National Park Service

Cultural Landscapes Inventory

2020



Shiloh National Cemetery
Shiloh National Military Park
100 Percent Submission

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Inventory Unit Summary and Site Plan

Inventory Unit Summary

The Cultural Landscapes Inventory Overview:

Purpose and Goals of the CLI

As the National Park Service (NPS) has undertaken the comprehensive effort of inventorying all its cultural landscapes, some common themes and narratives have emerged. Previous Cultural Landscapes Inventories (CLI) identified the underlying theoretical framework on which all current inventory and analysis is based. As we began our work, we studied two prior CLIs to inform our fieldwork and research—*Rock Creek Park: Battleground National Cemetery* and *Peace Field: Adams National Historical Park*. These reports served as models for the following basic framework we used in our work at Shiloh National Cemetery, a unit of the Shiloh National Military Park.

The CLI is an evaluated inventory of all significant landscapes in units of the national park system in which the NPS has, or plans to acquire, any enforceable legal interest. Landscapes documented through the CLI are those that individually meet criteria set forth in the National Register of Historic Places such as historic sites, historic designed landscapes, and historic vernacular landscapes or those that are contributing elements of properties that meet said criteria. In addition, landscapes that are managed as cultural resources because of law, policy, or decisions reached through the park planning process, even though they do not meet the National Register criteria, are also included in the CLI.

The CLI serves three major purposes. First, it provides the means to describe cultural landscapes on an individual or collective basis at the park, regional, or service-wide level. Second, it provides a platform to share information about cultural landscapes across programmatic areas and concerns and to integrate related data about these resources into park management. Third, it provides an analytical tool to judge accomplishment and accountability.

The legislative, regulatory, and policy direction for conducting a CLI includes:

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (16 USC 470h-2(a)(1)). Each Federal agency shall establish … a preservation program for the identification, evaluation, and nomination to the National Register of Historic Places … of historic properties.…

Executive Order 13287: Preserve America, 2003. Sec. 3(a) … Each agency with real property management responsibilities shall prepare an assessment of the current status of its inventory of historic properties required by section 110(a)(2) of the NHPA … No later than September 30, 2004, each covered agency shall complete a report of the assessment and make it available to the Chairman of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the Secretary of the Interior.… (c) Each agency with real property management responsibilities shall, by September 30, 2005, and every third year thereafter, prepare a report on its progress in identifying … historic properties in its ownership and make the report available to the Council and the Secretary.…

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Federal Agency Historic Preservation (Sec. 110(a)(2). Programs Pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, 1998. Standard 2: An agency provides for the timely identification and evaluation of historic properties under agency jurisdiction or control and/or subject to effect by agency actions.

Management Policies 2006. 5.1.3.1 Inventories: The Park Service will … maintain and expand the following inventories … about cultural resources in units of the national park system …[:] Cultural Landscapes Inventory of historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and historic sites.…

Cultural Resource Management Guideline, 1997, Release No. 5, page 22 issued pursuant to Director's Order #28. As cultural resources are identified and evaluated, they should also be listed in the appropriate Service-wide inventories of cultural resources.

Responding to the Cultural Resources Challenge:

The Cultural Resources Challenge (CRC) is an NPS strategic plan that identifies the most critical priorities. The primary objective is to "achieve a standard of excellence for the stewardship of the resources that form the historical and cultural foundations of the nation, commit at all levels to a common set of goals, and articulate a common vision for the next century." The CLI contributes to the fulfillment of all five goals of the CRC:

1) *Provide leadership support and advocacy for the stewardship, protection, interpretation, and management of the nation's heritage through scholarly research, science and effective management;*
2) *Recommit to the spirit and letter of the landmark legislation underpinning the NPS;*
3) *Connect all Americans to their heritage resources in a manner that resonates with their lives, legacies, and dreams, and tells the stories that make up America's diverse national identity;*
4) *Integrate the values of heritage stewardship into major initiatives and issues such as renewable energy, climate change, community assistance and revitalization, and sustainability, while cultivating excellence in science and technical preservation as a foundation for resource protection, management, and rehabilitation; and*
5) *Attract, support, and retain a highly skilled and diverse workforce, and support the development of leadership and expertise within the National Park Service.*

Scope of the CLI

CLI data is gathered from existing secondary sources found in park libraries, in archives, and at NPS regional offices and centers as well as through on-site reconnaissance. The baseline information describes the historical development and significance of the landscape, placing it in the context of the landscape's overall significance. Documentation and analysis of the existing landscape identifies character-defining characteristics and features and allows for an evaluation of the landscape's overall integrity and an assessment of the landscape's overall condition. The CLI also provides an illustrative site plan that indicates major features within the inventory unit and generates spatial data for Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The CLI also identifies stabilization needs to prevent further deterioration of the landscape and provides data for the Facility Management Software System.

Inventory Unit Information

Cultural Landscapes Inventory Name:	Shiloh National Cemetery
CLI Identification Number:	550182
Subunit Alpha Code:	SHNC
Administrative Unit:	SHIL
Park Name:	Shiloh National Military Park
Park Alpha Code:	SHIL
Park Organization Code:	5580
Inventory Unit Size:	10.05 acres
Property Level:	Landscape

Inventory Unit Description:

Located on a bluff along the west side of the Tennessee River and downriver from Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh National Cemetery is a 10.05-acre landscape within the approximately 5,842-acre Shiloh National Military Park.[1] The park is in Hardin County in southwest Tennessee, 10.5 miles north of the Mississippi state line, 18 miles northeast of Corinth, Mississippi, and approximately 101 miles east of the Mississippi River and Memphis, Tennessee. Hardin County is situated on the boundary of the Highland Rim to the east and the Gulf Coastal Plain to the west. The two regions are divided by the deep cut of the Tennessee River Valley. Bluffs and terraces rise 80 to 100 feet above the river. Shiloh National Cemetery is located on one of the high bluffs, between Owl and Snake creeks to the north and Lick Creek to the south.[2]

The cemetery is enclosed by a series of brick and stone walls that surround the grave sites of 4,000 soldiers and their family members.[3] Grave sites are marked with marble monuments arranged on an open, manicured, gently rolling lawn. The character within the cemetery is picturesque, as brick paths wind through the landscape below large shade trees. The cemetery is framed by a dense forest to the north, an open forest and the Tennessee River to the east, an asphalt road and Pittsburg Landing to the south, and the gift shop and guest parking directly west of the cemetery gates.

There are several significant landscape features within the cemetery, beginning with the ornate iron entrance gates installed in 1911.[4] The gates are part of the cemetery perimeter wall that is made of brick on the western edge and stone in all other areas. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) built most brick features, including the path that threads together all the other features within the cemetery walls.[5] Grave markers occupy most of the open land within the stone perimeter walls. Most markers are somewhat uniform—a rectangle with a rounded top marks known and some unknown Union dead, while a small cube with a number marks the older graves of unknown Union soldiers. Markers for the unknown dead later changed shape, now resembling the shape of the markers for known burials.

The path leads from the entrance gate, below a canopy of shade trees, to the American flag. The flag is surrounded by a circular arrangement of graves four rows deep. The path continues to an overlook of the Tennessee River, also surrounded by a semicircle of graves, and southward to the original entrance of the cemetery, adjacent to nearby Pittsburg Landing. The path loops back westward and leads to the location of General Ulysses S. Grant's headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh, now marked by a monument comprised of three cannons.

Directly northeast of the main entrance, the cemetery lodge serves as offices for the NPS. The existing lodge was rebuilt in 1911 after a tornado destroyed the original structure in 1909.[6]

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[1] "Basic Information," nps.gov, National Park Service, accessed April 9, 2018, www.nps.gov/shil/planyourvisit/basicinfo.htm.

[2] Charles E. Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park* (Shiloh, TN: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1954), 1.

[3] "Basic Information," nps.gov.

[4] Timothy B. Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh: The Battle and the Battlefield* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 90.

[5] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 94.

[6] Smith, 94.

Significance Summary

Based on research for the CLI, the proposed period of significance begins in 1862, when Union troops disembarked at Pittsburg Landing, and ends in 1940, when the CCC and WPA completed the western brick wall and comfort station.

Although areas surrounding the Tennessee River were known to have been settled by American Indians, including a specific area of mounds within Shiloh National Military Park, there has not been evidence of American Indian activity on land within the cemetery walls.[7] The lack of evidence can be attributed to subsequent American settlement of the land in the 1800s, the disturbance resulting from an active Civil War battlefield in 1862, and the alterations associated with the construction of Shiloh National Cemetery, also beginning in 1862.

Because of the aforementioned events, the cemetery's period of significance begins in March 1862, when the divisions of US Brigadier Generals William T. Sherman and Stephen A. Hurlbut disembarked at Pittsburg Landing and camped in the vicinity of Shiloh Church.[8] This event marked the beginning of the relationship between the landscape and the Civil War. The period spans major events, including the establishment of Union headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh and the appropriation, construction, and use of the land as Shiloh National Cemetery.

In a broader sense, the development of Shiloh National Cemetery was part of a larger movement among American cemeteries in the late 1800s:

> The cemetery was a result of the nineteenth-century national movement to memorialize the dead, most notably from its wars. Not only were Americans creating park-like civilian cemeteries all around the nation, but they were also honoring their war dead with elaborate graveyards. Before the Civil War, individual soldiers were rarely honored; a central monument normally celebrated the fallen as a group.[9]

During the Great Depression, laborers associated with the CCC and the WPA constructed the brick path found throughout the cemetery and the western brick wall.[10] There have been no significant capital improvements within the cemetery walls since 1940 except for the replacement of the CCC- and WPA-era western brick wall in the summer of 2017. The period of significance ends with the conclusion of the CCC and WPA work in 1940.

Integrity and Condition

During the authors' site visit from April 10–13, 2017, the site was photographed and recorded to document a baseline inventory. The physical integrity of the cemetery site was evaluated by comparing features present during the period of significance (1862–1940) with current conditions. After the war and subsequent development of the cemetery on a portion of the battle site, the extant layers visible today begin with the cemetery layer, which began in 1862, after the Battle of Shiloh. Other layers visible for documentation include work by the WPA and CCC, which ended in 1940.

[7] David Hasty et al., Shiloh National Cemetery CLI Kickoff meeting, Shiloh National Military Park Headquarters, April 11, 2017.

[8] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xvi.

[9] Smith, 87.

[10] Smith, 94.

As a part of this contract, the authors documented and photographed the western brick wall built in 1940 by the CCC and WPA. The wall was in poor condition and contained large continuous cracks that ran north-south along both sides of the wall and east-west through the wall. The feature was considered a hazard and was deemed irreparable. Soon after documentation, the wall was dismantled and rebuilt to match the original wall in size and material specifications.

Generally, the condition of the cemetery and its physical components is very good, and the grounds are well maintained. The large shade trees are in good condition, but a few are showing signs of decline.

Site Plan



Figure 1. Shiloh National Cemetery site plan. (STA 2020)

CLI Hierarchy Description

Shiloh National Cemetery is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is one of several cultural landscapes within the Shiloh National Military Park “parent” landscape. Before the cemetery site finally became Shiloh National Cemetery, it was used in various other ways, including as possible hunting grounds for American Indians, as a pre–Civil War settlement, and as host for the Civil War Battle of Shiloh. The boundaries are marked by the stone and brick walls that enclose the cemetery.

Concurrence Status

Inventory Unit Completion Status: Pending

Completion Status Explanatory Narrative

A Level 1 Cultural Landscapes Inventory for Shiloh National Cemetery was initiated by the NPS in the 1990s. An initial site visit was conducted April 10–13, 2017, by Brian Goad, John Welch, and Nick Musso, landscape architects from Suzanne Turner Associates. The park contact is David Hasty from the Southeast Regional Office.

Park Superintendent Concurrence: Pending

Park Superintendent Concurrence Date: Pending

National Register Eligibility: n/a

National Register Eligibility Concurrence Date: n/a

National Register Concurrence Explanatory Narrative: Pending

Geographic Information and Location Map

Boundary Description

Located on a bluff along the west side of the Tennessee River and adjacent to Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh National Cemetery is a 10.05-acre landscape within the 5,842-acre Shiloh National Military Park. The cemetery is enclosed by a series of brick and stone walls that serve as the boundary limits for this CLI. The walls, nearly 3,000 linear feet in length, shape the space and follow the gently sloping topography down to the river's edge **(Figure 1)**.

States and Counties

State:	Tennessee
County:	Hardin
Size:	10.05 acres
Source:	Google Earth
Type of Boundary:	Four points
Latitude:	35.151253
Longitude:	−88.321249
Latitude:	35.150369
Longitude:	−88.321407
Latitude:	35.149301
Longitude:	−88.318555
Latitude:	35.152164
Longitude:	−88.318600

Regional Context

Type: Physiographic
Description:

Hardin County is situated on the boundary of the Highland Rim to the east and the Gulf Coastal Plain to the west. The two regions are divided by the deep cut of the Tennessee River Valley. Bluffs and terraces rise 80 to 100 feet above the river. Shiloh National Cemetery is located on one of the high bluffs, between Owl and Snake creeks to the north and Lick Creek to the south **(Figure 2)**.[11]

[11] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 1.

Location Map Graphic

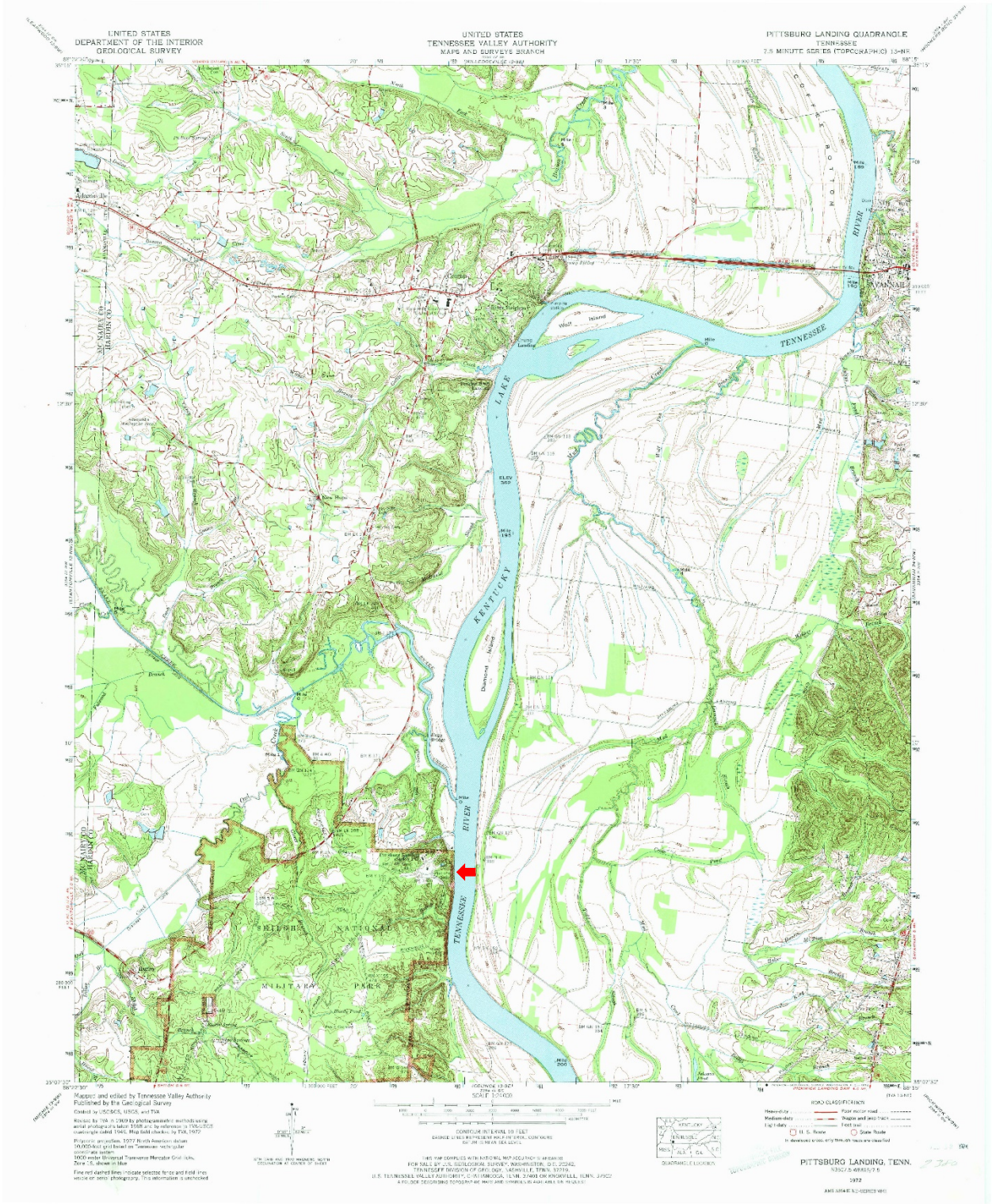


Figure 2. Shiloh National Cemetery is in Hardin County, Tennessee, in the northeast corner of Shiloh National Military Park on the west bank of the Tennessee River. See red arrow on map. (USGS MAP, 1972)

Management Information

Inventory Unit

Management Category: A; Must Be Preserved and Maintained

Management Category Date: 12/1/17

Management Category Narrative:

This inventory unit must be preserved and maintained as a significant landscape within the Shiloh National Military Park. It is directly related to the park's legislated significance. As the final resting place for thousands of soldiers, the Shiloh National Cemetery contains the physical vestiges of the Battle of Shiloh, which occurred over 150 years ago and shaped our nation.

During efforts in the late 1800s to acquire lands encompassing the military activity at Shiloh, representatives from both the Union and Confederate sides worked together and agreed on the common goal of preserving the cemetery and surrounding battlefields for future generations. The cemetery was an important feature and was used legislatively to acquire land for the park. According to the Shiloh National Military Park Act, titles to battlefield lands "could be acquired by the Secretary of War either under an act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings (August 1,1888) or to establish and protect national cemeteries (February 27, 1867)."[12]

States were quick in appropriating funds for battlefield monuments dedicated to their troops who fought at Shiloh. By 1901, five states had appropriated nearly $100,000 for monuments and markers. By 1920, a total of 117 markers had been erected at Shiloh.[13]

Do Adjacent Lands Contribute: Yes

Shiloh National Cemetery is located within the larger preserved landscape of Shiloh National Military Park and is closely tied to the Civil War events that occurred there. Adjacent lands are relevant and contribute to the story of the cemetery. All adjacent parcels are owned by the NPS and are therefore protected and preserved. Land east of the cemetery, beyond the Tennessee River, is within the viewshed of the cemetery and contributes to the experience. It is currently undeveloped farmland and is not owned by the NPS.

NPS Legal Interest

Type of Legal Interest: Fee Simple

Public Access to Site

Public Access: Unrestricted

Public Access Explanatory Narrative:

Public access is granted from sunrise to sunset, seven days a week, except on Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and New Year's Day. The cemetery is accessed through an iron gate on the west side. The park visitor center is located west of the cemetery.

[12] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 23.

[13] Shedd Jr., 21.

National Register Information

National Register Landscape Documentation: Entered—Inadequately Documented

National Register Narrative:

One hundred and eighty-six sites are documented as part of the National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Shiloh National Military Park received on March 10, 1976. Shiloh National Cemetery (No. HS 34), the Cemetery House (No. HS 35), and Grant's Headquarters Monument (No. HS 186) fall within the cemetery boundary and are part of the overall Military Park submission. The Shiloh National Cemetery (No. HS 34) documentation includes a listing of significance—first order, longitudes and latitudes, acreage, recommended treatment (preservation), photographs, and the following text:

> The cemetery was established in 1866 by the United States Government for the internment [*sic*] of the Union dead from the Battle of Shiloh and from other engagements, encampments, and hospitals in the area. There are 3,572 graves of Union soldiers who died in the Civil War; 2,370 of which are unknown. In addition, there are 196 other internments [*sic*] including veterans of the American Revolution and Viet Nam. Wall 3,275 feet long encircles the cemetery. The major portion of this wall is of stone, 5' high and 2' to 3' wide. There is one section 519' long which is of brick 6' high and 18" wide, and which is pierced by an ornate wroght [*sic*] iron gate. The wall was built to define the cemetery and to protect the graves from vandals and animals. The cemetery is still being used and there are currently unassigned grave sites.[14]

Although included in the 1976 National Register nomination, the Shiloh National Cemetery site is considered "Entered—Inadequately Documented." The nomination does not include cultural information such as circulation patterns, vegetation, and views and vistas. It lists the cemetery and Grant's Headquarters Monument incorrectly as a historic structure, and the period of significance is inaccurate and nonspecific. The nomination also incorrectly lists the brick wall as an original feature.

The original nomination, documented as Shiloh National Military Park, lists the applicable criteria as "Event" and "Architecture/Engineering." The areas of significance are listed as "prehistoric," "architecture," and "military."[15] The periods of significance are general and vague, are listed as pre-Colombian and 19th century, and do not accurately reflect the 20th-century changes that occurred in the cemetery. A new nomination focused on Shiloh National Cemetery should be accurately documented to reflect the cemetery's period of significance within Shiloh National Military Park. The criteria are accurate for the park as a whole but should be revised for the cemetery nomination to include criteria that reflect General Grant's association with the site. Applicable here is Criteria B, *associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.* Criteria A, *associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history,* is also relevant and is similar to the original criteria, "Event." Criteria C and D are applicable as well.

Further, the areas of significance, listed in the original nomination as prehistoric, military, and architecture, are not accurate for the cemetery. They should be reviewed and updated to reflect the significance of the cemetery area only.

National Register Name: Shiloh National Military Park

NRIS Number: 66000074

National Register Significance Level: National

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[14] "Tennessee SP Shiloh National Military Park: National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," catalog.archives.gov, The National Archives, accessed January 30, 2018, www.catalog.archives.gov/id/135818664.

[15] "Tennessee SP Shiloh National Military Park: National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," catalog.archives.gov.

National Register Significance:	Contributing
National Register Classification:	District: Shiloh National Military Park
National Historic Landmark Status:	No
World Heritage Site Status:	No

Statement of Significance:

Shiloh National Cemetery was listed in the National Register in 1976 as part of the nomination for Shiloh National Military Park. The current nomination is general and lists the period of significance as "pre-Colombian" and "19th century."[16]

This CLI recommends submitting Shiloh National Cemetery as a separate nomination from Shiloh National Military Park, a nomination that details the specific history and events that occurred within its borders. It also recommends a more specific period of significance that begins in March 1862, when Union troops disembarked at Pittsburg Landing, and continues through the Civil War Battle of Shiloh, where Major General Grant was headquartered on land that would later be incorporated into the cemetery (April 6–7, 1862), as well as through the establishment of Shiloh National Cemetery during the National Military Park Movement and Shiloh National Cemetery Era (1866–1893), management under the US War Department (1895–1933), and early management under the NPS (1933–1940). Although the early era of NPS management extends beyond 1940, the period of significance ends then, as the CCC and WPA had completed the western brick wall and comfort station as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program that lifted the nation out of the Great Depression.

The National Register currently lists the areas of significance as "prehistoric, architecture, and military." This CLI proposes that Shiloh National Cemetery should be categorized under National Register Significance Criteria A, *associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history*; Criteria B, *associated with the lives of persons significant in our past*; Criteria C, *property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction*; and Criteria D, *the property has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.*

Criteria A Eligibility

Criteria A, *associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history*, is applicable because of the site's significance as a strategic location in the Civil War Battle of Shiloh, the development of national cemeteries in the late 1800s, and the efforts of Civil War veterans and others to memorialize and commemorate the war. Under Criteria B, *associated with the lives of persons significant in our past,* Shiloh National Cemetery is applicable because the cemetery contains the site of General Grant's headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh. "As an American hero, Grant was elected the 18th President of the United States (1869–1877) and worked to implement Congressional Reconstruction and to remove the vestiges of slavery."[17] Under Criteria C, *property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction*, Shiloh National Cemetery is eligible because it exemplifies the characteristics of a Civil War–era national cemetery. It is also eligible under Criteria D, *the property has yielded,*

[16] "Tennessee SP Shiloh National Military Park: National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," catalog.archives.gov.

[17] "Ulysses S. Grant," whitehouse.gov, The White House, accessed January 30, 2018, www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/ulysses-s-grant/.

or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history, because the site was an important location in the Civil War Battle of Shiloh and because it has proximity to American Indian earthworks.

Shiloh National Cemetery is eligible under Criteria A for its association with the Civil War. The cemetery was a strategic location and the site of Union headquarters during the battle. On the morning of April 6, 1862, Union troops uncovered a Confederate army location only a mile away. Fighting ensued for most of the day as Confederate forces attempted to separate Union troops from the river. Instead, the long day of combat only resulted in Grant's troops being pressed northward roughly two miles along a succession of bitterly contested defensive lines. The last of these contested lines, which extended two miles from the strongly defended river landing west to Owl Creek, was successfully held by Federal troops when darkness ended the day's fighting.[18] Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston never realized the accomplishments of the day. He died that afternoon from a wound suffered while directing an attack. With victory seemingly in hand, second-in-command General P.G.T. Beauregard rested his troops for the night, with a final push planned for the next morning.[19]

Overnight, Grant received reinforcements from Lew Wallace's division and General Don Carlos Buell's army. On April 7, after Union armies were replenished by the thousands, troops counterattacked Beauregard's forces, who retreated to Corinth, Mississippi, following six hours of resistance. In the next 53 days there were five total armies present, three Union and two Confederate, that engaged in 54 military events. This resulted in nearly two thousand casualties.[20] Soon after the Battle of Shiloh, department commander Henry W. Halleck led the attack on Beauregard's army at Corinth. Beauregard was overcome and retreated to Tupelo, Mississippi. The results of Shiloh awarded the Federals a strong position from which to take Corinth and ultimately the Mississippi Valley, including Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Port Hudson, Louisiana.[21]

Shiloh National Cemetery is eligible under Criteria A because it is an exceptional example of a Civil War–era cemetery developed during the national movement to memorialize the nation's war dead through the construction of national cemeteries in the late 1800s. Shiloh National Cemetery was created during this popular movement. In 1862, Congress authorized the establishment of national cemeteries. Following the authorization, elaborate cemeteries were constructed, and soldiers were memorialized individually. Before that time, soldiers were usually recognized as a group marked by a single monument.[22]

The cemetery is eligible under this criteria because of the efforts of Civil War veterans and others to memorialize and commemorate the Battle of Shiloh, army locations throughout the site, and those who perished. On June 6, 1902, the first monument dedication took place, with the transfer of 24 Ohio regimental monuments to the federal government. Over the next seventeen years, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Iowa, Alabama, Minnesota, Arkansas, and Louisiana held dedications for their respective monuments. Michigan was the last state monument to be dedicated, on Memorial Day 1919. Veteran organizations, including the Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, held annual reunions at the park. Annual Memorial Day events were also popular when weather permitted.[23]

The development efforts of the War Department and the NPS also contributed to eligibility. Following the creation of Shiloh National Military Park, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont appointed three commissioners who had ties to the battle at Shiloh—Colonel Cornelius Cadle, Army of the Tennessee; General Don Carlos Buell,

[18] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[19] Timothy B. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 7.

