A History of Shiloh National Military Park

A HISTORY OF

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

TENNESSEE

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HISTORY OF SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

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HISTORY OF SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Geographical Setting

Shiloh National Military Park is located in Hardin County, southwest Tennessee, on the west bank of the Tennessee River. The park is 17 miles north of the Mississippi state line and is approximately 105 miles east of the Mississippi River.

Physiographically, Hardin County is situated on the boundary of the Highland Rim to the east and the Gulf Coastal Plain on the west; the two regions being divided by the deep cut of the Tennessee River Valley. The river flood plain averages from 5 to 10 miles in width, with bluffs and terraces on the west side rising from 80 to 100 feet above the river. 1/ On one of these high, well-drained plateaus Shiloh National Military Park is located between Owl and Snake Creeks on the north and Lick Creek on the south.

Climate of the region is mild and humid, marked by short but frequently cold winters, and long, hot summers. Growing and grazing seasons are long, with well-distributed rainfall averaging more than 50 inches annually. Soils are suitable for general farming and stock raising 2/, although much of the poorer land in the vicinity of the park is covered by brush and second-growth timber.

From these geographical conditions emerged a rural pattern of life in the region around Shiloh Park. The river and forests provided food and shelter for the prehistoric inhabitants of the area, and the high bluffs protected them from the periodic rise of floodwaters on the mighty Tennessee.

Still later, as the tide of western migration moved across the mountain barriers to the east, the river bottom soil and the mild climate invited agricultural settlement. The great river, flowing north at this point to its confluence with the Ohio, provided a highway for settlement from the east and gave access to the developing commercial and manufacturing centers of the east and midwest.

Although the isolation of an earlier day no longer exists, the way of life imposed by the geographical setting is still predominantly rural. The slow growth and development of the region has preserved to a remarkable extent the natural features of forests and clearings which characterized the area at the time of the Battle of Shiloh.

Prehistoric Man in the Shiloh Area

Prehistoric man has left his imprint at Shiloh in the form of numerous mounds and house sites on the steep bluffs overlooking the Tennessee River. For many years the Shiloh mounds have been a source

of great interest to archeologists and antiquarians, professional and amateur alike. One authority has called them "the principal, and really only notable group of mounds on the Tennessee River". 3/ Yet, despite the interest the mounds have aroused, and the exploration which has been made of them, very little is known about the ancient people and culture which produced them.

One student of prehistoric American cultures has identified the mound builders as ancestors of the Chatta-Muskogee tribes - embracing the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Natchez and other tribes indigenous to the southern regions of this country. 4/ Another authority relates the mound builders of the Tennessee River to the Southwestern tribes, the pueblo builders, and still earlier to origins in the far Northwest and Mexico. 5/

In the years immediately following the establishment of Shiloh Park, some exploration was made of the mounds under direction of the Military Park Commission. Apparently this work was conducted with more zeal than skill, as indicated by the reports of later investigations. Although its authenticity has been questioned, one interesting find made by the Commission was the stone effigy pipe found in the large burial mound by Commission Chairman Cornelius Cadle in 1899. This object, now displayed in the park museum, has attracted great scholarly interest. If authentic, it represents a high degree of artistic development on the part of its maker.

The most extensive archeological explorations of the area were made in 1933-34, as a Federal Civil Works Administration project under the direction of Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, archeologist of the Smithsonian Institution.

The principal remains, so far identified, include seven large mounds - six domiciliary and one burial, in addition to many low hillocks where smaller dwellings stood. An embankment to the west of the mound area indicates the former existence of a palisade, and excavation further revealed the remains of 30 hut sites, a "temple", and many refuse heaps.

In excavating the undisturbed levels of mound earth, nothing was uncovered in the form of goods obtained from contact with white men, indicating that occupancy of the mound area antedated the 18th century. Speculation sets the date of the mound dwellers as perhaps six to eight hundred years ago. 6/

Skeletal remains confirm that the builders were definitely of Indian origin, either the same or ancestors of the same tribes which inhabited the region when the white man appeared on the scene. On both sides of the Tennessee River, within a two-mile radius, are many scattered village sites which give evidence of fairly lengthy occupation. However, investigation of the Shiloh group indicates that occupancy was for shorter periods. As many of the nearby villages were situated on bottom land and subject to flooding, one archeologist has conjectured

Excavation of the Indian Mounds by Archeologists of the Smithsonian Institution, 1934.

that the Shiloh site, on the high protected bluffs, may have served as a place of refuge during periods of high water, and that the "temple", larger than the other buildings and different in form, was a permanent location for religious ceremonies, chosen for its security from the floodwaters of the Tennessee. 7/

In conducting archeological investigation, traces of a later culture, that of the white man, were found superimposed on the deeper levels of Indian occupation. An ironic touch was provided after the Battle of Shiloh when the dead of a Federal regiment were buried in one of the large mounds.

Despite the study and explorations of the area made to date, much remains to be discovered before the Shiloh mounds can be made to tell their story of the past. They are, today, mysterious and brooding reminders of forgotten peoples and cultures, whose origin and fate have been obscured by the passing of the centuries.

Within the period of recorded history, the region of west Tennessee around Shiloh was occupied or at least claimed by the Chickasaw Indians. This claim was disputed from time to time by neighboring, more warlike tribes, for the area abounded in fish and game, making it a hunting ground worth fighting for. There is no record that these later tribes ever dwelt for any length of time around the older Shiloh villages. The Chickasaw culture had its roots in northern Mississippi, and did not establish itself permanently on the banks of the Tennessee.

Many years after other tribes had been forced to cede their ancestral lands to the white men, the Chickasaws retained their rights to the virgin wilderness between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. But, by 1818, the pressure of advancing settlement from the east had become irresistible, and in that year the native claimants to the lands which included the future site of Shiloh Park surrendered their rights to the territory and passed from the scene.

The Coming of the White Man

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

The first white man known to have passed even close to the wilderness lying between the Tennessee and the Mississippi Rivers was Hernando De Soto, commissioned by Charles V of Spain to explore, conquer and colonize that vast and ill-defined territory known to the Spanish as Florida, comprising, in their eyes, virtually all of the North American mainland. This commission from the king, and the prospect of plunder and court prestige, drove De Soto on a long and tortuous march across the south, as far west as Oklahoma.

De Soto marched northward from Tampa Bay in 1539. There is today some doubt as to the exact route followed by the expedition, but evidence is strong that the Spaniards entered the present boundaries of Tennessee on one occasion, if not two as claimed by some authorities. Probably De Soto reached the Tennessee River in the vicinity of Chattanooga. The expedition followed the southwestward course of the river and then turned south into Alabama, finally crossing northern Mississippi and reaching the great river of that name at a point still hotly debated by students of the march. De Soto probably did not enter west Tennessee, although some authorities believe he may have crossed the Mississippi near the present site of Memphis. 8/

In 1566-67, small Spanish expeditions reached parts of Tennessee visited earlier by De Soto, but confined their wanderings to the eastern portion of the territory on the slopes of the southern Appalachians.

It was more than a century after these first explorations that Tennessee again became the scene of colonization efforts by the white man. In the late 17th century there came, almost simultaneously, the English from the Atlantic seaboard and the French from the upper Mississippi and Canada. The English traded with the Cherokee towns on the Little Tennessee River, in the southeastern corner of the territory. One of these Indian towns, Tenase, gave its name to the vast territory that stretched westward from the Appalachians to the Mississippi. 9/

During this period, the French came closest to that part of the Tennessee which today includes Shiloh Park. In 1673, the fur trader Louis Jolliet and Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette visited an Indian camp probably near the present site of Reelfoot Lake in the northwest corner of the state. Nine years later, the Frenchman La Salle and his party paused in the vicinity of Memphis and erected Fort Prudhomme on the commanding bluffs overlooking the Mississippi.

The first European known to have passed within sight of the river bluffs at Shiloh was Jean Couture, one of the audacious Coureurs de Bois who engaged in fur trade with the Indians. Sometime before 1696 Couture made a complete journey up the Tennessee from its mouth on the Ohio to its upper reaches in east Tennessee. 10/

With the opening of the 18th century, traders from Virginia and the Carolinas entered Tennessee in increasing numbers but none, as far as is known, penetrated the region west of the Tennessee River. Some early settlers migrating to the Cumberland region around Nashville made their way from east Tennessee down the river crossing Muscle Shoals, and following the stream past the bluffs at Shiloh, northward to the river's meeting with the Ohio. Probably none of these paused in their journey through west Tennessee. The hostility of the Indians toward the white intruders discouraged any attempt at peaceful contact with the tribes encountered along the route.

As late as 1797, a map of Tennessee showed nothing between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers except watercourses and river bluffs, and one settlementat the site of Memphis. This same map showed the country east of the Tennessee supporting numerous settlements and roads. The cartographer, Gilbert Imlay, noted in his accompanying description that "By tracing the short lines which mark the indian boundary, we discover, that all the lands on Duck river and Elk river [flowing into the Tennessee from the east], as well as the several rivers which run into the Mississippi [from west Tennessee] continue to be claimed by the Indians, and those lands are among the best in the country. It may be observed, at the same time, that all those lands are claimed by the Chickasaws, a small tribe of friendly Indians." 11/

Settlement by white men of the area around Shiloh did not begin until the second decade of the 19th century when the lands of west Tennessee were at last ceded by the Indians who were forced to give way in the face of the relentless westward push of white settlement. Although the area was not formally ceded by treaty until 1818, three years earlier Colonel Joseph Hardin led a surveying party into the region bounding the Tennessee River, opposite the present site of Shiloh. Two thousand acres of land were surveyed, and in the following year, 1816, the first settlement was planted. 12/ In 1819, the area was organized as Hardin County, the first administrative district to be carved from the Chickasaw Cession of the previous year.

While most of these early settlements were on the east side of the river, a survey of land titles reveals that the area now within the boundaries of Shiloh National Military Park was first settled around 1828, although the bulk of settlement occurred in the period 1843 to 1851.

Among these early settlers on the west bank of the river were three brothers, Pittser, Thomas, and Riley Tucker, who, with several others in 1848, staked off 1,400 acres of high ground above the Tennessee River. At one point on the river bank a ferry landing was established and a store or tavern was opened by Pittser ("Pitts") Tucker. The ferry landing was also used as a tie-up point by the occasional river steamers which visited the area, and became known as "Pittsburg Landing", for its proprietor. According to a descendant of the Tucker family, the brothers also erected a small log chapel which they named "Shiloh". 13/

Principal Events of the Colonial Period

The vast and portentous struggle for empire which marked the history of North America prior to 1783 passed unnoticed in the unexplored wilderness between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. Yet, this pattern of conflict and colonization influenced to a great degree the ultimate destiny of the region, and paved the way for its final settlement by the white man.

Although Spain, France and England had laid sweeping claims to the

Tennessee territory, for many years none of them made a sustained effort to take possession or enforce sovereignty. Spain called it part of Florida, while France included the area as part of Louisiana. England asserted that the territory was part of Virginia and North Carolina. Underlying these claims and counter-claims by the major powers in the New World there was bitter inter-tribal warfare among the Indians who also coveted the hunting grounds of west Tennessee.

France's claim to Canada and the land east of the Mississippi was wiped out by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, ending the French and Indian War in America - a phase of the world-wide conflict from which Great Britain emerged victorious as the world's greatest colonial power at the expense of her ancient rival France. By this same treaty, Spain relinquished her title to Florida, thereby removing another claimant to the Tennessee territory.

In that same momentous year of 1763, the English King, in an effort to reduce friction with the Indians in the newly acquired region, issued a proclamation forbidding to Colonial governors the right to warrant surveys or grant patents "for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest." Private purchase of Indian lands or white settlement beyond the Proclamation line was likewise banned. 14/

Despite the Proclamation of 1763, and subsequent treaties with the Indians, migration into Tennessee began in the mid-1760's and was to swell into an increasing tide in the generation which followed. The Revolutionary War had little immediate effect on west Tennessee, which remained isolated from the principal theaters of conflict. Not until after the treaty of peace in 1783 was the wilderness between the Tennessee and the Mississippi at last overtaken by the westward march of settlement.

The American Period

In the years following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the coastal states ceded their claims to the territory extending from their western borders toward the Mississippi, and in 1790 the young United States Government created from this land "The Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio". In 1796 the State of Tennessee, comprising approximately the boundaries of the state as they exist today, was admitted to the Union, the first state to be formed from the National territory. At this date, the principal area of settlement was in east Tennessee, adjacent to the borders of Virginia and the Carolinas. In middle Tennessee the zone of settlement lay along the Cumberland River, with Nashville at its center. West Tennessee was still held by the Chickasaws and, while within the boundaries of the new state, this region was not officially opened to settlement for more than 20 years.

The Chickasaws of west Tennessee had a long tradition of friendship with the English-speaking colonists, and the State of Tennessee

did not immediately press for an opening of their lands to white settlement. But the pressure of westward migration proved too strong, and the State Legislature at last petitioned the Federal Government to remove this last obstacle to settlement of the entire state. Congress, in April 1818, authorized commissioners, one of whom was Andrew Jackson, to treat with the Chickasaws for all of the land north of the Mississippi border, between the Tennessee, Mississippi, and the Ohio Rivers. From that area of 10,512 square miles, twenty-one counties were carved. 15/ The first of these was Hardin, destined forty-four years later to be the scene of one of the bloodiest battles in American history.

The vanguard of settlement in the unspoiled wilderness of west Tennessee did not wait upon the final cession of the Chickasaw territory. On the heels of Colonel Joseph Hardin and his survey party, there came a flood of migration, first from middle Tennessee and then from the older settlements in the Carolinas and Virginia. In 1816 there were 26 inhabitants of what became Hardin County. In 1840 the county's population was more than 8,000. Of this number 330 were slaves. 16/ Within a few years the best land in the county was under cultivation and the area had settled into the rural social and economic pattern which characterizes it today.

Despite its location on the Tennessee River, Hardin County, and particularly that portion on the west side of the river, was relatively isolated from the rest of the state. There were no railroads in the county, and the early roads of the region were impassable quagmires in bad weather. Aside from the river, the principal connection with other areas of settlement was the stage road from Nashville which crossed the county to Savannah, eight miles below Pittsburg Landing. At Savannah it ferried the river to Crumps Landing and made its way through Adamsville to Bolivar, Tennessee.

River service in the first half of the century was uncertain and the scheduled runs of the river packets were not sufficient to meet the needs of the settlers along the Tennessee. A good picture of life in the region around Pittsburg Landing at this period is given in the following account:

> "I was born and reared in the county remote from railroads, telegraph lines, daily mails, and newspapers--out in the wastes that lie 'close to nature's heart,' and where life was almost primitive and entirely rural. I was almost twenty before I saw a railroad, or a town or a city of above 500 people. I recall the time when there was not a plow in our county that had not been made in a neighboring blacksmith shop, not a wagon that had not been fabricated in the county; when there were no cooking stoves, sewing machines, mowers, reapers, or even steam mills or wheat thrashers, or cotton gins; and when all the clothing and food were made at home, except a few yards of calico and jeans for 'Sunday clothes'

and a little sugar, coffee, pepper, and salt to save the meat--when all the children big enough to plow worked in the field, and schools were limited to about three months between 'laying by' and 'gathering time'." 17/

In the years between the date of its founding in 1819 and the outbreak of Civil War, Hardin County maintained a slow but steady growth. While the county was geographically isolated from the main stream of events which was carrying the nation to the brink of war, it reflected within its own borders the cultural traditions and economic patterns which on a larger scale were inexorably dividing the nation. For many years the county had been split into two major political factions, at first based largely on family connections. The "Hardin Party", made up principally of descendants of the first settlers of the county, allied itself with the national Whig organization, while the opposing "Robinson Party" took the name and political tenants of the Democratic Party. 18/ While the number of slaves in the county comprised only slightly more than ten percent of the total population, the economic and social conflict engendered by the South's "peculiar institution" contributed to the irreconcilable division of sympathies within the county. Thus it was that while west Tennessee was predominantly in favor of secession, Hardin County was rife with the sectionalism which on a national scale resulted finally in the opening of hostilities in April, 1861.

