battle for the High Ground: The Challenge of Expanding the Interpretation at Stones River National Battlefield," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2010.

73. Elizabeth Goetsch, "All Could Not Help But Feel It: A Cultural Landscape Approach to History at Stones River National Battlefield," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011.

74. Backlund Interview, Part One, 13-14.

75. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2008 October 2007 to September 2008."

76. John George, "Stones River: Creating a Battlefield Park, 1863-1932," dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013.

out African American land ownership patterns at the park.[77] Lydia Simpson, a master's student and seasonal employee, researched land ownership patterns for her 2011 master's thesis, focusing on the USCT.[78] Conard helped organize the program's first field school at the park to examine the Cemetery community, which took place in May 2011. Partners for the field school included the MTSU Public History program, STRI, and Bradley Academy Museum. During the three-week course, five doctoral students and four community scholars conducted oral histories, surveyed historic sources, developed interpretive materials, and completed an online exhibit. They were assisted by MTSU public history faculty, park staff, and guest lecturers. The capstone to the field school was a one-day public symposium held at Bradley Academy Museum, featuring guest speakers Carla Jones, president of the Matt Gardner Homestead; Susan Eva O'Donovan, University of Memphis; Allison Dorsey, Swarthmore College; David Vela, director of NPS Southeast Region, and Robert Sutton, NPS Chief Historian.[79] Other interpretive products to come from guided student research include the wayside exhibit on the Cemetery community and the portable exhibit, “Listening to a Landscape: The Stories of Stones River National Battlefield,” with fabrication funded by a grant from the TCWNHA. It took several years and the work of many historians, but slowly the story of the Cemetery community has been brought to the surface.

Community Relations, Partnerships, and Volunteers

The park's aggressive land acquisition efforts during the 1990s created tenuous relations with the local community by the time Stuart Johnson arrived at STRI. Johnson admits he was not the most outward looking park manager, but he realized the need to improve park relations. His strategy to repair these relations was to encourage his own staff to be active members of the community. Gib Backlund, for example, was active in the Rotary Club. Park staff became more involved in the Rutherford County Chamber of Commerce. Park staff strengthened ties with the university community. It likely also helped that the park was no longer looking to dramatically expand its boundary, but improving its facilities to make the park a worthy destination for visitors and community members. Johnson recalled, "I think our relationships with the city went from being probably unpleasant to at least being civil: professional as opposed to constantly feuding and fighting."[80] Towards the end of his tenure, park staff were starting to make inroads with the local African American community thanks to the work of public history students and faculty at MTSU researching Cemetery's history.[81]

A common complaint visitors had about the park was the lack of directional signage. Park staff began working with the Rutherford County Convention & Visitors Bureau on a countywide signage plan in 1997, which finally came to fruition in 2009, when the county installed 135 signs to direct people to local tourist attractions and landmarks. Staff began working on a sign plan for the park in 2006, which was approved in 2012. These sign plans are a good example of how park staff worked with community leaders on a project that would benefit the whole community, including STRI. Better directional signage also improved visitor satisfaction.[82]

Another way that the park was able to improve community relations was by building the park's volunteer program. Backlund started this effort when he arrived at the park in the early-1990s. Bettie Cook served as the volunteer coordinator for a number of years. Jim Lewis took over when she retired in 2003. The volunteer program took on new importance as the park's budget reduced the number of seasonal positions. These positions

77. Rebecca Conard, et al. “African Americans on the Land: Five Cultural Landscape Studies of Stones River NHB.” Murfreesboro, TN: Public History Seminar, Middle Tennessee State University, December 2007.

78. Lydia Simpson, "Settling In: Tracking the Formation of the Cemetery Community through Public Records," master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011.

79. Rebecca Conard, "Finding Historic Cemetery Community: The 2011 Public History Field School," Public History at Middle Tennessee State University Newsletter (Fall 2011), http://www.mtsu.edu/history/documents/newsletters/PHNewsletterFall_2011.pdf (accessed February 19, 2016).

80. Johnson Interview, 15.

81. Ibid.

82. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2001 September 2000 to October 2001”; Erin Edgemon, “Countywide Direction Signs Going Up,” *Murfreesboro Post,* January 7, 2009; Jim Lewis to Angela Sirna, email, November 2, 2016, author’s notes.

were essential to carrying out the park's interpretive program and other various aspects of park operations, including visitor services, maintenance, and museum collections. Park staff also coordinated large one-day volunteer efforts on special occasions, such as National Public Lands Day.[83] The volunteer program has served to both stretch out the park's permanent workforce and also build community investment through service work.

While park staff improved community relations and expanded the volunteer program, the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield was on the decline during Johnson's tenure. Eddie Macon, who became a member of the group in 1996, recalled that participation steadily dropped after Peckham left the park. She was very involved in the group, but Johnson was not. Members were still concerned about development affecting the battlefield, but this issue did not have the same urgency it once did when the group first formed. Most of the activities the group sponsored included appreciation dinners for volunteers and staff, snacks for scout groups, and other smaller gestures to help park operations. In 2002 and 2005 the group did sponsor reunions for veteran descendants when the group had active board members. But some members stopped participating in the organization because they felt they should be doing more for the park, such as land acquisition. Others felt that the Friends group was not supporting their concerns, such as promoting their Confederate heritage.[84] In 2010, Johnson noted that in the park's annual report that, "The organization struggled to keep active board members, and it's future is uncertain."[85] Eddie Macon was the only active board member.

Bart Gordon Retires

Congressman Bart Gordon announced in December 2009 he would not be seeking a fourteenth term. He retired in 2011, after serving as a Representative from Tennessee for twenty-six years. Gordon accomplished much in his political career. He was the Chairman of the Science and Technology Committee. He asked the National Academy of Sciences to look at American competitiveness in the twenty-first century, who in turn produced the report "Rise Above the Gathering Storm." He also supported many historic preservation and recreation projects in Middle Tennessee area, many of them centering on Stones River National Battlefield. Some of his major accomplishments included: two boundary expansions, restoration of Fortress Rosecrans, Murfreesboro Greenway, visitor center renovations, rostrum reconstruction in the national cemetery, and a new tour road and entrance gate.[86]

Gordon was a major ally for the park who could not easily be replaced. In fact, when he announced his retirement, reporters noted that Gordon was going to face a tough reelection campaign as Republicans began to solidify themselves against President Obama's policies.[87] Gordon's district was becoming increasingly conservative. Republican Diane Black won his seat in 2010.

Civil War Sesquicentennial

The NPS kicked off Civil War sesquicentennial programming in 2001. Sesquicentennial planning was largely decentralized, in the hands of the states, but the NPS still retained a leadership role. Historians familiar with the failures of the centennial (1961-1965) watched with bated breath to see how the country would react to the war's 150th anniversary, but the cultural and political climate was much different. It had been fifty years since the beginning of the Civil Rights movement and the nation had a black president, Barack Obama. There was no Cold War, although the United States was engaged in a War on Terror. There was no national commission, but many sites connected their events to the public through a new platform called social media. The sesquicentennial was an interesting moment to gauge the public's interest in the Civil War, to see what relevance, if any, it had on their lives.

83. Backlund Interview, Part One, 12; Lewis Interview, 19.

84. Eddie Macon Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 3, 2016, 18-20, 23; "Reunion," *The Vidette,* November 2004, and "Second Reunion a Success!" *The Vidette,* December 2005, both Friend of Stones River National Battlefield Papers.

85. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2010 October 2009 to September 2010."

86. Gordon Interview, 14; Chris Cillizza and Dan Balz, "House Democrats Lose Fourth Member to Retirement," *Washington Post,* December 15, 2009.

87. Cillizza and Balz, "House Democrats Lose Fourth Member to Retirement."

NPS historian John Hennessy wrote that the Civil War sesquicentennial realized the interpretive framework discussed at the 1998 Holding the High Ground conference, which directed Civil War sites to broaden the story they tell, particularly to include the central role of slavery.[88] These programs reveal how interpretation has changed at NPS Civil War sites, because this process has been "largely of addition, not subtraction."[89] In some ways, NPS interpreters continued the programs that were popular during the centennial, which focused on the military aspects of the war, but the national theme that the NPS chose for the four-year commemoration, "Civil War to Civil Rights," pushed Civil War sites to take into account the centrality of slavery and consequences of emancipation in a very public way while also tying it to the modern Civil Rights movement.



Figure 63 USCT living history interpreter at STRI, photographed by David Wittenburg, October 27, 2013. Courtesy of STRI.

Programming at STRI reflected these national trends. Beginning in 2009, according to Lewis, park staff thought through how to expand the story beyond the actual days of the battle. For example, staff chose to highlight stories of occupation. They held a birthday party for the 13th USCT, which formed in Murfreesboro in October 1863 (see Fig. 63). They also presented a program about the creation of Stones River National Cemetery. Park staff called on scholars to speak to the public about the significance of the battle. In October 2012, the NPS and TCWNHA, along with Eastern National, Friends of Stones River National Battlefield, MTSU Department of History, MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, and Teaching with Primary Sources, sponsored a two-day public symposium that featured workshops, tours, and presentations. The symposium was taped and rebroadcast on CSPAN-3. Real time commemoration of battle engagements remained a popular aspect of the sesquicentennial, and STRI offered three days of living history programs over eight days of anniversary programming in December 2012 and January 2013. But on January 1, 2013, no muskets were fired. Staff held a night watch at Ebenezer Primitive Baptist Church, which was part of the original Cemetery community. The program focused on the Emancipation Proclamation to show the battle's strong connection to that document. Students at MacGavock High School created short films for the "Expressions of Freedom" project that staff screened at the park. Park staff continued the anniversary with living history demonstrations that had both military and social history focuses (see Figs. 64-66). There were also special activities for the park's Junior Ranger program. Unfortunately for visitors and staff, the area experienced very bad weather throughout the anniversary programs, which reduced visitor numbers.[90]



Figure 64 Confederate living history interpreters during 150th anniversary, December 29, 2012. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 65 Union living history interpreters during 150th anniversary, December 29, 2012. Courtesy of STRI.

88. John Hennessy, "Touchstone: Sesquicentennial, the National Park Service, and a Changing Nation," *Common-Place 14*, no. 2 (Winter 2014), http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-14/no-02/hennessy/#.VsitY5MrKCQ (accessed February 20, 2016).

89. Ibid.

90. Lewis Interview, 29; National Park Service and Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, "The Legacy of Stones River," 2012, https://www.nps.gov/stri/planyourvisit/upload/legacystonesriver-final-rgb-1.pdf (accessed June 14, 2016).