[20] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[21] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[22] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10–11.

[23] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 40–43.

Army of the Ohio; and Colonel Robert F. Looney, Confederate Army of the Mississippi. Major D.W. Reed was appointed secretary and historian, and Captain James W. Irwin served as the land purchase agent.[24]

The cemetery was an important feature and was used legislatively to acquire land for the park. According to the Shiloh National Military Park Act, titles to battlefield lands "could be acquired by the Secretary of War either under an act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings (August 1,1888) or to establish and protect national cemeteries (February 27, 1867)."[25]

The War Department oversaw much of the park's development and worked to restore the battlefield as it would have existed in April 1862. By 1900, maps were prepared indicating Union and Confederate battle lines and all 83 campsites. Roads were built, and 567 acres were cleared of brush and forests that had grown up since 1862. Trees were also planted to replicate battlefield conditions. By the end of August 1901, the commission reported the completion of 21 miles of first-class roads, 200 battle markers, 26 cannons, a frame warehouse, and a carpenter's shop.[26]

The stock market crash on October 29, 1929, and related New Deal programs led to significant changes in the park. Government action began after Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932. Within months of the New Deal, workers from the CCC, WPA, and Civil Works Administration (CWA) were laboring to transform Shiloh into a modern park with updated facilities.

Roosevelt's Executive Reorganization Order of June 10, 1933, transferred Shiloh National Military Park and Shiloh National Cemetery from the War Department to the NPS (and thus the US Department of the Interior). After 1933, professionals representing various fields of expertise led the change and improved park operations through research, new methods of interpretation, and an improved visitor experience.[27]

The NPS era marked a new, more visitor-centered approach to park development. Early NPS personnel immediately recognized the need for "acceleration and expansion" of park development to bring Shiloh up to the standards for public use and enjoyment. During this period, there was an emphasis on interpretive development and visitor comfort. This new approach is apparent in some of the improvements made, including the opening of the park administration/museum building, the operation of the concession building, the rebuilding of park roads, and the availability of new interpretive literature. Additionally, the practice of burning undergrowth was stopped, and the fields and forests were allowed to follow their natural succession.[28]

When the park was transferred to the NPS, interpretation was expanded to include the background of the struggle and historic context. These perspectives were an interpretive challenge but a necessary one. As memories of the Civil War receded, people visiting the park required a deeper contextual understanding to appreciate and understand the significance of Shiloh and its lessons.[29]

Under the NPS, the physical development of the park advanced and was more visitor oriented and focused on education and interpretation. In 1934, as the country was attempting to recover from the Great Depression, 250 men were employed at the park under the CWA. Under this program, the men worked on the Shiloh-Corinth Road, erosion projects, conservation projects, and the excavation of American Indian mounds under the

[24] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 23.

[25] Shedd Jr., 23–24.

[26] Shedd Jr., 30.

[27] Timothy B. Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2007): 126–43, accessed February 13, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/42628013.

[28] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 60.

[29] Shedd Jr., 63.

direction of archaeologists from the Smithsonian Institute. CWA personnel also contributed to interpretation, as they were responsible for research of the battle and related subjects. They assembled material for orientation lectures, for museum exhibits, and for field interpretive markers. In all, twenty persons were part of interpretive projects, with some responsible for conducting battlefield tours. Two camps from the CCC were also established and manned by 400 African American World War I veterans.[30]

Other significant projects funded by the WPA began at this time and were completed in 1935, including an administration building, two entrance stations, and four employee residences. The administration building currently sits west of the cemetery brick wall. The CWA program terminated on April 19, 1934.[31]

In 1934, the Bureau of Public Roads completed a new survey for the park, the first since 1899. Physical development changes continued throughout the 1930s. In 1935–1936, the park headquarters building was razed, and a concession and post office building was constructed on part of its foundation. The CCC workers were still employed at this time, working on more than 10 miles of park roads and constructing the brick comfort station in the northwest corner of the cemetery. In 1941, with the completion of CCC work and the beginning of US involvement in World War II, a significant era of physical development in the park ended. A small number of workers were left to close out projects and leave them in a "useable state of completion."[32]

Criteria B Eligibility

Criteria B is applicable because of the cemetery's association with future president Ulysses S. Grant. After Grant arrived on the battlefield on the morning of April 6, 1862, his headquarters was moved from the William H. Cherry home in Savannah, Tennessee, to aboard the steamer *Tigress* and then to an onshore headquarters in a "log building on the top of the hill" within what is now known as Shiloh National Cemetery. On that day, while the log cabin served as onshore headquarters, the *Tigress* served as headquarters when Grant was not onshore.[33]

Criteria C Eligibility

Criteria C is applicable because the cemetery exemplifies the characteristics of a Civil War–era national cemetery. In 1866, US Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs issued orders to rebury Union soldiers from many battlefields, including Shiloh. Quartermaster Department inspector Edmund B. Whitman viewed the battlefield and many burial sites along the Tennessee River. He ultimately decided to establish the burial ground on the 10-acre bluff overlooking Pittsburg Landing. As a result, the government established Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery in 1866.[34] The name was later changed to Shiloh National Cemetery.

The cemetery was laid out by Lieutenant Colonel A.W. Wills. He laid out sections and divided the cemetery by avenues originally surfaced in shell and gravel. He also located a grave to grab people's attention at the entrance—a supposed drummer boy's grave. It was later determined that the grave was not that of a drummer boy but that of a soldier.[35]

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[30] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 45, 64.

[31] Shedd Jr., 45, 46.

[32] Shedd Jr., 46.

[33] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[34] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10.

[35] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 88–89.

As early as 1870, Meigs consulted with the noted landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmsted on cemetery design and plantings.[36] One can only infer that the general design intent was applied at Shiloh as it was in other cemeteries. In Olmsted's words, the intention was to "establish permanent dignity and tranquility … a sacred grove, sacredness and protection being expressed in the perfect tranquility of the trees within."[37]

Although government regulations called for conformity in the design of all national cemeteries, planners created what one laborer described as "the handsomest cemetery in the South."[38] The cemetery is traditional in design, particularly with the inclusion of the circular grave arrangement that encircles a lawn area and formerly, a rostrum. Care was taken to consider the placement of vegetation and circulation, and views were focused internally within the cemetery and outward toward the Tennessee River. Vegetation is visible in the *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882), and graphic symbols distinguish between deciduous and evergreen trees.[39] The plan shows a mixed placement, but the trees generally frame burial areas and line the main gravel road and other grassed paths in the cemetery **(Figure 11)**.

On the eastern part of the site, views are focused outward toward the Tennessee River. Between the grassed-path perimeter terrace and the stone perimeter wall, trees are concentrated northeast and southeast on the slope between the cemetery and the Tennessee River. Views are mostly open to the river from the 16th Wisconsin burials directly east of the flag, as fewer trees are shown at the top of the slope and more are shown at the bottom, inside the stone perimeter wall. From the higher elevation of the cemetery at this location, the view toward the river would have been mostly open yet seen through a thin curtain of tree canopies and an even thinner curtain of tree trunks. Along the same buffer slope, views open in the northeast and southeast corners of the cemetery toward the river. Concentrations of mixed deciduous and evergreen tree groupings on the slope form the edges and focus the views from the cemetery toward the river.[40]

Criteria D Eligibility

The cemetery is also eligible under Criteria D because the site was an important location in the Civil War Battle of Shiloh and because of its proximity to American Indian earthworks. Although the pre-Colombian layer may have been disturbed by the subsequent uses as a Civil War battlefield and cemetery, some areas could potentially yield information from that period. The cemetery area, containing the Union headquarters and considered an active battlefield, could also potentially yield artifacts and information from the Civil War period.

[36] Sara Amy Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries," nps.gov, National Park Service, accessed March 23, 2018, www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/landscape.html.

[37] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."

[38] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10.

[39] "National Cemetery Shiloh, Tenn.," nps.gov, National Park Service, National Cemeteries, accessed January 30, 2020, www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/photos/list_of-sites2/013_ShilohPlanE.jpg.

[40] "National Cemetery Shiloh, Tenn.," nps.gov.

National Register Significance Criteria

National Register Significance Criteria:	A: Associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history B: Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past C: Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction D: The property has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Register Period of Significance

Time Period:	CE 1862–1865
Historic Context Theme:	Shaping the Political Landscape
Historic Context Subtheme:	The Civil War
Historic Context Facet:	Battles in the North and South
Time Period:	CE 1866–1940
Historic Context Theme:	Expressing Cultural Values
Historic Context Subtheme:	Landscape Architecture
Historic Context Facet:	Rural Cemeteries

National Register Areas of Significance

Area of Significance Category:	Military

NRIS Information

Park Alpha Code/NRIS Name (Number):	SHIL, Shiloh National Military Park, 66000074
Primary Certification Date:	03/10/1976

Chronology and Physical History

Inventory Unit

Primary Historic Function—Major Category: 07, Funerary

Primary Historic Function—Category: 07 A, Cemetery

Primary Current Use—Major Category: 07, Funerary

Primary Current Use—Category: 07 A, Cemetery

Other Current and Historic Uses/Functions

Other Historic Function—Major Category: Landscape

Other Historic Function—Category: Functional Landscape

Other Historic Function: Functional Landscape—Other

Other Historic Function—Major Category: Defense

Other Historic Function—Category: Battle Site

Current and Historic Names

Current Name: Shiloh National Cemetery

Historic Names: Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery

Shiloh National Cemetery at Pittsburg Landing

Cultural Landscape Types

Cultural Landscape Type: Historic Designed Landscape, Historic Vernacular Landscape, Historic Site

Ethnographic Associated Groups

Ethnographic Study Conducted: No

Chronology

Year	Event	Description
1538 CE	Explored	Hernando de Soto explores what would become the southeastern United States, including Tennessee.[41]
1696 CE	Explored	Jean Couture, a fur trader, is thought to be the first European to pass within sight of the river bluffs at Shiloh.[42]
1763 CE	Military Operation	After the Treaty of Paris, Britain claims an area of what would become Tennessee.[43]
1775 CE–1783 CE	Military Operation	America becomes a nation after success against the British in the Revolutionary War.
1796 CE	Established	Tennessee joins the Union.[44]
1815 CE	Explored	Joseph Hardin leads a surveying expedition opposite the present site of Shiloh.[45]
1816 CE	Settled	The first settlement is established in what would become Hardin County.[46]
1818 CE	Land Transfer	American Indians cede land in what would become Hardin County to America by treaty.[47]
1819 CE	Established	Hardin County is organized. The first administrative district is carved from the Chickasaw Cession.[48]
1832 CE	Land Transfer	The state of Tennessee grants John Chambers the area around what would later become Pittsburg Landing. Chambers does not develop it.[49]

[41] Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2018), 15.

[42] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 5.

[43] Shedd Jr., 7.

[44] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xiii.

[45] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 6.

[46] Shedd Jr., 6.

[47] Shedd Jr., 6.

[48] Shedd Jr., 6.

[49] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xiv.

1835 CE	Built	A small Methodist church is built nearby.[50]
1840 CE	Inhabited	Hardin County contains over 8,000 inhabitants, including 330 enslaved.[51]
1843 CE	Land Transfer	Thomas B. Stubbs acquires John Chambers's land grant from the state. A store and a few residences are built near the river.[52]
Circa 1846 CE	Built	A new church is built further inland and takes the name Shiloh, meaning "place of peace." Pittser Tucker operates a liquor store and tavern near a landing, which draws steamers on the Tennessee River. The landing is eventually known as Pittsburg Landing, a corruption of the store operator's first name.[53]
1848 CE	Developed	Brothers Pittser, Thomas, and Riley Tucker stake off 1,400 acres near the landing, from which they operate a ferry to the east bank.[54] The brothers also erect a small log chapel named Shiloh.[55]
March 1856 CE	Settled	A new settlement, Cross City, Mississippi, is incorporated. The settlement would eventually be renamed Corinth.[56]
April 12, 1861 CE	Military Operation	The Civil War begins when Confederate troops attack Fort Sumter in Charleston Bay.
June 8, 1861 CE	Military Operation	Tennessee secedes from the Union.[57]
September 11, 1861 CE	Military Operation	The War Department issues General Orders No. 75 giving responsibility to the quartermaster general for the burial of

[50] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xiv.
[51] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 8.
[52] Smith, xiv.
[53] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 4.
[54] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xiv.
[55] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 6.
[56] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 18.
[57] "Tennessee Secedes from the Union," worldhistoryproject.org, World History Project, accessed June 18, 2018, www.worldhistoryproject.org/1861/6/8/tennessee-secedes-from-the-union.

		officers and soldiers.[58] Wooden headboards are provided.[59]
March 1, 1862 CE	Military Operation	Union gunboats encounter a small battery of Confederate cannons at Pittsburg Landing. Union troops disembark but soon return to the gunboats after encountering elements of the 18th Louisiana Infantry.[60]
March 17, 1862 CE	Military Operation	Major General Grant establishes his headquarters at Savannah, Tennessee, at the residence of William H. Cherry.[61]
Mid to late March 1862 CE	Military Operation	General William T. Sherman leads an unsuccessful raid (due to rain and high water) toward Mississippi. As his division travels north, they camp at Pittsburg Landing. He notifies Grant that he has found the perfect site for Union encampment.[62]
April 6–7, 1862 CE	Military Operation	Union and Confederate troops engage in the Civil War Battle of Shiloh.[63]
April 8, 1862 CE	Military Operation	Burials at Shiloh begin.[64]
Late May 1862 CE	Military Operation	Corinth is captured by Union troops.[65]
July 17, 1862 CE	Established	Congress empowers President Abraham Lincoln to "purchase cemetery grounds to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of this country."[66]

[58] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov, US Department of Veterans Affairs, accessed January 23, 2020, www.cem.va.gov/cem/docs/factsheets/history.pdf.

[59] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov, National Cemetery Administration, US Department of Veterans Affairs, accessed February 2, 2020, www.cem.va.gov/cem/history/hmhist.asp.

[60] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 6.

[61] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 19.

[62] Smith, 6.

[63] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[64] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 21.

[65] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 11.

[66] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

September 22, 1862 CE	Established	President Lincoln issues the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves as of January 1, 1863.[67]
April 9, 1865 CE	Military Operation	The American Civil War ends when Robert E. Lee surrenders at the Appomattox Court House.[68]
1865 CE	Military Operation	The quartermaster general embarks on the Federal Reburial Program to search for, recover, and identify the remains of all Union soldiers. Bodies were reinterred in national cemeteries unless previously claimed by families.[69]
1866 CE	Established	Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery is established.[70]
1866 CE	Built	Workers convert an existing wooden building into a cemetery lodge, a simple structure that stands just west of the cemetery entrance.[71]
March 1866 CE	Platted	Work parties under Edmund B. Whitman search 12 square miles of battlefield and mark each grave and burial ground.[72]
Fall 1866 CE	Memorialized	Bodies are exhumed from the battlefield and are reinterred in the National Cemetery. Deceased soldiers from engagements all along the Tennessee River are also reburied. In all, there are 178 locations from the battlefield and 565 localities from the Tennessee Valley.[73]
1866 CE	Memorialized	Three upright cannon-shaft monuments are placed in the cemetery when it is created.[74]

[67] "Civil War Facts," history.net, accessed April 23, 2018, www.historynet.com/civil-war-facts.

[68] "Civil War Facts," history.net

[69] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[70] "Tennessee SP Shiloh National Military Park: National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," catalog.archives.gov.

[71] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.

[72] Smith, 87.

[73] Smith, 88.

[74] Smith, 91.

1866–1867 CE	Planned	A.W. Wills is the Quartermaster Department cemetery builder.[75]
1867 CE	Memorialized	Cemetery builder A.W. Wills authorizes the unusual placement of the "drummer boy" grave to grab people's attention.[76]
February 22, 1867 CE	Memorialized	The first National Cemetery Act was passed, which provided funds and guidance for the creation of national cemeteries.[77]
Fall 1867 CE	Built	The limestone cemetery wall is built from stone quarried 11 miles upriver. The wall is 4 feet high, 2 feet thick and 2,816 feet in length.[78]
March 9, 1867 CE	Land Transfer	The legislature of the state of Tennessee cedes possession of the cemetery land to the federal government.[79]
1869 CE	Memorialized	By this year, 3,584 Civil War Union soldiers are interred, with 2,359 of them unknown. They are from 203 different regiments from thirteen states. Three Confederate soldiers are placed among the Union dead.[80]
January 6, 1869 CE	Land Transfer	Originally, Mary A. Harmon, heir of Thomas B. Stubbs, does not accept the government price for the land. The US District Court of the District of West Tennessee awards the government the title to the 10 acres of cemetery lands for the sum of $500.[81]
1870 CE	Military Operation	The Federal Reburial Program led by the quartermaster general ends. The program is successful, as 299,696 Union soldiers and officers are interred in 73 national cemeteries.[82]

[75] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 95.

[76] Smith, 89.

[77] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[78] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.

[79] Smith, 87.

[80] Smith, 89.

[81] Smith, 87.

[82] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

1870 CE	Planned	Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs consults with noted landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmsted regarding the appearance of national cemeteries.[83]
1871 CE	Planted	A 3,172-foot hedge of Osage orange (*Macular pomifera*) is planted and encircles the entire cemetery. A simple wire fence separates the lodge and storage buildings from the grave sites. The buildings are situated in the western portion of the tract, "outside the cemetery proper."[84]
1871 CE	Eroded	Washouts along the Tennessee River are a major concern.[85]
March 3, 1873 CE	Memorialized	A congressional act stipulates that permanent markers should replace wooden headboards.[86]
1876 CE	Built	The cemetery lodge is replaced with a one-and-a-half-story brick building, containing six rooms plus three in the cellar, set atop a limestone foundation. The old structure is moved several hundred feet northward and is converted into a tool shed.[87]
1876–1877 CE	Memorialized	Marble headstones of varying shapes and sizes replace the wooden headboards.[88]
June 21, 1884 CE	Damaged	A major storm or hurricane damages cemetery trees.[89]
July 30, 1888 CE	Established	The cemetery name changes to Shiloh National Cemetery at Pittsburg Landing.[90]
1890 CE	Established	Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield Site are established.[91]

[83] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration."
[84] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.
[85] Smith, 93.
[86] Smith, 89.
[87] Smith, 90.
[88] Smith, 89.
[89] Smith, 93.
[90] Smith, 87.
[91] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 13.

1891 CE	Built	A 450-foot section of the southern boundary stone wall needs reinforcement.[92]
June 1891 CE	Built	The addition of iron steps and a 154-foot-long brick walkway allows easy access from Pittsburg Landing.[93]
1892 CE	Built	The rostrum is erected.[94]
1893 CE	Preserved	Union veterans learn from the superintendent that remains of Union dead are uncovered each year by farmers plowing their fields and by road construction. The veterans form the Shiloh Battlefield Association, which leads to the creation of Shiloh National Military Park.[95]
1893 CE	Planned	Plans for the creation of Gettysburg National Military Park are underway.[96]
September 12–13, 1893 CE	Planned	E.T. Lee of the Shiloh Battlefield Association addresses the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, sparking momentum to create a national military park.[97]
Spring 1894 CE	Land Transfer	E.T. Lee, in the name of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, takes options on 2,300 acres of land for the park.[98]
March 30, 1894 CE	Planned	House of Representatives bill 6499 is introduced by Lieutenant David B. Henderson for the purpose of establishing a national military park.[99]
December 27, 1894 CE	Established	Shiloh National Military Park is established. The bill is drafted by congressman Lieutenant David B. Henderson.[100]

[92] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 93.

[93] Smith, 90.

[94] Smith, 90.

[95] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 13.

[96] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 26.

[97] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 14.

[98] Shedd Jr., 15.

[99] Shedd Jr., 19.

[100] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 91.

March 26, 1895 CE	Purchased/Sold	The Shiloh Battlefield Association, a 12,000-man association almost all from enlisted ranks, purchases options for 2,600 acres for a dollar a plot. This was done in hopes of forcing the hand of Congress to make the appropriation before the options ran out in one year. The land would cost $32,830.50.[101]
April 2, 1895 CE	Planned	The newly formed park commission meets at the park. Tents are built near the cemetery.[102]
April 29, 1895 CE	Land Transfer	Jurisdiction over the battlefield lands is ceded by an act of the Tennessee state legislature.[103]
May 1, 1895 CE	Planned	Engineer Atwell Thompson begins work and is responsible for development of the park until 1905.[104]
1896 CE	Memorialized	The only major stone monument is placed in the cemetery to memorialize the 9th Illinois. The regiment lost 366 men of 578 present.[105]
March 22, 1896 CE	Planned	Engineer Atwell Thompson finishes a large-scale topographic map of the park.[106]
End of 1896 CE	Purchased/Sold	The government gains the title to 85 acres for the military park.[107]
February 1897 CE	Purchased/Sold	Cornelius Cadel, commission chair, and Captain James W. Irwin, land agent, spend $18,675 to acquire 1,390 acres, an average of $13.43 per acre.[108]

[101] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 21.

[102] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 92.

[103] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 19.

[104] Shedd Jr., 23.

[105] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 91.

[106] Edwin C. Bearss and the Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Park and National Cemetery* (Denver: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1973), 14.

[107] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 24.

[108] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 52.

End of 1897 CE	Purchased/Sold	Two thousand ninety-five acres are acquired at an average cost of $12.70 per acre.[109]
1899 CE	Planned	Chairman Cadle advocates to the War Department for a good road to Corinth.[110]
1900 CE	Platted	Thompson surveys the route for the Shiloh-Corinth Road.[111]
1901 CE	Purchased/Sold	By this year, five states have appropriated almost $100,000 for monuments and markers.[112]
August 1901, CE	Planned	The commission completes 21 miles of first-class roads, 208 battle markers, 26 cannon markers, a frame warehouse, and a carpenter's shop.[113]
1902 CE	Planned	Major George B. Davis of the War Department expresses reservations about the size of the park.[114]
1902 CE	Planned	The land acquired for the park totals 3,069 acres, including 10.05 acres for the cemetery.[115]
June 6, 1902 CE	Memorialized	The first monument dedication at Shiloh National Military Park is made as 34 Ohio regimental monuments are transferred to the federal government.[116]
1903 CE	Memorialized	The use of stone blocks for memorializing unknown soldiers is discontinued. Stone slabs are used, matching the stone size of known soldiers.[117]
1903 CE	Eroded	Part of the eastern limestone wall enclosing the cemetery disappears into the river.[118]

[109] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 24.
[110] Shedd Jr., 37.
[111] Shedd Jr., 37.
[112] Shedd Jr., 21.
[113] Shedd Jr., 30.
[114] Shedd Jr., 21.
[115] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 30.
[116] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 40.
[117] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[118] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 93.

1903 CE	Purchased/Sold	By this year, land agent Captain James W. Irwin acquires most of the battlefield for the US government.[119]
August 27, 1903 CE	Planted	Willow cuttings are planted along the river at the landing and national cemetery and in the ditch along the main road to the landing. Japanese Quince shrubs are planted at the heads of all the ravines around the landing.[120]
1904 CE	Planted	Clearing of underbrush and the planting of new trees is completed.[121]
June 3, 1904 CE	Damaged	A windstorm damages and downs cemetery trees.[122] Over 2,000 trees fall within the park.[123] Although a record of tree replanting has not been found, one can assume that replanting might have taken place as part of the reconstruction efforts.
1905 CE	Moved	The park commission moves from the cemetery lodge to a room in a nearby hotel at Pittsburg Landing.[124]
March 9, 1906 CE	Memorialized	Confederate burials within national cemeteries are marked with a marble slab with a pointed top.[125]
1906 CE	Memorialized	Twelve thousand persons attend a Memorial Day gathering at the park. Part of the program includes decorating the graves.[126]
April 6–7, 1907 CE	Memorialized	The Survivors Association holds its first annual reunion at the battlefield with former Union and Confederate soldiers.[127]

[119] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 52.

[120] Bearss and Preservation Team, *Historical Base Map*, 14.

[121] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 30.

[122] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 93.

[123] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 30.

[124] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 93.

[125] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

[126] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 43.

[127] Shedd Jr., 43.

Fall 1908 CE	Memorialized	Six hundred fifty-one cast-metal historical and informational signs are erected.[128] This includes the signage within the cemetery walls.[129]
1908 CE	Built	A warehouse is constructed at the landing site. A blacksmith shop and a fireproof roof–brick forge is completed.[130]
October 1909 CE	Built	By this time, the park includes a small hotel, a store, a post office, two barns, two warehouses, cement and roller sheds, and a blacksmith shop. Living quarters for commissioners are tents.[131] The park commission maintains a Shiloh office in one of the hotel rooms.[132]
1909 CE	Removed	The park commission removes the tents from the cemetery on an unknown date. They are placed near Chambers's store and are removed again later in 1909.[133]
Oct. 14, 1909 CE, 5:26 pm	Destroyed	A tornado destroys the cemetery office, most of the cemetery, the nearby hotel, the tool houses, the barns, the Grant tree (and every large tree), and the monuments as well as most park records.[134] The tornado destroys much of the physical improvement accomplished to that date.[135] Half the headstones are broken or overturned.[136] Although a record of tree replanting has not been not found, one can assume that replanting might have taken place as part of the reconstruction efforts.
1910 CE	Altered	The automobile age arrives at Shiloh, necessitating better roads and access to the park.[137]

[128] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 32.

[129] Shedd Jr., 32.

[130] Shedd Jr., 32.

[131] Shedd Jr., 32.

[132] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 36.

[133] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 93.

[134] Smith, 93.

[135] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 32.

[136] Shedd Jr., 33.

[137] Shedd Jr., 37.

1910 CE	Built	The hotel is rebuilt.[138] The store is rebuilt separately from the hotel and serves as concessions and the post office until 1936, when the current building is erected.[139]
1910 CE	Established	The park commission office is moved to Pittsburg Landing.[140]
January 31, 1910 CE	Planned	Colonel Cornelius Cadle resigns after serving 15 years as commission chair. Major D.W. Reed succeeds him.[141]
December 1910 CE	Built	The two-story brick office building is completed on the site of the concession building.[142]
1911 CE	Built	The War Department places ornamental iron gates at the cemetery entrance.[143]
1911 CE	Built	The new lodge, placed just north of the old one, is completed. A new concrete wall is built on the western edge of the cemetery, completely enclosing the grounds. A barn, toolshed, and a pump house with a gasoline engine are also built.[144]
1912 CE	Built	Two wells and a water closet are built.[145]
1912 CE	Built	The park pavilion is completed.[146]
April 6–7, 1912 CE	Memorialized	The park celebrates the 50th anniversary of the battle, and the Iowa monument is rededicated after it was damaged as a result of the 1909 tornado.[147]

[138] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 29.
[139] Shedd Jr., 38.
[140] Shedd Jr., 23.
[141] Shedd Jr., 25.
[142] Shedd Jr., 35.
[143] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.
[144] Smith, 94.
[145] Smith, 94.
[146] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 35.
[147] Shedd Jr., 43.