Men from Hardin county could be found in the ranks of both the northern and southern armies, but until the section was overrun by the Federals in 1862 the Confederates held the county with a hastily raised and indifferently equipped garrison posted at Savannah, on the east bank of the river. 19/

The isolation which marked the early years of the county's existence was rudely shattered in the spring of 1862 when the great river which had been a welcome link with the markets of the east and midwest suddenly became a deadly threat to the young Confederacy. In February of that year the western defense line of the seceded states evaporated when Union forces captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. The defending Confederate Army under General Albert Sidney Johnston abandoned Kentucky and most of west Tennessee and near the end of March completed its concentration in and around Corinth, Mississippi, 22 miles south of Pittsburg Landing.

Early in March, residents of Hardin County watched a strong Union fleet steam up the river and put ashore at Savannah the vanguard of the invading army. Other units in blue were sent further up river to break the Memphis and Charleston Railroad a few miles below the Mississippi state line. High water and bad roads forced the abandonment of the raid and the decision was made to put the troops ashore on the high ground above Pittsburg Landing, where they would camp until the offensive could be resumed. There had been a minor skirmish near the Landing on March 1, when a Confederate battery had fired upon passing units of the Union fleet

and a party of troops had disembarked to route the Southerners. This small affair was hardly noted. It was decided that the Union army camped near the Landing should advance against Corinth, at the vital railroad crossing of the Memphis and Charleston and Mobile and Ohio Railroads.

On March 17, Major General U. S. Grant, reassuming command of the Union forces, made his headquarters in Savannah. He received orders to hold his army in readiness for the drive on Corinth, to begin when the Union Army of the Ohio under Major General D. C. Buell arrived on the scene from Nashville, 130 miles away.

The Confederate commander in the west determined to attack Grant before Buell could reach him, hoping to capture or destroy the Union armies in detail. On Sunday morning, April 6, the Confederates, 44,000 strong, launched a massive assault on the unsuspecting Union troops and slowly drove them from their camps toward Pittsburg Landing. The blue divisions resisted valiantly in the bitter fighting around Shiloh Church, in the Sunken Road, and in the tangled woodland called the Hornets' Nest. The inexperienced troops on both sides fell by thousands in the sodden fields and rain-soaked forests. By dusk, the Southerners had driven the northern divisions into a pocket around Pittsburg Landing. One of these divisions, the Sixth, was almost annihilated in the Hornets' Nest after staving off repeated assaults for eight hours.

In its final position, the Federal Army stood fast. Massed artillery fire from the bluffs above Pittsburg Landing and from the gunboats in the river brought the last desperate Confederate attacks to a standstill.

The Confederate gains on the first day of battle had been won at great cost. Among the killed was the commander of the army, Albert Sidney Johnston, who had died near the Peach Orchard at the height of the battle on the Confederate right flank. Johnston's successor, General P. G. T. Beauregard, ordered the attacks halted for the night, hoping to complete the half-won victory on the next day.

During the night, the leading divisions of Buell's reinforcing army reached the battlefield, and one of Grant's divisions arrived from an outpost position to swell the northern ranks. With this infusion of strength, the combined Union forces counterattacked early the next day and in a stubborn fight finally forced the Southerners to withdraw to Corinth. Only a half-hearted effort was made by the exhausted Union troops to pursue the retreating Confederates, and the fighting subsided.

On April 29, 22 days after the battle ended, Major General Henry W. Halleck, Federal commander in the West, put his great army of 125,000 men in motion and in a few days only the debris of the battle and the graves of the dead were left to tell of the bloody struggle which

had made the name of a little country chapel one of the most tragic in American history. With the passing of the armies, the Battle of Shiloh was given to history, although its full effects would not be recognized for many months. The battle opened the road to Corinth, which fell at the end of May 1862, and cleared the Union left flank for the drive down the Mississippi which culminated in the capture of Vicksburg and the division of the Confederacy in the summer of 1863.

Although the scene of major fighting had moved southward, there were skirmishes and patrol clashes in the area throughout the war. While most of these actions were between small detachments, one raid by a Union regiment inflicted more damage to the region than had the two principal armies in the Shiloh campaign. In May, 1863, a Union cavalry regiment stationed at Corinth marched to Florence, Alabama, by way of Hardin County, crossing the Tennessee a few miles above Pittsburg Landing. On its return, this detachment destroyed virtually everything in its path, and its colonel reported that not even a corn crib was left to be seen. 20/

As the war continued, and the bitterness of sectional strife increased, guerilla warfare flared in the Hardin County area. Deserters from both sides added to the plight of the civilian population caught in a veritable no-mans-land. The traditional political division within the county added fuel to the fires of hatred,and by the end of the war the region was not only physically laid waste but its inhabitants were divided by an emnity which was to persist for many years. 21/

With the end of the war, the inhabitants set about to rebuild their ruined fortunes with the same determination which had settled the wilderness and carved homes from it. The small farmers of Hardin County, with their tradition of self-reliance, were quick to rebuild. Within a few years most of the physical scars wrought by the war had disappeared. However, the bitter feuds engendered by the war still divided the county,and violence was common in the decade following the end of hostilities. One witness to those troubled times recalled, years later, that a citizen living on the Shiloh battlefield was murdered by a band of maurauders after the war had ended. 22/

By the end of the Reconstruction period, Hardin County had settled once more into its traditional rural way of life. The only major change in this period was the increase of steamboat traffic on the Tennessee, with its consequent benefits to the inhabitants of the region. The principal steamboat line at this period was the Evansville and Tennessee River Packet Company, the line which for many years brought visitors to Shiloh Park. 23/

For the preservation of the Shiloh battlefield, it was fortunate that the area did not undergo widespread agricultural or industrial development after the war. When the movement to establish the park was begun, the battlefield had undergone little permanent change. The land, undeveloped over much of the battle area, could be had at a price the

Federal Government was willing to pay. Thus it was that the isolation which had long retarded the area's progress was the same factor which had preserved its great battlefield and made possible the park's development on a scale which would otherwise have been impossible.

THE NATIONAL PARK MOVEMENT LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AREA

Inception of the Movement

The movement to make Shiloh battlefield a National Military Park was the direct result of pressure from Union veterans of the western armies who desired to have the scene of one of their most memorable battles acquired and preserved by the Federal Government. Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield Site had been established in 1890, and plans for the creation of Gettysburg National Military Park were underway, lending impetus to the movement by Shiloh veterans to set aside the area where they had fought and where many of their comrades had given their lives. The Shiloh National Cemetery had been established in 1866, but aside from this 10-acre tract of the battlefield, the historic ground around Pittsburg Landing was in private ownership.

The inception of the Shiloh battlefield park movement dates from 1893, when a party of Union veterans visited the battlefield where they were concerned to learn from the Superintendent of the National Cemetery that remains of Union dead were uncovered each year by farmers plowing their fields or were unearthed in the process of road construction in the area. On its return trip from Shiloh, on the steamer W. P. Nesbit, the group held a meeting and agreed to form an organization to be known as the Shiloh Battlefield Association, for the purpose of sparking the drive to preserve the battlefield as a National Military Park. 24/ From this meeting on the Nesbit, and with the organization of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, the movement to preserve the battlefield was formalized and given the impetus and direction which led, a little more than a year later, to the enactment of the law creating Shiloh National Military Park.

Leaders of the Movement to Establish the Park 25/

Leaders of the movement to create a National Military Park at Shiloh were as varied in career and backgrounds as the soldiers who made up the armies of 1862. It was natural that such leadership would, at first, rest almost entirely in the hands of men who had worn the blue at Shiloh. The backing of strong and prosperous veterans' organizations in the North could claim powerful support in and outside of the Federal Government.

General John A. McClernand, president of the newly formed Shiloh Battlefield Association, was an outstanding political figure in Illinois for many years and had commanded the Union First Division at Shiloh, ranking next to Grant in the Army of the Tennessee at the time. General Benjamin M. Prentiss, of Missouri, commander of the ill-fated

Sixth Division at Shiloh, was another outstanding veteran of the battle who lent his efforts to support the Association. Another was General Lew Wallace of Indiana, commander of Grant's Third Division at Shiloh, and later famed as the author of the novel Ben Hur. General D. C. Buell of Kentucky, commander of the Union Army of the Ohio at Shiloh, was also active in the Association and served later on the Park Commission. Others who gave their support to the Association were ex-Governor Thayer of Nebraska and General Andrew Hickenlooper of Ohio, both veterans of the battle.

First Secretary of the Shiloh Battlefield Association and a leading participant in early attempts to secure the land within the battlefield was E. T. Lee of Illinois. Lee was one of those present at the historic meeting on the steamer Nesbit when the concept of the Association was born, and his was the first official report of that significant event.

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

Organizations Aiding the Movement

On the occasion of the 25th Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, held in Chicago on September 12-13, 1893, E. T. Lee of the Shiloh Battlefield Association appeared before the group to present the case for the military park. Lee described his recent trip to the field, and reported on the meeting aboard the Nesbit which resulted in formation of the Battlefield Association. He then read the resolution adopted by the Association, stating its purpose and objectives:

WHEREAS, The Army of the Potomac has its Gettysburg and Antietam, the Army of the Cumberland, Chickamauga and other battle-fields, which have been purchased by the government, and set aside as national parks, and the positions of the various commands marked; and,

WHEREAS, There is buried on the Shiloh battlefield thousands of both Union and Confederate dead, and whose graves cover the field from the Shiloh church to the Landing, and are constantly being plowed up by parties improving the land, or in laying out new roads; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we form the Shiloh Battlefield Association, which shall be composed of the officers and men who are the survivors of that battle, both north and south, for the purpose of asking the government of the United States to purchase this battlefield, and have it set aside as a national park, and the graves of the dead soldiers, both north and south, preserved from desecration, and the positions of the various commands marked with tablets or monuments as each state may determine.

RESOLVED, That we invite the hearty co-operation of the survivors of this battle, both north and south, and all others who will assist in carrying out the wishes of this Association. 26/

Concluding his brief talk, Lee asked that a committee of members of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee be appointed to cooperate with the Battlefield Association in its efforts to secure and set aside the land within the battlefield as a national park. Captain A. S. Ogg of the Society promptly moved that the group take the matter under advisement. This motion was seconded by Lieutenant James Oates, who expressed views on the need to preserve the battlefield in terms which reflected the attitude of most of the survivors of the bloody struggle at Shiloh. Said Oates:

"I was a member of the 9th Illinois, and was in that battle. My regiment lost more men on that field than any other regiment engaged in it. We left sixty-one killed in one line, three hundred and eighty-five wounded and five missing. To-day there is not a name of the comrades of the 9th Illinois on any headboard in the National Cemetery at Pittsburg Landing. There is not a mark showing that the 9th Illinois was ever engaged on that field, and I will support Captain Ogg's motion on that account. I think some action ought to be taken with regard to that battlefield."

The motion prevailed, and before the day's business was concluded a committee of five men had been appointed to cooperate with the Battlefield Association in carrying forward the effort to secure and preserve the Shiloh battleground. 27/

In the ensuing year, Lee was active in his efforts to secure the battlefield land and push the Shiloh National Military Park bill through Congress. During the spring of 1894, he visited the field and, acting in the name of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, took options on 2,300 acres of land. 28/

During that same year, the cooperating committee of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee was in contact with Lee, and at its meeting in Council Bluffs, Iowa, October 3-4, 1894, received a report on the status of the project. Captain Ogg made the committee report, noting that he had written Lee offering the assistance of the committee and suggesting:

"that we ought, without delay, in a quiet way, visit the region of the Shiloh battlefield, investigate titles, etc. to the lands desired for the proposed national park; and that if my suggestion met his approval, I would at once correspond with the other members of my committee; and if I found them agreeable to the movement, I would, if possible, prevail upon Captain Andreas (who had made a survey and was thoroughly familiar with the field of Shiloh) to go with him (Lee) and any other members of his association as wished to be of the party on that visit.

That I was ready and willing to go with them, asking the other members of my committee to join us; that after making the necessary investigations, we would make an effort to obtain an optional purchase on the best available terms of the lands wanted, as a basis of an appropriation bill in consummation of the objects of the Shiloh Battlefield Association."29/

The Captain then reported that Lee replied in effect that such aid was not necessary but that the Battlefield Association was in great need of funds to carry on its work. After stating that he had some mental reservations about the tone of Lee's replies, Captain Ogg submitted two circulars recently received from the Battlefield Association, outlining progress made toward establishment of the military park and calling for aid in the form of donations of funds.

EXHIBIT A

The Shiloh Battlefield Bill

For the purpose of establishing a national park at the battlefield of Shiloh.

Headquarters
Shiloh Battlefield Association,
Office of the Secretary,
Monticello, Illinois

Dear Sir:--The President and Secretary of the Shiloh Battlefield Association desire to congratulate the survivors of that battle, north and south, upon the successful and fraternal reunion held on the battlefield, April 6th and 7th, 1894, which must result in great good to all parts of our country, on account of the fraternal spirit manifested by the wearers of the blue and the gray on that occasion.

The reunion was grand in its numbers and sympathetic in its spirit. It was touching to see the old veterans of the blue and the gray assisting each other in identifying the places where the battle had raged fiercest, and where their respective comrades had fallen in greatest numbers. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

We desire to call the attention of the survivors of the battle of Shiloh and all others who love peace and good will, to the fact that there is now before Congress a bill which was introduced in the House of Representatives, March 30th, 1894, by Hon. D. B. Henderson, Chairman of the Shiloh Battlefield Congressional Committee, which is known as House of Representatives Bill No. 6499, and is for the purpose of establishing a National Military Park at the battlefield of Shiloh, where the survivors of the battle, north and south, east and west, and their friends can meet and erect suitable memorial tablets marking the positions held during the battle, and care for the heroic

dead that lay buried all over that forever historic battlefield.

We earnestly desire that every survivor of that battle, who wore the blue or the gray, and any others who will, write their Senators and Congressmen and ask them to give this bill their hearty support. Send petitions to Hon. D. B. Henderson, urging the passage of the bill. Do this at once that the bill may receive a unanimous vote which it justly deserves from every Congressman and Senator.

John A. McClernand
President Association, Springfield, Ill.
E. T. Lee,
Secretary, Monticello, Ill.

The Shiloh Battlefield Association desires that all the survivors of that battle become members of the Association, which will hold an annual reunion on the battlefield. The membership fee is $5.00. Send all money to Dr. J. W. Coleman, Treasurer Association, Monticello, Illinois.

EXHIBIT B

Headquarters
Shiloh Battlefield Association,
Office of the Secretary,
Monticello, Ill., September 20, 1894.

DEAR SIR AND COMRADE: - The bill for the purchase of the Shiloh battlefield will come up at the early session of Congress in December. It is very important that we have some one there to look after this measure and secure its passage. Will you please to send us some financial aid to assist in this work? Whatever you send will be receipted for and used for the very best interest of the association.

Our bill surely will pass at this session. Please write your Congressman and Senators to pass the bill. Get ready for the grand reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, the Ohio and the Mississippi on the Shiloh battlefield, April 6th to 12th next.

Don't fail to send us something to help on with this work. Dr. J. W. Coleman, Monticello, Illinois, is the treasurer, and will receipt for all money sent him, and see that the same is properly expended. 30/

E. T. Lee,
Secretary, Monticello, Ill.

When he had read the above communications from Lee, Ogg offered and moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, By the Society of the Army of the Tennessee in annual meeting at Council Bluffs, Iowa, October 3rd and 4th, 1894:

That we heartily favor the conversion of Shiloh battlefield into a National Military Park to remain forever under Federal control.

And we hereby petition the Congress of the United States to appropriate all moneys necessary, and take all proper action for the accomplishment of that end. 31/

Following the reading of the resolution, the Society's president called for an expression of views. General Andrew Hickenlooper, commander of a battery in the Hornets' Nest at Shiloh promptly moved the adoption of the resolution as read and the motion carried with no reported opposition.