Figure 66 Visitors watch 150th anniversary events, December 30, 2012. Courtesy of STRI.



Figure 67 Stuart Johnson with his family at his retirement party, September 29, 2012. Courtesy of STRI.

Superintendent Johnson decided that the park should use an Incident Management Team to help with anniversary events, but Johnson himself did not attend. He decided to retire shortly before the anniversary events began (see Fig. 67). He had spent nearly thirty-two years with the NPS and over forty years in historic preservation. When asked why he retired when he did, he said:

> This is purely a reflection of the kind of person I am: I knew that there were not going to be anymore significant projects on the horizon. We had done all that we could do to the park with the financial resources that we had available. I knew that there was no money in the pipeline and in fact, I knew that we were facing a period of probable decline in the terms of available funding, available staff, and so forth. And I just felt like it was the appropriate time for me to go. I think they needed—don't know whether they did or not but the Park Service needed to bring in somebody who's a more competent manager in that kind of setting. And I knew it wouldn't be me.[91]

Johnson also had the professional philosophy that he was a caretaker for the park for just a brief period of time. It was up to him to do the best job he could for the park's resources and visitors.[92] He retired when he felt his job was done and knew he had a team capable for carrying out the sesquicentennial programs. Gayle Hazelwood arrived in his place, just days before the anniversary events began.

91. Johnson Interview, 22-23.

92. Ibid., 22.

Park Staffing

Park staffing remained relatively stable during Johnson's tenure. When he arrived at STRI, the park had nine full-time employees. When he left, the park had added three additional permanent positions. The park was able to add two permanent maintenance worker positions and an ecologist.[93] As mentioned previously, the Natural Resource Challenge allowed the park add a GS-11 Ecologist position, which was filled by Terri Hogan. She left STRI for a position at Congaree National Park in September 2010, after spending nearly eight years building the park's natural resource program. Johnson decided to create an Integrated Resource Manager Position, to bring together natural and cultural resources together. In 2012, Johnson hired Troy Morris, who had a natural resource background with the Army Corps of Engineers.[94]

Two personnel changes occurred in 2003. Longtime park ranger Bettie Cook retired and John McKay filled her position. The park continued to have two ranger positions, one explicitly marked for Law Enforcement and the other for Interpretation. That same year, the park hired Ron Hibdon to fill the GS-5 Administrative Support Assistant position that was vacated by Ellen Brown. Additionally, the Maintenance Leader position was renamed Chief of Maintenance when Laura

93. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2001 September 2000 to October 2001";Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2011 October 2010 to September 2011 (Draft)."

94. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2011 October 2010 to September 2011 (Draft)"; Backlund Interview, Part Two, 14.

Stresemann accepted a position with Homestead National Monument. Donnie Knott, an Air Force veteran, served in this capacity until he transferred to Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park in 2009.[95]

After Knott's departure, Johnson again changed the position title to WS7-Maintenance Foreman. William Reese transferred from Richmond National Battlefield/Maggie Walker National Historic Site in June 2010 to take over the new Facility Manager position. Both Knott and Reese had the assistance of Albert Pomplun, a longtime park employee who retired in 2011 after 30 years of service with the NPS.[96]

Conclusion

By Johnson's retirement in 2012, the park had undergone a dramatic transformation. Physically, park facilities received a much-needed facelift. The park had a renovated visitor center and museum, a new tour road, new waysides, a rostrum for the national cemetery, and a brand new entrance gate. Situated on Thompson Lane, this new entrance gate was the new front door that park planners had sought ever since Highway 41 opened in the 1950s. The park's physical transformation had to keep pace with what was happening outside of its boundaries. During Johnson's tenure, Murfreesboro added Medical Center Parkway, the Avenue shopping mall, and another I-24 interchange. This development reaffirmed that STRI was an urban park.

Park staff made great strides in broadening the story they told, but they were struggling to attract new audiences. Like the rest of the NPS, their average visitor was a white, middle-aged man. In particular, they were having a hard time bringing in African American audiences.[97] These shortcomings reaffirm John Hennessy's assertion that the sesquicentennial was not a high point in Civil War interpretation, but just a point in how interpretation is evolving. It is a process that is not yet complete.[98]

95. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield, Fiscal Year 2003 October 2002-September 2003 (Draft)."

96. Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2010 October 2009 to September 2010"; Johnson, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report Stones River National Battlefield Fiscal Year 2011 October 2010 to September 2011 (Draft)."

97. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Stones River National Battlefield and Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning, 2015), 22.

98. Hennessy, "Touchstone."

Epilogue

Johnson's retirement surprised many, but the park was left in the capable hands of Gayle Hazelwood, former Deputy Director of the Southeast Regional Office. Hazelwood was the park's first African American and first openly acknowledged LGBTQ superintendent. She came to the park with an impressive NPS resume. She had a strong background in recreation and interpretation and had held two superintendencies at dynamic, urban parks before becoming Deputy Director. She also came to STRI shortly before the NPS announced a new initiative to identify places and events associated with the history of LGBTQ Americans.[1]

Hazelwood recalled that she first learned of the NPS quite accidentally while she was completing her undergraduate degree in therapeutic recreation at Ohio University. She was umpiring a men's fastball tournament. During a break, one of the fellow umpires, an NPS employee, began talking to Hazelwood about her career ambitions and took her under his wing.[2]

She first worked as a seasonal ranger at Cuyahoga Valley National Park in 1985, and entered into the agency's Intake Program. However, the transition from seasonal to permanent employee did not go smoothly. She left the NPS to work at Ohio State Parks when a permanent position was not available. Shortly after finishing her training with Ohio State Parks, she received a call about a permanent position and accepted. She worked as a recreation specialist at Cuyahoga Valley and completed her master's in recreational management at Ohio University.[3]

She stayed at the park for nine years before accepting the Chief of Interpretation at Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site in Atlanta. She landed her first superintendency at New Orleans Jazz National Park Historical Park in 1998 and remained there until 2003. She then became Deputy Superintendent of National Capital Parks-East and then became superintendent after her boss retired six months later. She stayed at National Capital Parks-East for five years before returning to Atlanta, having accepted the Deputy Director position for the Southeast Regional Office. In that position, she was responsible for supervising a third of the region's superintendents and a number of program areas, including inventory and monitoring of natural and cultural resources, the Southeast Archeological Center, and outreach to HBCUs.[4]

When Johnson retired, Hazelwood approached the Regional Director about the vacancy at Stones River National Battlefield. She was interested in the park for both professional and personal reasons. She enjoyed park operations and working with communities. Her partner also landed a job with Nashville Public School System as the Director of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math). Things moved quickly. Hazelwood arrived six days prior to the kick off of the park's sesquicentennial events (see Fig. 68).[5]



Figure 68 Superintendent Gayle Hazelwood at the Legacy of Stones River symposium, October 26, 2012. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

1. "The LGBT Heritage Initiative," National Park Service, https://parkplanning.nps.gov/projectHome.cfm?projectID=53065 (accessed August 14, 2016).

2. Gayle Hazelwood Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, November 17, 2015, 2-3.

3. Ibid., 1-2.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 3.

Hazelwood had never worked at a Civil War park in her twenty-seven year NPS career, but gladly stepped in as a cheerleader for STRI. Once the sesquicentennial events concluded, she swiftly turned her attention to her priorities, which included reinvigorating the nearly defunct Friends of Stones River National Battlefield group, expanding the park's interpretation, and developing new community partnerships.[6] Stuart Johnson, her predecessor, had guided the park through its biggest capital improvement campaign since Mission 66, so she had virtually a brand new park to manage. Hazelwood was a much more outward facing superintendent than Johnson and spent most of her energies on community outreach. Hazelwood's experience working with urban parks and diverse communities helped steer the park's newfound status as an urban park in a rapidly growing area.

Friends of Stones River National Battlefield

In 2012, the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield was struggling. Eddie Macon was the president and only active board member. He related in an oral history interview that membership declined during Johnson's tenure partly because the superintendent did not show interest in the group. Hazelwood asked to meet with Macon when she arrived at the park, and Macon told her that due to family obligations he was walking away from the Friends group in one year. If she could not help find new board members, he was going to let the organization lapse and make a donation to the park with the Friend's remaining funds.[7]

With Hazelwood's efforts, the Friends group did not dissolve after a year. She became involved in Leadership Rutherford, a program sponsored by the Rutherford County Chamber of Commerce that is designed to motivate individuals to further their leadership skills while addressing community needs. One group of participants chose to revive the Friends group as its project.[8] While it is unclear how effective the leadership group's efforts were, the Friends group did find new leadership with board members who held a variety of backgrounds and interests and who were willing to be active helpers. Gary Burke, a United States Colored Troop living historian, joined the board, along with Drs. Susan Myers-Shirk and Rebecca Conard, both history professors at Middle Tennessee State University. Backlund recalled that he and other park staff were surprised to learn that Mike Liles had reached out to Eddie Macon about becoming involved in the group again. Liles had once served as vice-president of the organization when it had first formed in 1989, but had strained relations with the park when the NPS tried to purchase his land and spoke against his efforts to rezone his property as commercial. The park embraced Liles's new outlook, and he now serves as the president of the Friends group (see Fig. 69).[9]



Figure 69 Superintendent Gayle Hazelwood welcomes Mike Liles as the new president of Friends of Stones River National Battlefield, 2014. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Friends of Stones River National Battlefield.

With new leadership, the Friends group was then able to reach out to the community to help rebuild the membership. Hazelwood mentioned this growth in an oral history interview and the group's efforts to attract an audience with diverse interests, particularly those that use the park on a regular, if not daily, basis:

> We've got your traditional Civil War enthusiast but, as many people know, here at Stones River

6. Ibid., 3-5.

7. Eddie Macon Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 3, 2016, 21-22.

8. Gilbert Backlund Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, June 8, 2016, Part Three.

9. Ibid.

> we also have a very active walking, hiking, dog loving, bird loving, butterfly watching group of people.[10]

Hazelwood made it clear that the Friends group should include those people who primarily use the park for recreation as well.

Not all members were happy with these changes. Macon noted that some members interested in history and southern heritage were not pleased with the direction the park was moving, such as welcoming recreationists and interpreting local African American history. Some of them remain members, paying dues but not actively participating in park or Friends' activities. Others, however, have completely left the Friends group. Macon recalled one member (but did not use his name) in particular who left the organization to give his efforts to the Sam Davis Home.[11] Hazelwood described the situation in more diplomatic terms, saying that some members did not share the same priorities as the park.[12]

Today, the Friends group serves as a partner and advisory group to the park. The group helps support park programs, such as Public Lands Day and Memorial Day, by providing volunteers or refreshments. The park superintendent or designated staff member attends Friends board meetings to help bring the group up to speed about park activities and needs. In turn, Friends members may provide feedback about park operations.