1913 CE	Purchased/Sold	By this year, a total of 3,546.14 acres—the major portion of the parklands—is included in the area.[148]
May 14, 1913 CE	Planned	DeLong Rice becomes secretary of the commission and, in 1914, becomes superintendent. He understands and promotes the historic value of the park to the public.[149]
December 23, 1913 CE	Destroyed	The second hotel is destroyed by fire, after which there are no overnight facilities at the park.[150]
1914 CE	Built	The Shiloh-Corinth Road is completed. Previously, main travel to the park was via the Tennessee River.[151] The road was built as an all-weather gravel toll road by the Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company and followed the route surveyed by Atwell Thompson in 1900.[152]
1914 CE	Built	The existing Grant's Headquarters Monument is built to replace the original tree that marked the site. The tree was toppled in the 1909 tornado.
July 28, 1914 CE	Military Operation	World War I begins with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo.[153]
1915 CE	Removed	The War Department restricts certain kinds of livestock within the park.[154]
1917 CE	Established	DeLong Rice issues "attractive folders" to the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company and the Mobile and Ohio Railroad for promotional use.[155]
1918 CE	Memorialized	After World War I, a new standard gravestone is approved. The marble slab is

[148] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 24.
[149] Shedd Jr., 26.
[150] Shedd Jr., 29.
[151] Shedd Jr., 28.
[152] Shedd Jr., 37.
[153] "World War I," History.com, accessed February 2, 2020, www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/world-war-i-history.
[154] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 57.
[155] Shedd Jr., 58.

		made of American white marble and is 42 inches long, 13 inches wide, and 4 inches thick. The Latin cross and the Star of David are approved for those from the Christian and Jewish faiths.[156]
November 11, 1918 CE	Military Operation	Germany is forced to seek armistice, and World War I ends.[157]
May 26, 1919 CE	Memorialized	The last state monument is dedicated in Shiloh National Military Park by the state of Michigan.[158]
January 1920 CE	Planned	DeLong Rice assumes full responsibility for the park administration. As commission members pass, their positions are not filled.[159]
April 20, 1920 CE	Established	The United States's involvement in World War I extends the rights for burial in national cemeteries.[160]
1920 CE	Built	By this time, 12 states (north and south) have built 117 memorials at Shiloh.[161]
1920s CE	Expanded	Visitation expands, and preferred circulation routes change as automobile travel replaces steamboat travel.
1924 CE	Land Transfer	The federal government takes 105.66 acres of the Shiloh-Corinth Road right-of-way from the Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company.
June 7, 1924 CE	Established	Funds are appropriated for the improvement of the Shiloh-Corinth Road, and the toll is lifted.[162]
1927 CE	Planned	The War Department issues a "Battlefield Guide" that lists 27 points of interest corresponding to on-site markers.[163]

[156] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

[157] "World War I," History.com.

[158] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 42.

[159] Shedd Jr., 26.

[160] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[161] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 21.

[162] Shedd Jr., 38.

[163] Shedd Jr., 62.

September 24, 1929 CE	Planned	Superintendent DeLong Rice dies at his park residence following an explosion and fire. R.A. Livingston succeeds him as superintendent until the park passes to the NPS in 1933.[164]
October 29, 1929 CE	Altered	The United States stock market crashes, and the Great Depression begins.[165]
May 26, 1930 CE	Memorialized	Regulations are implemented for Confederate markers, which include the addition of the Confederate Cross of Honor, name, rank, company, and regiment.[166]
1933 CE	Built	The CCC and WPA construct the brick walkways throughout the cemetery.[167]
June 10, 1933 CE	Maintained	Jurisdiction over Shiloh National Cemetery and 10 other national cemeteries transfers from the War Department to the NPS. Interpretive planning becomes a primary consideration for development.[168]
December 1933 CE	Planned	An official guide service is inaugurated.[169]
January 1934 CE	Established	Almost 250 men are given employment at the park under the CWA.[170]
Spring 1934 CE	Planned	Members of the CWA begin research on the battle and related subjects for orientation lectures, museum exhibits, and interpretive markers.[171]
April 19, 1934 CE	Removed	The CWA program is terminated after the men complete seven major erosion control projects, six road reconstruction projects, a cemetery cleanup near the church, and

[164] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 26.

[165] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."

[166] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

[167] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 94.

[168] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov; Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 63.

[169] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 64.

[170] Shedd Jr., 45.

[171] Shedd Jr., 64.

		excavation of the American Indian mounds.[172]
1934 CE	Planned	A new survey map of the park is completed.[173]
1934 CE	Planned	The “Battlefield Guide” produced by the War Department is replaced by a five-page mimeographed interpretive guide.[174]
April 1935 CE	Planned	Park interpretive policy stresses visual education exhibits rather than battlefield relics.[175]
August 1, 1935 CE	Removed	Livestock grazing is banned within the park. A result of this measure is the removal of most of the older farm buildings from the area.[176]
Summer 1935 CE	Built	The park administration/museum building is built, and a sanitary sewer and water distribution system is completed for the headquarters area.[177]
December 1935 CE	Established	Fred Vanous is assigned as the first park guard.[178]
1935–1936 CE	Built	The CCC grades, drains, and surfaces 10 miles of park roads.[179]
1936 CE	Removed	The original park headquarters building is razed.[180]
1936 CE	Built	The concession and post office building is constructed west of the cemetery on a portion of the old headquarters foundation. Roads are repaved, and new interpretive literature is prepared for distribution.[181]

[172] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 46.
[173] Shedd Jr., 46.
[174] Shedd Jr., 65.
[175] Shedd Jr., 64.
[176] Shedd Jr., 58.
[177] Shedd Jr., 46.
[178] Shedd Jr., 45.
[179] Shedd Jr., 46.
[180] Shedd Jr., 46.
[181] Shedd Jr., 38, 46.

1937 CE	Established	The NPS is decentralized into four administrative regions. Shiloh is in region one, headquartered in Richmond, Virginia.[182]
December 1, 1937	Established	Fred Vanous is promoted as the first park ranger.[183]
December 1937 CE	Planned	A printed information sheet replaces the five-page mimeographed interpretive guide.[184]
1938 CE	Planned	The first park master-plan documents are completed.[185]
1938 CE	Built	Pickwick Landing Dam is completed 15 miles south of the park. Civil War–era landings are flooded.[186]
1939 CE	Built	A brick comfort station is built by CCC labor at the northwest corner of the cemetery.[187]
September 1939 CE	Military Conflict	World War II begins as Germany invades Poland.[188]
1940 CE	Planned	An official two-page folder with a tour map replaces the printed information sheet from 1937.[189]
1940 CE	Built	The CCC and WPA build the western brick cemetery wall.[190]
1941 CE	Planned	The 2-page folder for interpretation is supplemented with a 16-page illustrated booklet.[191]

[182] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 45.
[183] Shedd Jr., 45.
[184] Shedd Jr., 65.
[185] Shedd Jr., 60.
[186] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."
[187] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 46.
[188] "World War II," History.com, accessed February 12, 2020, www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/world-war-ii-history.
[189] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 65.
[190] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 94.
[191] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 65.

1941 CE	Memorialized	Granite is approved for use as gravestones for military burials.[192]
August 10, 1941 CE	Memorialized	A program at the park celebrates the 25th anniversary of the NPS.[193]
November 1, 1941 CE	Removed	The CCC installations are closed, although some are retained to complete in-process projects.[194]
July 31, 1943 CE	Retained	The cemetery consolidates under Blair Ross, the Shiloh National Military Park superintendent.[195]
1944 CE	Built	The Kentucky Dam is built 100 miles north of the park. The lake backs up all the way to Pittsburg Landing.[196]
September 2, 1945 CE	Military Operation	World War II ends as Japan surrenders to the United States in Tokyo Bay.[197]
1947 CE	Memorialized	Granite is discontinued as a standard for military burials due to cost.[198]
October 31,1947 CE	Memorialized	After World War II, war dead are reinterred in US cemeteries from cemeteries abroad. The first burial at Shiloh National Cemetery as a part of this program takes place on this date and lasts until September 2, 1949.[199]
May 14, 1948 CE	Established	Congress passes Public Law 80-526 authorizing four classifications of eligibility for burial in a national cemetery.[200]
September 2, 1949 CE	Memorialized	The World War II reburial program ends. Shiloh participated in the program, in which soldiers were reinterred from abroad in national cemeteries after World War II.

[192] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[193] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 44.
[194] Shedd Jr., 46.
[195] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 96.
[196] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."
[197] "World War II," History.com.
[198] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[199] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 67.
[200] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

1951 CE	Planned	Albert Dillahunty writes the *Shiloh Historical Handbook*, which replaces the 1941 illustrated booklet and associated folder.[201]
1951 CE	Memorialized	The Buddhist emblem is approved for use on military gravestones. The word *Korea* is approved for use on gravestones.[202]
January 28, 1951 CE	Damaged	An ice storm destroys hundreds of park trees and mutilates thousands more.[203]
Spring 1953 CE	Established	At the suggestion of Superintendent Ira B. Lykes, the Shiloh Park Citizens Association is formed.[204]
November 1953 CE	Planned	The slide lecture "Shiloh—Portrait of a Battle" is completed and is used for orientation for visiting and off-site groups.
February 2, 1954 CE	Eroded	Heavy rains in January and the rapid subsidence of water leads to severe erosion at Pittsburg Landing. An estimated 20,000 cubic yards of riverbank are swept away along with the river gauge and 50 feet of road.[205]
November 1, 1954 CE	Planned	There are 288 grave sites available for interments.[206]
November 1954 CE	Purchased/Sold	Total lands for the military park amount to 3,729.26 acres.
1954 CE	Planned	Superintendent Ira Lykes works with park historian Charles E. Shedd Jr. to develop a slide show titled "Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle."[207]
1955 CE	Established	The Shiloh Historical Association is established.[208]

[201] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 65.

[202] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

[203] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 51.

[204] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 61.

[205] Shedd Jr., 52.

[206] Shedd Jr., 67.

[207] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 75.

[208] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 56.

1955 CE	Planned	The park initiates a new master plan, a development outline for interpretation, and a general development plan.[209]
1955 and 1956 CE	Planned	The ownership of Shiloh and Corinth Roads passes to Tennessee and Mississippi, paving the way for a bypass road.[210]
1956 CE	Planned	The NPS program Mission 66 begins. The program commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Park Service.[211]
1956 CE	Planned	A stern-wheel steamboat begins to operate from Pittsburg Landing, and Adventurers Inc. provides bus tours of the park.[212]
1956 CE	Planned	The park reaches one million annual guests for the first time.[213]
1956 CE	Altered	Cemetery turf is fertilized and aerated, and a hazard tree removal program is initiated.[214]
1956 CE	Built	The Highway 22 bypass road is completed.[215]
April 6, 1956 CE	Planned	The interpretive film *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle* premieres at the visitor center.[216]
1962 CE	Memorialized	The centennial of the Battle of Shiloh is commemorated with special ceremonies.[217]
1963 CE	Established	The Leopold and Robbins report establishes a change in focus within the NPS, with a new purpose of returning lands to their character prior to the arrival of the "white man."

[209] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 56.

[210] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 56.

[211] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 56.

[212] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 57.

[213] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 76.

[214] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 77.

[215] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 78.

[216] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 76.

[217] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 85.

1964 CE	Established	Congress passes the Wilderness Act, authorizing the government to acquire wilderness areas for the benefit of future generations.[218]
December 11, 1964 CE	Memorialized	The word *Vietnam* is approved for use on military gravestones.[219]
1965 CE	Established	Congress passes the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, which authorizes the government to acquire new land for recreation.[220]
March 1965 CE	Eroded	As floodwaters recede, a six-foot section of the cemetery wall is exposed and is suspended without support.[221]
1965 CE	Maintained	Tree work is completed in the cemetery. One "Bivouac of the Dead" plaque is stolen along with one headstone.[222]
April 1966 CE	Planned	Shiloh National Military Park is selected as part of the pilot planning program as part of Mission 66.[223]
1966 CE	Planned	Mission 66 ends, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Park Service. During the tenure of the program, $787 million was invested.[224]
1966 CE	Established	Congress passes the National Historic Preservation Act, and Shiloh National Military Park is administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The NPS administers the program.[225]
1966 CE	Eroded	Broken concrete is placed below the cemetery along the Tennessee River. It would later accelerate erosion.[226]

[218] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 101.
[219] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[220] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 101.
[221] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 91.
[222] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 93.
[223] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 61.
[224] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 60.
[225] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 94.
[226] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 95.

1966 CE	Built	Repairs are made to cemetery walls damaged by flooding. Total cost equals $4,000.[227]
1967 CE	Established	Congress passes the Clean Air Act.[228]
1967 CE	Maintained	Park personnel attempt to repair the eastern cemetery wall where it was undercut by flooding.[229]
1968 CE	Established	Congress passes the National Trail Systems Act, which establishes national recreation trails.[230]
1969 CE	Established	Congress passes the National Environmental Policy Act.[231]
March 1973 CE	Eroded	Flooding causes extensive erosion at the eastern cemetery wall.[232]
1973 CE	Planned	Edwin Bearss completes the *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery*.
1974 CE	Planned	Consulting firm Miller, Wihry, and Lee prepares a master plan for Shiloh National Military Park.[233]
1975 CE	Planned	A National Register nomination for the park and cemetery is completed.[234]
1977 CE	Built	The walks within the cemetery are rebuilt with brick and laid in a basket-weave pattern.[235]
1980 CE	Planned	Robert Melnick introduces the concept of historic landscape preservation as an area of importance to land management.[236] The

[227] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 96.
[228] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 101.
[229] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 106.
[230] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 102.
[231] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 102.
[232] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 106.
[233] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 104.
[234] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 112.
[235] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 113.
[236] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 115.

		NPS begins to develop a methodology for identifying and evaluating cultural landscapes.[237]
1981 CE	Planned	The first General Management Plan for Shiloh is completed.[238]
1981 CE	Built	The Tennessee Valley Authority completes a contract for erosion control at the cemetery and Pittsburg Landing.[239]
1981 CE	Planned	Thirty-six burial sites remain unfilled.[240]
October 31, 1983 CE	Memorialized	The words *Lebanon* and *Grenada* are permitted on military gravestones.[241]
1984 CE	Abandoned	The cemetery closes for new burials due to space constraints.[242]
1985 CE	Planned	The final grave site is allocated.[243]
1988 CE	Planned	Erosion along the east border of the cemetery is identified as a threat to cultural resources.[244]
1988 CE	Removed	Hazardous tree limbs are removed from the cemetery and headquarters area.[245]
December 12, 1988 CE	Memorialized	The inscriptions "MIA" (Missing in Action) and "POW" (Prisoner of War) are permitted on military gravestones.[246]
1989 CE	Planned	Plans are made to correct erosion problems at the cemetery and American Indian mounds.[247]

[237] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 122.
[238] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 118.
[239] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 126.
[240] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 128.
[241] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[242] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 96.
[243] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 134.
[244] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 137.
[245] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 138.
[246] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[247] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 158.

1989 CE	Planned	The annual Shiloh Art Show begins in cooperation with the Savannah Art Guild.[248]
1990 CE	Memorialized	The USS Shiloh, an Aegis class destroyer, is launched.[249]
1991 CE	Planned	The Shiloh Grand Illumination is introduced as a new program.[250]
1991 CE	Eroded	The riverbank erodes within seven feet of the eastern cemetery wall.[251]
December 4, 1992 CE	Memorialized	The word *Somalia* is approved for use on military gravestones.[252]
1992 CE	Built	The cemetery lodge is renovated for use as an office space.[253]
1992 CE	Established	The Friends of Shiloh Battlefield is formed with the goal of raising money for a new feature film for interpretation.[254]
1992 CE	Planned	Funding is secured for the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) erosion project.[255]
1993 CE	Planned	An inventory of national cemetery vegetation with the date of origin of individual specimens is completed.[256]
February 1994 CE	Altered	A freezing rainstorm leads to the accumulation of ice on park trees. The cemetery is closed for a month. Twenty-eight trees are killed in the cemetery. One headstone is damaged by a tree-service contractor.[257]
1994 CE	Maintained	A large section of the cemetery wall is repointed, six of fifteen concrete and cast-

[248] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 172.
[249] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 174.
[250] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 175.
[251] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 101.
[252] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.
[253] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 94.
[254] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 162.
[255] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 177.
[256] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 179.
[257] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 181.

		iron monuments are restored, and the cast-iron markers and main gate are repainted.[258]
1996 CE	Built	Riprap is placed in the most critical areas affected by erosion.[259]
1997 CE	Removed	Hazardous trees and limbs are removed from the cemetery.[260] Cemetery headstones are cleaned.[261]
1998 CE	Planned	The USACE prepares a more detailed Riverbank Stabilization Plan.[262]
1998 CE	Restored	Six thousand square feet of cemetery pavers are salvaged, cleaned, and reinstalled with new mortar.[263]
2000 CE	Planned	Parklands encompass 3,964.37 acres.[264]
2000 CE	Maintained	All iron features of the cemetery are repainted.[265]
2000–2002 CE	Built	The erosion stabilization project is built.[266]
2004 CE	Maintained	Headstones are pressure washed.[267]
2004 CE	Planned	A burial database is completed for the cemetery.[268]
2005 CE	Planned	Continued deterioration of the cemetery wall is noted.[269]
August 23, 2005 CE	Altered	Hurricane Katrina hits the southeastern United States. Damage at Shiloh is minimal,

[258] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 181.
[259] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 159.
[260] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 185.
[261] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 186.
[262] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 159.
[263] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 187.
[264] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 33.
[265] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 191.
[266] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 159.
[267] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 200.
[268] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 315.
[269] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 202.

		but park staff assist other areas as needed.[270]
2012 CE	Planned	The interpretive film *Shiloh: Fiery Trail* replaces the film *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle* on the sesquicentennial of the Battle of Shiloh.[271]
2013 CE	Planned	With the help of the Civil War Trust, parklands grow to 4,790.61 acres.[272]
2016 CE	Established	The NPS celebrates its centennial and lays out a vision for the new century.[273]
2017 CE	Removed	The western brick wall (built in 1940) is photographed, documented, and removed due to deterioration.
2017 CE	Built	The western brick wall is built with new materials selected to match the size and color of the old bricks. The new wall is built on top of the old concrete foundations and to match the same dimensions as the original wall.

[270] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 203.

[271] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 75.

[272] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 33.

[273] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 167.

Physical History:

Eleven distinct periods have contributed to the human physical history of Shiloh National Cemetery.

1. **AMERICAN INDIAN PERIOD, BEFORE 1818:** The first period includes American Indian activity prior to European settlement in the area. American Indians ceded land to the United States in 1818, ending the first period in the site's physical history.

2. **COLONIAL PERIOD, 1539–1783:** The Colonial Period began in 1539, when Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto landed near present-day Tampa Bay, Florida. The period ended in 1783 as European Americans began to settle in the Tennessee region.

3. **POSTCOLONIAL/ANTEBELLUM SETTLEMENT PERIOD, 1783–1861:** European Americans began to settle in the Tennessee area in 1783, starting the third period of physical history. This period ended in the spring of 1861, when Tennessee seceded from the Union.

4. **CIVIL WAR ERA, 1861–1866:** The fourth period began in 1861 and spanned the Battle of Shiloh and the Civil War, which ended on April 9, 1865 when General Robert E. Lee surrendered at the Appomattox Court House.

5. **CEMETERY ESTABLISHMENT ERA, 1866–1893:** This period began in 1866 when Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery was established, and the land was designated as the final resting place for Union troops who had died in the Battle of Shiloh and other battles along the Tennessee River.

6. **NATIONAL MILITARY PARK MOVEMENT AND SHILOH NATIONAL CEMETERY ERA, 1893:** This period was characterized by the establishment of Shiloh National Military Park at a time when Congress made the preservation of significant Civil War battlefields a priority.

7. **WAR DEPARTMENT ERA, 1895–1933:** The War Department managed Shiloh National Military Park until the park and cemetery were transferred to the NPS in 1933.

8. **EARLY NPS ERA, 1933–1945:** As the park was transferred from the War Department, historic and cultural interpretation was expanded. The NPS finished improvements to visitor services; many of these were completed by programs related to President Roosevelt's New Deal legislation.

9. **NPS ERA—POST–WORLD WAR II, 1945–1966:** Development immediately following World War II was slow but increased with the Mission 66 program, instituted in 1956 by the NPS to coincide with the 50th anniversary of its founding.

10. **NPS ERA—ENVIRONMENT, RECREATION, AND PRESERVATION, 1962–1980:** Aided by emerging environmental disciplines and congressional legislation, the focus of park development, programs, and interpretation shifted to be more ecological, environmental, and cultural.

11. **NPS ERA—THE LATER YEARS, 1980–2020:** This period has been distinguished by continued environmental and historic interpretive programming and landscape maintenance.

AMERICAN INDIAN PERIOD, PRIOR TO 1818

Prior to postcolonial settlement of the cemetery area in the mid-1800s, the land that comprises Shiloh National Cemetery was part of a larger area associated with American Indian activity. "Since native inhabitants moved from the area in 1200 or 1300 CE, before written records, the tribe identity is unknown. The society was classified as a chiefdom, as the chief would have been the most important political leader as well as religious

figure."[274]

Located on a bluff a half mile south of the cemetery, a network of American Indian mounds at Shiloh is preserved as a National Historic Landmark and is part of a town that existed 800 years ago. Since modern plows never disturbed the historic sites, "Shiloh is one of the very few places in the eastern United States where remains of prehistoric houses are still visible on the ground's surface."[275]

The tribe believed to be associated with the Shiloh mounds is the Chickasaw, since they were active in the western Tennessee and northern Mississippi areas.[276] The Chickasaw people's main crop was corn, but they also grew squash, sunflowers, goosefoot, marsh elder, and maygrass. Wild foods such as hickory nuts and acorns were also part of their diet.[277] They were part of a farming society and built wattle-and-daub structures surrounded by a wooden palisade.[278]

Although Tennessee joined the Union in 1796, it was not until 1818 that the American Indians ceded land in what would become Hardin County to the United States by treaty. Hardin County was then established in 1819.[279]

COLONIAL PERIOD, 1539–1783

The Colonial Period began in 1539 when Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto landed near present-day Tampa Bay, Florida, and explored northward into present-day Oklahoma and, "on at least one occurrence," present-day Tennessee. Other Spanish expeditions reached present-day eastern Tennessee in 1566–1567, but they never reached the middle portions of Tennessee, the area of Shiloh National Cemetery.[280] Charles E. Shedd Jr. notes in *A History of Shiloh National Military Park* (1954):

> Separated from the Atlantic coast by mountain barriers and track-less forests, remote from the Gulf of Mexico, with no direct access to the sea, that portion of west Tennessee which totally encompasses Shiloh Park was bypassed in early exploration and settlement by white men in the southern half of North America.[281]

In the late 1600s, more than a century after the first Spanish explorations, the English reached the southeastern corner of Tennessee and traded with Cherokee towns. One American Indian town, Tenase, is credited with lending its name to the territory stretching from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. French trader Louis Jolliet and Jesuit father Jacques Marquette visited an American Indian settlement in 1673 in northwest Tennessee. In 1682, French explorer La Salle erected Fort Prudhomme overlooking the Mississippi River near present-day Memphis. Fur trader Jean Couture is the first European known to have passed the present-day Shiloh site when he completed a journey of the Tennessee River from the Ohio River to its origins in east Tennessee.[282]

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[274] "Shiloh Indian Mounds," nps.gov, National Park Service, accessed January 30, 2018, www.nps.gov/shil/learn/historyculture/upload/Mounds.pdf.

[275] "Shiloh Indian Mounds," nps.gov.

[276] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 14.

[277] "Shiloh Indian Mounds," nps.gov.

[278] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 14.

[279] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 6.

[280] Shedd Jr., 5.

[281] Shedd Jr., 4.

[282] Shedd Jr., 5.

In the early 1700s, traders from Virginia and the Carolinas entered Tennessee, but none are believed to have crossed west of the Tennessee River. American Indian tribes were present in the region, and while some were friendly traders, others were not as willing to accept encroachment or contact with European American settlers. Shedd notes that "the hostility of the Indians toward the white intruders discouraged any attempt at peaceful contact with the tribes encountered along the route."[283] In 1797, cartographer Gilbert Imlay noted that the lands including Middle Tennessee were claimed by the Chickasaw, a "small tribe of friendly Indians."[284]

POSTCOLONIAL/ANTEBELLUM SETTLEMENT PERIOD, 1783–1861

In the early years of the Postcolonial/Antebellum Settlement Period, American Indians still claimed significant lands in Middle Tennessee, including present-day Shiloh. The first American settlement in the vicinity of Shiloh was established in 1816 after Colonel Joseph Hardin surveyed 2,000 acres east of the Tennessee River and east of present-day Shiloh National Cemetery in 1815. The area was ceded by the Chickasaw to the United States by a formal treaty in 1818, and in 1819, the area was organized as Hardin County. Although the earliest settlement within the boundaries of Shiloh National Military Park was in 1828, most of the settlement occurred from 1843 to 1851.[285]

The area of western Tennessee containing Shiloh National Cemetery was not settled until 1843 when Thomas B. Stubbs was granted a two-hundred-acre land parcel from the state. The same land was previously granted to John Chambers in 1832.[286] Soon after the grant was given to Stubbs, a store and a few residences were built near the river. A small Methodist church was erected nearby in 1835. In 1846, the congregation split over the issue of slavery. Because of the split, a new church was built farther inland and named Shiloh, meaning "place of peace."[287]

By August 1848, brothers Pittser, Thomas, and Riley Tucker had staked off 1,400 acres near the landing, from which they operated a ferry to the east bank. Pittser Tucker operated a liquor store and tavern at the landing that attracted steamers on the river. The landing was eventually referred to as "Pittsburg Landing," a corruption of Pittser's name. As the area developed, Pittsburg Landing became the principal supply route for Corinth, Mississippi, and surrounding areas.[288] Prior to the Civil War, the area surrounding Pittsburg Landing was rural in character, with small farms and orchards dotting the landscape.[289]

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD, 1861–1866

The Civil War Period began on June 8, 1861, when Tennessee seceded from the Union. On March 1, 1862, Union gunboats engaged a small Confederate force deployed to defend Pittsburg Landing; the force consisted of six field cannons belonging to Gibson's Louisiana Battery, which was supported by the 18th Louisiana Infantry and a small detachment of cavalry.[290] The Battle of Shiloh occurred soon after, on April 6 and 7, 1862. The cemetery site and the immediate surrounding area was a strategic position for Union forces, because the landing served as an important conduit for reinforcements.