Before the Shiloh bill was presented to Congress, National officials of the Grand Army of the Republic, probably the most powerful veterans' lobby in American history, reviewed the proposed establishment of the park and gave the measure its valuable endorsement. 32/

Legislative History

Shortly after its organization, the Shiloh Battlefield Association met at Indianapolis and formed a committee of members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives known to favor the establishment of the military park at Shiloh. Committee members in the Senate included the powerful John Sherman of Ohio, brother of General Willian T. Sherman; Colonel William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee; and Isham G. Harris of Tennessee. Senator Harris had served on the staff of General Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh and was with the famous Confederate commander at the time of his death.

In the House, members of the Battlefield Committee were Colonel D. B. Henderson of Iowa, General John C. Black of Illinois, and the famous Confederate cavalryman General Joseph Wheeler of Alabama. 33/ General Wheeler had been instrumental in the passage of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park bill in 1890, and like his fellow Confederate, Senator Harris, General Wheeler had fought at Shiloh.

Congressman Henderson was charged with actual preparation of the Shiloh bill, and at the 1894 meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee he reported on his progress, giving a reassuring appraisal of the attitude in Congress toward the movement to establish the park:

"I think it proper to say in regard to the Shiloh battlefield matter, that I prepared a bill, assisted generously by General Boynton, who had had much experience in connection with other national parks, appropriating one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a

national park at Shiloh. This bill has been favorably and unanimously reported by the Committee on Military Affairs to the House of Representatives, and is on the calendar. I made efforts, as far as I thought was safe, to push it for consideration at this session. Appropriations are unpopular before Congressional elections. I received assurances that if we would not push the bill at this session, I would have generous co-operation at the short session. My belief is that we will be able to pass a bill through Congress at the coming session. I do not guarantee this; I do not want to say that it will surely be done, but it would have been unsafe to hazard a vote upon it before adjournment of this session. That it will become a law you can rely upon. If it is not done by this Congress, I know it will be done by the next Congress. I have great hopes that it will be done at this. I know that Governor Sayers, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, has given his assurance of co-operation, which means a great deal; and I suggest to you, gentlemen, who take an interest in this matter - and you all do - if you drop a courteous letter to your member of Congress to take an interest in the thing, it will help us very much in the passage of that bill." 34/

The Congressman had not been overly optimistic, for on December 5, 1894, he rose on the floor of the House to introduce the Shiloh bill. Henderson explained that the armies of the west desired that the scene of one of their great battles be preserved, and pointed out that Congressman Black of Illinois, and Congressman Wheeler of Alabama, had assisted in the preparation of the measure. He also noted that the Grand Army of the Republic and veterans of the Army of the Tennessee had discussed the bill. Congressman Henderson further pointed out that options on much of the battlefield land had already been taken. The measure as originally presented by Henderson called for an appropriation of $150,000. The House cut this sum to $75,000 and passed the bill, apparently with no legislative dissension. A newspaper report of the passage of the bill commented that the House session was "exceedingly dull and uninteresting. The attendance was small, and there was no clash of any kind". 35/

On December 19, the bill passed the Senate, and on the 27th of the month, President Cleveland signed it into law.

Jurisdiction over the battlefield lands was ceded by an act of the Tennessee State Legislature on April 29, 1895, 36/ and the way was open to transform the dream of a national military park at Shiloh into reality.

Popular Attitude Toward the Movement

Among the individual veterans, and the veterans groups whose members had served in the armies of the west, there was overwhelming approval and support of the movement to establish Shiloh National Military Park. The two most powerful of these groups were the Grand

Army of the Republic and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, both of which officially endorsed the movement.

However, there was some opposition in the eastern press where the feeling existed that too many national military parks were being established. Apparently this editorial opposition was not overly strong, for Congressman Henderson, author of the Shiloh bill, noted that proponents of the national military park movement "pitched into" the opposition "and the unfriendly critics hauled down their battle flag." 37/

Opposition within the War Department was not so easily stilled. There, a strong belief was held that the acquisition of too many battlefield areas was an unnecessary burden upon the Federal Government. This feeling persisted after the Shiloh bill was enacted, and officials of the War Department urged that only a small portion of the field, perhaps 25 acres, be acquired for memorial purposes. This school of thought within the War Department was articulated by Major George B. Davis, who at the time of the park's establishment was chairman of the Commission for the Publication of Official Records of the Rebellion.

Shortly after the Shiloh Park Commission was appointed by the Secretary of War, Major Davis urged consideration of the small memorial area idea for the battlefield, but the strong opposition of the Commission and other park supporters overruled him. At a hearing before the subcommittee on Parks of the Committee on Military Affairs, in April, 1902, Davis, now a brigadier general and Judge Advocate General of the War Department, expressed the views he held at the time of the park's establishment, and which he continued to hold, regarding acquisition of battlefield lands. In his statement, General Davis traced the background of the military park movement, and summarized his attitude in these words:

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

quisition of large tracts of land." 38/

Later in his remarks, General Davis raised another objection to the military park at Shiloh when he commented that:

"The Shiloh field is very inaccessible; indeed, you can not buy a ticket to the Shiloh battlefield. You can get within 20 miles of it, and then you must hire a team to reach the field. For this reason it is less convenient than Chattanooga, for example, for purpose of instruction. It is a flat, uninteresting field, without any striking natural features. Antietam and Gettysburg in the East and Chickamauga in the West would answer all the needs of technical military instruction at the present time, and would also meet the needs of the War College." 39/

Although this officer's remarks were indicative of the opposition within the War Department, they were academic as far as Shiloh Park was concerned. Most of the park land had been acquired and development was proceeding at a rapid rate. It should be noted that in spite of his feeling about the park, General Davis cooperated fully with the Commission when it became apparent that his opposition would not alter the original intent of the Shiloh bill.

Popular attitude toward the movement was manifested by the quick action of Northern States in appropriating funds to erect monuments to their troops which fought at Shiloh. By 1901, five of these states had appropriated almost $100,000 for monuments and markers, and by 1920 twelve states, Northern and Southern, had erected a total of 117 memorials to their troops at Shiloh. Further evidence of the public's acceptance and support of the military park movement is revealed by the fact that in the years since the establishment of the first military parks in the last decade of the 19th century, many additional areas preserving the sites of significant events in American military history have been created throughout the Nation.

Major D. W. Reed: Secretary-Historian of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission, 1895-1910, and Commission Chairman from 1910 until his death in 1916.

HISTORY OF SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK UNDER THE WAR DEPARTMENT

Organization of the Park Commission

By the terms of the Act of Congress creating Shiloh National Military Park, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont appointed three commissioners, representing each of the armies engaged in the battle, to have charge of the administration and development of the area. Colonel Cornelius Cadle, of the Army of the Tennessee, was appointed chairman of the Commission; General Don Carlos Buell represented the Army of the Ohio, which he had commanded at Shiloh, and Colonel Robert F. Looney was named to represent the Confederate Army of the Mississippi. Major D. W. Reed, who had fought at Shiloh with the 12th Iowa Infantry, was appointed secretary and historian of the Commission and Captain James W. Irwin, Savannah, Tennessee, was given the post of land purchase agent. 40/

On April 2, 1895, the newly appointed Commission met at Pittsburg Landing, and organized for the task to which it had been assigned. How great the task of development would be was evident from the fact that the members of the Commission could find living quarters only slightly better than those they had on the field in 1862. For many years following the establishment of the park, the visiting Commissioners lived in tents, the only quarters available in the area.

By May 1, 1895, an engineering force was at work on the field, under the direction of Atwell Thompson, who had directed similar activities at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park prior to his transfer to Shiloh. Until 1905, Thompson had direct responsibility for development of the park. The Commission administrative office was located at Cincinnati, Ohio, home of Chairman Cadle, and Commission Secretary Reed maintained his home in Illinois. Except for frequent visits to the park by the Commission, it was necessary to maintain a three-way liaison between Cadle, Reed, and Thompson; an unwieldy arrangement which existed until 1910 when the Commission office was finally moved to Pittsburg Landing.

Land Acquisition and Boundary Changes

The first problem confronting the new Park Commission was the acquisition of land necessary to tell the battle story. The Shiloh National Military Park Act provided that titles to battlefield lands could be acquired by the Secretary of War under either an act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings (August 1, 1888) or under "an act to establish and protect national cemeteries", (February 27, 1867). The act establishing the park set

a limit of $20,000 on funds which might be expended for this purpose, but it soon became apparent that this sum was insufficient for full development of the battle area. Chairman Cadle then requested that the appropriation for land acquisition be increased to $50,000, and this proposal was approved by Congress on June 4, 1897. 41/ A subsequent amendment to this act increased the $50,000 limit to $57,100, the increase being authorized to secure two inholdings within the area, (Act of July 3, 1926, 44 Stat. 826) 42/

In 1894, E. T. Lee, acting for the Shiloh Battlefield Association prior to the passage of the battlefield bill, had taken options on 2,300 acres of land within the proposed boundaries of the park. These options required a payment of $8 per acre. Lee was disappointed at not receiving a place on the Park Commission, and declined to surrender the options unless he was reimbursed for his expenses in conducting the original negotiations with landholders in the area. In addition, he set a price of $12 per acre for which he would secure title to the land and then convey to the Government. Faced with this difficulty, the Commission decided to proceed with acquisition of land not under option to Lee, and wait for the Battlefield Association's options on the other lands to expire in 1896. 43/ In July, 1895, condemnation proceedings were started to acquire the tract which included Pittsburg Landing. These proceedings progressed favorably, and by the following summer the tract was acquired at a cost of $6,000 as contrasted with the $25,000 asked by the owners. 44/ In March of that year the Battlefield Association's options had expired, and the way was cleared for rapid acquisition of the area. At the close of 1896, the Government had title to only 85 acres of park land, but by the end of the following year, 2,095 acres had been acquired at an average cost of $12.70 per acre. 45/

In surveying the battlefield it was found that the boundaries described in the original Shiloh bill included almost 6,000 acres, rather than the estimate of "three thousand acres, more or less ..." given in the bill. Two thousand acres of bottom land were included in the boundaries described in the original bill, and upon the recommendation of the Commission these were excluded from the acquisition program. The Commission estimated finally that 3,650 acres of land should be acquired for the purpose of adequately marking the battle lines and telling the Shiloh story. 46/ The boundary lines established during this early period of the park's existence are, essentially, those which mark its present limits. The major portion of the park lands had been acquired by 1913, when a total of 3,546.14 acres were included in the area. Several smaller holdings have been acquired since that date, most of these being an acre or less in extent.

The only major extension of park lands since the early period of its existence occurred in 1924 when title to 105.66 acres of the Shiloh-Corinth Road right of way was taken by the Federal Government from the Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company.

As of November, 1954, total lands within the park amounted to 3,729.26, acres, including all of the areas of the heaviest fighting in the two days of battle.

Changes in Park Administration Following Organization of the Commission

During the period of the Commission's administration of the park, membership of that body changed as death or advanced age took its toll of the appointees. First member of the original Commission to be replaced was General D. C. Buell who died on November 19, 1898. Major J. H. Ashcraft, a fellow Kentuckian, was named to succeed Buell on January 16, 1899. One year to the day after Buell's death, Colonel Robert F. Looney died, and was replaced by Colonel Josiah Patterson. When Colonel Patterson died in February, 1904, General Basil W. Duke, another Shiloh veteran, was named in his place.

In 1905, having completed most of his basic engineering and surveying assignments, Atwell Thompson, the Commission Engineer, resigned his position. Prior to that time, Thompson had been in immediate charge of the park, acting under orders of Chairman Cadle who maintained the central Commission office in Cincinnati. Upon Thompson's resignation, Major D. W. Reed, Secretary and Historian for the Commission, moved his permanent place of residence to the park and assumed its direction.

Protection and law enforcement during the period of the Commission's administration of the park was the responsibility of a "Range Rider". The first of these early park rangers was F. A. Large, a veteran of Shiloh who was assigned to the area on September 24, 1897. In 1908 Large resigned because of ill-health, but upon his recovery was appointed Assistant Superintendent in 1909. Large was succeeded as Range Rider by E. R. Underhill, a laborer in the park for 10 years. Underhill had served during the Civil War in the 23rd Ohio Infantry under William McKinley, and had been a wagon-master in the Indian campaigns and in the Spanish-American War.

Removal of the Commission Offices to Shiloh

The next major administrative change at Shiloh occurred in 1910. On January 31, Chairman Cadle resigned after 15 years of valuable service, and was succeeded by Major Reed, who was appointed on February 4.

With Cadle's resignation, J. M. Riddell, Clerk of the Commission since its organization, was ordered by the Secretary of War to remove all records and property of the Commission from Cincinnati to Pittsburg Landing. When Riddell declined to make the move, Commissioner Ashcraft was directed to proceed to Cincinnati and take possession of the records for removal to Shiloh. 47/

Upon Reed's promotion to the Chairmanship of the Commission, General John T. Wilder was named Secretary. General Wilder held his post only a short time, and in 1911 was appointed to membership on the Chickamauga-Chattanooga Commission. His successor was General Gates P. Thruston of Nashville, Tennessee, who held office until his death on December 10, 1912. The appointment of General Thruston's successor was a significant one in the history of Shiloh Park. On May 14, 1913, DeLong Rice of Nashville, was named Secretary of the Commission, and in the ensuing year was made Superintendent, thereby removing much of the administrative responsibility for the park from the aging Chairman Reed.

In 1916, Major Reed and General Duke died, leaving Major Ashcraft as the lone survivor of the Shiloh Commission. By an act of August 24, 1912, vacancies opened by death or resignation in the membership of the several National Military Park Commissions were not to be filled. 48/ Major Ashcraft died in January 1920, and DeLong Rice assumed full responsibility for park administration.

In examining Rice's record at Shiloh, it appears that of the administrators of the park during the War Department period, he was the first to grasp fully the area's responsibility for telling its story to the American people. He strove continually to bring its meaning to the public, especially to the school children whose visits he encouraged and whose use of the park he did much to develop. 49/

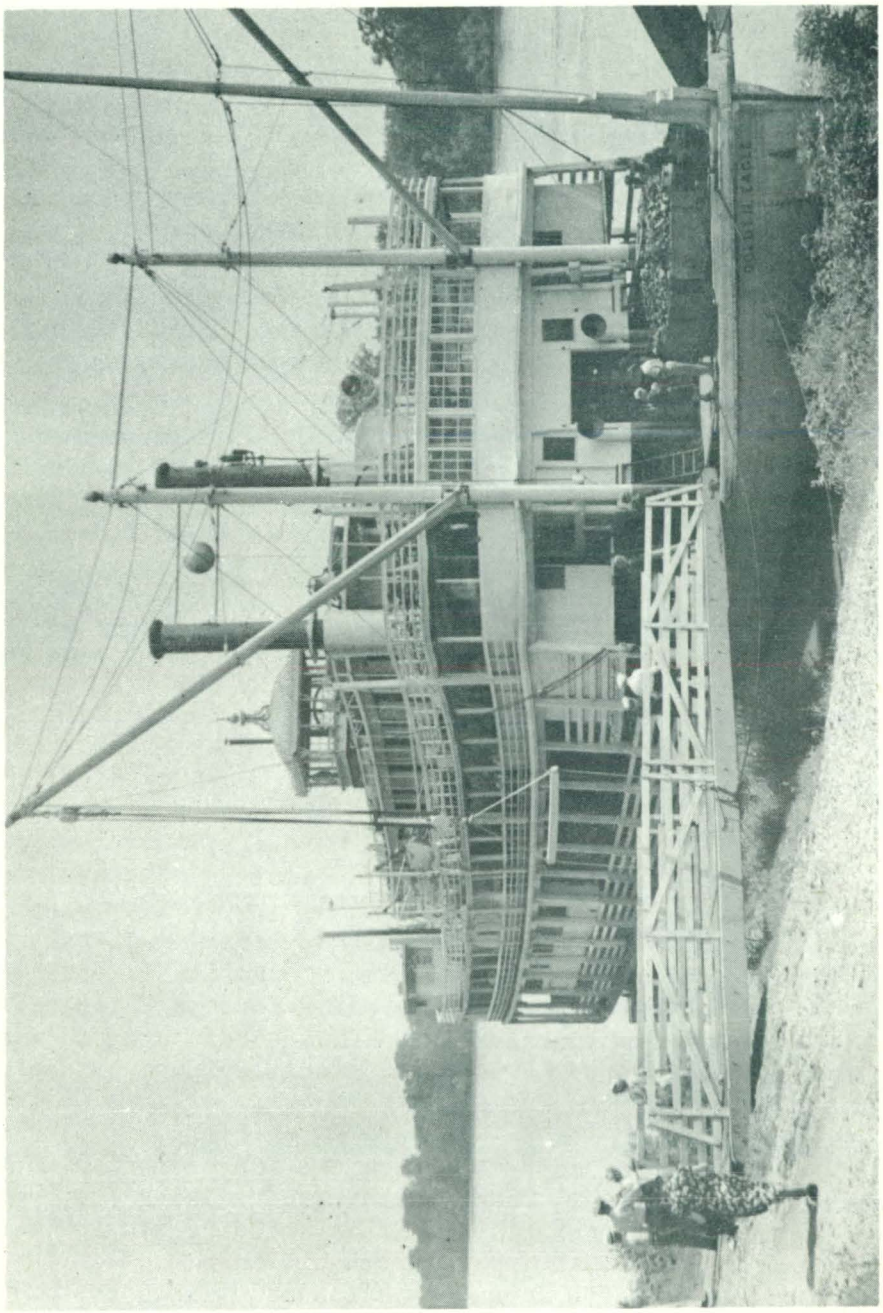
The only notable administrative change during the period between 1920 and 1933 was the coordination under Shiloh of Meriwether Lewis National Monument. This area, established in 1925, was placed under the Shiloh Superintendent on July 1, 1926.