2013 Visitor Study

Most of the action items outlined in Alternative 2 of the 1999 General Management Plan were complete by the time Hazelwood arrived at the park in 2012. In 2013, the park commissioned a visitor study to evaluate how well the park was meeting its visitor service goals, and provide hard data for the next set of planning documents that would help guide the park for the next five to ten years.

The study was conducted July 13-23, 2013, by the NPS Visitor Services Project (VSP), which is part of the Park Studies Unit at the University of Idaho. Park and VSP staff developed a questionnaire over a series of conference calls. Staff handed out the questionnaire at the visitor center to 450 different groups. The form was returned by 269 respondents, a 59.8 percent return rate.[13]

The survey found that that 58 percent of visitor groups consisted of one or two individuals. Ninety-nine percent of visitors were from the United States, with 35 percent coming from Tennessee and the rest from thirty-six different states. Visitors aged 51-70 years old accounted for the largest age group of respondents at 43 percent. Fifty-two percent were male and 96 percent were white. Seventy-three percent of visitors responded that this was their first visit. The average length of stay for respondents was 2.1 hours. About half of the visitors were also visiting other local attractions, the most common of which were Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Shiloh National Military Park, and Battle of Franklin sites. Visitors mostly stayed in the core battlefield area, spending most of their time at the visitor center, national cemetery, and the Slaughter Pen.[14]

The demographics uncovered in the survey reinforced much of what was already known anecdotally. The majority of battlefield visitors were middle-aged white men interested in the Civil War. It also showed that very few African Americans visited the park. As a point of comparison, 12.5 percent of residents living in Rutherford County in 2010 were African American.[15] The lagging representation of minorities, particularly African Americans, is a system-wide issue, not just one found in Civil War parks.

Seventy-three percent of respondents reported that they "learned something about the Civil War that was relevant or meaningful to their life."

10. Hazelwood Interview, 4-5.

11. Macon Interview, 19-20.

12. Hazelwood Interview, 6.

13. Marc F. Manni, Douglas Eury, and Yen Le, *Stones River National Battlefield Visitor Study Summer 2013* (Fort Collins, CO: National Park Service Natural Resource Stewardship and Science, May 2014), v, 3.

14. Ibid., v-vi.

15. "Quick Facts: Rutherford County, Tennessee," United States Census Bureau, http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/RHI125215/47149 (accessed July 19, 2016).

Survey results showed that the most common topics that visitors learned about during their visit were "Events of the Battle of Stones River" (95 percent), "Events of the Civil War" (78 percent), and "Natural setting where events occurred" (78 percent).[16] These survey results indicate that the park was successful in meeting its interpretive goals, as they were shaped by conferences like "Holding the High Ground" and "Rally on the High Ground."

2014 Foundation Document

With this data in hand, park staff embarked on a new planning document called the Foundation Document, which some in the agency refer to as "GMP-light." Much criticism had been waged in and outside the agency against GMP's, which were very costly, time consuming, and almost out of date as soon as they were approved. The Foundation Document is supposed to be a much more nimble document with a shorter shelf life and does not require an Environmental Impact Statement. Its purpose is "to provide basic guidance for planning and management decisions."[17] As the NPS started to gear up for the agency's 100th anniversary, administrators put forth the goal that all NPS units will complete a Foundation Document by 2016.[18]

Park staff outlined seven statements of significance related to the park's purpose:

- "The Battle of Stones River secured middle Tennessee, its vital transportation network and its rich agricultural lands for the Union, while providing a much needed strategic victory that bolstered Union morale as the American Civil War moved into 1863."
- "The Union victory at Stones River strengthened political support for President Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation, which went into effect on January 1, 1863. The proclamation signaled a major shift in American Civil War goals—from a right to preserve the Union to a struggle for freedom."
- "The Hazen Brigade Monument, one of the oldest intact American Civil War monuments, was built on the Stones River battlefield in 1863 by soldiers who served under Col. William Hazen to memorialize the brigade's actions and losses."
- "After the Battle of Stones River, Union forces, with the help of formerly enslaved laborers, constructed Fortress Rosecrans, one of the largest Civil War earthen fortifications, to serve as a major supply depot for both the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns. Stones River National Battlefield protects surviving portions of these earthworks."
- "Stones River National Cemetery was one of the first national cemeteries authorized by the federal government. The national cemeteries were a response to military and civilian concerns with the way in which the nation cared for war deaths."
- "The freedman's settlement known as Cemetery, established following the American Civil War on the site of the Battle of Stones River, existed until the designation of Stones River National Battlefield in 1927, and beyond. Some park neighbors are descendants of those early community members. Some of the freedmen who lived there played an integral role in the building of Stones River National Cemetery."
- "Stones River National Battlefield protects cedar glades, a specially adapted plant community, including some plants known to occur only within a few select locations within Rutherford County, Tennessee."[19]

With these significance statements articulated, the park identified related Fundamental Resources and Values (FRVs). FRVs "are those features, systems, processes, experiences, stories, scenes, sounds, smells, or other attributed determined to warrant primary consideration during planning and management processes."[20] STRI identified Battlefield Landscape, Stones River National Cemetery, Commemorative Landscape and Monuments, Fortress Rosecrans, Archeological Resources, and Museum Collections as the park's FRVs. The park identified Other Important Resources and Values (OIRVs) as well, which included Appropriate Recreational Opportunities and Cedar Glades.[21]

16. Manni, Eury, and Le, *Stones River National Battlefield Visitor Study Summer 2013,* vi.

17. National Park Service, *Foundation Document, Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee,* (Murfreesboro, TN: Prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, November 2014), 2.

18. "Foundation Documents for National Park Service Units," National Park Service, https://parkplanning.nps.gov/foundationDocuments.cfm (July 19, 2016).

19. National Park Service, *Foundation Document, Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee,* 6.

20. Ibid., 7.

21. Ibid., 7-9.

The planning team identified six interpretive themes along with subthemes.

- Theme 1: "Stones River was one the major Civil War battles in size, complexity, and long-term results."
- Theme 2: "The Battle of Stones River significantly changed the course of the Civil War by shifting momentum from the Confederate Army to the Union Army and providing a timely boost for the Union cause."
- Theme 3: "The battle profoundly affected the lives of countless people—civilian as well as military."
- Theme 4: The rural landscape of Stones River battlefield—especially its terrain, vegetation, and features—notably influenced the battle."
- Theme 5: "Stones River National Battlefield represents an important early effort in the movement toward battlefield commemoration in the United States."
- Theme 6: "The Confederate army's withdrawal from the area after the battle allowed Union forces to build Fortress Rosecrans, a major supply/logistical transportation base, and to affect Murfreesboro throughout the rest of the Civil War and Reconstruction."[22]

The interpretive themes are elaborated in the next section of this administrative history, but their inclusion in the Foundation Document demonstrates how park staff currently think about the relationship between FRVs and interpretation.

The Foundation Document provides a matrix of the FRVS with analysis based on current conditions and trends, threats and opportunities, existing plans and data, data and/or GIS needs, planning needs, and applicable laws or regulations. The FRVS were listed in stable, fair, or good condition. Some of the threats listed were not new, such as adjacent development, vandalism, or invasive plant species. However, the planning team noted that STRI had one of the highest densities of invasive plant species in the Southeast Region "despite extensive management efforts."[23] What is noticeably different about how the team describes these threats is a more nuanced understanding of them. For example, they articulated that industrial development brought increased vehicle traffic (which affected air and water quality), heavier stream pollution from storm water runoff, more wildlife-vehicle accidents, monument degradation from acid rain, and negative impacts to the appearance of the night sky and soundscape. Land acquisition was a topic conspicuously absent from the document, which marks another difference from the planning efforts in the 1990s.[24]

The planning team did note a new threat—climate change—that would have adverse impacts on both natural and cultural resources. Climate scientists project that the average annual temperature will increase 1.5 to 3.5 degrees Fahrenheit by 2050 and 2.5 to 4.5 degrees Fahrenheit by 2070.[25] This dramatic change will worsen the invasive species epidemic, therefore altering the appearance of the battlefield landscape. It will also increase the likeliness of extreme storms, which may lead to tree damage in the national cemetery and the park's earthworks. Severe storms might bring increased rainfall and flooding, which would in turn uncover archeological resources that are currently safe underground. Climate change may also threaten the overall health of the plant communities in the cedar glades.[26] While there is little the park can do to reverse climate change, the planning team underscored the importance of monitoring resource conditions and working with local, state, and federal partners on regional efforts. They also recommended the park continue developing its sustainability committee to reduce the park's own carbon footprint and implement more sustainable practices.[27]

The "opportunities" section of the FRV matrix allowed the planning team to pinpoint possible partnerships to help the mark meet its goals, which was much in line with Hazelwood's priority to develop park partnerships. For example, the museum collections section, the planning team noted that the park needed a full-time museum curator, particularly someone that could direct digitization efforts. As a possible opportunity to help meet this need, they noted that the MTSU Public History Ph.D. program has a residency requirement, which would be a way to bring in a doctoral student for a year.[28] Other partnership

22. Ibid., 10-12.

23. Ibid., 16.

24. Ibid.,14-33.

25. Ibid.,16.

26. Ibid., 16, 20, 25, 28, 35.

27. Ibid., 16.

28. Ibid., 30.

opportunities listed include working with the City of Murfreesboro to make sure development meets both the interests of the city and the park, collaborating with the city and landowners to preserve Curtain Wall No. 1 and the remnants of Lunette Negley, and find groups willing to help with cyclical maintenance of the park's monuments.[29]

After the FRV analysis, the planning team noted four key issues: urban development and regional growth, protection of the entire battlefield landscape, connectivity to the community, and sustainability.[30] This administrative history should show that the first three concerns are not new. However, unlike in the past, the park is not currently seeking to add new land, but to work with local, state, federal, non-profit, and private partners and stakeholders to accomplish its goals. The only new issue is the matter of sustainability, which is an issue that the NPS is currently addressing servicewide with the hope that the agency will serve as a leader in climate change response.[31]