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[283] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 5.
[284] Shedd Jr., 6.
[285] Shedd Jr., 6.
[286] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* xiv.
[287] Smith, xiv.
[288] Smith, xiv.
[289] Smith, xiv–xv.
[290] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

The geography surrounding Pittsburg Landing was strategic and valuable for three main reasons. First, the landing was dry and navigable for steamboats during varied extreme water levels from flooding and drought. Second, the high plateau surrounding the landing and inland was suitable for the encampment of an estimated 100,000 men. Third, area roads were the principle commerce routes linking farms and communities and two prominent railroads to steamboat traffic on the Tennessee River. The major trunk railroads, the east-west Memphis and Charleston Railroad and the north-south Mobile and Ohio Railroad, were located west and south of Shiloh and intersected at Corinth, Mississippi, 22 miles southwest of Pittsburg Landing.[291]

In the spring of 1862, with the Civil War having raged for nearly a year, Ulysses S. Grant, a then little-known brigadier general was victorious and broke through Confederate defensive locations in the Western Theater.[292] Grant's victories allowed Union forces to advance southward along the Tennessee River. Brigadier General William T. Sherman led a raid from Savannah, Tennessee, past Pittsburg Landing toward Eastport, Mississippi. Due to rain and high water, the attempt was a failure. Sherman turned back and, with his commander's approval, disembarked at Pittsburg Landing, the only landing above high water. His troops bivouacked on the high bluff ashore in the woods and fields surrounding Shiloh Church.[293]

In the spring of 1862, Sherman notified Grant that he had found the perfect place for a federal camp during his advances southward along the Tennessee River. Sherman reported to Grant "that he was impressed with the importance of the position, both for its land advantages and its strategic position. The ground itself admits of easy defense by a small command, and yet affords admirable camping ground for a hundred thousand men." He added, "The only drawback is that at this stage of water the space for landing is contracted too much for the immense fleet now here discharging."[294] The location was high on a bluff, could be well defended, had river access during high water, had suitable open fields for training, and had natural freshwater springs.

After comprehensive reconnaissance by Sherman, Grant approved the location, and camps were established. By late March, five Union divisions camped in the general area of Pittsburg Landing. After Grant arrived on the battlefield on the morning of April 6, 1862, his headquarters was moved from the William H. Cherry home in Savannah, Tennessee, to aboard the steamer *Tigress* and then to an onshore headquarters in a "log building on the top of the hill" within what is now Shiloh National Cemetery. On that day, while the log cabin served as onshore headquarters, the *Tigress* served as headquarters when Grant was not onshore.[295] The battle itself necessitated the move of Grant's headquarters to an onshore location so that General Don Carlos Buell could find Grant upon his arrival.[296]

By this time, Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston had regrouped his scattered units from north Alabama and Mississippi. He had organized troops at Corinth, Mississippi, believing that the railroads would be the Union's next target. Knowing that Grant awaited General Buell's army before embarking to attack Corinth, General Johnston decided to attack Grant's army first.[297]

[291] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[292] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 5.

[293] Smith, 6.

[294] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[295] Hasty et al.

[296] Hasty et al.

[297] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 7.



Figure 3. Scene at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee River, Sunday Afternoon, April 6, 1862. *This wood engraving shows a scene from the Battle of Shiloh. Pittsburg Landing and the area that would become Shiloh National Cemetery are shown in the background. (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LOC CONTROL NUMBER 2005694844)*

On the morning of April 6, 1862, Union troops uncovered the Confederate army location only a mile away. Fighting ensued for most of the day as Confederate forces attempted to separate Union troops from the river. The long day of combat resulted instead in Grant's troops being pressed northward roughly two miles along a succession of contested defensive lines. The last of these contested lines, which extended two miles from the strongly defended river landing west to Owl Creek, was successfully held by the Federal troops when darkness ended the day's fighting.[298] A historic lithograph depicts a scene representative of the character of the Shiloh battlefield on April 6, 1862 **(Figure 3)**. Although the scene is an interpretation, and battle lines never reached the cemetery bluff or the Tennessee River, the topography of the bluffs above the Tennessee River can be seen.

Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston never realized the accomplishments of the day. He died that afternoon from a wound suffered while directing an attack. With victory seemingly in hand, second-in-command General P.G.T. Beauregard rested his troops for the night before a planned final push in the morning.[299] A map created by J.M. Manska documents Union and Confederate positions at the end of April 6, 1862 **(Figure 4)**.

[298] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[299] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 7.



Figure 4. J.M. Manska, Birdseye view of Tennessee River, Pittsburg Landing, and the Battlefield of Shiloh, April 6, 1862. *This map shows Pittsburg Landing and the area that would become Shiloh National Cemetery within the context of the Shiloh battlefield as documented on April 6, 1862. (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION, LOC CONTROL NUMBER 2007627474)*



Figure 5. A.E. Matthews, Pittsburg Landing. *The land that would become Shiloh National Cemetery is visible in the background. Tents and a few structures are shown on the bluff. (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LOC CONTROL NUMBER 2003665214)*



Figure 6. A.E. Matthews, Battle of Shiloh. The gunboats Tylor i.e. Tyler and Lexington supporting the national troops. *Pittsburg Landing and the land that would become Shiloh National Cemetery are visible in the background. (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LOC CONTROL NUMBER 2003664892)*

Overnight, Grant received reinforcements from Lew Wallace's division and General Buell's army. Buell's troops marched from Savannah and crossed the river at Pittsburg Landing. The 1862 lithographs by A.E. Matthews depict a scene that is representative of what could have been the situation in April 1862 near Pittsburg Landing **(Figures 5 and 6)**. The landing was extended southward along the river to accommodate the large number of troops **(Figure 6)**. On April 7, after Union armies were replenished by the thousands, troops counterattacked Beauregard's forces, and following six hours of resistance, the Confederates retreated to Corinth, Mississippi.[300]

In the next 53 days there were five total armies present, three Union and two Confederate, that engaged in 54 military events. This resulted in nearly 2,000 casualties.[301] Soon after the Battle of Shiloh, department commander Henry W. Halleck led the attack on Beauregard's army at Corinth. Beauregard was overcome and retreated to Tupelo, Mississippi. The results of Shiloh awarded the Federals with a strong position from which to take Corinth and ultimately the Mississippi Valley, including Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Port Hudson, Louisiana.[302]

[300] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

[301] Hasty et al.

[302] Hasty et al.

Due to the site's strategic geography, relationship to a deep section of the Tennessee River, and flat elevation high above the surrounding ridges, the site now known as Shiloh National Cemetery was an important location for Union forces before and during the Battle of Shiloh. Artist Alfred Waud's sketch from April 1862 shows the bluff of what would become the national cemetery, a path down to the river, and the second location of Pittsburg Landing **(Figure 7)**. The bluff was the site of Grant's headquarters. It was adjacent to Pittsburg Landing and the Tennessee River, where reinforcements arrived to eventually defeat General Albert Sidney Johnston's army on April 7, 1862.[303] The character of the battlefield on April 6–7, 1862, is shown on Edwin Bearss's *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery* (1973) **(Figures 8 and 9)**. The bluff and future cemetery above the Tennessee River is clear of vegetation, and Pittsburg Landing is located north of the bluff. A major road leads north of the cemetery bluff to the landing, and a minor road leads south of the cemetery to the river. Three structures are visible at the intersection of the major and minor road, west of the bluff.

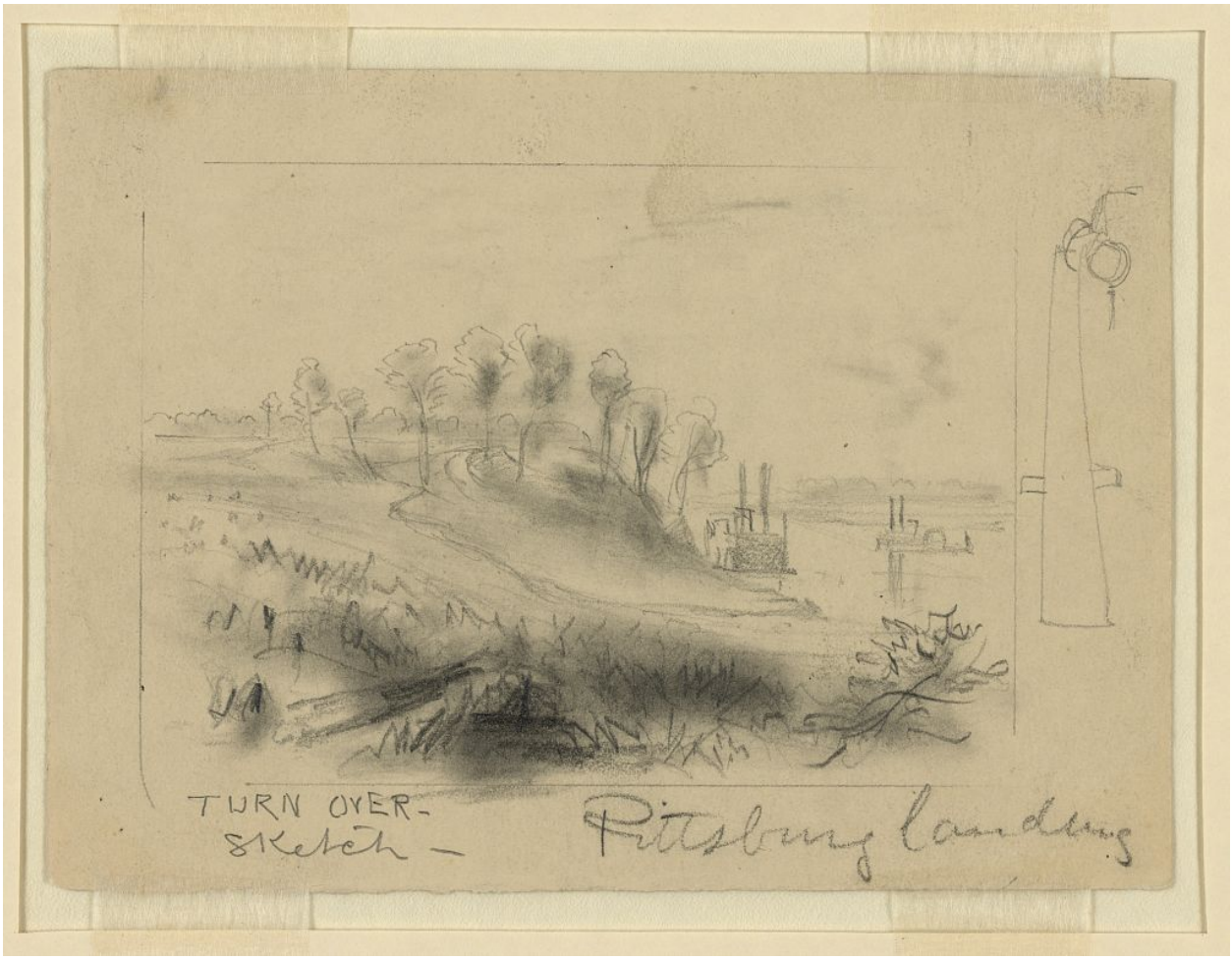


Figure 7. Alfred Waud, Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, Tennessee, Tennessee River, United States, 1862. *A view of the land that would become the Shiloh National Cemetery is visible on the bluff. The topography is shown as slightly rolling, and a path is visible leading onto the bluff. Vegetation is depicted as large trees and lawn. (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LOC CONTROL NUMBER 2004660985)*

[303] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 8.

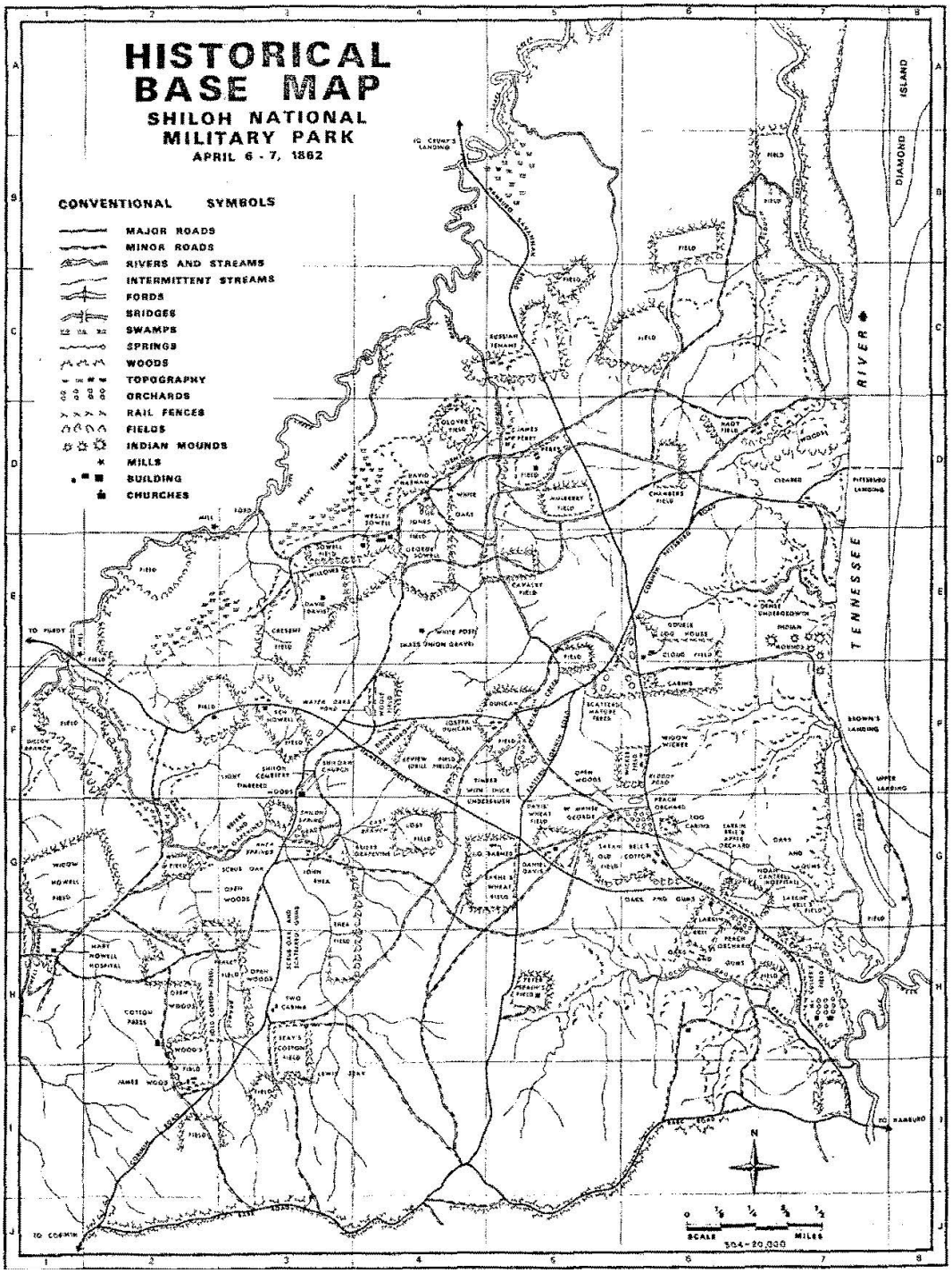


Figure 8. Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park, April 6–7, 1862.[304]

[304] Bearss and Preservation Team, *Historical Base Map*, 85.

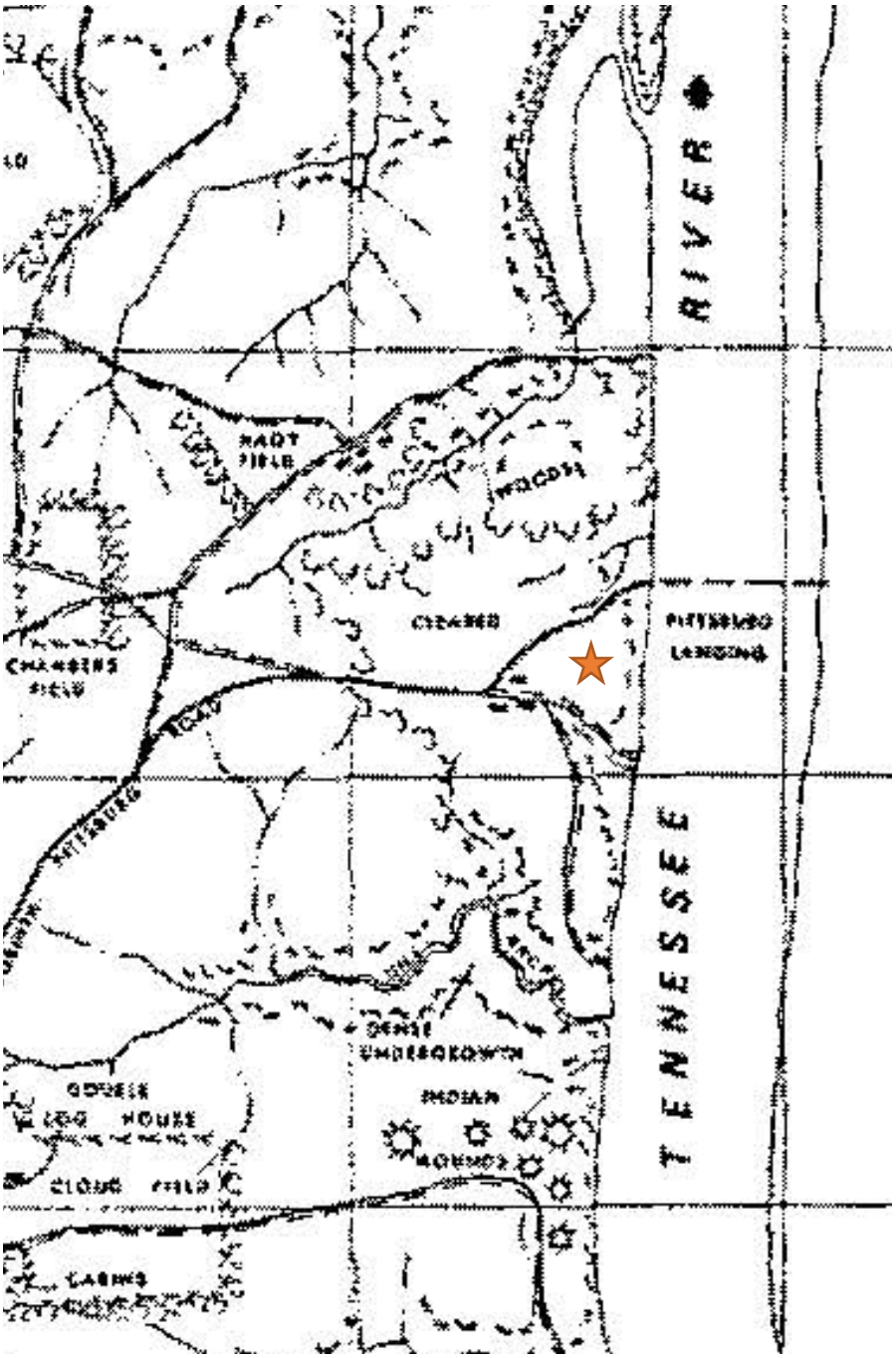


Figure 9. An enlargement of the Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park, April 6–7, 1862.[305] *The orange star indicates the cemetery site. The location of the original Pittsburg Landing is north of the site.*

CEMETERY ESTABLISHMENT ERA, 1866–1893

Shiloh National Cemetery was created during a broad movement in the United States to memorialize the nation's war dead. In 1862, Congress authorized the establishment of national cemeteries.[306] President Lincoln

[305] Bearss and Preservation Team, *Historical Base Map*, 85.
[306] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10–11.

was authorized “to purchase cemetery grounds and cause them to be securely enclosed, to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of the country.” This legislation was the first to materialize the concept of a national cemetery.[307]

Early in the Civil War, the War Department issued General Orders No. 75, which gave responsibility to Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs for burials. This directive required that a registry be kept of all burials and that a wooden headboard be placed at each grave. The headboards were painted white, and names were painted black. Subjected to weather and the elements, they did not last.[308] Immediately after the Civil War, the Quartermaster Department embarked on the Federal Reburial Program, which included the search for and the recovery and identification of the remains of all Union soldiers.

In 1866, the government established Pittsburg Landing National Cemetery, now known as Shiloh National Cemetery. Meigs issued orders to rebury Union soldiers from many battlefields in the Tennessee Valley, including Shiloh. Quartermaster Department inspector Edmund B. Whitman viewed the battlefield and many sites along the Tennessee River, ultimately deciding to establish the burial ground on the 10-acre bluff overlooking Pittsburg Landing. Lieutenant Colonel A.W. Wills laid out the cemetery in divisions with avenues made from shell and gravel **(Figure 10)**. By 1869, 3,584 soldiers were interred, 2,359 of them unknown.[309] Although burial space was exclusively for Union soldiers, three Confederate soldiers who died as prisoners of war were buried in the cemetery.[310]

[307] “History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration,” va.gov.
[308] “History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration.”
[309] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 11.
[310] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

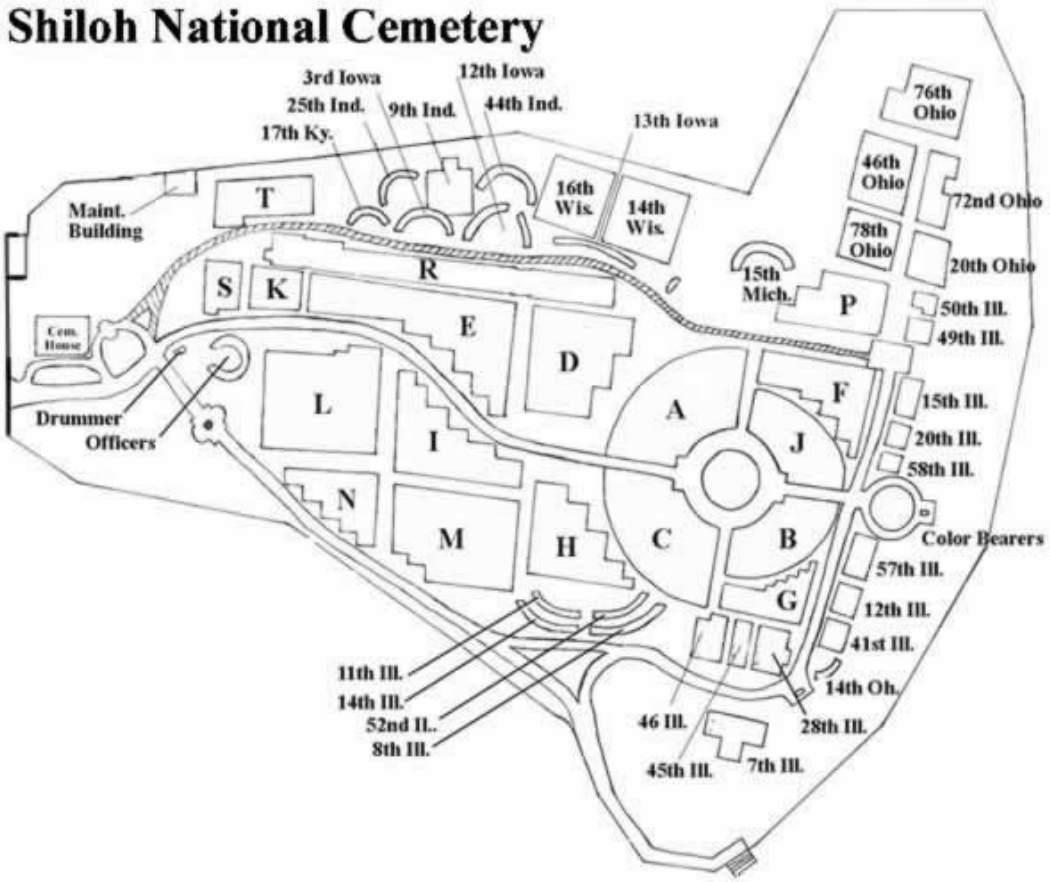


Figure 10. Shiloh National Cemetery. *This map shows the burial locations of Union regiments. (NATIONAL PARK SERVICE)*

As part of the Reburial Program, four years were spent searching battlefields, shorelines, hospitals, prison sites, and entrenchment sites. Government-issued "dog tags" were not in use at the time, and in many cases, it was difficult to identify soldiers. Although a portion carried some form of identification, most of those IDs were made from materials that decayed quickly.[311]

The first National Cemetery Act was passed on February 22, 1867, and provided funds and guidance on cemetery development, including superintendents' lodges, perimeter walls, fencing, and headstones. It also provided funds for salaries and for the purchase of land and identified those who deface monuments as guilty of a misdemeanor. In 1870, the Reburial Program ended with 299,696 soldiers reinterred in 73 national cemeteries.[312]

Although government regulations called for conformity in the design of all national cemeteries, planners created in Shiloh what one laborer described as "the handsomest cemetery in the South."[313] The cemetery is traditional in design, particularly with the inclusion of the circular grave arrangement that encircles a lawn area and a

[311] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[312] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration."

[313] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10.

rostrum. Care was taken to consider the placement of vegetation and circulation, and views were focused inward toward the cemetery and outward toward the Tennessee River. Vegetation is visible in the *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882), and graphic symbols distinguish between deciduous and evergreen trees **(Figure 11)**. The plan shows a mixed placement, but the trees generally frame burial areas and line the main gravel road and other grassed paths in the cemetery. In the eastern part of the site, concentrations of mixed deciduous and evergreen tree groupings focus views outward toward the Tennessee River.



Figure 11. The 1882 plan of Shiloh National Cemetery was produced by the US quartermaster general and is the earliest map depicting layout.[314] *(NATIONAL PARK SERVICE)*

During this period of cemetery development, a tree marks the site of Grant's headquarters, but the specific tree is not labeled on the 1882 map **(Figure 11)**. The tree trunk without a canopy can be seen in photographs from

[314] "National Cemetery Shiloh, Tenn.," nps.gov.

the late 1800s, indicating that the tree was in an advanced state of decline.[315] The tree trunk was later toppled in the 1909 tornado and was replaced by a cannon monument in 1914. A grassed terrace containing a road east and below the cemetery bluff is first visible in the 1882 cemetery plan and is therefore most likely associated with the cemetery construction immediately after the Civil War **(Figure 11)**. The stone perimeter wall of the cemetery is present in the 1882 plan, but the western portion has been altered to include cemetery-related structures.

The 1870s were significant in creating the permanence and reverence found in today's national cemeteries. As the war subsided, "conscientious planning" took the place of hastily created burial grounds. Further creating permanence, wooden headboards were replaced with marble ones. Congress authorized the hiring of veterans as cemetery superintendents, and accommodations were also improved. The one-story wooden structures common before the 1870s were replaced with fashionable "French Second Empire–style buildings made of stone or brick."[316] This was the case at Shiloh, as a new lodge was constructed in this style in 1876.