DeLong Rice was serving as Superintendent of Shiloh when he died on September 24, 1929, following an explosion and fire at his park residence. His son died in the same tragic accident. Rice was succeeded as Superintendent by R. A. Livingston, a lifelong resident of the Shiloh community and Park Clerk for many years. Mr. Livingston was serving as Superintendent in 1933 when administration of the area passed from the War Department to the National Park Service.

Early Tourists, Guides and Interpreters

During the early years after the park's establishment, a large percentage of visitors to Shiloh were veterans of the battle, who alone or with groups of their comrades made frequent visits to the park. A number of veterans' organizations were made up of survivors of the battle, and some of these such as the Association of the Battle of Shiloh Survivors frequently held their annual reunion on the field.

Another class of visitors, who with the veterans made up the great majority of visitation in these early years, were the excur-



River Packet at Pittsburg Landing.

sionists on Tennessee river packets which made regular calls at Pittsburg Landing during the summer and autumn of each year. The river was, in fact, the only dependable means of transportation to the park prior to the construction of the Shiloh-Corinth Road in 1914. Before that time, travel over the dirt roads in the vicinity of the park was an ordeal. In dry weather the roads lay under a blanket of dust, and in wet seasons they were quagmires which a carriage or an automobile could not negotiate. Although railroads passed through Selmer, Tennessee, 13 miles west of the park, and through Corinth, 22 miles south, the visitor was still confronted with the arduous trip by road and it is not surprising that the river remained for many years the principal means of travel to the area.

The St. Louis & Tennessee River Packet Company ran the excursions which stopped at the park. Visitors who came ashore for a two-hour stay were met by local citizens with hacks and wagons who offered a tour of the park at 25¢ per person. 50/ The local people were the only guides or interpreters the average visitor could find at the park. Major Reed, the historian of the park, was frequently on hand to conduct groups of veterans or important visitors over the battlefield, but with this exception there were no official guides permanently available at Shiloh for many years.

During this period when the river steamers brought the bulk of visitation to the park, the visitation was predominantly mid-western. The tours ordinarily were made up at St. Louis, within easy reach of the populous Central States. And, as virtually all of the northern troops who fought at Shiloh were from Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin, Shiloh was an attraction of great significance to the citizens of those states, both veterans and families of veterans.

Early Hotels and Their Keepers

Conditions of travel to Shiloh in the years immediately following its establishment were not conducive to profitable operation of an inn or hotel on the battlefield. The river packets which brought most of the non-local visitation usually confined their stay to a few hours, and in any event provided far more luxurious living quarters than could be found on shore.

There was, however, among the original improvements acquired by the Commission, a two-story frame building containing a store, with six sleeping rooms on the second floor. This building was located on the plateau above Pittsburg Landing, a short distance west of the National Cemetery. Until 1909, the Park Commission maintained its Shiloh office in one of the hotel rooms. At the time of the park's establishment and for several years thereafter, the store and hotel were operated by Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chambers, who also ran a livery stable in conjunction with the hotel. 51/

Later proprietors of the hotel included Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Harris and still later hotel, store, and livery stable were operated by the W. P. Littlefield family. In the tragic cyclone of October 1909, described more fully hereafter, the hotel and its outbuildings were destroyed, killing two of Littlefield's sons and two guests.

The hotel was rebuilt in the following year and its management taken over by J. P. Sipes. This second building was also ill-fated, for on the night of December 23, 1913, it was destroyed by fire. Despite frequent urging by the Park Commissioners for an appropriation to rebuild the hotel, the necessary funds were never provided and since 1913 there have been no facilities for overnight lodging in the area.

Principal Physical Developments Under the War Department

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

"Upon the appointment of the commission in April, 1895, they were directed by the Secretary of War to make a study of the battlefield in order that the camps, the battle lines, the roads, and fields, as they existed in April, 1862, might be properly established. The only material for such exploitment of the battle was in Volume X of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, their own recollections of the battle, and the statements of other survivors, many of whom have visited us upon the field, and the many whom we have called upon for information. A thorough topographical survey was made as preliminary to this work.

We have so progressed that we have located every camp of the Union troops - eighty-three in number - that were encamped at Shiloh on the morning of April 6, 1862, and we have found at this late day the tent rings and sinks of most of them.

The battle lines of the Union and Confederate troops upon the first day of the battle have been established to the satisfaction of the commission, and these lines have been agreed to by the different State commissions and, almost without exception, by individual survivors visiting us.

The roads as they existed during the battle are established, and accord with the maps of Sherman (Thom) and Buell (Michler), and while many of the roads have been changed since 1862, we yet find traces of the old ones.

The fields as they existed are yet apparent, some grown up with

trees, that we shall clear to their original condition, and the fields that have been cleared since the war we shall endeavor to restore to their then timbered condition. Two small maps showing the battle lines of the first and second days, the roads and fields, are herewith attached.

The final maps, fully describing the battle, will, of course, be more elaborate; these maps are in preparation.

. . . . . .

We have during the year built 11 miles of "first-class" graveled road, 20 feet wide, thoroughly ditched and drained; one-half mile of "second-class" graveled road, 18 feet wide, and 2½ miles of "third-class" road, 16 feet wide, not graveled, are completed. Our plan of work calls for about 10 miles more road of these classes.

. . . . . .

We are clearing the field of underbrush, reserving, however, in its original condition such places as the reports of the battle refer to as occurring "in thick underbrush". Five hundred and sixty-seven acres have been so cleared, at a cost of $7.34 per acre.

The commission to date has acquired the title to 2,853.98 acres of land. To complete the "fighting" area of the field, 796.02 acres are yet to be purchased. The most of this will have to be condemned, and the commission will soon submit to you an application asking that the Department of Justice take the necessary steps." 52/

At the end of August 1901, the Commission could report the completion of more than 21 miles of first-class roads, with drains and sewers. Two hundred eight battle markers had been erected on the field and 26 cannon of the Civil War period emplaced to identify battery positions. During the same period, a frame warehouse and carpenters' shop, 30 x 60 feet, was erected. 53/ Construction of buildings was complicated by the necessity for bringing in heavy supplies by boat. At some periods of the year, steamboat service was erratic and undependable due to low water or floods.

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

In that same year, on June 3, a windstorm, reported as "the severest ... which has ever visited this section" 54/ battered the area for about one-half hour, leaving in its wake the destruction of more than 2,000 trees on the park. Six weeks of labor was necessary to clean up the debris of the storm, which was but a foretaste of the disastrous cyclone which was to ravage the area five years later.

By the fall of 1908, the Commission's program for historical mark-

Hauling a Regimental Monument from Pittsburg Landing, 1902.

ing of the battlefield had been completed. In all, 651 cast metal historical and informational signs had been erected at a cost of $11, 726.14. In addition 250 field guns on replica gun carriages were emplaced on the field. 55/

During 1908, a warehouse was constructed at the steamboat landing, and a new blacksmith shop, with fireproof roof-brick forge, was completed. Lumber for these buildings, and for other construction work in the area, was obtained from trees cut on park land. At that time, there were 25 miles of graveled roads in the park, giving access to most of the Federal campsites and following the battle lines of the two armies. 56/

The year 1909 marked the end of the first phase of park development. In October, Government buildings constructed by the Commission or among the original developments acquired at the time of the park's establishment included the small hotel, a store and postoffice, two barns, two warehouses, cement and roller sheds, and a blacksmith shop. The Commission office was located in a room of the hotel. The Commissioners' living quarters were still in tents, although these had been improved by the addition of wooden flooring and tops. Expenditures on the park from the date of its establishment totalled $553, 249.03. 57/

October 1909, is given as the end of the first period of park development. On the 14th of the month a cyclone struck the park and destroyed much of the physical improvement accomplished to that date.

The Cyclone of 1909

The storm of October 14, 1909, placed a tragic period at the end of the first stage of development at Shiloh Park. Yet, ironically, it paved the way for even greater progress in the years which followed. In describing the cyclone, there is no better account than that found in the Diary of Daily Events maintained for some years by the Park Commission. This account, written but a few days after the disaster, gives a graphic description of the storm which natives of the region still vividly recall. In the Commission Diary appears the following:

"October 14, at 5:26 p.m. a cyclone visited the Park, striking the Park property in Snake creek bottom there destroying many large and valuable trees, coming up over the hill taking the trees in the Hagy field and ploughing up the ground for many yards. Following a straight line to the Hagy plantation / bordering the park on the north / when it destroyed every building and killed nine people.* In its path it broke down and twisted off, and blew away the large

* This report was erroneous. Total casualties in the Shiloh vicinity, were seven killed and 33 injured.

trees in the woods on the north line of the Park adjoining Hagy's property. The course of the storm there changed toward the southeast striking the Hotel at the Landing, which was operated by Mr. W. P. Littlefield. /The landing referred to here is the plateau where the present headquarters area is located, west of the National Cemetery, rather than the actual river landing./ The hotel was totally demolished, killing Mr. Otho Littlefield and Luther Littlefield and two guests of the hotel, all of whom were blown from 100 ft. to 200 ft. from the house. When the house went down it carried Mrs. Littlefield, three small children, Miss Hardin the school teacher and Mr. T. J. Lewis the mason foreman, all of whom were injured more or less seriously. The wind at the same time swept away the house occupied by Mr. Lewis and deposited a part of it in the ravine north of the Cemetery. But the greater part of the house and all of the furniture was blown entirely away, the pieces not being found. The Iowa monument was demolished. The shaft and upper bronze weighing 25 tons was thrown down; the lower part of the shaft turning completely over and striking the bronze figure of Fame breaking it and also the immense granite blocks of the base. The lower part of the shaft was badly broken the upper part chipped. The barn used by Littlefield as a livery barn was blown down and some horses killed. The store blown over and burned, the store and contents burned up or blown away, the Government shop where all tools and supplies were stored was blown down but not carried away and much of the contents was preserved. The blacksmith shop was moved on its foundations but not destroyed. The barn where cement, carts etc were stored was demolished but some of the roof left. Little house east of the shop was blown away completely away. The warehouse at the Landing was totally destroyed with all its contents.

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

The office of the Commission which was in one of the rooms of the hotel was a total loss. All the records, notes or surveys, maps, original drawings, orders, correspondence, supplies, heavy furniture, office desks with roll top (2), large table, office chairs, file cases, library of 300 volumes, stove valuable relics, <u>everything</u> has disappeared completely. Not one thing has been found but a few penalty

The Service Area in ruins after the cyclone of October 14, 1909.

envelopes, still in a heap on the place occupied by the office, a few torn leaves from two of the books from the Library and a penalty stamp of the office. These things were found at Nixon Tenn. a village five miles across the River. From the tents occupied as sleeping quarters by the Commission everything was blown away. Nothing has ever been recovered of the roofs, floors, heavy dressers (marble top in one tent) beds, mattresses chairs, nothing but two blankets and two white spreads. A quilt from the tent of Gen. Duke was found at Florence Alabama 80 miles away...". 58/

Within a few days after the disaster, the Shiloh Commission had assembled to view the damage and plan the repair and rebuilding of park developments. Cleaning up of the debris of the storm began immediately, and by the following month one of the warehouses and a barn had been rebuilt. In December work on a new hotel was initiated. The second phase of park development had begun.

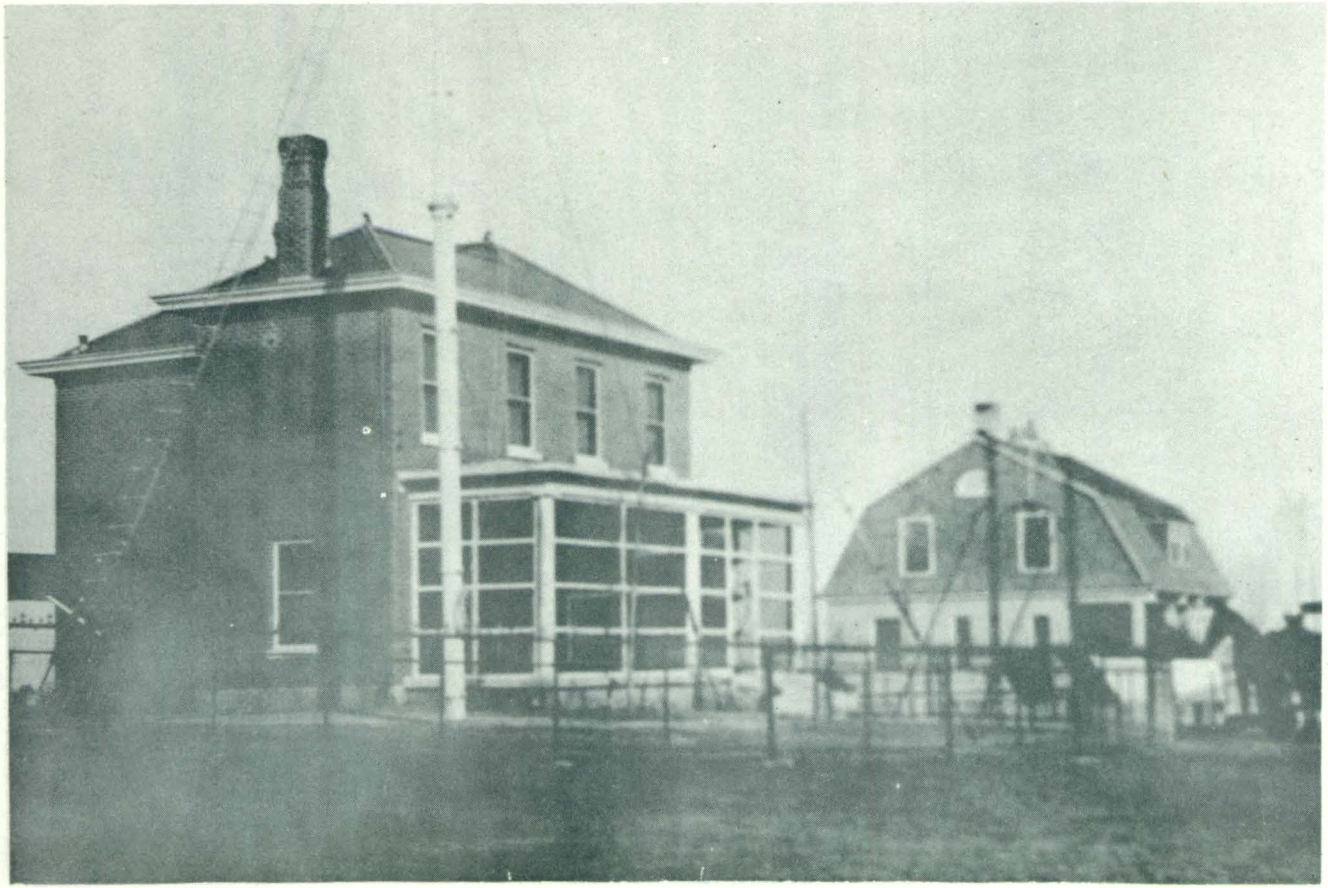
Park Development, 1910-1933

The estimate of $50,000 in damage from the cyclone proved to be high. On February 19, 1910, a $19,500 deficiency appropriation was made for replacement of property destroyed by the storm. By July 1910, the Commission could report that "all the buildings, except the Commission's quarters and office, have been restored, and work was begun June 20 on a new office building...". 59/ In addition, all fallen timber except for a few acres in the Snake Creek area had been removed.