With these four key issues in mind, the planning team outlined additional planning and data needs, ranking them from high to low priority. Some of the high ranking planning needs include a tree management plan for the national cemetery, parkwide trail management plan, turf management plan for the national cemetery, accessibility assessment of the park and national cemetery, preservation maintenance plan for the national cemetery, a Cultural Landscape Report for Fortress Rosecrans and Redoubt Brannan (along with an earthworks management plan update), viewshed management plan, and development concept plan specifically for the visitor center area to expand the parking area and provide a shade structure for visitor use.[32] In terms of data needs, the planning team ranked highly a conservation study for the Hazen Brigade Monument and cemetery wall, an archeological overview and assessment, fire and security survey for the park's museum collections, and a visual resource inventory and viewshed analysis.[33]

Long-Range Interpretive Plan

In 2014, the park used planning for the Foundation Document to kickoff an effort to formulate a new Long-Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP) based upon the interpretive themes articulated during the Foundation Document planning process. The park had the assistance of Peggy Scherbaum, an Interpretive Planner from Harpers Ferry Center. In September 2014, a group of park staff, stakeholders, and partners met to review elements of the Foundation Document. They also created Visitor Experience Goals and identified target audiences. The park convened a Recommendations Workshop in December 2014 with park staff and stakeholders. From that meeting, the park was then able to develop an Action Plan. The LRIP was completed in 2015.[34]

The key audiences identified in the LRIP reveal how the park has been working to expand its interpretive programming. They not only include Civil War enthusiasts and educational audiences—the traditional visitors the park has sought over the years—but also recreational users, conservationists, travelers, bus tours, park neighbors, new residents, and digital dwellers.[35] This list shows that park staff and stakeholders are interested in welcoming those that experience the park incidentally or accidentally. They realize that while much of the greater battlefield had been lost to development, the growth of new residents in the area means a new visitor base.

This administrative history shows that these ideas were not entirely new. Throughout the generations, STRI superintendents hoped to capitalize on the haphazard traveler. In the 1970s, Superintendent Jim Sanders certainly saw the

29. Ibid., 16, 23, 25.

30. Ibid., 38-39.

31. In 2010, the NPS released its report, *Climate Change Response Strategy* (Fort Collins, CO: Climate Change Response Program, National Park Service, 2010), which was a call for both individual and collective action, urging the agency to be a leader in climate change response.

32. National Park Service, *Foundation Document, Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee,* 40.

33. Ibid., 42.

34. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Stones River National Battlefield and Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning, 2015), 1.

35. Ibid., 14-17.

potential of attracting new audiences as new housing developments were built near the park during that time. He also sought to bring in nature lovers and recreationists.

However, the 2015 LRIP did identify one group that previous superintendents had not fully considered: "digital dwellers." The park had developed electronic media in the visitor center and through cell phone tours around the battlefield. However, with the advent of the smartphone and prevalence of social media, they realized the need for a stronger virtual presence to reach those "park users with high expectations of digital programs and dependence on hand-held devices."[36] They specifically singled out "millennials" and those families with "digitally-focused youth."

The LRIP's authors noted that the park faces several interpretive challenges at STRI. First, there are many activities competing for people's leisure time. The park will have to continue providing quality programs, both on-site and virtual, to demonstrate the value of spending time at the park. Second, audience expectations are continuously changing with trends in media technology, so park staff must be aware of how people are connecting with park resources.[37] Third, the park has to take a hard look at its operations and make difficult decisions to maintain fiscal responsibility, which might mean cutting hours, traditional services, or programs, but also finding creative avenues to find additional funding and staffing. Finally, recreational users may not understand all of the park's rules, which might create additional staff or volunteer work to educate them or repairing social trails.[38]

The planning team developed a number of audience goals based upon recommendations from staff and stakeholders. For youth under 18 years of age, the park's goal is to present a range of programs and media that will allow youth to engage with park resources and stories. For grade school students (kindergarten through 12th grade), the park's goal is to use a variety of mediums that will link park learning opportunities to state school standards. For young adults, ages 18 to 35, the park hopes to use multiple venues to "encourage young people to co-create their own park experience in ways that are impactful, support sharing, improve their lives and the world around them, and continue beyond the park experience." For park neighbors, the park intends to use interpretive media to show the geographic breadth of the Battle of Stones River and its relevance to contemporary local communities. For Civil War enthusiasts, the park plans to improve its electronic presence to "provide balanced and empathetic conversational opportunities based on facts and primary sources." This goal clearly points to the agency's efforts in the past several years to train park rangers in using civic dialogue to engage visitors in conversations about very complex issues, such as the causes and consequences of the Civil War. For travelers, the goal is to present a range of interpretive mediums so that visitors can have memorable experiences.[39]

In the audience goals section, the document authors included African Americans as another audience group that was not initially identified as a key audience. They wrote,

> There is a significant disparity between the percentage of Tennessee's population which is of African American heritage (17%: 2013 US Census), and the percentage of visitors to the Battlefield who are African American (1%: 2013 Visitor Study). This is of special concern because of the critical involvement of African Americans in the site's history.[40]

36. Ibid., 16.

37. A case in point recently occurred in the summer of 2016, when Pokémon Go, a location-based augmented reality mobile application based on a popular 1990s video game franchise, brought new visitors to museums, historic sites, and national parks across the country. This quickly raised questions about the appropriateness of playing a game in areas considered sacred ground, like a Civil War battlefield or a national cemetery. NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis posted a video message on Facebook encouraging players to catch Pokémon at national parks, but to be careful about park resources. STRI staff, also concerned about park resources, sent out rangers, volunteers, or interns out with visitors who were trying to catch Pokémon. They are also trying to work with game developers to remove Pokémon stops in the national cemetery. The park's last count was fifteen. Rebecca Hersher, "Holocaust Museum, Arlington National Cemetery Plead: No Pokémon," National Public Radio, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/07/12/485759308/holocaust-museum-arlington-national-cemetery-plead-no-pokemon (accessed July 19, 2016).

38. National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield Long-Range Interpretive Plan,* 17-18.

39. Ibid., 21.

40. Ibid., 22.

The authors continue that African American history is American history, and 28 percent of respondents in the 2013 Visitor Survey said they had received "'some, but not enough'" information about African American history at the battlefield.[41] They wrote, "Ideally, contemporary African Americans will co-create the interpretive messages that the Battlefield conveys."[42] The audience goal that they outlined for African American target group is to apply research findings and collaborate with African American community members to improve this audience's experience at the park and how they connect to park resources and stories. The research the author's were referring to was an ethnographic study on Cemetery community recently completed by MTSU Professor of History, Dr. Rebecca Conard.[43]

The park's Action Plan for meeting these audience goals includes a variety of different activities. For youth under 18 years of age, the park plans to enhance the Junior Ranger Program and has adopted Instagram. For grade school students, the park is working to modify park programs to meet state education standards, increase awareness of the park's offerings for educators, providing opportunities for independent high school research or presentation, create outdoor education space, and establish a demonstration garden. For young adults, park staff will work to expand career development and mentorship opportunities, expand outreach services highlighting NPS careers, offer in-depth residency programs, and create technology-based interpretive experiences. For African Americans, the park will gather information and input from local African American community members, establish a broader interpretive narrative, and develop a strategy for sustainable outreach and contact. To reach park neighbors, the park will continue to develop interpretation that ties the battlefield to the greater Murfreesboro area and emphasize the status of the park as a unit of the NPS. For Civil War enthusiasts, the park will increase digital participation by providing electronic access to park collections and promote digital dialogue. Lastly, for travellers, the park will increase its electronic presence, develop exhibits, and improve interpretation on trails.[44]

Confederate Symbols Controversy

On June 17, 2015, Dylan Roof, a white male, entered a prayer meeting at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Charleston, South Carolina, and murdered nine African American church members. Emanuel AME church, known as "Mother Emanuel" is a historic black church, and Roof claimed himself to be a white supremacist hoping to start a race war.[45] As the public struggled to come to terms with what happened, the media circulated images from Roof's webpage showing him holding a Confederate flag at Confederate heritage sites and slavery museums.[46]

In the wake of the devastation, there were renewed efforts around the South to remove public displays of the Confederate flag and iconography. Perhaps most notably, South Carolina Republican Governor Nikki Haley called for the state legislature to remove the Confederate flag flying on state grounds, which they agreed to do.[47] There were similar calls for the NPS to remove the flag at Civil War battlefields. On June

41. Quoted in Ibid., 22.

42. Ibid., 22-23.

43. Rebecca Conard, *Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee* (Murfreesboro, TN: Middle Tennessee State University, prepared for Stones River National Battlefield, May 2016).

44. Ibid., 25-31.

45. Christopher Dean Hopkins, "9 Dead in Shooting at Charleston, S.C., Church," *National Public Radio,* http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/06/18/415345850/reports-eight-dead-in-shooting-at-charleston-s-c-church (accessed July 21, 2016); *National Public Radio,* June 18, 2015, Bill Chappel, "'Mother Emanuel' Church Suffers a New Loss in Charleston," *National Public Radio,* June 18, 2015, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/06/18/415452594/mother-emanuel-church-suffers-a-new-loss-in-charleston (accessed July 21, 2016);

46. Frances Robles, "Dylan Roof Photos and Manifesto Are Posted on Website," *New York Times,* June 20, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/21/us/dylann-storm-roof-photos-website-charleston-church-shooting.html?_r=0 (accessed July 21, 2016).

47. Amber Phillips, "Nikki Haley: Lowering the Confederate Flag 'A Real Proud Moment for South Carolina,'" *New York Times,* July 12, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/07/12/nikki-haley-lowering-the-confederate-flag-a-real-proud-moment-for-south-carolina/ (accessed July 21, 2016).

25, 2015, NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis asked superintendents to work with partners to voluntarily remove items in park stores that "solely depict the Confederate flag."[48] Stones River National Battlefield complied with his request.

Counter-protests regarding the removal of Confederate iconography ensued. STRI staff experienced this firsthand shortly after Jarvis directed parks to remove the Confederate flag in their bookstores. On August 1, 2015, a group of local Confederate flag supporters, in approximately half a dozen vehicles, showed up at the park with large Confederate flags on their cars and trucks. Park staff had been encouraged to talk to visitors about what the Confederate flag means with them. Hazelwood later recalled that the purpose of this dialogue was not necessarily to change people's minds, but hear and understand that the flag was divisive. Jim Lewis met with the group, who did not have a First Amendment permit, and saw it as an opportunity to engage with them about the flag's meaning.[49]



Figure 70 Screenshot of Facebook post on August 1, 2015.