As early as 1870, Meigs consulted with the noted landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmsted on cemetery design and plantings.[317] In Fredrick Law Olmsted's words, the intention was to "establish permanent dignity and tranquility … a sacred grove, sacredness and protection being expressed in the perfect tranquility of the trees within."[318] One can infer that the general design intent applied at Shiloh reflected Olmsted's advice. "Perhaps as a result of Olmsted's recommendations, abundant and diverse trees, shrubs, and flower beds embellished the grounds of national cemeteries through the nineteenth century."[319] During the national cemetery movement, greenhouses were erected; wooden picket fences were replaced with stone, or brick with iron gates; and excess artillery was used as monuments.[320]

The timeline for these improvements corresponds to the improvements made at Shiloh for the same general period. Three upright cannon monuments were placed in 1866, and in the fall of 1867, the limestone cemetery wall was built. The extant wall is 4 feet high, 2 feet thick, and 2,816 feet in length; the stone was quarried 11 miles upriver. In 1871, a 3,172-foot hedge of Osage orange (*Macular pomifera*) was planted and subsequently encircled the cemetery.[321] This hedge no longer exists. Marble headstones replaced the wooden headboards in 1876–1877.[322]

[315] Brian K. McCutchen and Timothy B. Smith, *Images of America: Shiloh National Military Park* (Dover, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

[316] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[317] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."

[318] Leach.

[319] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[320] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration."

[321] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.

[322] Smith, 90.

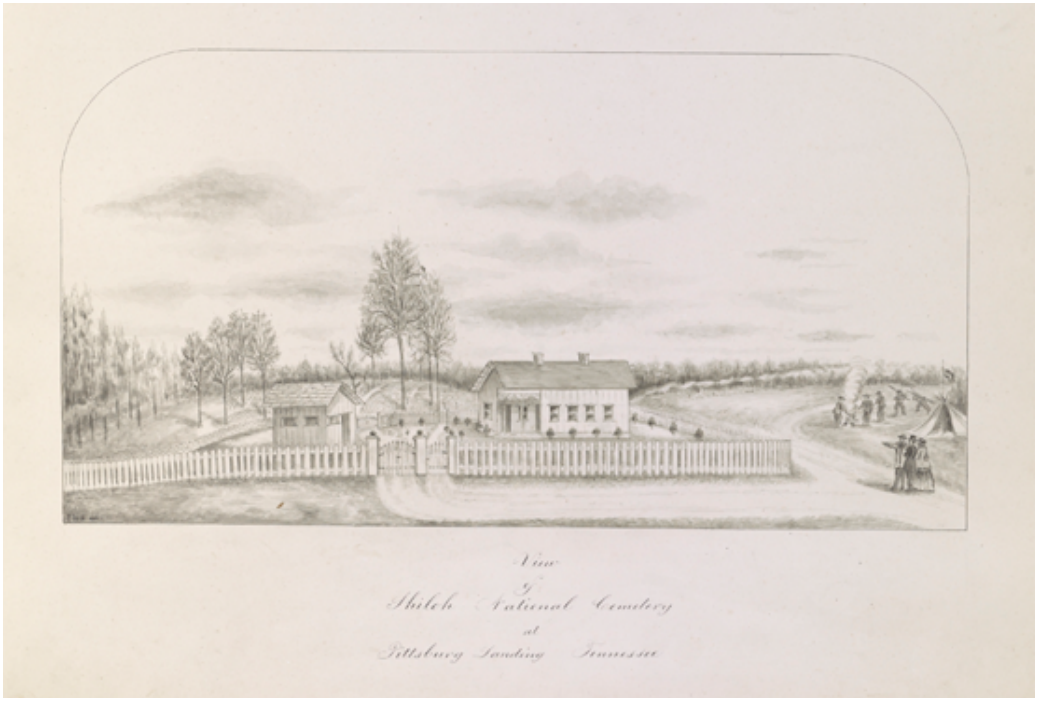


Figure 12. Edmund B. Whitman, Report on Cemeteries: Shiloh Illustration. *This illustration was a part of Quartermaster Department inspector Edmund B. Whitman's 1869 "Report on Cemeteries," and depicts Shiloh National Cemetery from an east-facing perspective. A picket fence is visible in the foreground along with two structures. The vegetation character beyond is shown as large shade trees and lawn. (ARCHIVES FOUNDATION)*

Quartermaster Department inspector Edmund B. Whitman's 1869 *Report on Cemeteries: Shiloh Illustration* **(Figure 12)** depicts a view looking east into the cemetery. A white picket fence and two gates are visible in the foreground. A road leads east to Pittsburg Landing, and there are two structures behind the picket fence. The southern structure is a one-story wooden building with a porch and windows. This structure existed prior to the cemetery and was converted into a cemetery lodge in 1866.[323] It can be found on the 1882 map **(Figure 11)**. The northern structure is smaller and could have housed tools or supplies. It is not found on the 1882 map. There are tall specimen trees in the background within the cemetery and a thicket of trees beyond. Many trees are located north of the site, as is still the case today.

Gravestones

On September 11, 1861, two months after the first battle of the Civil War, the War Department issued orders granting the quartermaster general responsibility for burying the war dead. Prior to this time and for burials during the Civil War, wooden headboards with a rounded top marked the dead. In 1865, as burials approached 100,000, consideration was given to the durability and cost of wooden grave markers. Replacement costs would have been more than $1 million over a 20-year life-span.[324]

As public sentiment was favoring a more durable and permanent solution, a debate occurred within the department over whether to replace the wooden headboards with iron or marble. The first standardized design was adopted in 1873 by the secretary of war, William W. Belknap. For known soldiers, a slab of marble was placed measuring 4 inches thick, 10 inches wide, and 12 inches tall (measured from the ground). The stone

[323] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.

[324] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

was polished, and the top was slightly curved. When known, the grave number, rank, name, and state were cut into the stone. For unknown soldiers, the marker was "a block of marble or durable stone" 6 inches square and 30 inches long. The top 4 inches were polished, and the number of the grave was cut in the top.[325]

In 1903, the size for the markers of known soldiers increased to 4 inches thick, 12 inches wide, and 39 inches tall for durability. Also during that year, square markers were discontinued for the unknown dead. They were replaced by the same full-sized stone used for known soldiers.[326]

Questions concerning the burial of Confederates led to the March 9, 1906, act of Congress that standardized headstones for Confederate soldiers who died in Union camps. Although the size and material were the same, a pointed top distinguished Confederate graves. In 1930, regulations expanded so that the Confederate Cross of Honor, name, rank, regiment, division, date of death, and state were included.[327]

After World War I, a new design was adopted, and stones were made of American white marble, 4 inches thick, 13 inches wide, and 42 inches tall. When known, the name, rank, regiment, division, date of death, and state were included. This design was the first to allow religious emblems—the Latin cross for the Christian faith or the Star of David for the Jewish faith. The Buddhist emblem was added as an option in 1951.[328]

Granite was approved as a material in 1941, but it was discontinued in 1947 due to limited availability and cost. In 1951, a directive provided for the use of the word *Korea* for those who died or served in Korea. In 1964, *Vietnam* was added, and in 1983, *Lebanon* and *Grenada* were added to the approved list. *Panama* was added in 1989, *Persian Gulf* was added in 1990, and *Somalia* was added in 1992. In 1988, *MIA* (Missing in Action) and *POW* (Prisoner of War) were approved and were added to appropriate headstones.[329]

Burial Rights

The extension of burial rights in national cemeteries was precipitated by World War I through legislation approved on April 20, 1920. It stated that:

> All soldiers, sailors, or marines dying in the service of the United States … or who have served or hereafter shall have served during any war in which the United States has been or hereafter be engaged, and with the consent of the Secretary of War, any citizen of the United States who served in the Army or Navy of any government at war with Germany or Austria during the World War and who died in such service or after honorable discharge therefrom, may be buried in any national cemetery free of charge.[330]

In 1933, through presidential executive orders 6166 and 6228 (June 10, 1933, and July 28,1933, respectively), 11 national cemeteries were transferred from the War Department to the NPS and therefore to the US Department of the Interior. Shiloh National Cemetery was one of the 11. These transfers represented the first major shift in the management of national cemeteries. Others in the first transferred group include Antietam, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg National Cemeteries.[331]

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[325] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

[326] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers."

[327] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers."

[328] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers."

[329] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers."

[330] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

[331] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," va.gov.

The second significant period of change in national cemetery development was between 1930 and 1950 when the War Department built seven new cemeteries as a result of the growing need for burial space following World War II.[332] On May 14, 1948, Congress passed four burial eligibility classifications:

1) Those who died while serving honorably in the armed forces of the United States;
2) Former members of the armed forces who were honorably discharged;
3) US citizens who have served honorably or may serve in the armed forces of a nation allied with the United States during war; and
4) The wife, husband, widow, widower, and minor (or dependent) children of those who meet the basic requirements.[333]

Immediately after 1950, the United States adopted a no-expansion policy with regard to national cemeteries. New national cemeteries were built by the Department of Veterans Affairs from 1973 to 2015, however, to accommodate the need for additional burial space. Since 1862, 3.8 million burials have taken place in national cemeteries.[334]

By 2001, the Shiloh National Cemetery held 3,861 graves, 2,370 of which are unknown.[335]

NATIONAL MILITARY PARK MOVEMENT AND SHILOH NATIONAL CEMETERY ERA, 1893

Efforts to make Shiloh battlefield a national military park were led by Union Civil War veterans who wanted the federal government to acquire and preserve the sites of their most memorable battles. In 1890, two military parks were established—Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield Site. Plans for Gettysburg National Military Park were also underway. This led veterans of Shiloh to pursue the same distinction for their battlefield sites.[336]

In 1893, during a visit with Union veterans, the national cemetery superintendent made it known that remains of Union dead were being unearthed by farmers plowing fields and by new road construction. On the return trip home, aboard the steamer W.P. Nesbit, the veteran group met and established the Shiloh Battlefield Association, which was formed for the sole purpose of preserving the battlefield as a national military park. Although Union veterans were better connected within the government and led the movement, Confederate veterans joined them, and men from both armies worked together toward a common goal. Just over a year later, Shiloh National Military Park would be created by law.[337]

The movement gained momentum when E.T. Lee addressed the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at their 25th reunion on September 12–13, 1893. He read the resolution adopted by the association:

> 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 various commands marked; and,
>
> WHEREAS, There is buried on the Shiloh battlefield thousands of both Union and Confederate dead,

[332] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," 7.

[333] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," 8.

[334] "History and Development of the National Cemetery Administration," 13.

[335] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 11.

[336] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 13.

[337] Shedd Jr., 13.

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.

After addressing the society, Lee asked them to form a committee to assist the Shiloh Battlefield Association's efforts to "secure and set aside the land within the battlefield as a national park." The motion prevailed, and five members joined the committee. In the spring of 1894, Lee, acting on behalf of the association, took options on 2,300 acres for the park.[338]

On December 5, 1894, $75,000 was appropriated to create a national military park at Shiloh. And on April 29, the Tennessee state legislature ceded battlefield lands.

Opposition within the War Department

There was some opposition to the park within the War Department, where there was a strong belief that the acquisition of too many battlefields would be a strain on the federal government. After the bill was enacted, officials from the department suggested that only a small portion of the battlefield should be preserved. Major George B. Davis proposed the reservation of "perhaps 25 acres for memorial purposes." At a hearing before the parks subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs in 1902, Davis summarized his concerns. He noted that large land acquisitions had already been made at Chickamauga and Gettysburg, and those sites served the purpose of public education. Shiloh, he argued, was very inaccessible and was an uninteresting field without any striking natural features.[339]

At this time, parklands had already been acquired, and development was proceeding rapidly. Davis cooperated fully once it was apparent that the department's opposition would not alter the scope of the acquisition.[340]

THE WAR DEPARTMENT ERA, 1895–1933

Following the creation of Shiloh National Military Park, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont appointed three commissioners who had ties to the battle at Shiloh—Colonel Cornelius Cadle, Army of the Tennessee; General Don Carlos Buell, Army of the Ohio; and Colonel Robert F. Looney, Confederate Army of the Mississippi. Major D.W. Reed was appointed secretary and historian, and Captain James W. Irwin served as the land purchase agent. The commissioners maintained a three-way liaison until 1910, when the commission office was moved to Pittsburg Landing. From May 1, 1895, until 1905, engineer Atwell Thompson had direct responsibility for developing the park.[341]

The cemetery was an important feature and was used legislatively to acquire land for the park. According to the Shiloh National Military Park Act, titles to battlefield lands "could be acquired by the Secretary of War either

[338] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 15.
[339] Shedd Jr., 20–21.
[340] Shedd Jr., 21.
[341] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 23.

under an act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings (August 1,1888) or to establish and protect national cemeteries (February 27, 1867)." Whereas the act establishing the park appropriated $20,000 for the task, this amount was raised to $50,000 and ultimately to $57,100 as part of the act of July 3,1926.[342]

Disappointed at being passed over for a commissioner position, E.T. Lee declined to surrender the options on the 2,300 acres that he had secured in 1894, before the passage of the battlefield bill. The commission decided to wait until the options expired in 1896 to pursue lands tied to the Shiloh Battlefield Association. In the meantime, they acquired other lands, including the tract containing Pittsburg Landing and Shiloh National Cemetery, for $6,000. By the end of 1896, the commission held only 85 acres. By the end of 1897, a total of 2,095 acres had been acquired.[343]

Although boundaries described in the original Shiloh bill estimated 3,000 acres for the park, it was found that the description actually included nearly 6,000 acres. The commission eventually determined that 3,650 acres were needed to interpret the battlefield sites. By 1954, 3,729.26 acres had been acquired.[344]

War Department and Park Development

The War Department oversaw much of the park's development, and its main goal was to restore the battlefield as it would have existed in April 1862. This goal included the restoration of Civil War–era roads and fields and the identification and commemoration of battle lines and campsites. By 1900, maps were prepared indicating Union and Confederate battle lines and all 83 campsites. Rebuilt roads were one of the first improvements to the park. It was stressed that only roads in existence at the time of the battle should be restored—public roads, farm roads, and supply roads for various camps. After roads were built, 567 acres of brush and forests that had grown up since 1862 were cleared, and the lines of battle were identified and restored.[345]

Trees were also planted to replicate battlefield conditions. Wartime boundaries of fields were to be restored through the "gradual growth of timber."[346] By the end of August 1901, the commission reported the completion of 21 miles of first-class roads, 200 battle markers, 26 cannons, a frame warehouse, and a carpenter's shop. Although the planting and clearing were complete by 1904, a severe windstorm swept through the area on June 3 of that year, and 2,000 trees were damaged. It took six weeks to clean the park from this storm.[347] Although there is no record of tree replanting, one can assume that replanting took place as part of the reconstruction efforts.

The War Department was aware of the need for improved visitor conveniences. River steamers were the only all-weather transportation to and from the park, and guests had only two hours to explore the park before returning to the steamer. Because of this, early in the park's developmental stages the commission identified the need for a hotel for overnight guests. Beyond this amenity, little else was developed with regard to visitor conveniences, because the War Department had no experience in customer service or user-friendly design, and those policy concepts were not common at the time.[348]

The first phase of park development ended in 1909 due to the cyclone that struck in October of that year. Most

[342] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 23–24.

[343] Shedd Jr., 24.

[344] Shedd Jr., 25.

[345] Shedd Jr., 30, 56.

[346] Shedd Jr., 56.

[347] Shedd Jr., 30.

[348] Shedd Jr., 57.

of the improvements completed before then were destroyed. Before the storm, the park contained a small hotel, a store and post office, two barns, two warehouses, cement and roller sheds, and a blacksmith shop. Expenditures for this period of development totaled $553,249.03.[349]

The Cyclone of 1909

The cyclone erased much of what had been accomplished by the War Department and changed the course of park development. A description of the events was recorded in the *Diary of Daily Events* maintained by the park commission. The word *cyclone* is used in the historical accounts for this event, but today it would be more commonly referred to as a *tornado*.

On October 14, 1909, a cyclone hit at 5:26 pm, killing seven and injuring thirty-three in the vicinity of Shiloh. It demolished two houses, a livery barn, a government shop, a cement barn, and a warehouse near the landing. It also set fire to the store, which burned completely. In the cemetery, the lodge as well as a brick tool house, brick barn, and living quarters were all destroyed. Every large tree in the cemetery was downed or twisted off, and pieces of the wreckage from nearby buildings were lodged within. Half the headstones were broken or overturned, and the 9th Illinois monument tipped over the terrace. The cyclone also destroyed most of the trees immediately north and south of the cemetery. Since the commission office was in the hotel, all park records, including surveys, maps, drawings, correspondence, and notes, were completely lost.[350]

Within days of the disaster, the commission gathered to view the damage and plan the cleanup and reconstruction. The following month, a barn and warehouse were rebuilt, and construction began on a new hotel in December. By July 1910, roughly nine months after the disaster, the commission reported that "all buildings except for the commission's quarters and office have been restored and all fallen timber, except for the Snake Creek area, had been cleared."[351] A new brick office building was completed in December 1910; an equipment storage shed and heavy-equipment shed were built in 1912; and the new superintendent's lodge was completed in 1918. Since many documents were on file at Chairman Colonel Cornelius Cadle's office in Cincinnati, the loss of records was not serious.[352] Although there is no mention of tree replanting in the description of reconstruction, such work could have taken place as part of the efforts.

The Shiloh-Corinth Road

Although river steamers continued to transport many park guests in the summer and fall seasons, automobiles began to arrive at the park after 1910, when roads became passable. In 1899, Chairman Cadle pushed for the construction of a road to Corinth, Mississippi. He promoted it as having a historical association with the route taken by Confederate troops in their advancement to and retreat from Shiloh and Pittsburg Landing. The park engineer, Atwell Thompson, surveyed this route in 1900, but visitors had to wait until 1914 when the Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company built an all-weather gravel toll road from the Mississippi state line to the park. The toll was lifted on June 7, 1924, when funds were appropriated for the purchase of the road.[353]

Early Tourism at Shiloh National Military Park

Early tourists were battle veterans and their families and members of Civil War associations. River excursions made regular calls at Pittsburg Landing, which was the only dependable route to the battlefield until the

[349] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 32.
[350] Shedd Jr., 34–35.
[351] Shedd Jr., 35.
[352] Shedd Jr., 35.
[353] Shedd Jr., 38.

construction of the Shiloh-Corinth Road in 1914. Guests were dropped off at the park, where local citizens would offer two-hour wagon tours for 25 cents. Most visitation came from the midwestern states because travel was easiest from those states to Shiloh and because those states were involved in the battle.[354]

Overnight accommodations were modest. Most park guests stayed a short time and returned to the boat to continue their journey. A short distance west of the cemetery, there was a two-story frame building that contained a store and six sleeping rooms on the second floor. This structure was acquired by the commission as part of the land deal for the park. The park commission's Shiloh office operated out of one of the hotel rooms until 1909, when the cyclone destroyed much of the building and was responsible for the deaths of two guests and the sons of the proprietor. The structure was rebuilt the following year but was destroyed by fire on December 23, 1913. The destruction of the second hotel brought about the end of overnight lodging at the park.[355]

Monument Dedications and Events

It was the park's intention to hold an overall dedication once the majority of states transferred their respective monuments and markers. When it became apparent that the process would take longer than anticipated, the park allowed states to conduct individual dedications and never held an overarching dedication. Ohio held the first dedication on June 6, 1902, when 34 regimental monuments were transferred to the federal government. Indiana, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Arkansas, and Louisiana dedicated monuments over the next 17 years. The last dedication within the War Department Era occurred on Memorial Day 1919 and commemorated troops from Michigan.[356]

Veterans organizations, including the Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, held yearly reunions at the park. Annual Memorial Day events were also popular when weather permitted. Many people regularly memorialized the anniversary of the battle on April 6 and 7, with two of the most prominent events being the 50th anniversary event in 1912 and the 92nd anniversary in 1954; the latter featured Major General Ulysses S. Grant III, the grandson of President Grant. An event called Shiloh Sings began in 1920 and occurred each September. This event attracted some of the largest crowds in the park, as people gathered to enjoy choral groups for four to six hours at a time.[357]

Concession History under the War Department

Part of the original park acquisition, a store was present a short distance west of the national cemetery. It served park guests, employees, and nearby residents. Its former owners, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chambers, ran the store in conjunction with the park hotel and livery stable. Other offerings at this time included a post office and a ferry at Pittsburg Landing. After the store was destroyed by the cyclone of 1909, it was rebuilt in 1910 separately from the hotel and served as concessions and a post office. The second building was replaced in 1936 by the third and current concession building, which is west of the brick cemetery wall.[358]

As part of the concession service, carriages and eventually automobiles met guests at the landing and offered to take them on a tour through the park for a fee of 25 cents. Concession operations were closely reviewed and renewed every year, and stock was always subject to inspection.[359]

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[354] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 28.

[355] Shedd Jr., 29.

[356] Shedd Jr., 42.

[357] Shedd Jr., 43.

[358] Shedd Jr., 39.

[359] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 40.

Changes in Park Administration

At the turn of the century, Civil War veterans were aging, and there was significant turnover on the commission. On January 31, 1910, after 15 years of service, commissioner chair Colonel Cornelius Cadle resigned, and Major D.W. Reed, who had previously served as commission secretary and historian, succeeded him. The park removed all records from Cadle's office in Cincinnati, and the commission headquarters moved to Shiloh. DeLong Rice became secretary on May 14, 1913, and became superintendent of the park the following year. After the last commission member died in January 1920, Rice assumed full responsibility for park administration.[360]

Rice was the first administrator to conceive that the park's value to the public was its clear interpretation of the Shiloh story. He was a valued administrator who made the Shiloh story accessible to the public, especially schoolchildren. The public did not understand the historical value of the park, and Rice worked to promote the park through public relations and through "attractive and truthful literature."[361] He distributed informational pamphlets and promotions in cooperation with steamboat and railroad companies. He also realized and capitalized on the growing interest of local school groups.[362]

Rice also pushed for the protection of natural resources and consulted the National Bureau of Forestry when there was an "alarming loss of trees to disease and insects." In addition to promotional and cultural interpretation and education initiatives, conservation and beautification were priorities during Rice's term.[363]

In 1914–1933, during the later years of the War Department management period and under Rice's leadership, the ideals and conscious acknowledgment of the park's cultural value were similar to those of the NPS. In this regard, Rice's tenure served as part of a fitting natural progression, since park management would soon change to the NPS.

Rice died on September 24, 1929, following an explosion and fire in his park residence. Park clerk R.A. Livingston succeeded him as superintendent and served as the park passed from the War Department to the NPS in 1933.[364]

Until that time, the cemetery functioned as a separate administrative unit from Shiloh National Military Park, with its own superintendent and maintenance employees. The two administrations often shared resources and worked together toward the common goal of commemorating the Battle of Shiloh.[365]

Beginning in the 1910s and through World War I and the 1920s, the War Department viewed the parks as a bother, and by the early 1930s, their condition reflected this sentiment. The parks "were run down in all areas of management, interpretation, and care."[366]

[360] Shedd Jr., 25–26.

[361] Shedd Jr., 58.

[362] Shedd Jr., 26, 59.

[363] Shedd Jr., 59.

[364] Shedd Jr., 26.

[365] Shedd Jr., 67.

[366] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."