A year later the Commission could take an even brighter view of the storm, when it reported that "With the exception of the loss of valuable records, books, maps, relics, etc., the restoration puts the park in much better order than before the storm." 60/ This loss of records was not as serious as it might have been. Commission Chairman Cadle still maintained his office in Cincinnati at the time of the cyclone and many documents were on file there.

In the years following the cyclone, physical improvement at Shiloh continued at a steady pace. In December 1910, the two-story brick office building was completed, on the site of the present Concession Building, and for the first time since its establishment the Commission was provided with ample quarters for its operations. Other important developments during this period included the construction of the park pavilion which was completed in 1912. This open-air structure with some modification, continues to provide facilities for the presentation of programs, holding of reunions, and meetings of various types throughout the spring and summer of each year. The service area of the park also was expanded in 1912 with the construction of a equipment storage shed and a heavy equipment shed.

During this period all of the older wooden bridges in the park



Park Headquarters, 1910-1935.

were replaced by permanent concrete structures, sewage facilities with drainage into the river were constructed, and, in 1917, earlier limited telephone facilities were extended to all of the employee residences within the area.

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

The Shiloh-Corinth Road

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

As early as 1899, Commission Chairman Cadle had called to the Secretary of War's attention the need for a good road to Corinth, then, as in the Civil War, an important railroad center of the Midsouth. 61/ Not only would such a road give the park another link with the outside world, but it would have historical value by giving access to the ground covered by the Confederates in their advance to and retreat from Shiloh and to the siege lines occupied by the Federal Army during the campaign against Corinth after the Battle of Shiloh. In 1900 Engineer Thompson had surveyed this route and in the following year the Commission recommended that Congress appropriate $50,000 for its construction. In 1902, bills for construction of the road were presented in the House and Senate by Representative E. S. Candler and Senator A. J. McLaurin, both of Mississippi. These failed to pass, and subsequent bills proposed in succeeding years met the same fate.

The Commission continued to press for the Corinth Road, and Chairman Cadle stated that while the river steamers brought many excursionists to Shiloh, "...a good road from Corinth to the park would increase the visitors there more than tenfold". 62/

Finally, in 1914, the Corinth, Shiloh and Savannah Turnpike Company, chartered under Tennessee State law, built a toll road from the Mississippi line northward to the park, following the route surveyed by Engineer Thompson in 1900. The all-weather gravel turnpike immediately increased visitation to the park, but there was public resentment against the levying of the toll. As a result, Representative J. F. Rankin of Mississippi introduced in Congress a measure providing for the purchase of the road by the Federal Government. This measure failed upon its first presentation. In 1924, Rankin introduced another bill to provide for a road to connect Shiloh National Military Park with the Corinth National Cemetery.

Senator Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, lent his support to Rankin's bill and on June 7, 1924, funds were appropriated for the purchase and improvement of the Shiloh-Corinth Road. 63/ The turnpike was purchased for $25,000 and the toll was lifted. Although for a time the road fulfilled its intended function and was primarily an access road to the park, with the construction of other good roads into the area the Corinth road has become primarily commercial, residential, and agricultural.

Early Railroads

Railroads have never entered Hardin County, although several plans were projected for running rail lines into Shiloh Park as an attraction to visitors. In July 1895, less than a year after the establishment of the area, a survey was made for a railroad to run from Selmer, Tennessee, approximately 14 miles west of the park, to Browns Ferry on the Tennessee River a short distance south of Pittsburg Landing. This project did not progress beyond the planning stage, and was abandoned. 64/

In 1906, Congress authorized the construction of an electric railway from Corinth for the purpose of transporting visitors to the park, and during that year a preliminary survey for the line was made. The Park Commission was unable to agree with sponsors of the line as to hotel concession privileges and right-of-way within the park, and this project, too, failed to materialize. 65/

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

Concession History Under the War Department

Part of the original developments of Shiloh Park, acquired at the time of the area's establishment, included a small store which stood in the Pittsburg Landing community, a short distance west of the National Cemetery. Following the creation of the park, the store was operated on contract by its former owners, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chambers, in conjunction with the park hotel and livery stable. This early concession served visitors to the area as well as park employees and nearby residents.

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

Following its destruction in 1909, the store was rebuilt in 1910 separate from the park hotel, and continued to function as the concession and post office for the area until it was replaced by the present concession and post office building, erected in 1936.

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

Concession Store and Postoffice, 1910-1935.

at the boat landing and carry them over the park tour. A charge of 25¢ per person was made for this service, the Superintendent of the park noting that "Sobriety and courteous conduct are required of all persons offering their services to visitors". 66/ It was also reported that privilege to operate the ferry was leased "to a private party under provisions protective to the public and in conformity with all rules and regulations of the park." 67/

Policy regarding the park concession store also was strictly enforced under the watchful eye of the Commission. Contracts for the operation were made on a yearly basis, and effort was made to secure the best qualified operators for the concession. The attitude of the Commission toward concession operation is reflected in the Park Superintendent's statement that "Under written agreement ... stock is at all times subject to the inspection of the park authorities as a guaranty that all articles sold will be within the laws, rules and regulations governing the park." 68/

Outstanding Dedications

It had been the original intention of the Shiloh Commission to defer dedication of the park until a majority of states planning to do so had completed the erection of state memorials and regimental markers. However, when it became apparent that several years would elapse before all of the proposed monuments would be completed, each state was allowed to conduct individual dedicatory programs, as soon as its battlefield memorials were erected. Consequently no general park dedication was held. 69/

Dedications of State Monuments

On June 6, 1902, the first monument dedication took place on the field of Shiloh when 2,000 persons assembled for the transfer of 34 Ohio regimental monuments to the Federal Government. Presentation of the monuments was made by Judge David F. Pugh of Ohio, and acceptance on behalf of the Federal Government was made by Commission Chairman Cadle. 70/

The next state dedication took place on April 6 and 7, 1903, the 41st anniversary of the battle, when five river steamers brought hundreds of Indiana veterans and their families to the park, where they were met by additional hundreds of southerners, gathered to witness the dedication of 21 monuments to Indiana units which participated in the battle. The monuments were presented to the Government by Indiana Governor Winfield T. Durbin, and accepted by William Cary Sanger, Assistant Secretary of War. The principal address of the meeting was given by the famous Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. A feature of the program was the recitation of the poem "The Name of Old Glory" by its author James Witcomb Riley. 71/

The following fall, on November 12, 1903, a monument was dedi-

cated to the only eastern regiment to fight in the Battle of Shiloh - the 77th Pennsylvania. A party of 100 citizens of the Keystone State including Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, arrived on the steamer Clyde to present the monument in Review Field, where it was accepted on behalf of the Secretary of War by Commission Chairman Cadle. 72/

On May 17-18, 1904, the State of Illinois dedicated 40 monuments to her troops on the battlefield of Shiloh. One of these monuments was the Illinois State Memorial, one of the most imposing on the field. Colonel Cadle accepted the monuments on behalf of the Federal Government, and an address was made by the venerable Confederate General Basil Duke. General Duke expressed the meaning of the battlefield preservation when he said:

"When a people renders such honors to the heroic dead it honors itself. The national care bestowed on this historic spot is as much a potent lesson to the future as a sacred duty to the past, for it commemorates the virtues without which nations can not survive. May those who fell here never be forgotten, and may these monuments erected to their memory remain as enduring admonitions to the youth of succeeding generations, to love and serve their country equally as well."73/

On August 22, 1905, Tennessee became the first former Confederate State to be represented by a memorial on the field when veterans of the regiment dedicated a monument to the 2nd Tennessee Infantry. Three thousand persons from Tennessee and neighboring states assembled to watch the unveiling and hear the remarks of General Duke, who accepted the monument on behalf of the United States. 74/

On the 44th anniversary of the battle, April 7, 1906, Governor James O. Davidson and party from Wisconsin presented that State's memorial to the Park Commission. Chairman Cadle accepted for the Commission, and remarks were made by Governor Davidson and General Duke. 75/

After a prolonged disagreement about text on two of its regimental monuments, the State of Iowa, on November 23, 1906, dedicated 11 unit markers and the Iowa State Monument. Presentation was made by Iowa's Governor Albert B. Cummins, and the memorials were accepted for the park by Commissioner Cadle. This dedication at Shiloh was the last in a series made by the Iowa delegation. Dedications of Iowa monuments during the previous week had been made at Vicksburg, Andersonville, Georgia, and Chattanooga. 76/

On May 7, 1907, another former Confederate State dedicated a memorial to its Shiloh troops, when a small delegation from Alabama braved a heavy rain to present the State Monument to the Commission. The Alabama Monument was erected with donations from the State's chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Chairman Cadle accepted the memorial on behalf of the Federal Government. 77/

Almost a year later, on April 10, 1908, the next state dedication occurred when Governor John A. Johnson and a delegation from Minnesota presented a memorial to that State's single unit which participated in the battle. The monument, to the First Battery, Minnesota Light Artillery, was accepted by Commissioner Cadle, and addresses were made by Governor Johnson and General Duke. 78/

A memorial "to the brave Confederate dead of Arkansas who fell on this battlefield" was dedicated by that State's U. D. C. chapters on September 6, 1911. The dedication address was made by General R. G. Shaver, commander of the brigade at Shiloh which contained many Arkansas troops. The monument was accepted on behalf of the Commission by Chairman Reed. 79/

With the passage of years, dedications of battlefield memorials became less frequent. It was not until 1915 that another state was represented on the field, when Dr. Y. R. Lemonnier, a former private of the regiment, dedicated a monument to the famous Crescent Louisiana Regiment of New Orleans on Memorial Day. 80/

On May 17, 1917, the largest dedication ceremony in Shiloh's history occurred when the National United Daughters of the Confederacy unveiled the striking Confederate Memorial before a crowd of 15,000 persons.

The U. D. C. Director of the Shiloh Monument Committee reported that visitors came "on boats, on horseback, in carriages and in automobiles from distant points in Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee." Congressman E. S. Candler, Jr., of Mississippi, was master of ceremonies, and the welcoming address was made by Governor Tom Rye of Tennessee. Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer presented the monument to the Federal Government, represented on this occasion by Park Superintendent DeLong Rice. Frederick Hibbard, sculptor of the memorial, was present. The principal address was made by the Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, Bishop of Tennessee, and following this talk a letter from President Woodrow Wilson was read. 81/

The last state monument to be dedicated on the field was to the troops from Michigan who engaged in the battle. On Memorial Day, 1919, a delegation headed by Michigan Governor Albert E. Sleeper, and including Senator Roy M. Watkins, Representative Charles A. Weissert, and other dignitaries of the State, took part in the presentation of the monument. Acceptance on behalf of the United States Government was made by Park Director DeLong Rice. 82/

Other Important Celebrations

During the early years of the park's existence, most programs of outstanding interest were those held in conjunction with the memorial dedications described above. There were, however, some celebrations of more than routine interest in the area.

Veterans organizations, in particular the Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, held their annual reunions on the battlefield for many years. On April 6-7, 1907, the Survivors Association held its first reunion on the battlefield, in a joint meeting with hundreds of former Confederates. This reunion, as was true with many, did not feature a formal program, but was devoted to touring the battlefield, and reminiscing with "old soldiers", gray and blue alike, who had heard the guns of Shiloh. 83/

Due to difficult travel conditions prior to 1914, attendance at park celebrations usually was not large. The largest crowd to attend a celebration at the park during the first 15 years of its existence was present on Memorial Day, 1906, when a gathering estimated to number as many as 12,000 persons thronged the park, to decorate graves and participate in the patriotic program. A member of the park staff, reporting the large attendance, commented, "The woods were full." 84/

For many years a Memorial Day weather "jinx" marred the annual celebration with remarkable regularity. A typical report for the day noted that "The 30th of May brought the customary rain, early in the morning, so the crowd was very small." 85/

On April 6 and 7, 1912, the 50th anniversary of the battle, 300 members of the Hornets' Nest Brigade, a veterans organization made up of Federal troops who had fought in the Hornets' Nest, held a memorial program at the park. The Iowa Monument, repaired following its damage in the cyclone of 1909, was rededicated, Governor B. F. Carroll of Iowa making the principal address. 86/

In 1920, the first of the famous "Shiloh Sings" took place. This program, held each year early in September, still attracts the largest crowds of the year to the park, to hear vocal groups from throughout the South present a program usually lasting four to six hours.

On April 6 and 7, 1935, not quite two years after Shiloh became part of the National Park Service, park personnel carried out a program of widespread interest commemorating the 73rd anniversary of the battle. A special cachet to be stamped on mail originating at the park was designed by Historical Assistant Randle B. Truett. On April 6 the cachet was stamped in red, memorializing the Confederate Army, while on the 7th the stamp was in blue, in memory of the Union forces. One thousand six hundred and fifty seven requests for envelopes bearing the special stamp were received from collectors throughout the world. In addition to this feature, two radio addresses on the subject "Shiloh-1862 and 1935" were given; one from Nashville, Tennessee, by Historical Assistant George F. Emery, Stones River National Military Park, and the other from Memphis, by Historical Assistant W. W. Luckett of Shiloh. 87/

A program at the park, on August 10, 1941, celebrated the 25th

anniversary of the National Park Service. Congressman Ross Collins of Mississippi delivered the principal address, calling for American preparedness for a war then only a few months away. The speech was dramatically underscored by the presence of 7,000 troops of the 33rd Division pouring into the park, to bivouac for the night enroute to the memorable Louisiana maneuvers of 1941. 88/

For the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh, on April 6, 1952, the Tennessee Historical Society and the West Tennessee Historical Society jointly sponsored a program at the park. Guests included novelists William Faulkner, Claude Gentry, and Shelby Foote; southern historians Stanley Horn and Dr. Marshall Wingfield, and Mrs. Maggie J. Hardin, reputed to be the only surviving widow of a Shiloh veteran. Superintendent Ira B. Lykes welcomed the crowd of more than 2,500 persons assembled in the historic Peach Orchard, and Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, author of several popular historical works, made the principal address on the battle. 89/

Probably the largest anniversary celebration in the park's history occurred on April 4, 1954, commemorating the 92nd anniversary of the battle. Of particular interest was the presence of Major General U. S. Grant, 3rd, grandson of the commander of the Federal Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh, and Colonel William B. Ruggles, grandson of Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles, Confederate divisional commander in the battle. Principal speakers for the occasion were Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, and Dr. Kenneth P. Williams, professor of mathematics at Indiana University and a top-ranking student of Civil War military history. Master of Ceremonies for the program was Mr. Hillory B. Tolson, assistant director of the National Park Service. A crowd estimated at more than 10,000 persons was present in the park during the program. 90/

Administrative Changes After 1933

By terms of the Executive Reorganization Order of 1933, Shiloh National Military Park was transferred from the administration of the War Department to the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior. The Shiloh National Cemetery was transferred to the Park Service at the same time.