He snapped a picture of the group and posted it on the park's Facebook page (see fig. 70) with the following caption,

> Ranger Jim had a pleasant chat with a group of visitors sharing their opinion on the debate surrounding the Confederate battle flag by simply driving around the park. This peaceful show of support for this controversial symbol stands in stark contrast to recent events at Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site…reminding us that symbols acquire meanings based on their use and the motivations of the people that use them.

This post caught the attention of users on social media. Historians like Kevin Levin sharply criticized the park's response to the group, since other park visitors would have no context for what was happening.[50] Some Facebook commenters supported the display.

Hazelwood was not at the park when the incident occurred, but she immediately had calls from the Regional Office, which informed her that prominent people-of-color activists were upset about the post and how the park handled it. The park took down the post, which caused Levin and other historians to criticize the park for deleting the ensuing conversation. Hazelwood called these activists personally to discuss the incident. She also had a conversation with Lewis about the incident, and he acknowledged in hindsight that the post could have been worded better. From this incident, the park instituted a new social media guideline: if a person has second thoughts about how something should be written, they should check with others before it is posted.[51]

While the LRIP directs park staff to engage Civil War enthusiasts in thoughtful dialogue, either in person or with social media, the August 1 incident at STRI demonstrates the limits of social media for such dialogue. What may have been just a local incident quickly became a national issue, with people across the country weighing in without appropriate context.

The Confederate iconography debate in Rutherford County was not limited to Stones River National Battlefield. In Murfreesboro at Middle Tennessee State University, the shootings in Charleston prompted students, staff, and alumni

48. National Park Service, "Statement Regarding the Confederate Flag," June 25, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/news/statement-regarding-the-confederate-flag.htm (accessed July 21, 2016).

49. After Hazelwood's initial oral history session, Project Historian Angela Sirna followed up with a phone call specifically regarding the park's response to this event. See Gayle Hazelwood Phone Call Notes with Angela Sirna, April 12, 2016, author's notes.

50. Kevin Levin, "National Park Service Needs a Stricter Confederate Flag Policy," *Civil War Memory,* August 2, 2015, http://cwmemory.com/2015/08/02/national-park-service-needs-stricter-confederate-flag-policy/ (accessed July 21, 2016).

51. Gayle Hazelwood Phone Call Notes with Angela Sirna.

to ask the university to change the name of the ROTC building, Forrest Hall, named after Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest. Their calls for a name change elicited an equally passionate response, from local community members, to keep the name. MTSU President Sidney McPhee created a special Forrest Hall Task Force to hold a series of public hearings among students, alumni, and community members, and then make a recommendation to him about the name change. McPhee appointed Mike Liles, Friends president, to the committee, although he was not representing the Friends group or the park. The public meetings were contentious, with heated verbal exchanges between campus protestors and community members. Campus protestors, many of them members of the "Talented Tenth," an African American student group, were escorted out of one meeting by police after they began chanting a protest slogan. In April 2016, the Task Force recommended to change the name. However, one of the Task Force members, State Senator Bill Ketron, sponsored the Tennessee Heritage Protection Act, which passed in March 2016, a law that will make changing the name of the building harder. The name change has been approved by the Tennessee Board of Regents, but will need approval by the Tennessee Historical Commission.[52] Staff at STRI were not involved in the Forrest Hall controversy, but it is worth mentioning because it demonstrates how deeply Confederate heritage and iconography still divides the local community.

Interpreting Cemetery Community

Although the August 1 Confederate flag controversy might make it appear that the park is falling behind in its goals to reach African American audiences, it has actually made big strides this year. In 2015, Mark Friedman, a Friends board member, formed an African American committee with the specific goal of bringing African Americans to the park. The committee struggled at first with more white participants than African Americans. However, after meetings with the African American Heritage Society of Rutherford County (AAHS), the committee had buy in from key African American community members, such as Mary Watkins, Florence Smith, and Katie Wilson, who are involved in AAHS, Bradley Academy Museum, and the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

In February 2016, the committee held two programs at the park for Black History Month. The first program was a tour of Cemetery community (see Fig. 71), which coincided with the launch of a new cellphone tour app for Cemetery community. The tour, which covered sites within and outside the park's boundaries, incorporated the research of Dr. Rebecca Conard and her students. The second program was a celebration of Cemetery history. It featured local African American gospel groups, oral histories with Eleanora "Boe" Washington and Anthony King, USCT living historians, and a play written and directed by Watkins (see Fig. 72). Both events demonstrated good promise for diversifying the park's audience and promoting civic dialogue.



Figure 71 USCT living history interpreter giving a program at the grave of William Holland by the Hazen Brigade Monument, one stop of the Cemetery tour. Photographed by Angela Sirna, February 6, 2016.

52. Sarah Grace Taylor, "Timeline: 2015-2016 Forrest Hall Protests," *MTSU Sidelines,* March 21, 2016, http://mtsusidelines.com/2016/03/timeline-2015-16-forrest-hall-protests/ (accessed July 21, 2016); "Updates," Middle Tennessee State University, http://mtsu.edu/forresthall/updates.php (accessed July 21, 2016).



Figure 72 Audience watches play about Cemetery community. Photographed by Angela Sirna, February 20, 2016.



Figure 74 Visitors place flowers on the graves in national cemetery during Decoration Day program. Photographed by Angela Sirna, May 7, 2016.

On May 7, 2016, the committee followed February's events with a Decoration Day program at the national cemetery. Participants convened at the visitor center and marched to the national cemetery, singing "John Brown's Body" (see Fig. 73). They were joined by school children at the park that day for an "Every Kid in a Park" program. Gary Burke, USCT living historian, gave the invocation, and was followed by his fellow reenactor, Kevin Greene, who spoke about the history of Decoration Day. After hearing a song from a local gospel group, audience members were invited to place a flower on a grave in the national cemetery (see Fig. 74).



Figure 73 Decoration Day activities began with the group marching from the visitor center to the national cemetery, singing "John Brown's Body." Photographed by Angela Sirna, May 7, 2016.

In many ways, the efforts of the African American Committee are accomplishing what the Civil War sesquicentennial fell short on, which was bringing in diverse audiences for inclusive programming. It is an excellent example of the potential of park partnerships, since the park, Friends group, AAHS, and MTSU came together to contribute to this programming. Furthermore, the park continues to be on the edge of interpretation by actively bringing in the story of Reconstruction and connecting it to the local African American community.

Since the end of sesquicentennial events in 2015, the NPS has received criticism for not planning similar observances for Reconstruction. Scholars have pointed out that the NPS does not have a single unit devoted solely to Reconstruction history.[53] In May 2015, the NPS commissioned a Theme Study on the Reconstruction Era to bring more awareness of this period in American history.[54] This study, which has not yet been completed, may identify sites that can be listed as National Historical Landmarks. It has also prompted already existing NPS sites, such as Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, to evaluate their Reconstruction history. By building

53. Marty Blatt, Chief of Cultural Resources and Historian at Boston National Historical Park and Boston African American National Historic Site, said it was an "embarrassment" the NPS did not have one site devoted to Reconstruction. Marty Blatt, "From Civil War to Civil Rights," *George Wright Forum* 31, no. 1 (2014): 7.

54. National Park Service, press release, "Upcoming Theme Study to Focus on the Era of Reconstruction," May 14, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/news/release.htm?id=1706 (accessed July 21, 2016).

interpretive programming around the history of Cemetery community, the park has been able to incorporate Reconstruction into the narrative it tells at the park.

Road to the Centennial

This year, 2016, is the one hundredth anniversary of the National Park Service. Planning efforts have been going on for at least a decade. In 2006, Secretary of Interior Dirk Kempthorne launched the National Park Centennial Initiative, which invited parks and stakeholders to envision a new century for the NPS and prepare parks for the next century of service. The agency held more than forty listening sessions nationwide and received more than six thousand comments. The centennial team incorporated this input into a report called *The Future of America's National Parks,* which was presented to President George W. Bush.[55] President Bush was relatively supportive of the NPS and the centennial initiative. However, the Financial Crisis of 2008, the election of President Barack Obama, and a new Congress diverted political focus away from the centennial initiative.

In 2011, NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis issued a *Call to Action: Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement.* Within the report, Jarvis included thirty-six action items for parks and their partners to start incorporating into their operations and programming. These action items did not come with any additional funding, however. At the time, national politics were deeply polarized. Republicans held a majority of the House and Senate and vehemently opposed President Obama's policies, specifically the Affordable Care Act. Congress narrowly averted a government shutdown in 2011, when Republicans threatened to not raise the debt ceiling if Congress did not repeal the Affordable Care Act. With such turmoil in Congress, the NPS did not count on any funding increase.

Without a substantial funding increase, the NPS Centennial is far different from the agency's fiftieth anniversary, which centered on a ten-year capital improvement campaign called Mission 66. The NPS has been much more focused on reaching new audiences, promoting diversity, and creating new partnerships. In 2014, the agency announced its centennial campaign called "Find Your Park."[56] A lot of this new engagement comes in the form of social media, so visitors are encouraged to use "Find Your Park" as a way to connect on social media through Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. The NPS and its partners have focused much of their efforts on bringing youth to parks to create another generation of park visitors. In February 2015, President Obama announced the "Every Kid in a Park" campaign, which provides free access to national parks for all fourth graders and their families during the centennial year. [57]

Despite an arguably scaled-back anniversary celebration, it has been an opportunity for the agency to raise awareness about the agency's needs, but has also exposed the NPS to controversy. For example, in February 2016, the NPS released its maintenance backlog, which came in at a staggering $11.9 billion dollars. Just as Bernard DeVoto proposed closing the national parks in 1953, journalists have written about the agency's maintenance perils to raise public awareness and perhaps push Congress to act.[58] While journalists may have been sympathetic to the agency's funding challenges, they also raised serious questions about the agency's culture, particularly its lack of diversity in staffing and

55. Dirk Kempthorne, *The Future of America's National Parks: A Report to the President of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of Interior, May 2007), 1-2.

56. National Park Foundation, press release, "National Park Service Announces Public Engagement Campaign as Centerpiece of 2016 Centennial," March 24, 2014, http://www.nationalparks.org/connect/npf-news/national-park-service-announces-public-engagement-campaign-centerpiece-2016 (accessed July 20, 2016).

57. White House Office of the Press Secretary, press release, "Fact Sheet: Launching the Every Kid in a Park Initiative and Designating New National Monuments," February 19, 2015, https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/19/fact-sheet-launching-every-kid-park-initiative-and-designating-new-natio (accessed July 21, 2016).