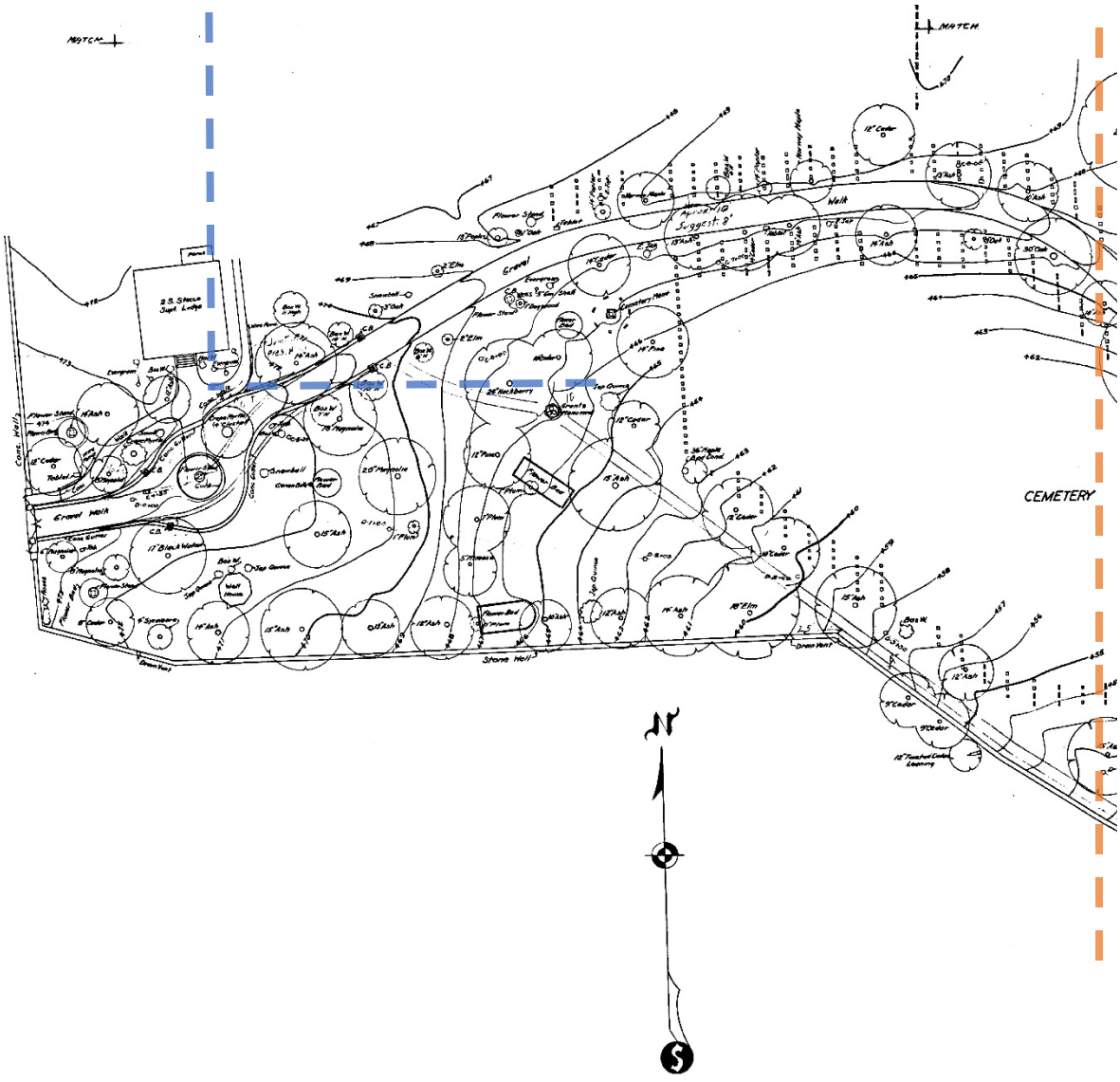


Figure 13. Southwest portion of the 1934 survey completed during the Early NPS Era. (SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK ARCHIVES)

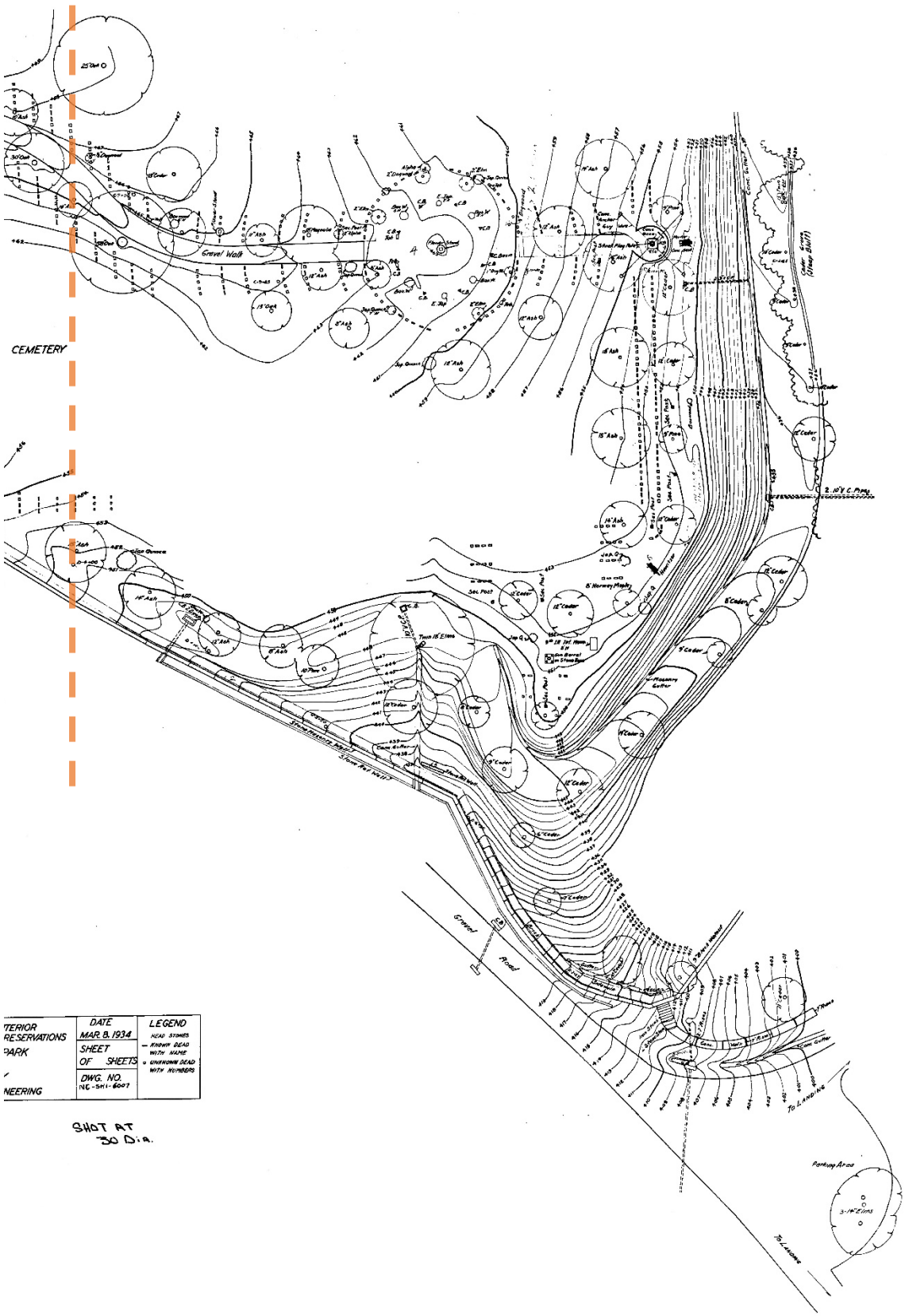


Figure 14. Southeast portion of the 1934 survey completed during the Early NPS Era. (SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK ARCHIVES)

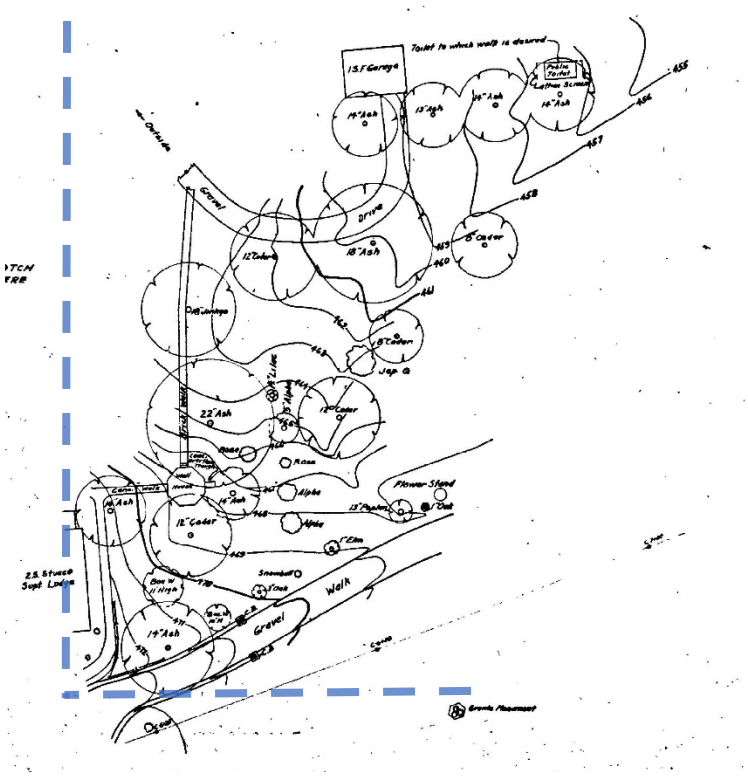


Figure 15. Northwest portion of the 1934 survey completed during the Early NPS Era). (SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK ARCHIVES)

THE EARLY NPS ERA, 1933–1945

The stock market crash on October 29, 1929, and related New Deal programs led to significant changes in the park. Government action began after Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932. Within months of the New Deal, workers from the CCC, CWA, and WPA were working to transform Shiloh into a modern park with updated facilities.

Roosevelt's Executive Reorganization Order of June 10, 1933, transferred Shiloh National Military Park and Shiloh National Cemetery from the War Department to the NPS, which was part of the US Department of the Interior. Other nearby battle sites were transferred under the jurisdiction of the Shiloh superintendent. At this time, R.A. Livingston served as the park superintendent under the War Department, and he was retained, serving as the first superintendent under the NPS. In 1937, when the NPS was decentralized into four regions, Shiloh became part of region one, headquartered in Richmond, Virginia.[367] This marked both a figurative and a literal severance and transfer from a military park to a civilian park. Before 1933, veterans or relatives of veterans had served as park superintendents and employees, providing a literal military connection to the battle and to the War Department. After 1933, professionals in various fields of expertise led the change, conducting research and improving park operations through new methods of interpretation, which improved the visitor experience.[368] A survey was completed in 1934 that depicted topography, vegetation, structures, and circulation **(Figures 13–15)**. These maps show the cemetery character at the beginning of the Early NPS Era.

[367] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 45.

[368] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."

The Early NPS Era marked a new, more visitor-centered approach to park development. NPS personnel immediately recognized the need for "acceleration and expansion" of park development to bring Shiloh up to the standards for public use and enjoyment. During this early period, there was an emphasis on interpretive development and visitor comfort. This new approach is apparent in some of the improvements made, including the opening of the park administration/museum building, the operation of the concession building, the rebuilding of park roads, and the availability of new interpretive literature. Additionally, the practice of burning undergrowth was stopped, and the fields and forests were allowed to follow their natural succession.[369]

In 1939, the NPS promoted the park improvements through radio and newspaper advertisements, and although most people were there for education and interpretation, staff noticed that a large segment of guest use was recreational. Because of this new potential use, scenic trails, vantage points, and lunch areas were provided.[370]

Before the NPS era, planning and development of the park were the sole responsibilities of the superintendent. During the NPS era, professionals from different backgrounds worked together to plan and develop the park. In 1938, the first master plan was completed; it provided a comprehensive and detailed guide for development.[371]

Different Approaches and an Evolution in Interpretation

During the War Department Era, there were only two forms of interpretation—troop position and historical information tablets in the field as well as local guides. Since the Civil War was "still a vivid memory" in the early years of development, further interpretation was not needed. An early attempt at interpretation occurred in 1903 when the commission produced maps, pictures, and tablets as part of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. Also in 1903, an early form of interpretation was completed as historian D.W. Reed authored *The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged.* It was distributed to park guests but was more technical and detailed and therefore more valued by "former soldiers or students of military history." Although some relics were kept in the park office building, there is no evidence that the War Department used them for interpretation or conceived of a museum for historical objects.[372]

During this era, the process for restoring battlefields was well intentioned but not effective. Although battlefield restoration was a primary goal for the War Department, it was determined that managing underbrush by fire was not successful in accomplishing that goal. In 1927, a more visitor-friendly *Battlefield Guide* was issued and was an early attempt at a self-guided tour of the park.[373]

The act creating the park directly influenced park planning, and for that reason, the interpretive development under the War Department related to the physical features of the battlefield: troop positions, camps, and points of interest. When the park was transferred to the NPS in 1933, interpretation was expanded to include the background of the struggle and the historic context. These perspectives were an interpretive challenge. As memories of the Civil War receded, people visiting the park required a deeper contextual understanding to appreciate and understand the significance of Shiloh and its lessons.[374]

Under the NPS, visual aids, guidebooks, and on-site interpretation evolved with interpretation methods and techniques of the time. The *Battlefield Guide* produced by the War Department was used in the early years of the NPS era, but new and improved versions were made in 1934, 1937, 1940, and 1941. Field interpretation improved as well. Temporary informational signs were erected in 1937 and replaced with a standardized version in 1942. Permanent markers were installed in 1952–1953, and directional markers were added in 1954.

[369] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 60.
[370] Shedd Jr., 60.
[371] Shedd Jr., 60.
[372] Shedd Jr., 62.
[373] Shedd Jr., 62.
[374] Shedd Jr., 63.

Audiovisual aids were added in the 1950s with the creation of recorded slide lectures and movies. These media was shared with area civic clubs, school groups, and other organizations.[375]

The Civil Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Tennessee Valley Authority

In 1934, as the country was attempting to recover from the Great Depression, 250 men were employed at the park under the CWA. Under this program, the men worked on the Shiloh-Corinth Road, erosion projects, and conservation projects. Under the direction of archeologists from the Smithsonian Institute, CWA personnel excavated the American Indian mounds and contributed to interpretation. They were responsible for researching the battle and related subjects, and they assembled material for orientation lectures, museum exhibits, and field interpretive markers. In all, twenty persons were part of interpretive projects, with some responsible for conducting battlefield tours. Two camps from the CCC were also established and manned by 400 African American World War I veterans.[376]

Other significant projects funded by the WPA began at this time and were completed in 1935, including an administration building, two entrance stations, and four employee residences. The administration building currently sits west of the brick cemetery wall. The CWA program terminated on April 19, 1934. Workers had completed erosion projects, road reconstruction projects, and a cemetery cleanup project. Other work completed in this span included the construction of a sanitary sewer system and water distribution for the headquarters area and of an overhead and underground electrical distribution system.[377]

In 1934, the Bureau of Public Roads completed a new survey for the park, the first since 1899. Physical development changes continued throughout the 1930s. In 1935 and 1936, the park headquarters building was razed, and a concession and post office building was constructed on part of its foundation. The CCC workers were still employed at this time, working on more than ten miles of park roads and constructing the brick comfort station in the northwest corner of the cemetery. In 1941, with the completion of CCC work and the beginning of US involvement in World War II, a significant era of physical development in the park ended. A small number of workers were left to close out projects and leave them in a "useable state of completion."[378]

One of Roosevelt's "first 100 days" legislative achievements, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) worked to transform some of the most impoverished areas of the state. Although the TVA was not physically present at Shiloh, their work affected portions of the park closest to the Tennessee River. In 1938, Pickwick Landing Dam was completed 15 miles south of the park, submerging the Civil War–era river landings. One hundred miles north, the Kentucky Dam was built in 1944 and backed up Kentucky Lake to Pittsburg Landing. As a result of the alterations and damming of the Tennessee River, viewshed toward the river changed significantly, as the river level was much higher than it was in 1862. Much of the historic Pittsburg Landing was submerged. Because of the increase in barge and recreational river traffic, constant wave action eroded much of the riverbank along the park border.[379] After World War II, a few major services were added to the park: a garage, a service station, and a restaurant.[380]

Concession History under the NPS

The present concessions building was built in 1936 and sits just west of the brick cemetery wall. At that time, concessions were closed during winter months, which coincided with the seasonal low for visitation. The contracts were informal, and the superintendent supervised concession operations, facilities, services, supplies, refreshments, souvenirs, and literature sales of official publications. Under Public Law 105, the secretary of the interior was authorized to exchange federal lands for private lands of approximately equal

[375] Shedd Jr., 65.

[376] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 45, 64.

[377] Shedd Jr., 45–46.

[378] Shedd Jr., 46.

[379] Smith, "A Case Study in Change: The New Deal's Effect on Shiloh National Military Park."

[380] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 52.

value. On September 10, 1947, private concessioners were conveyed .92 acres, thereby removing the development from the park.[381]

NPS ERA—POST–WORLD WAR II, 1945–1966

In 1941, as the United States entered World War II and the CCC program closed, a significant era in the park's physical development ended. After the war was over, park development slowly gained momentum, and interpretive materials and guides were updated. Earlier versions of an interpretive guide were replaced in 1951 by park historian Albert Dillahunty's *Shiloh Historical Handbook*. Standardized trail markers erected in 1942 were replaced by permanent ones between 1952 and 1953. In 1954, directional and informational roadside markers were installed, and directional arrows were painted directly on the tour road.[382]

Interpretation was updated as new technologies emerged. At Shiloh, audiovisual aids, such as slide lectures and motion pictures, were added. In 1953, the slide lecture "Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle" was completed and used as orientation for school groups, civic clubs, and other organizations. In 1955, the park embarked on a new master plan, a development outline for interpretation, and a general development plan.[383]

Notable Weather Events and Their Effects

In late January 1951, a significant ice storm affected the park and many of its trees. On January 28, rain fell at Shiloh and froze that night. By January 31, a heavy glaze of ice covered trees and limbs. Two "magnificent oaks" in front of the administration building suffered greatly. The temperature reached 14 degrees below zero, and although structures were spared, many water pipes burst, and electrical service was disrupted. In 1955, the demise of some trees in decline could be directly and indirectly traced to the 1951 ice storm.[384]

In addition to ice storms and cyclones, washouts related to rain and flooding have been a threat to Shiloh. A washout at Pittsburg Landing occurred in late January 1954 as heavy rains raised the level of the Tennessee River 10 to 12 feet above the landing. On February 2, as waters quickly receded, the landing and 50 feet of road were washed away along with part of the riverbank containing vegetation and large trees. The receding waters were estimated to have carried away 20,000 cubic yards of soil.[385]

Mission 66

Mission 66 was a federal program that began in 1956 and was designed to address deteriorating conditions in national parks at a time of significantly increased visitation following World War II. Conrad L. Wirth, director of the Park Service, proposed the program to "modernize, enlarge, and reinvent the park system by 1966," the 50th anniversary of the NPS.[386] It was devised to improve transportation and interpretation and to modernize and streamline the visitor experience.[387] The program was responsible for increased financing, and by 1962, the NPS annual budget was in excess of $100 million. The Mission 66 planning and policy initiative "proved to be the most effective means of increasing Park Service appropriations since the New Deal emergency spending legislation of the 1930s." By 1966, Congress had spent $1 billion on the program.[388]

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[381] Shedd Jr., 53.

[382] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 65.

[383] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 56.

[384] Shedd Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 52.

[385] Shedd Jr., 52.

[386] Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 3.

[387] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 60.

[388] Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma,* 10.

As Mission 66 developed, Thomas Vint, NPS chief of design and construction, sought to create a model master plan to address common problems faced by national parks. A cross section of parks was included in the pilot program, and Shiloh National Military Park was part of this cross section.[389] As was the case with many other parks during the war years, Shiloh suffered from a lack of maintenance and available labor. The prospectus identified goals for Shiloh: a new visitor center, expanded interpretation and accessibility, historic scene preservation and restoration, and expanded staffing. Although goals were well intended, few changes were enacted at Shiloh as part of the Mission 66 program.[390]

Two significant projects came from the program, however: the rerouting of Highway 22 and the orientation film *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle.* The bypass removed virtually all non-guest traffic from the park and increased visitor safety and convenience. It also established a single entrance into the park. Improvements listed in the prospectus included broad goals such as development of roadway, interpretive, and visitor services.[391]

Few specific improvements to Shiloh National Cemetery were listed. As part of the Mission 66 prospectus, "soil and moisture conservation measures [were to] be initiated to stabilize the river bank adjacent to Pittsburg Landing," and "a sprinkler system [was to] be installed at the national cemetery to preserve lawn cover during the hot, dry summer months."[392] In 1961, the "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Shiloh" was published. Parts of this plan affected the cemetery area: a pavilion was removed at Pittsburg Landing, and the parking lot was moved from the front of the visitor center to the east side, west of the cemetery wall. The lot accommodates 116 cars and 3 buses.[393]

Although extensive plans and goals were proposed for Shiloh as part of the Mission 66 program, two factors contributed to a lack of progress: the high turnover of park superintendents during that time and the lack of congressional support.[394]

In 1956, the park received more than one million guests, and the new movie *Shiloh: Portrait of a Battle* was available in the visitor center. In the cemetery, the turf was fertilized and aerated, and a hazard tree removal program was initiated.[395] In 1957 and 1958, visitation decreased significantly, partly due to the completion of the Highway 22 bypass road.[396] Also, in 1958, there were ongoing problems with erosion at Pittsburg Landing due to river flooding, and moles were problematic in the cemetery.[397] In 1964, tree work was completed in the cemetery, and the road was repaired at Pittsburg Landing.[398]

After a major flood in March 1965, 500–700 cubic yards of riverbank slid into the river as waters receded. A six-foot section of the cemetery's eastern stone wall was left exposed and suspended without support. While the wall was being repaired in May, two large cannons were removed from the bank of the river for fear that they would be lost. Bags of concrete and sand were used as emergency stabilization and did not address the problem in the long term.[399] Regular maintenance was performed at the cemetery, including tree work and tree preservation led by horticulturist Bernhard A. Kolb. Also in 1965, thefts were recorded in the cemetery. One "Bivouac of the Dead" sign, a headstone, and a cannonball were taken from the cemetery area.[400]

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[389] Carr, 85.

[390] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 63.

[391] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 65.

[392] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 67.

[393] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 68.

[394] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 71.

[395] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 76–77.

[396] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 79.

[397] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 80–81.

[398] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 89.

[399] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 91.

[400] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 94.

In 1966, representatives from the NPS regional office reviewed the riverbank stabilization project below the cemetery and at Pittsburg Landing. The concrete and sandbags placed the previous year curtailed further erosion. Broken concrete was placed at the riverbank below the cemetery, but this solution "created adverse hydraulic conditions" and accelerated erosion.[401] Repairs were made to the eastern cemetery walls that had been damaged by flooding. The cost for this work was $4,000.[402]

In the early and mid-1960s, the Delta Queen frequently docked at Pittsburg Landing, allowing guests to tour the park. Boy Scouts also camped frequently and, along with the Neighborhood Youth Corps, helped with minor park projects. Sometimes hunting was a problem on parklands, and rangers intervened.[403]

At the close of the program in 1966, a significant era of park development ended, and a new chapter involving environmental management and historic preservation began. Mission 70, a program aimed at implementing safety procedures, was also introduced.

NPS ERA—ENVIRONMENT, RECREATION, AND PRESERVATION, 1962–1980

Several federal policies that were enacted in the 1960s and 1970s affected the national park system, including Shiloh. The shift began in the early 1960s with the budding discipline of ecology and, more specifically to the park system, with the *Report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management in the National Parks* by commission head A. Starker Leopold. The report suggested that "the primary purpose of the parks was the maintenance or restoration of the biotic associations … to a condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man."[404]

In the 1960s and 1970s, several acts of legislation were passed relating to environmental stewardship. Congress passed the Wilderness Act in 1964, which granted the government the authority to acquire wilderness areas for the benefit of future generations. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act was passed in 1965, which established a fund for the acquisition of land for new parks or for the acquisition of land adjacent to existing parks. In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act was passed, authorizing the secretary of the interior to "create and maintain a national register of historic buildings, districts, sites, structures, and objects," with the NPS as the coordinating agency.[405]

Federal Policies and Evolving Interpretation

After the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, the park was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. Documentation followed in 1975 and was prepared by Robert Nash, chief of interpretation and resource management at Shiloh. In 1974 and 1975, the park engaged the firm Miller, Wihry, and Lee to prepare a master plan. Although the plan included public input and was holistic in nature, park officials did not implement many of the ideas.[406]

Science and natural resource management was implemented at the park as a result of the environmental legislative acts. The NPS was undergoing a shift in operations. Before, the focus had been to maintain the park in its present state with available funds. After the acts were passed, initiatives emphasized management rather

[401] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 95.

[402] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 95–96.

[403] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 97.

[404] Larry M. Dilsaver, *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994), 5.

[405] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 101.

[406] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 104.

than maintenance. There was a deep analysis of natural and cultural resources and what was needed for their management.[407]

Along with the trend of ecological interpretation, the Park Service nationwide embraced living history, with many parks implementing agriculture-, craft-, and military-demonstration programs. At Shiloh, the interpretive program was expanded in 1976 to include a Civil War encampment and musket-firing demonstrations. The park received a certification to hold historic weapons-firing demonstration programs in 1978.[408] The firing and homelife demonstrations continued into the 1980s.[409]

In 1973, National Park historian Edwin Bearss prepared the *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery* based on extensive analysis and comparison of maps prepared immediately following the battle as well as on firsthand accounts of the battlefield. His work is considered one of the best sources detailing the character of the landscape of Shiloh National Military Park, including Shiloh National Cemetery, during the Battle of Shiloh.[410]

Landscape Management and Construction Projects at the Cemetery

Erosion from the Tennessee River remained a problem through the 1960s and 1970s and would continue to remain so into the 1990s. Before running out of funds, park personnel attempted in 1967 to repair the eastern cemetery stone wall where the riverbank had undercut the wall. In the spring of 1973, the eastern United States experienced excessive rainfall that flooded many rivers, including the Tennessee. The event resulted in extensive erosion along the eastern border of the park, including the eastern cemetery wall. After geotechnical studies in 1980, the TVA attempted to reconcile the problem with the placement of riprap in problem areas. The solution was again ineffective, and erosion problems persisted for several more decades.[411]

In 1977, the park evaluated the cemetery walkways and determined that they required repair. The walkways were rebuilt and were laid in a modified basket-weave pattern on a sand bed. Shortly after, in 1979, conceptual plans were completed for a new circulation system for the visitor center immediately west of the cemetery.[412]

NPS Management Policy Changes

Until the 1970s, NPS landscape architects, architects, and planners produced park master plans internally. In the 1970s, however, federal regulations required public review and compliance, and the Park Service began hiring outside professional consultants for master planning work to avoid agency bias. The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 changed the planning process, in that the NPS was now required to prepare and update a General Management Plan (GMP) for each park. The plan was to be revisited every 15 to 20 years. Shiloh's first GMP in 1981 suggested infrastructure improvements, expansion of interpretive planning, and information about the park's environment and natural resources.[413]

Historic Preservation and Cultural Landscapes

Landscapes began to be considered historic resources in the late 1970s, and the term "cultural landscape" was coined in the 1980s. Battlefields naturally fell into this category and were already being treated and managed as such. *The Leopold Report* of the 1960s, which called for the return of lands to their condition before settlement of the "white man," was challenged because a new emphasis was put on the value and interpretation of historic sites and cultural landscapes. The first documented effort to standardize the study of

[407] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 105.

[408] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 105.

[409] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 114.

[410] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 111.

[411] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 106.

[412] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 113.

[413] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 118.

cultural landscapes was Robert Melnick's article "Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards." The text sparked action within the NPS, and a methodology was developed for identifying and evaluating cultural landscapes.[414]

NPS ERA—THE LATER YEARS, 1980–2020

Tennessee River Erosion

Erosion continued to be a persistent and common problem in the 1980s, as constant land loss threatened historical and cultural resources and posed a safety hazard to park guests and employees. In 1981, the TVA completed a project to address erosion at the cemetery and Pittsburg Landing. In 1984, the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) completed a plan for erosion control. Due to the $6 million cost, the plan was phased, beginning with the most vulnerable areas. Fund-raising was challenging, which led to delays and continued erosion. In 1991, the riverbank reached within seven feet of the cemetery wall.[415] In 1992, the USACE made plans to address the erosion problem at the cemetery and at the American Indian mounds.[416] A more detailed plan was prepared in 1998, and work was done on the riverbank from 2000 to 2002 on slopes up to the 500-year flood mark. Riprap was placed, and gabions filled with stones were placed on river "shelves." Some gabion sections were lost to the river, and workers paused to allow for material settlement.[417]

Management and Maintenance

In 1985, Shiloh's final grave site was allocated, and burial sites reserved prior to that year continue to be filled. In 1988, hazardous tree limbs were removed in the cemetery and near the headquarters building.[418] The cemetery lodge was converted to administrative office space in 1992, and hazard trees and branches were again cleared from the park.[419] An cemetery vegetation inventory was completed in 1993 with the date of origin of individual specimens. An inventory of the signs was completed as part of the project as well. Also in that year, a third of the cast-iron markers were painted, and underbrush was cleared along the river, in the national cemetery ravine, and at Pittsburg Landing.[420]

A freezing rainstorm occurred in February 1994, killing 28 trees in the cemetery. Although the storm was not responsible for monument damage, one headstone was damaged by contractors performing tree removal operations. Many maintenance projects were completed in 1994—a productive year in the cemetery. The last third of the iron signs were painted, a large portion of the stone cemetery wall was repointed, six of fifteen concrete and cast-iron monuments were repaired, the cast-iron markers and cemetery gates were repainted, and 1,627 headstones were cleaned by the Boy Scouts.