Under the extensive reorganization program, several other historical areas in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi were placed under the general administration of the Superintendent of Shiloh, and fiscal functions were performed by the Shiloh office. These coordinated areas were Fort Donelson National Military Park, and Brices Crossroads and Tupelo National Battlefield Sites. Meriwether Lewis National Monument had been administered by the Shiloh Superintendent since July 1, 1926. Camp Blount Tablets National Memorial was also placed under Shiloh's jurisdiction but in 1944 was removed from the list of areas administered by the National Park Service when investigation disclosed that the memorial, although authorized, had never been formally established. 91/

The first Superintendent of Shiloh under the National Park Service was R. A. Livingston, who had held that same position under the War Department since the tragic death of DeLong Rice, in 1929. First Clerk of the park after its inclusion in the National Park System was Mrs. Jessie M. Agee who held that position for 20 years, until July 29, 1953.

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

Prior to World War II, a number of major administrative changes were effected at Shiloh. With the decentralization of the National Park Service into four administrative regions in 1937, the park became a unit of Region One, headquarters of which were established in Richmond, Virginia. In July 1939, Meriwether Lewis National Monument was transferred to Natchez Trace Parkway, and on July 1, 1941, Brices Crossroads and Tupelo National Battlefield Sites were placed under that office.

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

Physical Development Under the National Park Service

With the transfer of Shiloh from the War Department to the National Park Service, under the Executive Reorganization Order of June 10, 1933, a program of extensive physical development was undertaken.

By January, 1934, almost 250 unemployed men from Hardin and McNairy Counties were given employment at the park under the Civil Works Administration. This group was employed principally in work on the Shiloh-Corinth road, in combatting erosion, furthering conservation within the park, and in excavating the Indian mounds under direction of archeologists of the Smithsonian Institution. It is interesting to note that the work performed at Shiloh under the C. W. A. program was the first erosion and conservation project ever undertaken in Hardin County. 92/

In addition to the C. W. A. program, two Civilian Conservation Corps camps were established on the park. These were manned by almost 400 Negro veterans of World War I.

In this same busy year, funds for the construction of a number of new buildings and residences within the park were made available by the Public Works Administration. This new construction included an admini-

stration building, two entrance stations, and four employees residences, to be completed during the following year.

On April 19, 1934, the C. W. A. program terminated, having completed seven major erosion control projects, six road reconstruction projects, one cemetery cleanup in the Shiloh Church area; in addition to the preliminary excavation accomplished on the Indian mounds. 93/

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

By mid-summer 1935, the new Administration-Museum Building, four employees' residences, and two checking stations at the south and west entrances of the park had been completed. In July work was instituted on the construction of a sanitary sewer system and water distribution system for the headquarters area. This project was completed in the following November. An overhead and underground electrical distribution system had been completed the month before.

During 1935-36, the original Park Headquarters Building was razed and the present Concession and Post Office Building was erected on a portion of the old foundation. Under this same contract an oil storage house and four garages, for the new residences, were completed in May, 1936.

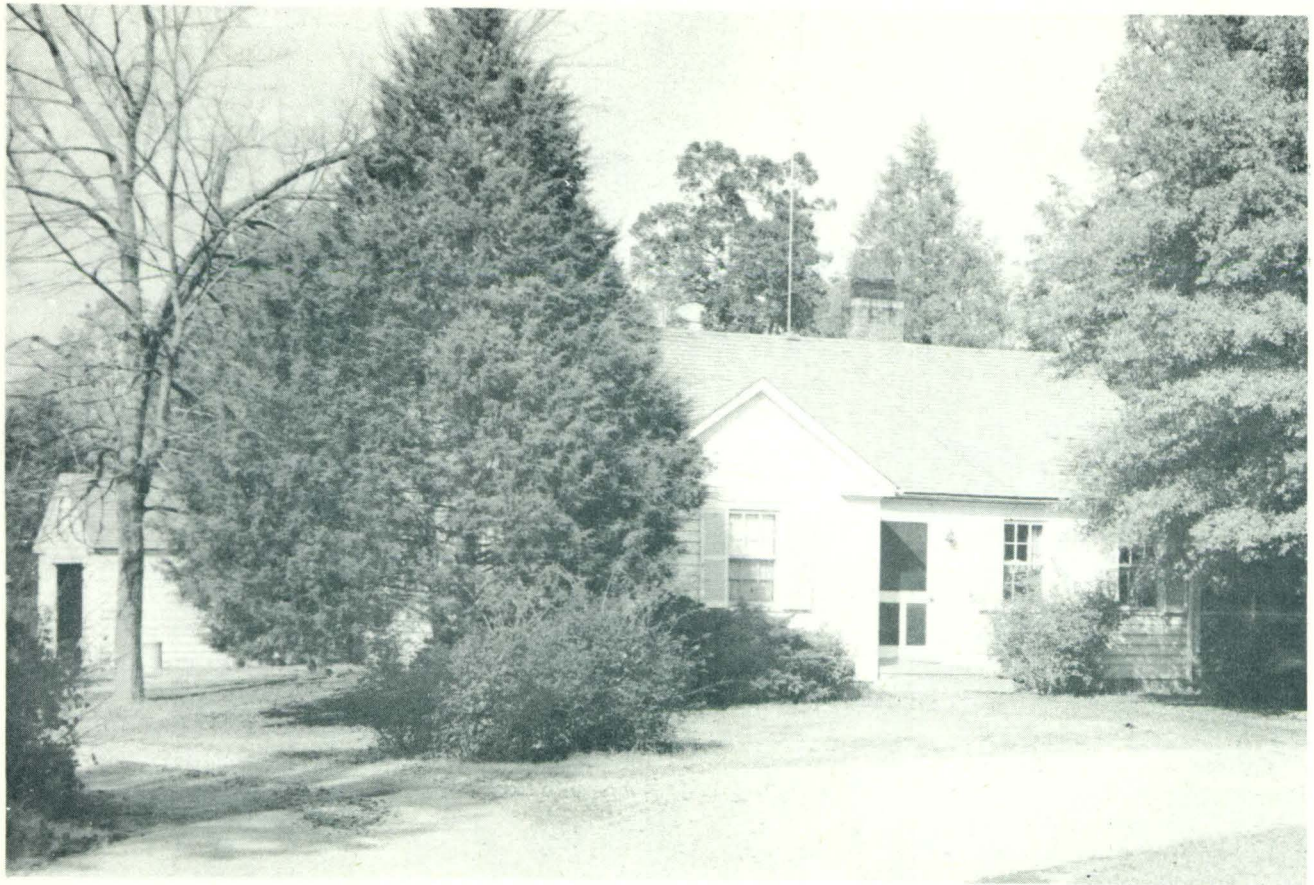
The Bureau of Public Roads inaugurated its extensive road rebuilding program in 1935. Under this program, in 1935-36, more than 10 miles of park roads were graded, drained and surfaced; principal roads were paved with reinforced concrete. The CCC enrollees participated in the road improvement program.

During 1939, a brick comfort station was erected by CCC labor at the northwest corner of the National Cemetery, and in June of the following year a comfort station near park headquarters was finished, completing the principal physical development in that area.

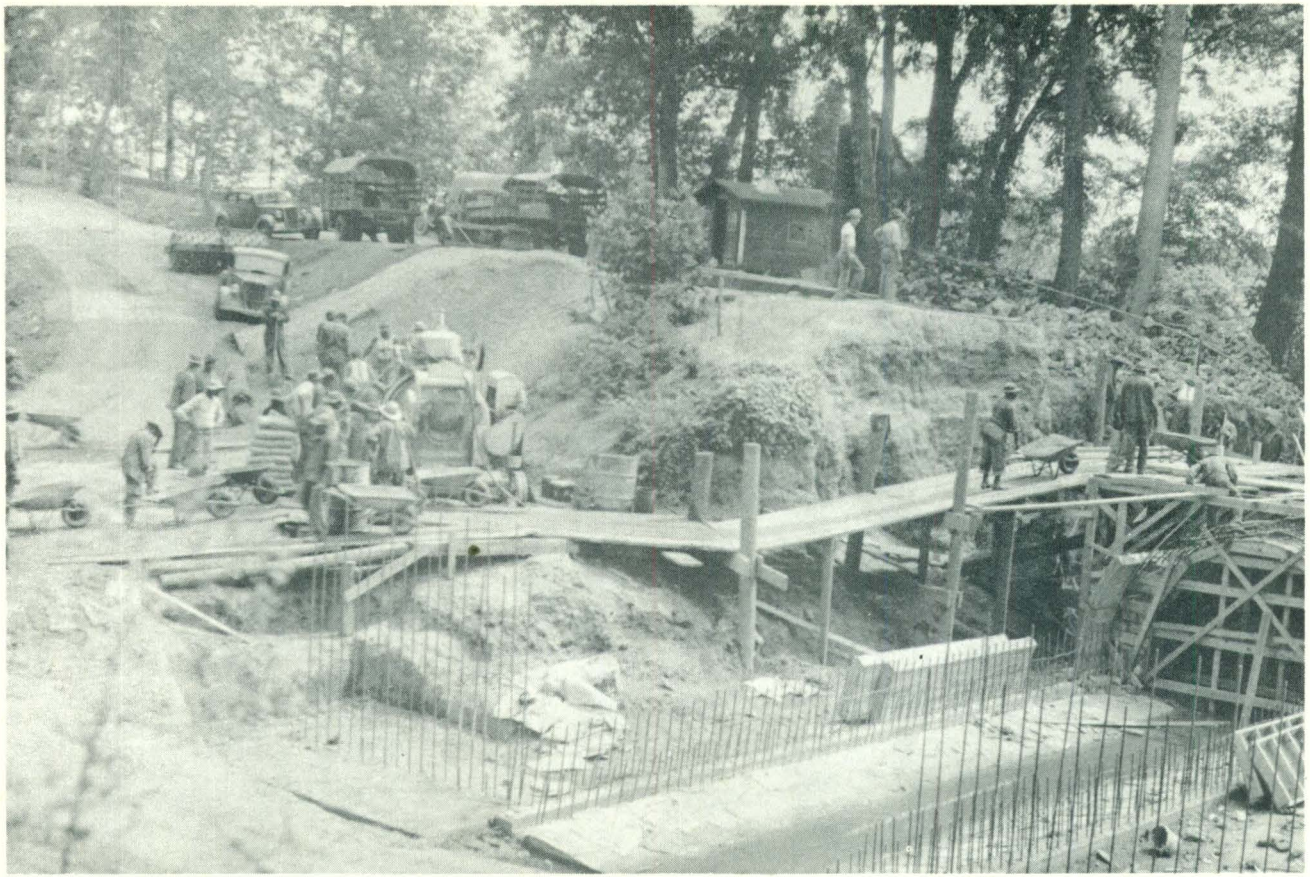
The permanent service and utility group for Shiloh was begun in 1940 with the completion of a four-stall unit of the equipment storage building. In the following year, a warehouse was added to the group. Other buildings in the area consisted of older buildings moved to the permanent service site north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

On November 1, 1941, the CCC installations were closed, although a small unit was left to work on several projects in order to leave them at a usuable stage of completion. 94/

Administration Museum Building completed in 1935.



Employee's residence built in 1935.



Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees constructing culvert at Dill Branch, 1941-42.

Permanent Service Area completed in 1941, showing equipment storage shed and warehouse.

The end of CCC activities at Shiloh marked the close of an era of notable accomplishment in terms of physical development. The war which broke out a little more than a month after the camps were closed put an end to any hopes for physical improvements in the ensuing four years.

Postwar physical developments have fallen far short of those prior to 1941, but today plans for additional, much needed, development are going forward, in order that such improvements, when they can be made, will reflect the basic needs of the area.

The Ice Storm of January, 1951

Nature, for the most part, has been kind to Shiloh and no subsequent natural disasters have equalled the cyclone of 1909 in destruction of park values. However, in late January 1951, an ice storm gripped the area, leaving in its wake the destruction of hundreds of trees and the mutilation of thousands more. A graphic account of the havoc wrought by this rampage of nature is given in the following extract from Superintendent James W. Holland's report on the storm and its aftermath:

"A total of 1.21 inch of rain fell Sunday, January 28, and started to freeze about 11:00 p. m. Ice formed on the tree twigs and branches and remained the following day when 1.05 inch of sleet and freezing rain were added to the trees' burden. On January 30 there was more sleet, turning to snow.

Wednesday, January 31, saw all the trees in the park under a heavy glaze and snow covering the ground to a depth of about 2 inches. The electric power went out at 6:30 a. m., back on at 7:45, off again at 8:30. After that, service was not resumed until 5:00 p. m., Sunday, February 4. During that time, 104 consecutive hours, the park was without electric power and consequently without heat in the Administration Building and the two largest residences. These are not heated by electricity but are dependent upon electric current for firing and operation. The water supply all over the park was out....

The ice and snow made the roads extremely hazardous and, in places, impassable. Great ice-covered limbs, weighing up to 600 pounds, came hurtling down on the roads, throughout the woods and in the developed areas. About twenty trees fell directly across main roads and had to be removed immediately. The magnificient oaks in front of the Administration Building suffered cruelly. Two good red oaks, among a host of others, topled /sic/ over in the grove in front of the superintendent's residence.

Then followed the coldest day on record here. At Memphis, a low of 11 below zero was recorded that being the lowest for that city in the 72 years the weather Bureau has been in operation there. The nearest approach to the 11 degree temperature was in 1899 when there was a

reading of 9 below. At Shiloh, it was 14 below zero at 2:30 a. m., February 2."

Fortunately no serious structural damage was suffered by park buildings, although burst water pipes and failure of electrical power caused considerable hardship. The 17-mile telephone line to Corinth was wiped out, and for several days the park was in a virtual state of isolation.

Today, almost four years after the storm, evidence of its fury is still visible in the form of shattered, bent and dying trees. While many trees are dying from more immediate causes, their susceptibility to other forms of attack may be traced directly to the destructive effects of the ice storm.

Washout at Pittsburg Landing

In reviewing nature's occasional outbursts against Shiloh, one recent event should be noted. Heavy rains in the latter part of January 1954, raised the waters of the Kentucky Lake section of the Tennessee River, inundating historic Pittsburg Landing to a depth of from ten to twelve feet. On February 2, when the flood waters rapidly subsided, an estimated 20,000 cubic yards of river bank soil were swept away, leaving a gaping hole in the river bank and sloughing away heavy vegetation and large trees. The Pittsburg Landing river guage was demolished and more than 50 feet of tour road was carved away.

The washout necessitated the closing of the Landing area to vehicular traffic,and, pending repairs, the river bank is under close observation to ward off additional erosion damage to the Landing and the terraces immediately behind it.

Concession History Under the National Park Service

Until the present Concession and Post Office Building was completed in 1936, concession operations were conducted in the small frame store erected by the War Department in 1910. Upon completion of the new building the store was razed.

Since 1936, the park concession has operated throughout the year, with the exception of the winter months when visitation reaches its seasonal low. Contracts for the operation are made on an informal proposal basis, and general supervision of concession operations, including the furnishing of facilities, services and supplies to the public, is exercised by the park superintendent. In addition to refreshments and approved souvenirs, the concession at Shiloh handles all literature sales of offical publications.

The only major change in concession facilities since 1936 was the postwar development of a garage, service station, and restaurant

at the southern entrance to the park. Facilities of this type had long been needed in the area as a convenience to visitors, who, otherwise, had to travel considerable distances for comparable services. On January 1, 1945, the contract for the new concession was approved by the Secretary of the Interior and, in spite of postwar shortages, the service center was opened to the public in September 1946.

In 1947, legislation affecting the new concession operation and the future land policy of Shiloh National Military Park was offered in Congress by Representative Tom Murray of Tennessee, and passed on June 25, of that year. Under the terms of Public Law 105 (1st. Sess. 80th Cong.), the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to exchange for private inholdings "...Federally owned lands...within the authorized boundaries of the park, which are of approximately equal value...to the properties being acquired in each case." 95/ Under this law, by deed dated September 10, 1947, the land on which the new concession was located, .92 acres in extent, was conveyed by the Federal Government to Concessioners W. A. and E. L. Shaw of the Shiloh community, thereby removing the new development from the park.