58. Jeffrey Olson, press release, "National Parks Maintenance Backlog Reaches $11.9 Billion, " February 5, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/news/release.htm?id=1780 (accessed July 21, 2016); Nathan Rott, "The National Park Service Has a Long To-Do List But Can't Cover the Repair Costs," *National Public Radio,* March 8, 2016, http://www.npr.org/2016/03/08/466461595/national-parks-have-a-long-to-do-list-but-cant-cover-the-repair-costs (accessed July 21, 2016).

visitor demographics.[59] In January 2016, at the behest of Secretary of Interior Sally Jewel, the U.S. Department of Interior Office of the Inspector General released a damning report on allegations of sexual harassment directed toward female river guides at the Grand Canyon, revealing a long-term pattern of sexual harassment and corruption. The report was followed by additional allegations, congressional hearings, and calls for NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis to resign.[60] Jarvis was also under fire for an ethics violation when he published a book with the agency's cooperating association, Eastern National. A Department of Interior investigation found that Jarvis did not get necessary approvals for this project, even though it was completed on his own time and all proceeds go to the National Park Foundation.[61] These allegations have cast a pall over NPS Centennial efforts and have led observers to ask whether the agency needs a culture change.[62]

Hazelwood, while she was superintendent, said that the park was not approaching the Centennial as a one-time event. Rather, they are treating it as an opportunity to "lay the foundation" for how the park is going to "do business" in the next century.[63] Her vision of that foundation includes finding new stories to tell, reaching new audiences, and allowing people "to find their own voice" at the park.[64]

STRI has embraced the positive media coverage of the Centennial this past year and has played upon the programs and initiatives being directed by NPS administration. In April, the park held a special Park Day volunteer project, which invited community members to help clean up trash and invasive plant species, while also offering special programs. While the park does not charge an entrance fee, they have promoted the Every Kid in a Park program. Grand Traverse Academy in Michigan "adopted" Stones River National Battlefield for the centennial. In May, high school students travelled to the park and spent a day, May 7, presenting programs for area fourth graders and their families. On August 13, 2016, the park held its annual "Legacy of Stones River" symposium using the theme, "Making a 'National' Park Service."

Park Staffing

The park has seen a significant turnover in staff since Johnson retired in 2012, due primarily to retirements and a few transfers. Tight agency budgets have limited the park's ability to fill these positions. In 2011, the federal government barely avoided a government shutdown when Republicans threatened to not raise the debt ceiling. As a compromise, President Obama signed the Budget Control Act of 2011, which stipulated that if Congress could not agree on a plan to reduce the federal deficit by $4 trillion, they would institute sequestration, or an automatic across-the-board cut, of about $1 trillion beginning in 2013.[65] The NPS was one of many federal agencies affected by sequestration, which took effect March 1, 2013. The NPS was directed to reduce its budget by 5.1 percent, or $153.4 million dollars. Most of this money, $113 million exactly, came from the agency's operating budget.[66] Despite

59. Nathan Rott, "Don't Care About National Parks? The National Park Service Needs You To," *National Public Radio,* March 9, 2016, http://www.npr.org/2016/03/09/463851006/dont-care-about-national-parks-the-park-service-needs-you-to (accessed July 21, 2016).

60. U.S. Department of Interior Office of Inspector General, *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, January 12, 2016), https://www.doioig.gov/sites/doioig.gov/files/Misconduct_GrandCanyonRiverDistrict_Public.pdf (accessed July 21, 2016); Lisa Rein, "Interior Chief: 'Culture' of Sexual Harassment Probably Pervades National Park Service," *The Washington Post,* July 12, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2016/07/12/interior-chief-culture-of-sexual-harassment-likely-pervades-the-national-park-service/ (accessed July 21, 2016).

61. Joe Davidson, "Park Service Chief Apologizes for Unethical Behavior," *The Washington Post,* June 2, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2016/06/02/park-service-chief-apologizes-for-unethical-behavior/ (accessed July 21, 2016); U.S. Department of Interior Office of Inspector General, *Investigation of Jonathon Jarvis* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, February 25, 2016), https://www.doioig.gov/sites/doioig.gov/files/JonathanJarvis_Public.pdf (accessed July 21, 2016).

62. Cathy Stanton, "Does the National Park Service Have a Culture Problem?" *History@Work: The National Council on Public History Blog,* July 19, 2016, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/does-the-national-park-service-have-a-culture-problem (accessed July 21, 2016).

63. Hazelwood Interview, 14.

64. Ibid.

65. "What You Need to Know About the Sequester," The White House, https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/sequester (accessed July 21, 2016).

66. U.S. Congress, *Statement of Jonathan B. Jarvis, Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform Concerning Federal Agency Sequestration Planning*

these cuts, the federal government did actually shut down October 1-16, 2013, when Congress could not agree on budget.

National parks were very visible during the 2013 government shutdown, since some felt that parks should be open regardless of whether there were people to staff them. Controversy rose when Park Rangers denied World War II veterans access to the World War II monument at the National Mall.[67] There were protests at parks across the country, and there were some people that ignored the locked gates and went into parks anyway. There were also incidents of vandalism.[68] STRI did not really experience these issues, although Watson recalled one small protest group stationed at New Vision Baptist Church.[69] Republicans in Congress, feeling that NPS Director Jarvis made the shutdown worse than it needed to be, called him in for a hearing and questioned his agency's decisions. Republicans' distrust of NPS organizational leadership was underscored by Republican Senator Tom A. Coburn, who released a report that same month called, *Parked! How Congress' Misplaced Priorities are Trashing Our National Treasure*. Coburn's report criticized the NPS for being overly bureaucratic with only half of the agency's funding actually going to parks. However, most of Coburn's critique was aimed at Congress, who created these parks but failed to provide the necessary funding to maintain them.[70]

Nevertheless, one might imagine that the uncertainties of the government shutdown and sequestration combined with the congressional critiques would be demoralizing among NPS employees.

NPS Director Jarvis instituted a hiring freeze as one way to deal with sequestration, which meant vacated positions went unfilled. The hiring freeze went on until 2014.[71] That same year, Troy Morris, the Integrated Resource Program Manager took another job. Despite the hiring freeze being lifted, this position has not been filled due to budget constraints.

The NPS now faces another issue as many employees are eligible to retire. The National Federation of Federal Employees estimates that 30 percent of the federal workforce will be eligible to retire in 2016.[72] Teresa Watson, the park's Administrative Officer, retired in 2014, after nearly forty years of service with the park. She felt that it was her time to retire for personal reasons.[73] In the time since she left, her duties have been distributed to administrative staff at Fort Donelson National Battlefield. Two years later, on May 1, 2016, Chief of Operations Gib Backlund retired after forty years of service (see Fig. 75).

In December 2015, Superintendent Hazelwood left the park to become the NPS's National Urban Initiative Program Manager.[74] Hazelwood intended to retire at STRI, but this position proved to be too great of an opportunity. Despite her short tenure, Hazelwood was able to accomplish

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and Implementation, April 16, 2013, https://www.doi.gov/ocl/hearings/113/federalagencysequestration_041613 (accessed July 21, 2016).

67. Garance Franke-Ruta, "How the National Parks Became the Biggest Battleground in the Shutdown," *The Atlantic,* October 11, 2013, http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/10/how-the-national-parks-became-the-biggest-battleground-in-the-shutdown/280439/ (accessed July 21, 2016).

68. Kurt Repanshek, "Around the Parks: Vandals, Occupiers, and Cyclists," *National Parks Traveler,* October 7, 2013, http://www.nationalparkstraveler.com/2013/10/around-parks-vandals-occupiers-and-cyclists24051 (accessed July 21, 2016).

69. Watson Interview, 37-38. Jim Lewis confirmed there was a protest group by the main park entrance, which he photographed.

70. Kurt Repanshek, "Congressional Hearing into National Park Service Shutdown Process Leads to Bashing," *National Park Traveler,* October 16, 2013, http://www.nationalparkstraveler.com/2013/10/congressional-hearing-national-park-service-shutdown-process-leads-bashing24113 (accessed July 21, 2016); Kurt Repanshek, "Senator Coburn Blames Congress, National Park Service, for State of National Park System," National Park Traveler, October 29, 2013, http://www.nationalparkstraveler.com/2013/10/senator-coburn-blames-congress-bloated-national-park-service-state-national-park-system24163 (accessed July 21, 2016).

71. "Federal Agencies Lift Hiring Freeze," National Federation of Federal Employees, http://nffe.org/ht/display/ArticleDetails/i/103182 (accessed July 21, 2016).

72. "Federal Agencies Lift Hiring Freeze," National Federation of Federal Employees, http://nffe.org/ht/display/ArticleDetails/i/103182 (accessed July 21, 2016).

73. Teresa Watson Interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 18, 2016, 32-37.

74. Hazelwood Interview, 16.

much at STRI, including guiding the park through several new planning documents, reviving the Friends group, reaching new audiences, and creating new, sustainable partnerships.



Figure 75 Former STRI administrative officer Teresa Watson and Chief of Operations Gib Backlund hold up Backlund's retirement cake. Photographed by Frank Caperton, April 30, 2016. Courtesy of Friends of Stones River National Battlefield.

The same day that Backlund retired, new superintendent Brenda Waters entered duty (see Fig. 76). Waters came to STRI from William Howard Taft National Historic Site in Cincinnati, Ohio. She began her NPS career in 2004, when she served as a liaison for the Northern Rocky Mountain Exotic Plant Management Team. In 2008, she became the Assistant Chief for Natural Resources at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and the Great Lakes Research and Education Coordinator. In 2014, she completed a two-year leadership program, called the NPS Bevinetto Congressional Fellowship. She next worked as the acting Midwest Region Deputy Associate Director for Natural Resources Stewardship and Science and then acting superintendent of Pea Ridge National Battlefield before being named superintendent of William Howard Taft in 2015.[75] She brings a wealth of natural resource management knowledge and organizational management to STRI. Her experience in exotic plant management will especially be helpful.



Figure 76 Superintendent Brenda Waters with USCT living history group at Decoration Day program, May 7, 2016. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of STRI.