Cemetery vegetation management continued with the development of the management plan.[421] In 1996, areas of the cemetery were sodded, and in 1997, hazardous trees and limbs were removed in the cemetery. During that same year, Tennessee State Prison inmates provided some of the labor for cleaning cemetery headstones.[422]

[414] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 121–22.

[415] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 176.

[416] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 126.

[417] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 160.

[418] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 138.

[419] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 177.

[420] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 179.

[421] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 181.

[422] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 184–85.

In 1998, 6,000 square feet of brick sidewalks in the cemetery were renovated as old bricks were removed, cleaned, and reinstalled with new mortar. The sand beds were also repaired.[423] In 2000, all iron features in the cemetery were repainted.[424] Planning efforts to address the deteriorated cemetery wall began in 2004, and headstones in the cemetery were pressure washed.[425]

On October 26, 2019, Tropical Storm Olga moved across the southeastern United States and caused widespread damage at the park.

Events

From the 1980s on, Memorial Day celebrations have continued to be popular with those visiting the park, and each year, American flags are placed at each grave.[426] The annual Shiloh Art Show began in 1991 and is held around the battle anniversary and coordinated by the Savannah Art Guild. Also in 1991, the Shiloh Grand Illumination was held in the Peach Orchard.[427] In addition to the growing list of popular events, living history programs and reenactments, some of which have occurred at Pittsburg Landing, have provided evocative interpretive entertainment for park guests.[428]

Associated Names

Associated Name: Ulysses S. Grant

Association: Other

Association Other: Civil War general in the Battle of Shiloh

[423] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 187.

[424] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 191.

[425] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 200.

[426] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, *Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History*, 137.

[427] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 175.

[428] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, 183.

Analysis and Evaluation of Integrity

Analysis and Evaluation Summary

This section provides an evaluation of the physical integrity of Shiloh National Cemetery by comparing the current condition of the landscape features with the historic condition of features present during the period of significance (1862–1940).

Landscape characteristics are comprised of landscape features. Landscape features are considered "contributing" if the feature was present during the period of significance. Noncontributing features, those absent during the period of significance, may be considered "compatible" if they "fit within the physical context of the historical period and attempt to match the character of contributing elements in a way that is sensitive to the construction techniques, organizational methods, or design strategies of the historic period." Incompatible features are those not harmonious with the cultural landscape.[429]

Contributing landscape characteristics at Shiloh National Cemetery are natural features and topography, spatial organization, land use, circulation, views and vistas, vegetation, buildings and structures, and small-scale features.

Integrity is defined as the ability of a property to convey its significance. According to the National Register of Historic Places, integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance through physical resources. The National Register recognizes seven qualities that define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To be listed on the National Register, a property must be shown to have significance under at least one of the four criteria (A–D, discussed earlier in this document) and must also retain integrity.

Several maps were used to determine historic conditions present during the period of significance. Edwin Bearss's *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery* (1973) was used to analyze historic conditions during the Civil War **(Figures 8 and 9)**. The map was produced through an analysis of various maps detailing site conditions during the Battle of Shiloh on April 6 and 7, 1862. The *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882) was used for determining integrity relating to the Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893) **(Figure 11)**. The NPS's *Shiloh National Military Park Topographic Map of Walks in Cemetery* (1934) was used to analyze features present in the War Department Era (1895–1933) and the Early NPS Era (1933–1945) **(Figures 13–15)**.

Shiloh National Cemetery benefits from the continuous oversight by NPS employees, as offices are located within the cemetery walls. The landscape features such as walls, walkways, markers, and signage are in excellent condition. The only deteriorating feature observed was a brick wall on the western perimeter. It has since been removed and replaced. Below the cemetery, large limestone boulders currently line the bank of the Tennessee River below to slow the effects of the river. The riprap was laid along the riverbank as early as 1993 and was subsequently reinforced in the mid-1990s and during the first decade of the 2000s.[430]

The Seven Aspects of Integrity

Location

Location is defined by the National Register as the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. The cemetery's location on the bluff adjacent to the Tennessee River and to Pittsburg Landing remains unchanged. Prior to being developed as a cemetery, the site was

[429] F. McMillen, *Rock Creek Park: Battleground National Cemetery Cultural Landscapes Inventory* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2018), 66.

[430] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

originally selected as a landing spot and headquarters for Union soldiers due to its strategic military advantages. The site was later selected as a cemetery for many of the same reasons. The site has a commanding view of the Tennessee River and is part of the battlefield now known as Shiloh National Military Park.

Design

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. The cemetery lost some of its original integrity after the 1909 tornado destroyed the first cemetery office, the tree marking Grant's headquarters, many marble headstones, and much of the mature tree canopy. The office was rebuilt north of its original location, three cannons were erected to mark Grant's headquarters, and the marble headstones have since been replaced. It is unclear if the existing trees are those that were planted following the storm. Since the tornado only affected features above ground, the cemetery layout was unchanged.

Setting

Setting is the physical environment of a property and the general character of a place. The cemetery setting has changed somewhat from its original aesthetic. Adjacent grounds are well maintained. To the west, a comfort station, visitor center, bookstore, and parking area have been added. To the south, the road leading to Pittsburg Landing has been paved with asphalt. The Tennessee River still flows west of the cemetery, but its level is now maintained by the nearby Pickwick Dam. Views to the Tennessee River are mostly obstructed by vegetation.

Care was taken to consider the placement of vegetation and circulation, and views were focused internally within the cemetery and outward toward the Tennessee River. Vegetation is visible in the *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882), and graphic symbols distinguish between deciduous and evergreen trees **(Figure 11)**. The plan shows a mixed placement, but the trees generally frame burial areas and line the main gravel road and other grassed paths in the cemetery.

On the eastern part of the site, views are focused outward toward the Tennessee River. Between the grassed-path perimeter terrace and the stone perimeter wall, trees are concentrated northeast and southeast on the slope between the cemetery and the Tennessee River. Views are mostly open to the river from the 16th Wisconsin burials directly east of the flag, as fewer trees are shown at the top of the slope and more are shown at the bottom, inside the stone perimeter wall. From the higher elevation of the cemetery at this location, the view toward the river would have been mostly open yet seen through a thin curtain of tree canopies and an even thinner curtain of tree trunks. Along the same buffer slope, views open in the northeast and southeast corners of the cemetery toward the river. Concentrations of mixed deciduous and evergreen tree groupings on the slope form the edges and focus the views from the cemetery toward the river **(Figure 11)**.

Materials

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited within the period of significance in a pattern or configuration that gives form to the property. Materials present in the cemetery reflect those readily available at the time of construction. The stone for the walls surrounding the north, east, and south perimeters was quarried 11 miles upriver. To the west, the 1940s brick wall was replaced, and new material was selected to match the color, size, and character of the original material.

Prior to the western brick wall, a concrete wall was located on top of the current brick wall foundation from 1911 to 1940. And before 1911, the western boundary was marked by wooden posts and wire fencing. Remnants of previous versions of this western wall are not visible, except for the concrete foundation.

The path is made of red clay bricks. Several landscape features, such as the entry gate, steps from Pittsburg Landing, and many signs, are made of iron and painted black. Whereas older headstones are made of marble,

newer ones are created from granite and are more contemporary in design. The landscape material is comprised of mainly lawn and mature trees.

Although most materials contribute to the integrity of the cemetery, some original materials were changed or lost over the years due to destruction from weather events, the limited life-span of the material, and changing land uses.

Workmanship

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts and methods of construction used during the specified historic period of significance. The workmanship of landscape features was observed to be in good condition and similar to what would have existed during the period of significance. The exception to this note is the western brick wall, which was badly deteriorating. The wall has since been removed and replaced.

Feeling

Feeling is a sensitivity or intuitive understanding resulting from the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character. The tranquil setting, quality workmanship, intact design, and historic materials all create a feeling of respect, solitude, and reverence. The main features of the cemetery—the headstones and markers, path, wall, gate, building, lawn, canopy trees, sky, and river—collectively shape a peaceful environment for guests.

Association

Association is the direct link between the property and an event or person of historic importance. Although the landscape features present are associated with different periods of construction and improvement to Shiloh National Cemetery, all support the original design intent of creating a sacred place for the interment of US soldiers, specifically from the Civil War and, more specifically, from the Battle of Shiloh. The cemetery design itself can be linked to the nationwide cemetery-building movement that began in 1862, when Congress authorized the establishment of national cemeteries.[431]

Few associations are present depicting the relationship of the site to the actual Battle of Shiloh. The most prominent are the location of Grant's headquarters and the "First Engagement on Shiloh Battlefield" sign that describes the first encounter between Confederate and Union troops.

Landscape Characteristics

Several maps were used to determine the historic conditions present during the period of significance. Edwin Bearss's *Historical Base Map, Shiloh National Military Park and National Cemetery* (1973) was used to analyze historic conditions during the Civil War **(Figures 8 and 9)**. The map was produced through an analysis of various maps detailing site conditions during the Battle of Shiloh on April 6 and 7, 1862. In addition, the *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882) **(Figure 11)** was used to determine features present during the Cemetery Establishment Era, and the NPS's *Shiloh National Military Park Topographic Map of Walks in Cemetery* (1934) **(Figures 13–15)** was used to analyze features present in the War Department Era and the NPS eras.

Existing conditions were documented and analyzed through site photographs, current aerials, and USGS maps. The following features are presented with commentary on historic conditions when known, with existing conditions, and with an analysis and comparison of historic and existing conditions and related integrity.

[431] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10–11.

Natural Features and Topography

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

According to Bearss's 1973 base map indicating conditions in 1862 **(Figures 8 and 9)**, the natural features surrounding the cemetery are Owl and Snake creeks to the north and Dill Branch to the south. The creek just north of the cemetery flows northward into a larger basin before connecting with the Tennessee River. The American Indian mounds are located to the south, just beyond Dill Branch. The map shows the bluff that now contains the national cemetery, but contour information is minimal. Dashed lines indicating topography are present on the east side of the bluff containing the cemetery. The Tennessee River is shown with a flow arrow north.

Land north of the cemetery slopes down to Pittsburg Landing, which is labeled as a major road. Land south of the cemetery also slopes down to the river, but the landing is not named.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

Contours are present on the 1882 map **(Figure 11)**, and the cemetery bluff contours match the dashed-line slope symbol on Bearss's map of conditions in 1862. The bluff shape and contours are unchanged. The highest point on the bluff corresponds to the circular grave arrangement surrounding a rostrum. The topographic character on top of the bluff is gently rolling and slopes generally from west to east until the eastern edge of the cemetery, where the land slopes abruptly to a grassed drive that is terraced into the landscape slope. There appears to be a double line on the western border of the terrace indicating a drain swale or a retaining wall. Labeling is partially discernable on the map, and the line appears to be labeled as "brick gutter."

A small terraced promontory is located northeast of the cemetery, on the eastern side of the grassed-drive terrace. Tightly spaced trees surround the promontory, and it appears that the effect may have been intentional.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Contours are present on the 1934 survey and are similar to those found on the 1882 map and the 1862 representative map **(Figures 13–15)**. The grassed drive east and below the cemetery is detailed, sloping west away from the Tennessee River to a "concrete gutter." The area east of the grassed-drive terrace is not surveyed but is labeled as "steep bluff." The main cemetery walk is 10 feet wide and gravel, and the slope indicates a crowned profile. South of the cemetery bluff, land slopes down to Pittsburg Landing.

Existing

The topography map available for review is the 2016 USGS topographic map of Pittsburg Landing Quadrangle. This map shows 10-foot contours and includes the entire Shiloh National Military Park site. The cemetery spans the 450-foot and 460-foot contours, and some parts are partially above the 460-foot contour. There is a grassed terrace below and east of the cemetery that meets with a brick path to the south, and a grassed path to the north leads west toward the maintenance area. The nearby Shiloh American Indian mounds are also located above the 460-foot contour.

The cemetery bluff is located between two branches: Owl and Snake creeks are approximately 540 yards north, and Dill Branch is located 620 yards south. The mounds are located to the south, just beyond Dill Branch. The Tennessee River flows north, its levels regulated by the nearby Pickwick Dam.

The cemetery bluff is roughly 60 feet above the Tennessee River, which flows north and is located east of the cemetery. There are minor natural valleys that occur directly north and south of the bluff. The valleys connect the river with the interior lands and span from the 460-foot contour down to the water level. The valleys are

gently sloped, allowing easy access for animals, humans, and vehicles. It is most likely the reason why Confederates originally defended this site and why Union troops chose to disembark here in 1862. Other nearby valleys contain streams and are therefore more difficult to traverse. The southern valley contains an asphalt road that leads to Pittsburg Landing.

Evaluation

The natural features and topography of Shiloh National Cemetery have remained largely unchanged since 1862 and 1882. The cemetery bluff retains integrity, but the eastern perimeter wall and Pittsburg Landing have been threatened by floods and related erosion. The stone perimeter wall remains protected and intact in part due to the erosion control efforts of park officials and the USACE. Should erosion continue, the eastern stone perimeter wall, the east portion of the cemetery bluff, the east grassed terrace below the cemetery, Pittsburg Landing (both the original and current locations), and the easternmost grave sites, all of which are contributing features, could be considered threatened. Currently, integrity is mostly intact. The riverbank is the only portion that has been lost; it has been permanently submerged since the construction of Pickwick Dam.

Few changes to the natural features are apparent from 1862 to today. In 1862, the Owl and Snake creeks flowed north into a basin before connecting to the Tennessee River. Currently, the creeks take a more direct route to the river, and the basin has been filled in and is now a parking lot for a nearby restaurant. The topographic information present on the 1882 map, including the grassed terrace east and below the cemetery, is similar in character to what currently exists at the national cemetery and Pittsburg Landing. Because site topography in the national cemetery has not changed since 1882 and most likely was similar at the time of the battle in 1862, the topographic features retain historic integrity.

Landscape Features

Cemetery bluff	Contributing
Terrace east and below cemetery	Contributing



Figure 16. View looking north toward the cemetery bluff and the Tennessee River from the current Pittsburg Landing. IMGP2948.JPG (SUZANNE TURNER ASSOCIATES—HEREAFTER STA—2017)



Figure 17. View looking south toward the terrace between the cemetery and the Tennessee River. IMGP2632.JPG (STA 2017)

Spatial Organization

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

Spatial arrangement during the Civil War was constantly changing as battle lines shifted, and the topography largely determined occupied space. The bluff contained encampments that would have been in formal and ordered rows as well as a cabin that was used as General Grant's headquarters. According to Bearss's 1973 base map indicating conditions of 1862 **(Figures 8 and 9)**, the bluff was clear of vegetation, but thick forests existed directly north and south.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

Conceptually, it has been the combination and arrangement of vertical and horizontal planes that have worked together to shape space at Shiloh National Cemetery. Elements such as trees, groves, vegetation, grave markers, paths, walls, earth, water, and man-made structures created implied planes that articulated space **(Figure 11)**.

The feature demarking the cemetery as a sacred place was one that also carved an ordered space from the natural forests that surround it. The stone walls served as both a physical and psychological boundary; when one crossed this threshold, the environment changed from common utility to respect and reverence. This vertical plane separated the park guest from the "outside" environment. On the west side of the cemetery, the guest crossed a wall and arrived in a small walled area containing two structures. A short distance east, another wall separated this area from the cemetery. There were two structures just north of the eastern walled area. They were arranged in an L shape, suggesting a relationship in use.

Two important features that shaped space within the cemetery walls were the headstones and paths. Together, the arrangement and conversation between them organized space into two zones—one that is passive and reflective and contains the remains of Union soldiers and another that is active and allows the park guest to circulate through the cemetery. Arranged in rows and in traditional geometry, the headstones served as a

subconscious boundary, albeit a permeable one. Most of the headstones were arranged in rows north to south with a central circular arrangement radiating from a central point and containing the American flag. The central radials contained four rows of headstones on the east side and seven rows on the west side. Within two wings north and south of the main core of the cemetery, the headstones were arranged west to east. On the far north and far south edges of the cemetery, small semicircle headstone arrangements were found.

Vegetation shaped space, as most trees were planted surrounding burial zones, along walks, and along fence lines. West of the graves in the circle, an arc of trees was found. A distinct line of trees was found in pathways running north-south in the western part of the cemetery, and trees were arranged in a circle east of the graves. Trees were also found northeast and southeast of the cemetery, framing views toward the river. On the western part of the site, most vegetation was concentrated on the edges and along paths, suggesting a more inward-focused view. The plan shows a mixed placement, but the trees generally framed burial areas and lined the main gravel road and other grassed paths. In areas where burial sections were framed, a room-like effect was created.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Spatial organization according to the 1934 survey was somewhat distinguishable but incomplete since only trees along walkways were surveyed **(Figures 13–15)**. Those among the grave sites and on the interior of the burial plots were not. Trees lined the interior of the southern stone wall and the area between the wall, and the headquarters building was moderately treed. A concrete wall is located west of headquarters, and the stone wall that once separated the structures from the cemetery is removed. The structures in the northwest of the cemetery are removed.

Existing

The stone cemetery wall encloses the cemetery on the north, east, and south sides. A brick wall on a concrete foundation encloses the west side, and there are two structures in this area. The NPS offices and the maintenance structure articulate space but are arranged as destinations rather than as a collection. The headstones articulate space in the same manner as described in the Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893).

Natural features such as earth, trees, lawn, and water are inherent and articulate space, but their effects may not be as apparent as those of the man-made structures. The cemetery is situated on rolling topography; views are thus concealed and revealed as viewers move concurrently on horizontal and vertical planes through the space. The topography, earth, and lawn create canted planes that compress and decompress space.

Water shapes space throughout the cemetery and is evidenced by subtle swales that allow it to drain from hills and valleys and through the cemetery walls. The most conspicuous water feature is east of the cemetery. The Tennessee River runs from south to north, forms the eastern cemetery border, and is the main geologic feature that is the source of the area's maritime and military events.

Trees form both vertical and horizontal planes. Vertical trunks can shape space by creating a grove or a line. Or they can be arranged informally and can mimic nature. Horizontally, tree canopies shape space by providing a psychological yet porous cover. The canopy shields park guests and the graves from sun and rain. It also creates implied space delineation on the ground plane through shadows.

At Shiloh, trees are arranged informally, occurring in clusters and as single specimens. There is a mix of evergreen and deciduous trees, and most are older specimens reaching over 100 feet in height. Due to the location of evergreen and deciduous trees, park guests have a much different experience in the summer and winter months. In the spring and summer months, tree cover expands and covers roughly half the cemetery. There are several clusters, and their locations provide a sequential rhythm as one moves through the cemetery. The first and smallest is north of the entrance gate. It encloses and separates the cemetery from the

gift shop, and it also frames the historic cemetery lodge. The next cluster stretches from north to south and is a mental threshold, a transition space separating the entrance area from the burial spaces. The final and largest cluster stretches from northeast to southwest and to the east, following the brick path. This canopy is part of the burial landscape and functionally provides both respite from the elements and a reverent natural environment.

When thought of as a collection, the clusters operate as a sequence, and the overhead tree cover alternates from closed to open three times until guests reach the final open space: the circle and flagstaff. The three "open" spaces are not completely unprotected. Within these areas, single specimens grow and are not necessarily part of the clusters.

Beyond the north and south cemetery walls and between the cemetery and the river, a naturally occurring forest provides a green backdrop. The thick trees and underbrush, which surround the cemetery on three sides, contribute to its feeling of isolation.

Evaluation

A major change from the historic to the present conditions is in the western part of the cemetery where all original structures have been destroyed or removed. Three structures exist here; the original intermediate wall between the structures and the cemetery has been removed, and a wall has been constructed west and north of the structures to enclose them within the cemetery.

Little if any vegetation and few trees from the original 1882 plan remain, as most were destroyed in the tornado of 1909 and the ice storm of 1951. In analyzing trees as a component that shapes space, few remnants are left of the original intent. But the line of evergreen cedars east of the main burial circle and most trees surrounding the burial areas exist as they are shown in the 1882 plan.

Most noticeable are the trees and viewsheds that shape space in the eastern part of the cemetery, toward the Tennessee River. According to the 1882 plan, a significant space is open from the circle to the river. There are also smaller viewsheds open to the northeast and southeast **(Figure 11)**.

Although the current tree arrangement matches the intent of the original plan in some areas, the tree arrangement in most areas appears to be naturalistic and pastoral, especially in the western part of the cemetery. Trees are also absent from marking the perimeter wall, as shown in the original plan. A few significant character-defining features survive: the generous mix of deciduous and evergreen trees and the thick forests that are directly north and south of the cemetery.

The grave markers as a component of spatial organization retain integrity according to both the 1882 and 1934 maps. The forested areas north and south of the cemetery also retain integrity, as they have been allowed to evolve naturally. Since the trees east of the cemetery create a spatial organization that should respond to the Tennessee River, they are considered contributing but are not necessarily in an arrangement consistent with the intent of the original cemetery design.

Landscape Features

Grave Marker Semicircle Layout	Contributing
Grave Marker Row Layout	Contributing
Trees North of the Cemetery	Contributing
Trees East of the Cemetery	Contributing
Trees South of the Cemetery	Contributing



Figure 18. Grave markers arranged in a semicircle. IMGP2609.JPG (STA 2017)

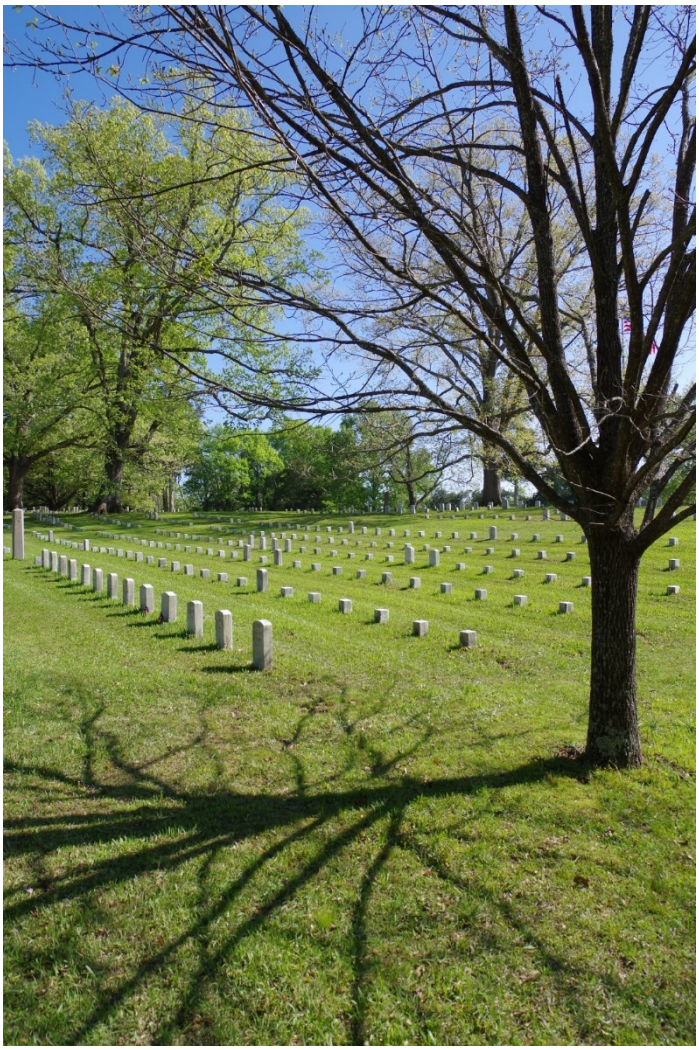


Figure 19. Grave markers arranged in rows. IMGP2677.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 20. Trees north of the cemetery create a feeling of isolation. IMGP2428.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 21. Trees east of the cemetery, between the cemetery and the Tennessee River. IMGP2635.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 22. Trees south of the cemetery. IMGP2657.JPG (STA 2017)

Land Use

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

Prior to being reserved as a cemetery, the land on the bluff was a critical site for Confederate troops, as roads from Pittsburg Landing led to Corinth, Mississippi, a town containing a strategic rail intersection for the Confederacy. March 1, 1862, is considered the "First Engagement on Shiloh Battlefield," where parts of the 32nd Illinois Infantry encountered the 18th Louisiana bivouacked on what is now the cemetery bluff.

General Sherman returned in mid to late March and camped at Pittsburg Landing. Major General Grant and the Union forces soon joined Sherman; the bluff land was used as a campground, and the land below the bluff adjacent to the Tennessee River served as a landing space for arriving troops. The original Pittsburg Landing was located northeast of the bluff. As additional troops arrived and more capacity was required, the landing stretched from north to southeast of the bluff, where the current Pittsburg Landing is located. Grant's headquarters was located on the bluff land in an existing log cabin, a short distance west of the landing. The bluff land was mostly cleared and under Union control throughout the Battle of Shiloh **(Figures 8 and 9)**.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

During the Cemetery Establishment Era, in 1867, the bluff land was enclosed by a stone cemetery wall that was built a year after Union troops began burying their dead following the battle. At that time, the wall contained graves in the western part of the cemetery, and the wall stretched down toward the Tennessee River in the eastern part of the cemetery, enclosing a significant area containing a steep slope and trees. Outside the western stone wall, two structures were enclosed in a separate walled area, effectively separating the cemetery support area and structures from the cemetery itself. Three structures were enclosed north of the secondary walled area, but the enclosure appears to be less substantial than the adjacent stone and concrete walls. The area appears to have been associated with maintenance activities for the cemetery, further separating

supporting uses from the cemetery proper. Pittsburg Landing is located southeast of the cemetery. The original Civil War–era landing northeast of the cemetery appears to have been abandoned **(Figure 11)**.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Land use during the War Department and Early NPS eras remained largely unchanged. The western stone perimeter wall was removed, and although the structures are in different locations, they are still west of the cemetery and are now enclosed within a western concrete wall as part of the cemetery proper. Pittsburg Landing is located southeast of the cemetery. The original Civil War–era landing northeast of the cemetery appears to have been abandoned **(Figures 13–15)**.

Existing

The current land use of Shiloh National Cemetery is for the cemetery itself, for the aesthetic environment that surrounds it, and for maintenance and support services that provide for its management.

The principal land use of the 10.05-acre cemetery is reserved for burials and for the pastoral setting surrounding them. In-ground burials account for 4.72 acres, or 47 percent of the total land use. A much smaller portion—1.47 acres, or 15 percent of the total land use—is partitioned at the entrance and contains the entry gates, entry sequence, NPS offices, and maintenance building. The remaining 3.86 acres, or 38 percent of the total land use, are located on the north, east, and southeast perimeters and contain heavily forested land with steep slopes toward the Tennessee River.

Approximately 5.95 acres, or 59 percent, of the cemetery are under tree cover. The canopy located near the entrance is .73 acres; the canopy located in the interior is 1.5 acres; and what are considered forested slopes to the north, east, and southeast account for 3.27 acres of tree canopy. Park guests are unable to occupy this space due to steep topography. This vegetation primarily serves as a buffer and backdrop for the main burial areas. Finally, individual trees that are not a part of a cluster account for .45 acres and range in cover from 225 square feet to 2,000 square feet depending on the tree size. Nineteen individual trees exist that are not part of larger clusters.