Concession-Postoffice building, completed in 1936.

EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND USE POLICIES AFFECTING THE AREA

War Department Administration

Shiloh National Military Park was established "In order that the armies of the Southwest ... may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought ...". 96/ On March 30, 1895, three months after the passage of the bill creating the park, Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont wrote the newly-formed Park Commission, advising the members that they had been appointed "to establish a National Military Park on the battlefield of Shiloh and to mark the lines of battle occupied by the Union and Confederate armies during the operations of April 6 and 7, 1862." 97/

The Secretary then emphasized that an immediate consideration in the development of the park was the need for roads which would make the field accessible to visitors. In this regard, he requested that principal roads in existence at the time of the battle be identified, improved and made passable. In charting this early phase of park development, Secretary Lamont made a significant analysis of the road development policies prevailing in other areas:

"It may be seriously questioned ... whether the opening of avenues along the lines of battle, on other fields of the Civil War, has not contributed to an erroneous understanding of the military operations, by leading the visitor to believe that the avenues and roads on which he passes were in existence during the battle.

In view of these facts, it is suggested that the construction of roads be limited to such as are necessary to reach important centers of operations, and that these be connected, by paths or walks, with the points chosen for marking the positions of divisions, brigades and other organizations of the contending armies." 98/

Shortly after its formation, the Commission reviewed the task confronting it, and prepared a important statement of the members' views relative to the policies of development considered necessary. This statement, embodied in a report to the Secretary of War, commented in part that:

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

enhance the cost of the strips acquired. The intermediate spaces would still be covered with objects and incidents interesting to visitors and rendered worthless to the owners, and even if that could be hindered, the interest of the battle-field to the public would be almost wholly destroyed.

. . . . . .

The general plan of the improvement suggests itself readily from the circumstances of the case. The first step should be the restoration of all roads in existence at the time of the battle, public roads, farm roads, and the roads in use for the supply and convenience of the various camps. The public roads, which may be enumerated as the River Road, the West Corinth Road and the Hamburg and Corinth Road, amounting to about six or seven miles in extent, it is understood to be the intention to macadamize. For the other roads a gravel covering would be sufficient, but in such case, whether macadamized or graveled, the work should begin with outlining the various roads. The work of completing could if necessary be deferred, in whole or in part, for an additional appropriation, which we need hardly add will without doubt be deemed absolutely necessary in continuance of the object of Congress. With the preliminary work finished or even well marked out, the more delicate work of locating the lines of battle, the scenes of particularly interesting incidents and the positions of the various camps at the date of the battle may be proceeded with. We attach particular importance to the location of the camps not only because they are objects of particularly interesting reminiscence, but also because they are constantly referred to in the official reports on both sides, and serve often to determine the position of the lines, and various other interesting facts.

As this work progresses, the necessary system of paths, or by-roads connecting the various points will gradually develop itself. With these natural features, as they may be called, of war, &c., the Park will exhibit an admirable system of embellishment, based upon the actual conditions which entered into the daily economy of the Army of the Tennessee in its encampments and determined or marked the events of the battle. Of course the restoration of the original boundaries of woods and fields to be ultimately completed by the gradual growth of timber, will be attended to." 99/

With few modifications, the goals of development outlined above were those which determined the course of development in the park during the period of administration under the War Department. It was natural that in the early years of the park's existence developmental emphasis was placed upon physical reconstruction of the field and the erection of markers and monuments which would tell its story in detail. In an era of difficult travel in the region of the park, visits to the area by casual tourists was relatively limited. Veterans of the Civil War and of the battle, with their families, constituted a large part of visitation. For this latter class of visitors, whose interest was in specific positions and movements of the various units, this emphasis

on the detailed marking of the field, to the neglect of other phases of development, was, undoubtedly, completely acceptable.

While it was largely preoccupied with the marking of the battlefield, the Commission was aware to some extent of the need for improved visitor accomodations. In one of its earliest communications to the War Department, the Commission urged the "necessity" for establishing a hotel for overnight guests in the area. In justification of the hotel, it was noted that "visitors will come, and in fact ought to be encouraged to come...". 100/ This comment, an obvious one by present concepts, is an interesting revelation of the Park Commission's first faltering steps toward the formulation of a public use policy in a period when there were few guideposts to point the way.

During the first twenty years of the park's existence, when the only all-weather means of access to the park was by river travel, visitors were limited to a short stay. Excursion steamers running during the summer and fall usually allowed passengers two hours for a carriage tour of the park, leaving visitors little time for other activities in the area. Consequently, for many years little was done to expand public use of the area beyond providing for those facilities and improvements which would enable the visitor to tour the battlefield and learn what he could from the detailed marking of troop positions, battle lines and camp sites.

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

With regard to other uses of the area, several factors should be noted. By terms of the original Shiloh Act, persons living on land acquired for the park were permitted to lease their former property, providing that nothing was done which might interfere with the development of the area or destroy or damage its historical characteristics. Live stock and farm animals were also permitted to graze at large within the area.

In January, 1899, there were 71 occupied dwelling places within the park, some of them the homes of park employees. 101/ Many of these habitations were little more than log huts, and in the ensuing years of War Department administration many of these unsightly buildings were razed "and their sites brought into harmony with the general attractivness of the park as rapidly as possible." 102/ In 1915, regulations issued by the War Department restricted the running at large of certain kinds of stock; a measure heartily endorsed by the Park Superintendent, who reported a favorable visitor reaction. 103/ That such a measure was highly desirable is evident from the fact that several years ear-

lier it had been necessary to enclose historic Bloody Pond with a fence to protect it from "hogs and cattle that were making it a nuisance." 104/

A regulation issued by the Director of the National Park Service, effective August 1, 1935, finally put an end to the grazing or keeping of livestock and poultry of any description within the park, with the exception of horses provided for and owned by the Federal Government. A direct result of this measure was the razing of virtually all of the older farm buildings in the area, none of which were of historical significance. 105/

The limited development of the area for public use during the early years of the Park Commission's administration has been noted. But, with the appointment of DeLong Rice as Secretary of the Commission, a change in development and use policy became apparent. Rice was named Secretary in 1913, and in the following year was given the post of Superintendent, relieving the aging Commission Chairman, D. W. Reed, of much of the burden of administrative responsibility.

In reporting on his first year as Acting Superintendent, Rice revealed a keen awareness of park problems and developmental needs. For the first time in a report of the Commission there appears a critical appraisal of the park's responsibility to the public. Under the heading "Publicity", Rice commented:

"The historic value of Shiloh National Military Park is not known to the general public as it should be, commemorating, as it does, the first great battle of the war. It is respectfully urged that this office should be permitted to give a dignified publicity to interesting facts concerning the park, its jealous preservation of the grim landmarks of a struggle in which 20,000 Americans bled, its natural beauty in its setting of history, and other features which would attract the tourist and draw the attention of patriotic people everywhere. Already thousands visit the battle annually. By the issuance of attractive and truthful literature, and an intelligent cooperation with railroad and steamboat companies the park can soon be brought to the fulfillment of the purposes for which it was established - the preservation of glorious history and the inspiration of patriotic sentiment among the people." 106/

Rice's efforts to develop a public relations program for the area bore fruit, for in 1917 he could report that the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company, and the Mobile and Ohio Railroad had "issued for side distribution attractive illustrated folders, based upon information furnished by this office, presenting interesting features of the field." 107/

The development of another previously neglected phase of public use of the area was described by Rice when he pointed out that there

was a growing interest in the park on the part of nearby school groups. In reporting this activity, Rice made the prophecy that increased interest on the part of local schools would "result in many visits by entire student bodies, that they may look upon the actual footprints of history preserved as they are here, in surroundings of natural beauty." 108/

During this later period of War Department administration, there was growing awareness of the need for better conservation techniques to protect the natural assets of the area. Noting the alarming loss of trees to disease and insects, Rice reported that the "advice and specific directions of the National Bureau of Forestry have been secured ...". 109/ One policy of the Commission, carried on by the later administration prior to 1933, was the emphasis on beautification of park lands. Although the Commission had early recognized the need for restoring the forests and clearings in the area as nearly as possible to their condition in 1862, the program for carrying out such restoration was not consistently followed. Thousands of dollars were spent by the Commission in clearing undergrowth, and in grubbing, cutting, and burning sprouts and deadfall. 110/ This practice over a period of more than 40 years has left its mark in the form of scarred and dying trees, and in sterile earth where new growth has difficulty in surviving. Many trees dating from the time of the battle were destroyed or damaged beyond nature's ability to repair. Today, criticism is occasionally heard that the area has lost the park-like look it had a quarter of a century ago - that underbrush and deadfall is no longer removed, to be replaced by native grasses. The only answer to this criticism is that the area is slowly returning to the condition in which the soldiers of 1862 found it; that in time it will picture in greater degree the appearance of the field when it was the scene of battle.

In summary, it may be said that the policies for development and use of the area established in the early years of the park's existence were those which continued to characterize it until 1933. As noted above, changes and improvements were made, especially after 1915, but in its essentials, the program was still devoted almost exclusively to "beautification" of the area and to maintenance of the time honored, but highly detailed, system of battlefield marking and monumentation.

National Park Service Administration

In 1933, a significant change took place in the development and use policies affecting Shiloh. In that year the park was transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service. The Park Service, with its experience and tradition of public service, embarked on a new program of development and restoration.

It was recognized that monuments and markers had a definite purpose, but the professional personnel of the National Park Service who

constituted the vanguard of the new program of development realized the acceleration and expansion of park development would be necessary to bring the area up to the standards considered adequate for public use and enjoyment.

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

By means of newspaper articles and radio programs, the public was made aware of the development taking place at the park and invited to make use of the new and improved facilities. While this program of expansion was underway, the personnel responsible for the program's planning and execution did not lose sight of the value of the area, which was educational and inspirational. In July 1939, when the first phase of the developmental program was nearing completion, a member of the park staff made this comment on the park's public relations program:"At the present, this park is probably sufficiently advertised to the general public which is still, largely, looking for recreation now provided for in nearby State parks. It is believed that most of our publicity now should be confined to educational groups." 111/ Education and interpretation is still the final goal of public use development in the area, although incidental facilities such as luncheon areas, scenic trails, and vantage points are provided for recreational use. And, in fact, a large segment of park visitation is recreational in nature.

Prior to 1933, responsibility for park planning and development had rested almost entirely on the shoulders of the Park Superintendent, imposing a burden that even the most capable and experienced administrator was hard pressed to support. After 1933, trained and experienced technicians in many fields brought their talents to bear on problems of development and expanded public use of the area. In March 1938, the first set of Master Plan sheets for the park were completed, giving for the first time a comprehensive and detailed picture of general development. 112/ This Master Plan, with subsequent additions and revisions based on experience and contemplated area needs, is today a reflection of those policies of development and use which effectively preserve, protect, and interpret Shiloh Park for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

The Shiloh Park Citizens Association

A major step in the development of Shiloh occurred in the spring

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

The first meeting of the Citizens Association was held in May 1953, at which time Mr. O. O. Robbins of Corinth, Mississippi, was elected president. A number of committees were appointed to work for a program of development in the Shiloh-Pickwick Resort area. Since its inception the Association has contributed time and funds to a number of important park projects, including the beautification of the Confederate Burial Trench, the showing of the illustrated lecture "SHILOH - Portrait of a Battle" to schools in the vicinity, and to the preparation and printing of a leaflet to supplement the park folder.

At present, communities represented in the Association include Corinth and Iuka in Mississippi; and Selmer, Adamsville, Pickwick Resort and Savannah in Tennessee. Mr. Robbins, the organization's first president, died in May 1954, shortly after the election of his successor, Mr. Joe Winningham of Adamsville.

Evolution of Policies Affecting the Interpretive Program

By the terms of the act creating Shiloh National Military Park, the Park Commission was enjoined "to ascertain and mark with historical tablets or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, all lines of battle of the troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh and other historical points of interest pertaining to the battle within the park or its vicinity ..." 113/ This the Commission accomplished within a few years, and, from 1900 to 1933, the Troop Position and Historical Information tablets remained virtually the only means of interpretation in the area. Local persons acted as guides during this period, although until his death in 1916, Commission Historian Reed often conducted parties of veterans or distinguished guests during their stay in the area.

When it is considered that a large percentage of early visitation was by veterans of the Civil War and of the Battle of Shiloh, it is not surprising that interpretation as it is understood today did not develop more rapidly. The Civil War was still a vivid memory during the early years of the park's existence, and, while thousands of veterans still lived, the conflict remained a powerful influence on the national character. For these veterans and their families, it was enough to visit the scene of one of the greatest battles of a war little more than a generation past, and these visitors were more interested in still-remembered regiments and brigades than in the broader picture the visitor desires to obtain today. An early attempt to interpret the work of the Shiloh Commission occurred in 1903, when the troop position maps, photographs, historical tablets, and other items were displayed in the Government Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. 114/

As a policy of interpretation, the Commission was conscientious in its attempt to restore and preserve the wartime appearance of the battlefield. However, the policy of destroying underbrush by fire and early attempts at reforestation did not, in the final analysis, adequately restore the forests and clearings to their condition of 1862, although the Commission defined such restoration as a primary goal of park development.

In the years prior to 1933, no evidence has been found to indicate that planning for an interpretive center, to provide museum or lecture facilities, was ever contemplated. A small collection of battle relics was maintained in the Park Office Building and Superintendent DeLong Rice made some effort to obtain additional relic material such as uniforms of the two armies, 115/ but there was no clearly defined effort to utilize historical objects and exhibits to interpret the park story. The large-scale troop position maps prepared by the Commission Engineer and the Park Historian were displayed at park headquarters, but these were too highly detailed for easy comprehension by the average visitor.

The earliest publication produced by the Park Commission, and the only one available at the park for many years, was the short but minutely detailed history of the battle written by Historian D. W. Reed. This volume, first printed by the Government Printing Office in 1903, and titled The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged, was a compilation of pertinent extracts from the official reports of officers of the armies involved in the battle. The book was distributed free of charge to veterans of the battle or their immediate survivors, and was sold to others for 45¢ per copy. In addition to text, the publication contained copies of the detailed Shiloh troop position maps and maps of the general theater of war in the west. This volume was in no sense a popular interpretive treatment of the subject, as its wealth of detail and statistics were of interest primarily to the former soldier or student of military history.

A later publication of the War Department was of more value to the park visitor. In 1927, the Department issued a "Battlefield Guide", a single sheet, printed on one side, listing 27 points of interest on the battlefield, to correspond with numbered on-site markers. This broadside did not include a map of the area and was not illustrated, but was, as far as can be ascertained, the pioneer effort at establishing a self-guiding tour of the park. In accordance with War Department regulation, an attempt was made to provide only qualified and licensed guides from among the local population. In 1931, the guide situation was improved by the limiting of the number of official guides and by the provision of a uniform identification badge. The examination required of guide applicants was revised and its questions made more comprehensive. 116/

In tracing the slow development of an interpretive policy for

Shiloh, one factor predominates. Every interpretive development in the years prior to 1933 was related directly to the physical features of the battlefield itself; the movements and positions of troops, the location of campsites and the scenes of particular historical interest. This was the extent of interpretive development required by the original act creating the park, which for many years was the directing influence on park planning. While the battlefield was the park's reason for existence, and its interpretation still remains the primary goal of planning, no effort was made in these early years to interpret the background of the struggle, to place it in its historical perspective or to present the battle story in broad, easily comprehended terms. As the Civil War receded in point of time, background and perspective became increasingly necessary for understanding of its battles. This was the interpretive challenge to the technicians of the National Park Service who, in 1933 and after, were responsible for bringing to the American people the story of one of the dramatic events of the nation's past.