Conclusion

When Stones River National Battlefield enters the NPS's next century of stewardship, it will do so firmly as an urban park. The last four years of park management make clear that the park is no longer interested in another land acquisition campaign. It will continue to purchase inholdings and perhaps make some boundary adjustments, but the aggressive acquisition efforts of the 1990s are over. As Murfreesboro and Rutherford County continue to grow, the park must be nimble to ensure the park's relevance in the community. Park staff must seek out new audiences and find ways to broaden the park's narrative or new methods of telling it. They must work to keep apace of changing technology, social media in particular. The park will need allies and partners—"friends"—who will advocate on its behalf. As recent years have shown, the NPS has many critics. That is unlikely to change, but it helps to have advocates. If history is our guide, then we know that the story of Stones River National Battlefield will remain relevant to those who fought in wars, care about the concepts of freedom, or just enjoy green space and little bit of solitude in an otherwise fast-paced urban area.

75. Nigel Fields, press release, "Brenda Waters Selected as New Superintendent of Stones River National Battlefield," February 11, 2016, https://ncrcms.nps.gov/stri/learn/news/supt2016.htm (accessed July 21, 2016).

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Appendices

Appendix A—List of Superintendents

Appendix B—Timeline

Appendix C—Boundary Expansion Map

Appendix D—1929 Landownership Map

Appendix E—Tour Route

Appendix F—Battlefield Protection District

Appendix A: List of Superintendents

Stones River National Cemetery[1]

John A. Means: 1864- June 1865
William Earnshaw: June 1865- August 1867
Tredwell Moore: September 1867- 1869?
Leonard S. Doolittle: 1869?- 1876?
Thomas Frame: 1876?- July 1890
Thomas D. Godman: August 1890- January 1891
Rufus C. Taylor: February 1891- March 1894
Lucien B. Gould: April 1894 - July 1894
Edwin P. Barrett: August 1894- January 1900
Clayton Hart: February 1900- August? 1908
Frank B. Delaplane: September? 1908- August 1909
Thomas Shea: September 1909- July 1911
John H. Thomas: August 1911- August 1924
Melroe Tarter: September 1924- August 1929

Stones River National Military Park/Stones River National Battlefield[2]

Melroe Tarter: August 1929-February 1942
John F. Steffey: June 1942-January 1947
Victor H. Shipley: March 1947- July 1956
John T. Willett: December 1956- July 1960
Lawrence W. Quist: August 1960- October 1965
Sherman W. Perry: December 1965- September 1971
John D. Hunter: October 1971- July 1974
James A. Sanders: October 1974-May 1980
Donald E. Magee: October 1980-June 1989
Mary Ann Peckham: August 1989- December 2000
Stuart Johnson: February 2001- September 2012
Gayle Hazelwood: September 2012- December 2015
Brenda Waters: May 2016- Present

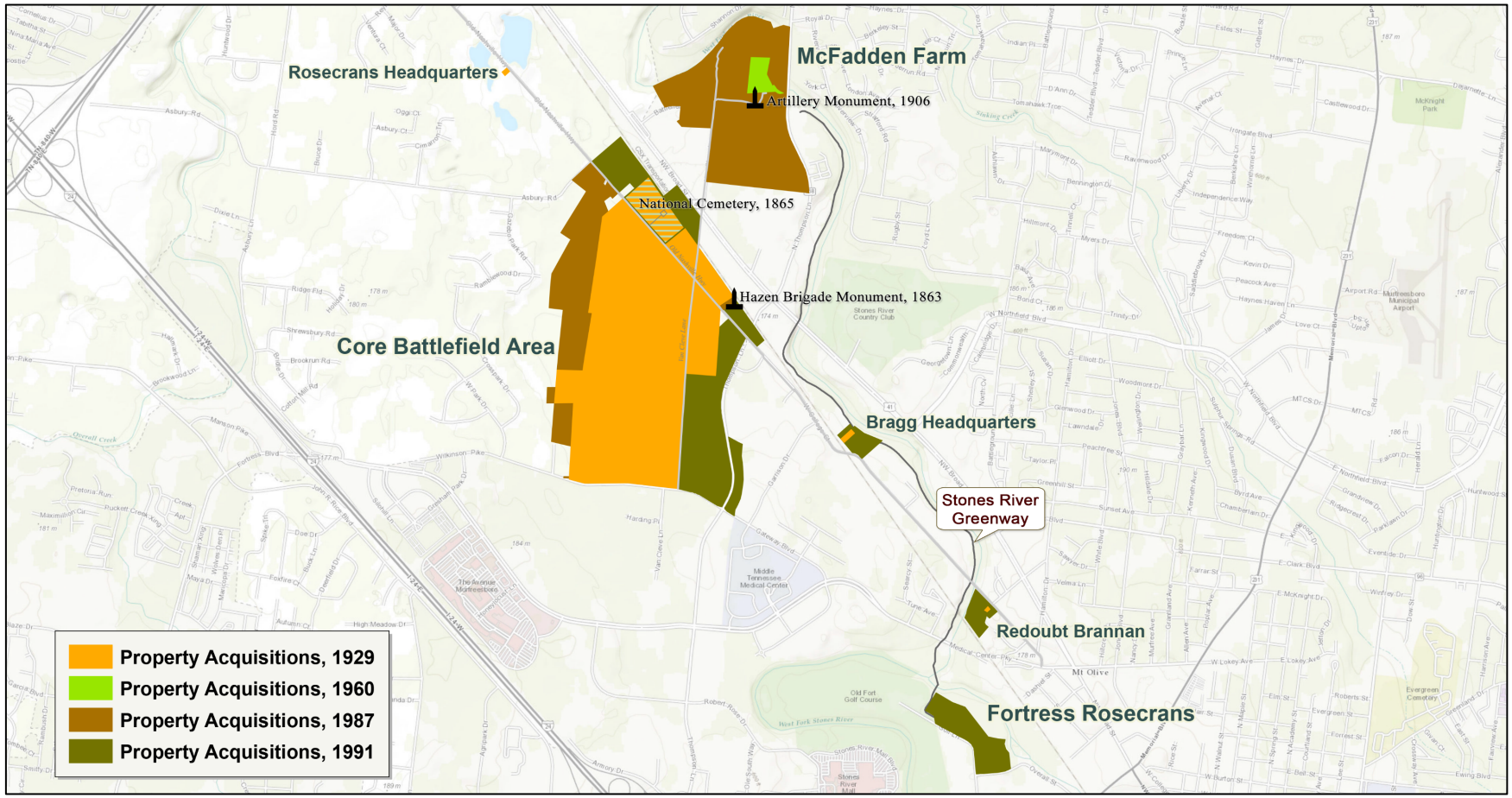
1. List for cemetery superintendents compiled by John George, located in "Appendix A," in "Stones River: Creating a Battlefield Park, 1863-1932," dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013, 228.

2. A partial list of superintendents, from Melroe Tarter to Mary Ann Peckham's arrival, was found in Harold Danz, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, rev. ed. (Denver: National Park Service, 2000), under "Park Superintendents," http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm (accessed August 1, 2016). The rest of the list was compiled using superintendent's annual reports and press releases.

Appendix B: Timeline

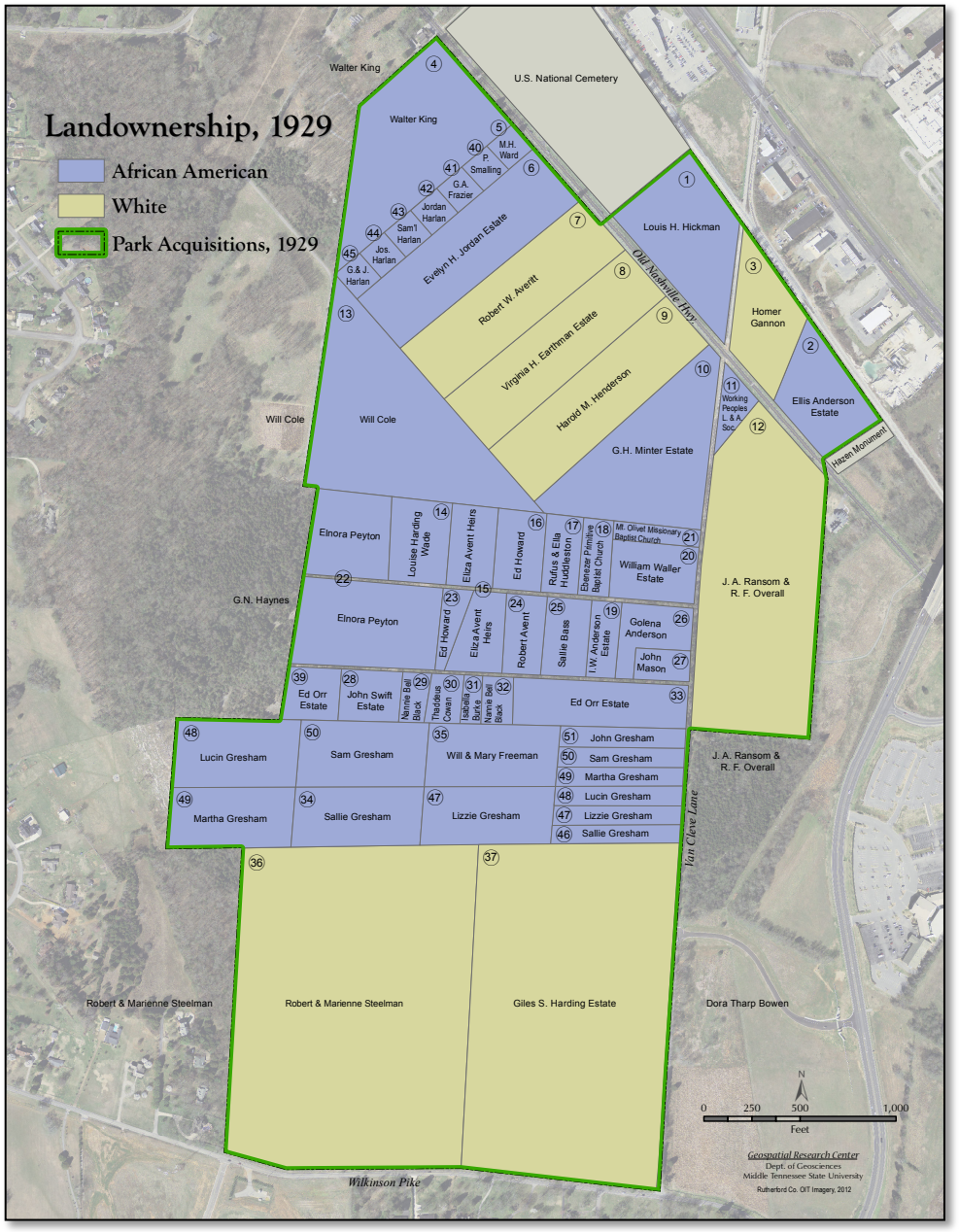
December 31, 1862- January 2, 1863	Battle of Stones River
1865	Stones River National Cemetery established
March 3, 1927	President Calvin Coolidge signed Public Law 69-777, *An Act: To Establish a National-Military Park at the Battle Field of Stones River, Tennessee*. This law established the Stones River Battlefield Commission.
April 1930	The 71st Congress passed amendment (H.R. 2825) to Public Law 69-777, which allowed the War Department to construct park roads and facilities at Stones River National Military Park.
July 15, 1932	War Department dedicates Stones River National Military Park.
August 10, 1933	President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, which transferred Stones River National Military Park from the War Department to the National Park Service.
April 22, 1960	President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed *An Act to Revise the Boundaries and Change the Name of Stones River National Military Park, Tennessee, and for Other Purposes of 1960*. This law added six acres to the Artillery Monument area and changed the park's name from Stones River National Military Park to Stones River National Battlefield.
December 23, 1987	President Ronald Reagan signed *An Act to Amend the Boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and for Other Purposes*. This law expanded the park's boundaries by approximately fifty acres and provided funding for a Greenway Trail Study.
December 11, 1991	President George H. W. Bush signed *An Act to Expand the Boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and Other Purposes*, Public Law 102-225. This law expanded the park's boundaries to their current size, transferred Fortress Rosecrans from the City of Murfreesboro to the National Park Service, and directed the NPS to revise Stones River National Battlefield's General Management Plan.

Appendix C: Park Boundary Expansions



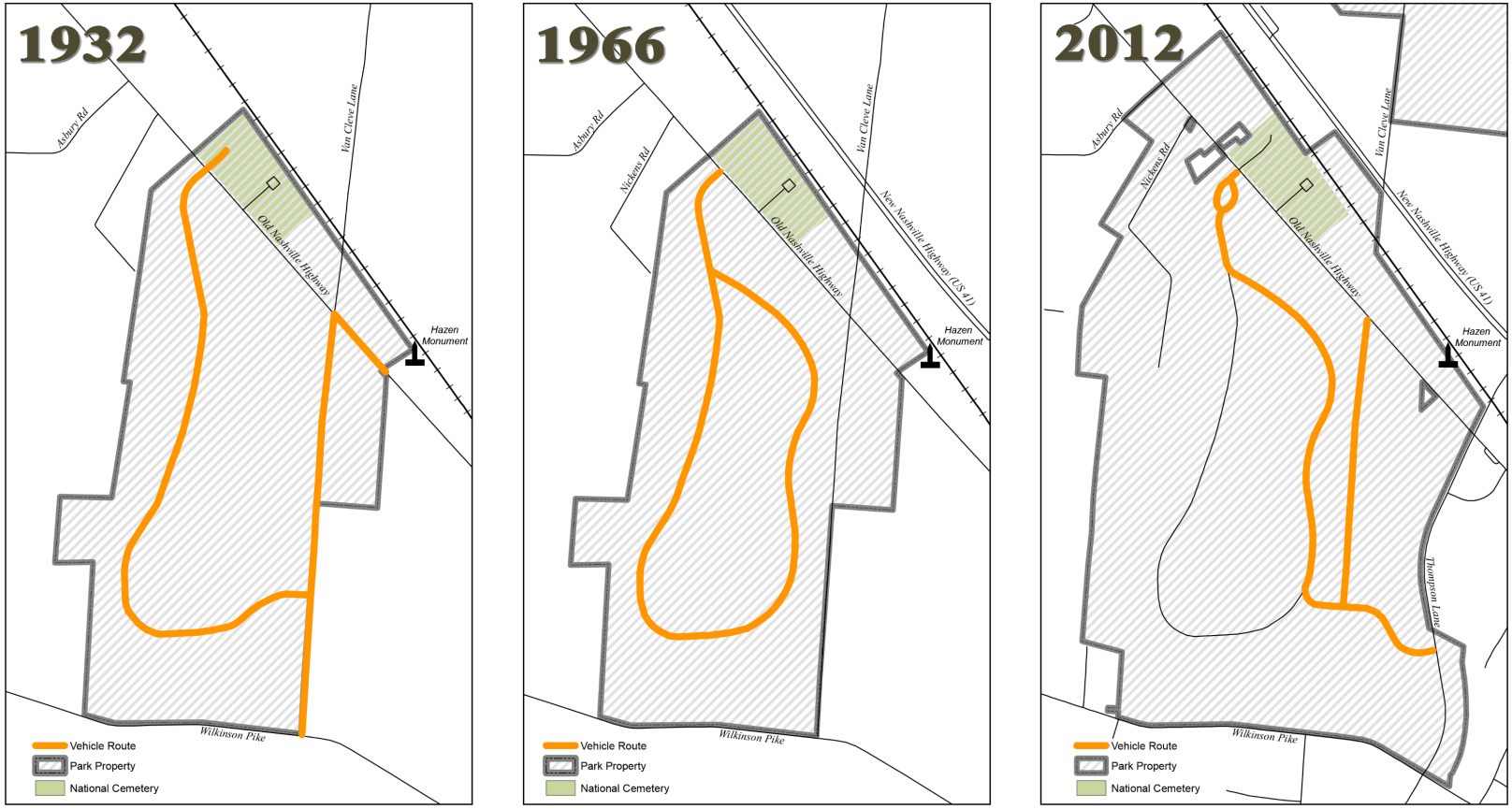
This drawing shows how STRI's boundaries have changed over its existence. The 1929 boundary was created under the War Department. Subsequent expansions occurred under the National Park Service. The years denote the time the park's boundary was expanded, not necessarily when the land was acquired. For example, some holdings included in the 1991 boundary have not yet been acquired. Cartographer: Zada Law, 2016.

Appendix D: Landownership Map, 1929



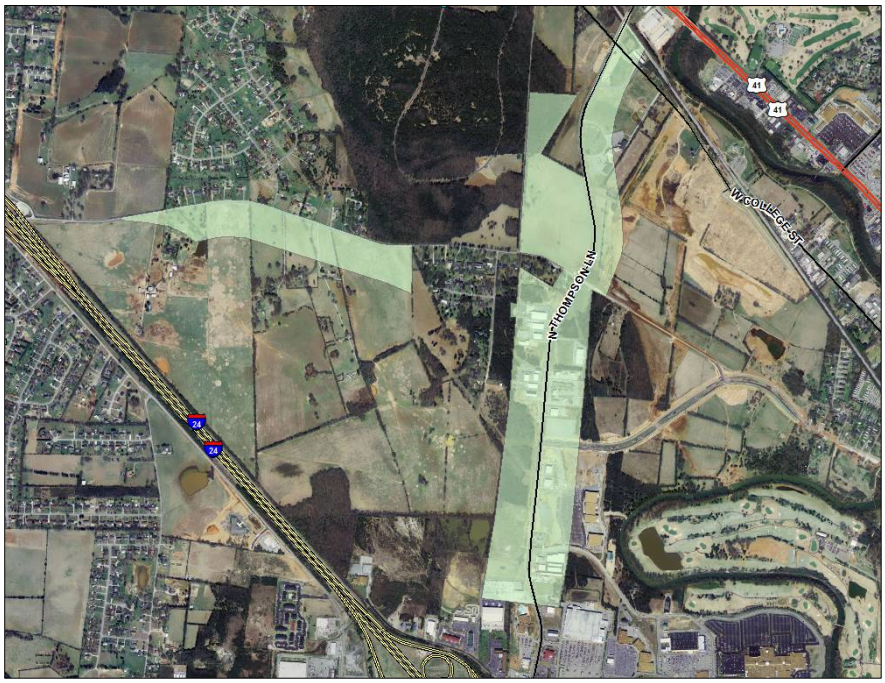
Compiled from property research based on the Land Acquisition Map for Stones River National Military Park, War Department, 1929. Cartographer: Zada Law.

Appendix E: Park Circulation Routes

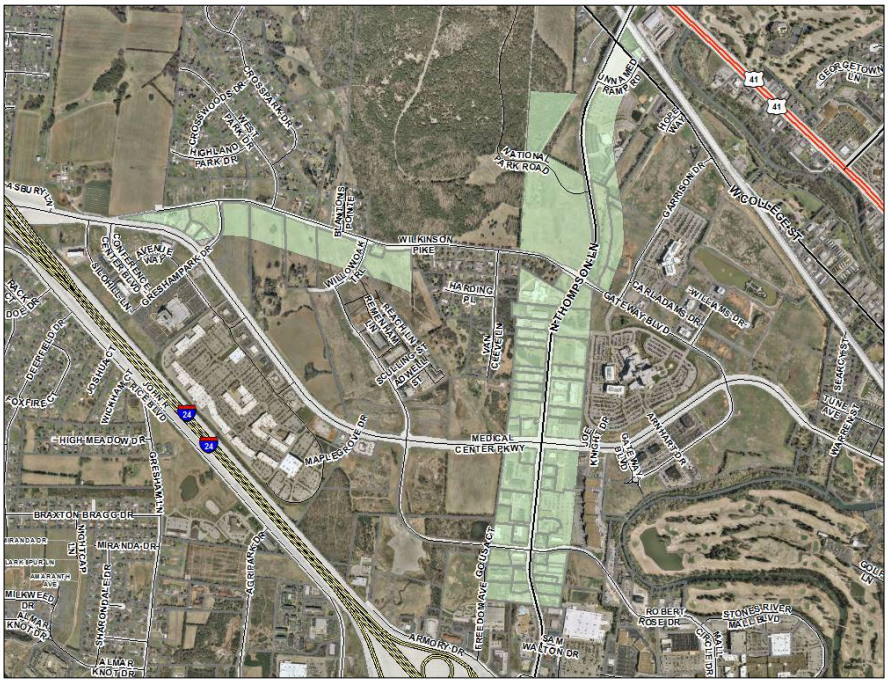


The War Department originally created STRI's first circulation corridor in 1932, which was modernized by the National Park Service shortly thereafter. The 1966 route was completed as part of the Mission 66 program. The 2012 route shows the park's most recent iteration. Cartographer: Zada Law, 2016.

Appendix F: Battlefield Protection District



Battlefield Protection District. Metadata by Gerald Lee, 2003. Imagery from 2004. Map by Bethany Hall, Rutherford County GIS Analyst, 2016.



Battlefield Protection District. Metadata by Gerald Lee, 2003. Imagery from 2015. Map by Bethany Hall, Rutherford County GIS Analyst, 2016.