When Shiloh National Military Park became a unit of the National Park Service in 1933, interpretive planning became for the first time a primary consideration in the area's program of development. That this phase of development was a pressing need in the area was quickly recognized by the Park Service technicians assigned to the park. In a brief summary of the area's responsibility to the public, Historical Technician Ronald F. Lee commented "We should not wait for the public to inform itself. It is our job to see to it that the parks are known, and used, and judged by their usefulness ... the National Parks have educational functions to fulfill ... Education along this line is therefore necessary, and to be effective it must be strong and aggressive." 117/

Historian Lee noted the lack of a formulated public relations policy in the past, and concluded his analysis with the statement: "Properly conceived our public relations work is not so much trying to get patrons to swell the park register, as social education on a broad scale. From this viewpoint I support a strong public relations policy." 118/

A good picture of the changing concepts of park interpretation during this period is given in the following excerpt from another report by the Historical Technician in charge of interpretive development:

"For many years after the establishment of the park visitors were of this type [veterans and their families], coming by steamboat and going over the battlefield in carriages. States erected monuments to honor their troops. A national cemetery honoring the Union dead completed the cycle.

All this has been changing in the last twenty years. Paved highways, the auto, the "tourist" idea, and additional leisure have changed

the nature of this area and the services the public demands. Details regarding any one regiment have begun to lose interest. State monuments commemorate a cause many have forgotten, and in many cases touch a form of state or sectional patriotism now without meaning. ... Modern "tourists" are looking for a park as well as a battlefield. Their historical interests are different. The history and science class field trip has added another element not present when the park was established. The problem at Shiloh has been to translate and interpret this marker and monument dotted battlefield to the modern "tourists." 119/

The concepts embodied in these reports were quickly transformed into a functioning interpretive program. News releases on every phase of park development were widely reprinted throughout the Shiloh area, and it was reported that "Letters to county school superintendents and to other school officials and history teachers have brought considerable response to the park educational program. Travel agencies, traffic managers, AAA officials, and other public service agencies have been contacted with a view to educating the traveling public in the use and enjoyment of the National Parks." 120/

In December, 1933, official guide service was inaugurated and by the following spring mimeographed interpretive literature was available to park visitors. Civil Works Administration personnel under the direction of Mr. Lee began an extensive program of research on the battle and related subjects. They assembled material for orientation lectures, museum exhibits, and interpretive markers on the field. At one time, under the CWA during the spring of 1934, twenty persons were engaged in development of historical-interpretive projects and in conducting guided tours of the battlefield. 121/

Although the interpretive staff was cut sharply in 1934, sufficient uniformed personnel remained on duty to maintain the guided tour program during the summer travel season. In April 1935, two museum assistants were assigned to develop that phase of the park's interpretive program. Policy of museum development was outlined as follows: "In this [museum] work, stress was laid upon visual education exhibits rather than the display of battlefield relics, though the latter were not neglected entirely. By means of pictures, labels, charts, dioramas, decorative maps and charts, it is planned to present the Shiloh story." 122/ Although museum techniques have advanced in the years since the above was written, this basic concept of visual education, rather than extensive displays of battle objects still holds true in museum planning. It was recognized then as now that objects are valuable primarily for their contribution to understanding of an event, rather than as mere curiosities. In July 1937, the Shiloh Superintendent could report that "During the past twelve months the total number of visitors has reached a new high mark. Registrations have increased one hundred percent." 123/ In 1937, the guided tour program was greatly expanded by the mounting of amplifiers on a park vehicle for use in reaching large numbers of cars on auto tour caravans. In line with Service policy of preserving historical sites, a program of restoration was undertaken in 1937-38, re-

sulting in the rescue of the historic Bloody Pond and the Sunken Road from virtual obliteration. These projects were accomplished following intensive research into the condition of the sites at the time of the Battle of Shiloh. Another important interpretive accomplishment was the restoration of the Peach Orchard, completed in March 1937.

The "Battlefield Guide" issued by the War Department in 1927 was used at Shiloh for several years after administration of the area was assumed by the National Park Service. This publication was supplemented and finally replaced by a five-page mimeographed interpretive guide in 1934, and by a printed information sheet in December, 1937. It was not until 1940, however, that an official two-fold folder, with tour map, was available in the area. The free folder was supplemented by a 16-page illustrated booklet printed in 1941. This sales item was replaced in 1951 by the Shiloh Historical Handbook written by Park Historian Albert Dillahunty.

In March 1937, temporary informational and directional signs were erected on the park tour, to assist visitors in making the self-guided tour of the area. In May 1942, this interpretive feature was further improved by the erection of standardized interpretive markers, with orientation maps, at the most important stops on the park tour. These served throughout the war years and for some time thereafter, finally to be replaced in 1952-53 by permanent trailside markers. In the spring and summer of 1954, a new system of tour marking was instituted, employing routed directional and informational roadside markers, in addition to directional arrows painted directly on the pavement of tour roads. Although still in the experimental stage, this expanded system of tour marking and on-site interpretation has proven its value in conveying the park story to steadily increasing visitation. As the battlefield is the unique attraction in the area, means of marking and interpreting the field, simply and clearly, remains an outstanding challenge in presenting the Shiloh story.

Today, the policies of interpretation at Shiloh are keeping pace with new techniques and the needs imposed by steadily increasing visitation. In line with current trends toward expanded use of audio-visual aids, devices such as recorded slide lectures and motion pictures have been or are being developed to meet visitor needs. In November, 1953, the slide lecture "SHILOH - Portrait of a Battle" was completed, and since that date has constituted the primary orientation feature in the park's interpretive program. This feature has also been widely shown away from the area to school groups, civic clubs, and other organizations. As of November 1, 1954, more than 10,500 school children had attended the slide lecture in off-site presentations.

In the 60 years since its establishment, Shiloh National Military Park has been the scene of vast change and progressive development. From an isolated rural wilderness, the park has become a memorial to American valor, preserving the story of an epic chapter of the Nation's past.

A guided tour caravan on the battlefield.

APPENDIX A

The Shiloh National Cemetery

In 1866, four years after the Battle of Shiloh, Federal soldiers who were killed in action or died of wounds or disease in the vicinity were removed from scattered graves in the area and reinterred on the plateau overlooking Pittsburg Landing. Jurisdiction over this area, 10.5 acres in extent, was ceded by the Tennessee Legislature by act of March 9, 1867, and title to the land was secured by a condemnation decree rendered by the U. S. District Court of West Tennessee on January 6, 1869. 124/

Administration of the cemetery was under the office of the Quartermaster General until 1933, and the cemetery functioned as a separate administrative unit from Shiloh National Military Park, having its own superintendent and maintenance force. In 1933, administrative jurisdiction over the National Cemetery was assumed by the National Park Service, under the Reorganization Order of that year.

Interments in the National Cemetery total 3,704, of which 2,416 are unknown dead of the Civil War. Two Confederates, who died as prisoners of war, are buried in the cemetery. After World War II, the National Cemetery was a participating unit in the program whereby war dead were removed from cemeteries abroad and reinterred in National Cemeteries in the United States. The first reburial under this program took place on October 31, 1947, and the program was completed on September 2, 1949.

Veterans and their immediate survivors, as prescribed by regulations, may still request burial in Shiloh National Cemetery. As of November 1, 1954, 288 grave sites were available for interments.

APPENDIX B

List of Park Commissioners and Superintendents, with Dates

Under the War Department

Name	Title	Period of Service
Colonel Cornelius Cadle	Commission Chairman	1895-1910
General Don Carlos Buell	Commissioner	1895-1898
Colonel Robert F. Looney	Commissioner	1895-1899
Colonel Josiah Patterson	Commissioner	1899-1904
Major James H. Ashcraft	Commissioner	1899-1920
General Basil W. Duke	Commissioner	1904-1916
Major David W. Reed	Commission Chairman	1910-1916
DeLong Rice	Superintendent*	1914-1929
Robert A. Livingston	Superintendent	1929-1933

Under the Department of the Interior

Robert A. Livingston	Superintendent	8-10-33 to 5-14-36
Charles S. Dunn	Acting Supt.	4-11-36 to 5-14-36
Charles S. Dunn	Superintendent	5-15-36 to 12-31-37
William W. Luckett	Acting Supt.	1-1-38 to 3-15-40
Blair A. Ross	Superintendent	3-16-40 to 5-13-45
James W. Holland	Superintendent	6-4-45 to 8-14-51
Ira B. Lykes	Superintendent	8-15-51 to

* From March 16, 1920 to July 1, 1921, DeLong Rice held the title of "Director" of the area. Prior to March 16, 1920, and from July 1, 1921 to March 1, 1922, his full title was Secretary and Superintendent - the former position referring to his first appointment on the Shiloh Commission.

List of National Park Service Rangers at Shiloh with Dates of Service

Name	Period of Duty
Fred Vanous*	12-1-37 to 7-1-39
Elmer E. Edwards	2-1-40 to 8-10-41
William H. Glover	2-4-42 to 3-19-50
Charles G. Lamb	7-23-50 to 7-19-52
James W. Howell	10-5-52 to

* Guard from December 13, 1935 to December 1, 1937.

National Park Service Principal Historical Personnel With Dates of Service

Name	Title	Period of Service
Ronald F. Lee*	Historical Technician	1933-1934
W. W. Luckett**	Junior Historian	1933-1940
Ray H. Mattison	Historian	2-3-47 to 11-29-48
Albert Dillahunty	Historian (Park)	12-27-48 to 12-1-52
Charles E. Shedd, Jr.	Historian (Park)	6-9-53 to

* Assigned to direct historical activities of the Emergency Conservation Work program at Shiloh.

** Held the title of Acting Superintendent, 1-1-38 to 3-15-40, but remained in immediate charge of historical-interpretive program

APPENDIX C

Important Park Friends Now Living

Mayor Will Tom Abernathy, Selmer, Tennessee
Mr. John E. Bell, Manager, Radio Station WCMA, Corinth, Mississippi
Mr. C. A. Borroum, 904 Franklin Street, Corinth, Mississippi
Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, 1637 S. Kilbourn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Mr. Paul Flowers, "The Greenhouse", Commercial-Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee
Mr. Shelby Foote, 697 Arkansas Street, Memphis, Tennessee
Mr. Claude Gentry, Baldwyn, Mississippi
Mr. Bob Guinn, Savannah, Tennessee
Mr. Seale B. Johnson, President, McCowat-Mercer Press, Jackson, Tennessee
Honorable Estes Kefauver, United States Senate, Washington 25, D. C.
Honorable Tom Murray, United States House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.
Mr. Cecil L. Parris, Savannah, Tennessee
Mr. Simon H. Rubel, 522 5th Street, Corinth, Mississippi
Mr. Joe Winningham, Adamsville, Tennessee

APPENDIX D

[PUBLIC---NO. 9.]*

AN ACT TO establish a national military park at the battlefield of Shiloh.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order that the armies of the southwest which served in the civil war, like their comrades of the eastern armies at Gettysburg and those of the central west at Chickamauga, may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought, the battlefield of Shiloh, in the State of Tennessee, is hereby declared to be a national military park, whenever title to the same shall have been acquired by the United States and the usual jurisdiction over the lands and roads of the same shall have been granted to the United States by the State of Tennessee; that is to say, the area inclosed by the following lines, or so much thereof as the commissioners of the park may deem necessary, to wit: Beginning at low-water mark on the north bank of Snake Creek where it empties into the Tennessee River; thence westwardly in a straight line to the point where the river road to Crumps Landing, Tennessee, crosses Snake Creek; thence along the channel of Snake Creek to Owl Creek; thence along the channel of Owl Creek to the crossing of the road to Purdy, Tennessee; thence southwardly in a straight line to the intersection of an east and west line drawn from the point where the road to Hamburg, Tennessee, crosses Lick Creek, near the mouth of the latter; thence eastward along the said east and west line to the point where the Hamburg Road crosses Lick Creek; thence along the channel of Lick Creek to the Tennessee River; thence along low-water mark of the Tennessee River to the point of beginning, containing three thousand acres, more or less, and the area thus inclosed shall be known as the Shiloh National Military Park: Provided, That the boundaries of the land authorized to be acquired may be changed by the said commissioners.

SEC. 2. That the establishment of the Shiloh National Military Park shall be carried forward under the control and direction of the Secretary of War, who, upon the passage of this Act, shall proceed to acquire title to the same either under the Act approved August first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, entitled "An Act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings, and for other purposes," or under the Act approved February twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, entitled "An Act to establish and protect national cemeteries," as he may select, and as title is procured to any portion of the lands and roads within the legal boundaries of the park he may proceed with the establishment of the park upon such portions as may thus be acquired.

* 28 Stat. 597.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to enter into agreements whereby he may lease, upon such terms as he may prescribe, with such present owners or tenants of the lands as may desire to remain upon it, to occupy and cultivate their present holdings upon condition that they will preserve the present buildings and roads and the present outlines of field and forest, and that they only will cut trees or underbrush under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, and that they will assist in caring for and protecting all tablets, monuments, or such other artificial works as may from time to time be erected by proper authority.

SEC. 4. That the affairs of the Shiloh National Military Park shall, subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War, be in charge of three commissioners, to be appointed by the Secretary of War, each of whom shall have served at the time of the battle in one of the armies engaged therein, one of whom shall have served in the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by General U. S. Grant, who shall be chairman of the commission; one in the Army of the Ohio, commanded by General D. C. Buell; and one in the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by General A. S. Johnston. The said commissioners shall have an office in the War Department building, and while on actual duty shall be paid such compensation out of the appropriations provided by this Act as the Secretary of War shall deem reasonable and just; and for the purpose of assisting them in their duties and in ascertaining the lines of battle of all troops engaged and the history of their movements in the battle, the Secretary of War shall have authority to employ, at such compensation as he may deem reasonable, to be paid out of the appropriations made by this Act, some person recognized as well informed concerning the history of the several armies engaged at Shiloh, and who shall also act as secretary of the commission.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of the commission named in the preceding section, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to open or repair such roads as may be necessary to the purposes of the park, and to ascertain and mark with historical tablets or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, all lines of battle of the troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh and other historical points of interest pertaining to the battle within the park or its vicinity, and the said commission in establishing this military park shall also have authority, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to employ such labor and services and to obtain such supplies and material as may be necessary to the establishment of the said park under such regulations as he may consider best for the interest of the Government, and the Secretary of War shall make and enforce all needed regulations for the care of the park.

SEC. 6. That it shall be lawful for any State that had troops engaged in the battle of Shiloh to enter upon the lands of the

Shiloh National Military Park for the purpose of ascertaining and marking the lines of battle of its troops engaged therein: Provided, That before any such lines are permanently designated the position of the lines and the proposed methods of marking them by monuments, tablets, or otherwise shall be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War, and all such lines, designs and inscriptions for the same shall first receive the written approval of the Secretary, which approval shall be based upon formal written reports, which must be made to him in each case by the commissioners of the park: Provided, That no discrimination shall be made against any State as to the manner of designating lines, but any grant made to any State by the Secretary of War may be used by any other State.

SEC. 7. That if any person shall, except by permission of the Secretary of War, destroy, mutilate, deface, injure, or remove any monument, column, statues, memorial structures, or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the grounds of the park by lawful authority, or shall destroy or remove any fence, railing, inclosure, or other work for the protection or ornament of said park, or any portion thereof, or shall destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush, or shrubbery that may be growing upon said park, or shall cut down or fell or remove any timber, battle relic, tree or trees growing or being upon said park, or hunt within the limits of the park, or shall remove or destroy any breastworks, earthworks, walls or other defenses or shelter on any part thereof constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles on the lands or approaches to the park, any person so offending and found guilty thereof, before any justice of the peace of the county in which the offense may be committed or any court of competent jurisdiction shall for each and every such offense forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offense, of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars, one-half for the use of the park and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered before such justice in like manner as debts of like nature are now by law recoverable in the several counties where the offense may be committed.

SEC. 8. That to enable the Secretary of War to begin to carry out the purpose of this Act, including the condemnation or purchase of the necessary land, marking the boundaries of the park, opening or repairing necessary roads, restoring the field to its condition at the time of the battle, maps and surveys, and the pay and expenses of the commissioners and their assistant, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, or such portion thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and disbursements under this Act shall require the approval of the Secretary of War, and he shall make annual report of the same to Congress.

Approved, December 27, 1894.

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