The commemorative landscape and associated land use that were present post–Civil War are still present today. Pittsburg Landing is located southeast of the cemetery, below the bluff.

Evaluation

Little remains of the Civil War landscape that preceded the establishment of Shiloh National Cemetery in 1866. The original Pittsburg Landing north of the cemetery exists as a topographical feature only and is inaccessible to the river due to overgrowth. The second and current version of Pittsburg Landing south of the cemetery remains a point of river access today. Within the cemetery walls, the Grant headquarters three-cannon marker and the “First Engagement of Shiloh” marker are the only vestiges that denote the Civil War–era land use. Scant integrity remains from the 1862 Civil War–era landscape.

Within the cemetery walls, the easternmost land use retains integrity from the Cemetery Establishment Era and is used for burials as laid out in the 1882 plan **(Figure 11)** and recorded in the 1934 survey **(Figures 13–15)**. West of the burials, the wall orientation and structure locations have changed from the 1882 plan and the 1934 survey, but the land use in general retains integrity from those eras.

Circulation

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

Circulation around the cemetery site was established well before the site was used as such. Before trains and automobiles, the main transportation route was the Tennessee River, which is on the eastern boundary of the cemetery and flows south to north in this location. Because of the natural topography and the vicinity of the river, trails connected inland areas through natural watersheds and valleys that descend to the river's edge. During the Civil War, the primary vehicles for troop movement were the river and Pittsburg Landing, which was located northeast of the current cemetery bluff. Pittsburg Landing was the terminus of what was labeled a "major road," which eventually connected inland to Corinth, Mississippi. During the war, troop embarkments expanded from the northern Pittsburg Landing to the valley south of the current cemetery bluff. At that time, the road south of the cemetery bluff from the river inland was labeled a "minor road" **(Figures 8 and 9)**.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

Circulation in the Cemetery Establishment Era was marked by gravel and lawn paths **(Figure 11)**. The main path approached from the west within a walled area that contained the hotel and store. The path continued east through another wall and into the cemetery proper. The main path was surfaced with gravel and continued east through perpendicular rows of graves. A slight bump in the path appeared halfway to the circle. The deviation could have accounted for the root zone of a nearby tree. The path turned south slightly and continued east to a central circle that contained a rostrum. This central circle was the extent of gravel surfacing in the center of the cemetery. A grassed drive was located on the perimeter of the cemetery. It began at the entry gates and ran southeast near the cemetery walls; then it turned northeast, southeast, and northeast again, where it continued north along a lower terrace below the cemetery. In the northeast corner, the grassed drive turned west, southwest, northwest, and west again before it met the cemetery wall and rejoined the other paths at the cemetery entrance.[432]

Minor paths are shown in the western part of the cemetery that are associated with nearby structures. A small path lead from the hotel to the south, through the cemetery wall. A small path also lead north through the cemetery wall to what appears to be a maintenance area. A public road south of the cemetery led to Pittsburg Landing.[433]

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

During the War Department and the Early NPS eras, the main cemetery path routing generally has a similar layout to that of the previous era, and the material is listed as gravel **(Figures 13–15)**. There are a few differences from the 1882 plan. The western entrance path leads to a circle with a "flower stand" in the middle. The circle is on center with the superintendent lodge north of the path. North of the gravel walk, a concrete walk leads from the entry gates to the lodge and around the east side. Northeast of the lodge, the concrete walk leads west and east. The east walk leads to a well house where the material changes to brick and leads north to a gravel drive. The gravel drive leads northwest out of the cemetery and northeast to a garage.

The curve in the western part of the path that leads to the cemetery appears to be less pronounced in the 1934 survey. The path continues and ends at the edge of the interior lawn circle. Southeast of the cemetery, a brick path that curves from southeast to east leads to the Grant monument. The path continues to the cemetery wall and follows it to the iron steps southeast of the site. The grassed-drive terrace east of the cemetery is visible and joins the brick path southeast of the cemetery.

[432] "National Cemetery Shiloh, Tenn.," nps.gov.
[433] "National Cemetery Shiloh, Tenn."

Existing

Currently, the river is in the same general location, but the flow and water level are regulated by the Pickwick Landing Dam, a hydroelectric dam located approximately nine miles upstream. Pittsburg Landing is now located south of the cemetery bluff.

The cemetery is accessed by Pittsburg Landing Road, an asphalt road within Shiloh National Military Park that is accessed from Highway 22 from the north and south. The visitor center and gift shop are located along this park road to the west of the cemetery, and a parking lot is located between the two buildings. Just outside the northern cemetery boundary, an aggregate trail begins at the parking lot, runs along the cemetery, and terminates at the Tennessee River. This trail is the original Pittsburg Landing–Corinth road, which provided sole access to the original and much smaller Pittsburg Landing, located northeast of the cemetery.

Adjacent to the southern cemetery boundary, an asphalt road runs from northwest to southeast and terminates at Pittsburg Landing, currently a vehicular turnaround at the river's edge. A grass path parallel to the river and below the cemetery connects Pittsburg Landing with the aggregate northern trail. A pedestrian or maintenance vehicle may circulate freely around the cemetery perimeter.

Several materials delineate circulation hierarchies within the cemetery. The main paths were rebuilt in 1977 and are comprised of red brick with ½" – ¾" gray mortar joints. At first glance, the pattern seems to be basket weave, but on further investigation, the pattern is a custom design with a basket-weave pattern component **(Figures 24 and 25)**. Not all paths have this design feature. It was observed on the main path near the NPS office building and on the brick path that leads to Pittsburg Landing.

This brick path leads people from the parking lot, through the main gate, past the park headquarters building, and into the cemetery. The layout character is informal, with broad sweeps and curves below high canopy trees. The path leads to the main hub of the cemetery, where it terminates at the center of a circular path. In the center is open lawn and a flagpole displaying the American flag. Lawn paths radiate north and south from the circle and along with the east-west brick paths, creating a cross with the flag located at the intersection. The brick path continues east beyond the flagpole and circle and terminates at a smaller semicircle of headstones marking the graves of six color-bearers from the 16th Wisconsin. Their graves overlook the Tennessee River.[434]

On the east side of the large circle, a brick path runs north-south, roughly parallel to the Tennessee River. The north brick path turns into a grass path, and the south brick path loops west and runs along the stone perimeter wall, past the marker for Grant's headquarters. A brick path with steps also leads to the southeast perimeter wall gateway and iron steps to Pittsburg Landing. Other minor brick paths lead to the front and rear of the headquarters building and to an inoperable fountain. The path returns southward from the fountain to the main path.

Grass paths are defined by pauses in the gravestone layout, delineating perpendicular movement across rows of headstones. Most grave lines are spaced approximately 10 feet apart, but this dimension varies. Three grass paths run east-west, with the furthest north containing wheel divots in gravel, indicating use for maintenance vehicles. This northern path winds east along the north perimeter wall and connects with a grassed terrace below the eastern cemetery grade level. The middle path runs the length of the cemetery. The southern path runs from the west cemetery limits to the graves oriented around the circle. There are two grass paths that run

[434] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 12.

north-south. The midpoint of the westernmost path meets the western edge of the circular grave layout. The second path creates the cross along with the east-west brick path, with the American flag as the axial focal feature.

The maintenance structure is located adjacent to the northwest part of the cemetery perimeter wall. The ground is surfaced with limestone to support small-vehicle and mower access. There is a break in the stone perimeter wall in this location for maintenance-vehicle access.

Evaluation

The original landing north of the cemetery bluff is where Federal troops originally disembarked in March 1862. Soon after, Federals established several additional landing points, because the original Pittsburg Landing was deemed inadequate. One of the additional points is the current location of Pittsburg Landing, southeast of the cemetery. By 1894, when the park was established, the original Pittsburg Landing location was apparently abandoned.[435] The only remnant of the original Pittsburg Landing site is the gravel drive down to the river. The landing currently known as Pittsburg Landing is south of the site, and the road leading to it is asphalt. The landing area is grassed, and the road loops and returns westward up the valley.

Circulation within the cemetery has been somewhat altered since 1882 and 1934, with the most significant change being a material upgrade in the 1930s and the adjusted routing of the main walk west of the cemetery. After 1934, the surface of the main gravel walks changed to brick, and they appear to be in the same or a similar alignment in the eastern part of the cemetery now as they were in 1934. In the western portion, south of the headquarters building, the 1934 circular walk on center with the building has been removed, and now the walk curves gracefully from the gates to the cemetery. The brick path leading southeast to the Grant's Headquarters Monument has been moved to a more northeastern location where it meets the main walk, but the intent remains. The path leading to the inoperable fountain northeast of headquarters remains, and the path returns southeast to meet the main walk again. Another path remains that leads to the maintenance area, and the maintenance area gravel drive is still as it existed in 1934. The grassed drive shown on the 1882 and 1934 maps remains east and below the cemetery and north of the cemetery but does not exist south of the cemetery, as a brick walk has replaced it.

Although some material upgrades have occurred from lawn to brick, the 1882 circulation layout within the cemetery retains integrity, particularly on the eastern part of the site. The grassed paths within the cemetery and among the grave markers are largely unchanged from 1882. The subtle material changes and some layout changes reduce the integrity of the circulation shown on the 1882 and 1934 maps, but the changes are considered compatible with the overall historic aesthetic.

Landscape Features

Main Brick Walkway through Cemetery	Contributing
Brick Stairs to Headquarters	Contributing
Dirt Path North of Cemetery	Contributing
Lawn Path North of Cemetery	Contributing
Gravel Maintenance Driveway	Contributing
Gravel Road North Leading to Original Pittsburg Landing	Contributing
Pittsburg Landing	Contributing
Asphalt Road South of Cemetery (CRIS HS #090484)	Contributing
Lawn Path in Southern Portion of Cemetery	Contributing

[435] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.



Figure 23. View of the brick walkway leading through the cemetery. The pattern is partly a traditional basket weave. IMGP2579.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 24. View of the brick walkway with the unique pattern highlighted. The dark-red section is a traditional basket-weave pattern. (STA 2017)

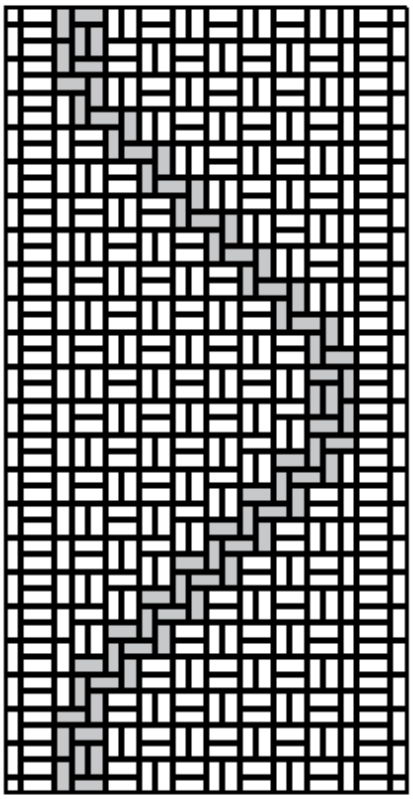


Figure 25. AutoCAD drawing of brick walkway pattern with detail shaded. (STA 2017)



Figure 26. View of brick stairs leading to the rear NPS office building entrance. IMGP2589.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 27. View of dirt path north of the cemetery, looking west. IMGP2615.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 28. View of lawn path north of the cemetery, looking east. IMGP2618.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 29. View of gravel maintenance driveway, northwest of the cemetery. IMGP2789.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 30. View of the gravel road along the north cemetery wall. The gravel road is a remnant of the original Pittsburg Landing–Corinth road that was used by Federal troops upon disembarking at the original landing adjacent to the Tennessee River in March 1862. IMGP2826.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 31. View of the grass road east of the cemetery along the Tennessee River. IMGP2915.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 32. View of Pittsburg Landing, southeast of the cemetery. IMGP2948.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 33. View of the asphalt road south of the cemetery leading from Pittsburg Landing. IMGP2958.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 34. View of the lawn path within the cemetery, looking west. IMGP3153.JPG (STA 2017)

Views and Vistas

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

The bluff above the Tennessee River that would become a national cemetery was clear of major vegetation. The cleared area spanned west, northwest, and southwest, beyond the future-cemetery extents. Views would have been open in these directions and eastward to the Tennessee River **(Figures 8 and 9)**.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

Historic views within and immediately surrounding the cemetery are inferred using the *Plan of Shiloh National Cemetery* (1882), which contains vegetation and tree grouping information **(Figure 11)**. Although specific tree species are not listed, the plan contains graphic tree symbols that distinguish between deciduous trees and evergreens. On the western part of the site, most vegetation is concentrated on the edges and along paths, suggesting a more inward-focused view. The plan shows a mixed placement, but the trees generally frame burial areas and line the main gravel road and other grassed paths. In areas where burial sections are framed, a room-like effect is created.

On the eastern part of the site, views are focused outward toward the Tennessee River. Between the grassed-path perimeter terrace and the stone perimeter wall, trees are concentrated northeast and southeast on the slope between the cemetery and the Tennessee River. Views are mostly open to the river from the 16th Wisconsin burials directly east of the flag, as fewer trees are shown at the top of the slope and more are shown at the bottom, inside the stone perimeter wall. From the higher elevation of the cemetery at this location, the view toward the river would have been mostly open yet seen through a thin curtain of tree canopies and an even thinner curtain of tree trunks. Along the eastern cemetery edge, views open in the northeast and southeast corners toward the river. Concentrations of mixed deciduous and evergreen tree groupings on the slope form the edges and focus the views from the cemetery toward the river.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Views during the War Department and Early NPS eras are difficult to discern since survey information does not include the entire cemetery **(Figures 13–15)**. Trees are shown along the main path and the southern secondary brick path as well as along the southern stone wall, creating a forested and enclosed environment. Views would have been focused inward toward the headstones. Canopy information was not available within the burial part of the cemetery or east of the cemetery on the bluff.

Existing

Views within the cemetery are pastoral from the path looking east through the trees, as the headstones accentuate the topography beyond. The general character within the cemetery contains a foreground of trees with open views across the landscape beyond. Interior views are contained by the natural forest growing beyond the cemetery walls to the north, east, and south.

At the eastern cemetery perimeter, between the grave sites and the river, vegetation covers the slope. There is a small group of headstones arranged in a semicircle facing the Tennessee River. Currently, views from the cemetery through the forest toward the river are actively maintained by routine grubbing, thinning, and trimming of understory species. Hazardous trees are also removed from the site as needed. From the cemetery, views toward the river are maintained through a curtain of tree trunks. The large trees are limbed in a natural aesthetic, and shrubs and understory trees are removed to maintain the view and connection to the river. In some areas, vines that have climbed tree trunks hinder views.

Evaluation

According to the 1882 and 1934 maps, the cemetery seems to be largely below tree canopy, with trees marking the perimeter of burial areas, along paths, and around the cemetery itself. Currently, the cemetery is partially under tree cover, and the open areas do not correlate to the views and "rooms" suggested on the 1882 map. On the eastern part of the site, trees block much of the view toward the river. According to the 1882 map, there would have been a view east approximately as large as the biggest circle of graves surrounding the flag. The view would not have been completely open but seen through a curtain of trees. Northeast and southeast of the site, where trees also block views to the river, secondary views would have been open and allowed views upstream and downstream. Currently, the treed views within the cemetery retain the character and integrity shown on the 1882 map. The open areas of the cemetery retain less integrity. The views east to the river are partially open from the 16th Wisconsin graves but should be opened more. The views southeast and northeast to the river are not maintained. River views retain partial integrity, but the opening of views could also invite unwanted sights of industrial river traffic or of development across the river. Therefore, the current views eastward are considered compatible with historic intentions.

Landscape Features

View East to Tennessee River from Cemetery	Contributing
View Northeast to Tennessee River from River Edge	Contributing
Interior View East to the Burial Area	Contributing
Interior View Northwest to the Cemetery from Landing	Contributing
View of Grant's Headquarters Monument with Cemetery beyond	Contributing
View of the 16th Wisconsin burial area with the Tennessee River beyond	Contributing
View of the circular burial area surrounding the American flag	Contributing



Figure 35. View from the cemetery east to the Tennessee River. IMGP2629.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 36. View from below the cemetery bluff, looking northeast. IMGP2925.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 37. Interior cemetery view, looking east toward the burial area. IMGP2577.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 38. View northwest from the original cemetery approach at Pittsburg Landing. IMGP2660.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 39. View of Grant's Headquarters Monument with the cemetery in the background. IMGP3003.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 40. View of the burial area that contains the remains of the 16th Wisconsin color-bearers, with the Tennessee River beyond. IMGP3105.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 41. Circular burial area surrounding a central American flag. IMGP3127.JPG (STA 2017)

Vegetation

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

The bluff above the Tennessee River that would become a national cemetery was clear of major vegetation. The cleared area spanned west, northwest, and southwest, beyond the future-cemetery extents. Views would have been open in these directions and eastward to the Tennessee River **(Figures 8 and 9)**.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

It is unknown if an original planting plan was drafted for the cemetery beyond the deciduous and evergreen trees shown on the 1882 map **(Figure 11)**. As early as 1870, Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs consulted with the noted landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmsted on cemetery design and plantings.[436] One can only infer that the general design intent was, in Olmsted's words, to "establish permanent dignity and tranquility … a sacred grove, sacredness and protection being expressed in the perfect tranquility of the trees within."[437]

A large concentration of evergreen trees is located within the walled area of the support buildings, west of the cemetery. Many line the southern stone wall and are north of the lodge in this location. Deciduous trees are also present and are concentrated on the interior of this walled space. Within the stone cemetery walls, evergreens are mixed with deciduous trees, but the evergreens are more concentrated in the north and northwest area, along the grassed drive at the edge of the cemetery. They are also located among the headstones on the interior of the cemetery, and some arc the circular headstone area. There is also a large

[436] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."
[437] Leach.

concentration northeast and southeast of the site, with the northeastern cluster being more homogenous compared to the mix of evergreen and deciduous trees found elsewhere.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Most trees and vegetation from previous eras were destroyed by the 1909 tornado. The trees and vegetation present during the War Department and Early NPS eras were most likely either new plantings from possible replanting efforts that could have occurred in late 1909 and 1910 or supplemental plantings by the War Department or NPS that would have been done between 1910 and 1934, the date of the NPS survey. Trees are located in the areas surveyed on the 1934 map, and information includes species and trunk diameter **(Figures 13–15)**. Evergreen species are mostly pines and cedars, which are found in a parallel line, east of the 16th Wisconsin, that spans the entire cemetery. Cedars line the east side of the grassed drive east of and below the cemetery. Other evergreens such as magnolia and pine are also present on the interior of the cemetery and along the walks. Overall, deciduous trees outnumber evergreen trees 74 to 42, with 34 of the deciduous trees being ash. One gingko tree is noted along a brick walk northeast of the lodge.

The survey also notes smaller specimen trees such as boxwood and crape myrtle. Snowbell is listed too, but it is unclear whether the spelling indicates the native large shrub or small tree (snowbell, *Styrax americanus*) or the large shrub (fragrant snowball viburnum, *Viburnum x carlcephalum*). Deciduous trees listed are ash, oak, black walnut, sycamore, elm, hackberry, tulip poplar, Norway maple, and dogwood. They are mixed with evergreens along walks and on the perimeter. Ash trees are found on the southern perimeter near the stone wall, south of the lodge. They are also found in a line from north to south, immediately west of the 16th Wisconsin graves, that spans the entire cemetery.

Some shrubs and ground plantings are noted as well. Inside the western entrance, two flower stands frame the gates, and one is in the central circle on center with the lodge. A well house is located south of the lodge, and two Japanese quince and a boxwood are located just north of the feature. A round flowerbed is located southeast of the lodge, on center with the cemetery gates. Two flower stands are located on the north side of the main walk; one is a short distance from the lodge, and one is further east toward the circle. Two Japanese quince are east of the circle. Boxwood and a plant labeled as “e. jap,” which could be *Euonymus japonicus*, surround a “plant stand” in the center of the circle.

Two flower beds are located south of the Grant monument. The northern one is shaped as a rectangle, and the southern one is shaped as a rectangle with one end rounded. A Japanese quince is east of this feature, and another is east of the Grant monument.

Existing

Several events have altered the original planting character, most notably the 1909 tornado, which destroyed trees, headstones, and the cemetery lodge.

There are a few references to significant plant material that has been lost or removed. In 1871, a 3,172-linear-foot hedge of Osage orange (*Macular pomifera*) was planted along the inside of the stone walls. It has since been removed. The tree marking the location of Grant’s headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh was one of the casualties of the 1909 tornado. It was replaced in 1914 with the monument of three upright cannons.

Early park administrations established some documentation of trees present before 1950. Park archives contain a map that illustrates the changes and removals of trees in the cemetery during the years 1951,1954, 1956, 1961, and 1962. The *Vegetation and Interment Inventory* was produced in 1977 and documents trees present in the cemetery at that time as well as management recommendations. In 1993 and 1994, officials built on the 1977 document, and the Shiloh Resource Management Specialist, Lowell K. Higgins, consulted with

officials from the Tennessee Department of Agriculture to draft the *Shiloh National Cemetery Vegetation Plan*. The plan contains recommendations for the management of existing trees and future plantings. A "Hazard Tree Inspection Form" and a "Hazard Tree Assessment Tatum Guide" were created for use by facility management staff. The cemetery vegetation is continuously being evaluated and managed as part of facility operations.

Currently, the prominent vegetation within the cemetery is a mix of mature deciduous and evergreen trees set above a carpet of lawn. Few are in decline. No ornamental shrubs are present.

Evaluation

Cemetery areas with a significant canopy of deciduous and evergreen trees retain integrity and reflect the tree canopy represented in the 1882 and 1934 plans. Areas that do not contain trees, such as perimeter areas and any areas not containing grave sites, do not retain integrity, as the planting design intention shown on both plans is heavily treed outside of burial areas. The ornamental ground and shrub plantings found on the 1934 survey have been removed and do not presently exist. Species listed on the 1934 survey and tree locations noted on both plans should serve as a guide for future treatment. Because of the 1909 tornado, there are likely few if any trees that survive from the Cemetery Establishment Era. Many trees from the War Department and Early NPS eras likely met a similar fate in the ice storm of 1951. The current tree vegetation is most likely a mix of tree replantings that occurred after the Early NPS Era. Some cedars are present and may be remnants from those recorded on the 1934 survey. Whether intentional or not, the Park Service seems to have deferred to the tree plan shown on the 1882 map as the basis for present-day plantings. There are no known witness trees from the time of the battle or the initial cemetery development, although it is possible that some still exist.

Landscape Features

Deciduous and Evergreen Canopy Trees	Contributing
Native Landscape Character	Contributing
Tree in Decline	Noncontributing



Figure 42. View of deciduous and evergreen canopy trees, looking east toward the cemetery. The monument marking Grant's headquarters is visible to the right. IMGP2583.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 43. View of the native landscape character along the northern slope, within the perimeter wall. IMGP2616.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 44. View of a tree in decline within the cemetery. IMGP3052.JPG (STA 2017)

Buildings and Structures

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

In 1862, three structures existed in the vicinity of the cemetery bluff **(Figures 8 and 9)**. The road leading to the river forked prior to the cemetery bluff, with one route leading to the original Pittsburg Landing and one leading to the present-day location. Two structures are south of the fork, and one is north of the south road, between the two roads, after the fork. It is unclear whether one of the structures was the "log building on top of the hill" that served as Grant's onshore headquarters during the battle.[438]

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

[438] Hasty et al., Shiloh CLI Kickoff meeting.

During the Cemetery Establishment Era, several buildings existed that have since been destroyed by storms or removed as they have become inadequate. The 1882 map shows four structures on the western side of the cemetery **(Figure 11)**. The most prominent of these is the lodge located next to the western cemetery entrance. The one shown on the plan is the second iteration of the lodge. It was built in 1876 as a one-and-a-half-story brick structure containing six rooms, with another three in the cellar. The first lodge was an old log cabin that was converted by cemetery workers soon after the cemetery was established in 1866. The structure directly southeast of the lodge is unknown. There are three structures north of the lodge, outside the cemetery walls. Their use could be related to service and maintenance. A small structure is north of the lodge, between the lodge and the cemetery wall. A structure resembling a rostrum is in the center of the burial circle in the eastern part of the cemetery, although there are sources indicating that the rostrum was erected in 1892.[439]

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

A third and final lodge was built north of the second one after the tornado of 1909 **(Figures 13–15)**. This is the lodge present on the 1934 survey. The hotel is not present since it was destroyed by fire in 1913 and was never rebuilt. Two well houses are located near the lodge, one south and one northeast. A garage is noted further northeast of the lodge, and a small structure labeled “public toilet” is a short distance east of that structure.

Existing

There are three buildings associated with the cemetery. Two buildings are within the cemetery boundary, and one, the comfort station, was built as part of the brick perimeter wall. The NPS Shiloh National Military Park headquarters building is located directly northeast of the main entrance and houses NPS offices. The two-story structure was built in 1911 as a replacement for cemetery offices that were destroyed in the 1909 tornado. It has a gambrel roof—a roof with two different slopes on each side—and slate shingles. The building is painted white with dark green trim. There are screened porches on the north and south sides. The building is located below a canopy of shade trees within green lawn. Brick walkways lead around it and to the front and rear entrances. The building has plumbing, electricity, and air conditioning. The air-conditioning unit is located on the north side of the building. There are two chimneys indicating fireplaces on the west and east sides of the building.

The second building within the cemetery walls is the maintenance building. It is a single-story structure, approximately 500 square feet, with a gable roof lined with metal gutters and roofed with three-tab brown shingles. The building is painted white, and the trim is dark green.

Built in 1939, the comfort station is a brick structure on a concrete foundation, and its eastern and southern walls are part of the western cemetery brick boundary wall. The concrete foundation and brick match the adjacent western brick perimeter wall that was removed in 2017 due to deterioration. The structure is one-story with a gable roof, and the trim is painted a cream color to match the architecture of the adjacent gift shop and visitor center. Shutters are painted dark brown. The structure has plumbing, electricity, and is air conditioned. Utilities are located on the eastern side of the building, facing the cemetery.

[439] Smith, *The Untold Story of Shiloh,* 90.

Evaluation

The headquarters building was built in 1911 as a superintendent's lodge after the second one was destroyed by the 1909 tornado. The building has been maintained and renovated into a headquarters for the Park Service and retains integrity as represented on the 1934 survey.

The maintenance building origins are unknown, although a "tool shed" is listed as being built in 1911 along with the lodge. This early structure could be the same one that is shown on the 1934 survey and is labeled as a "garage." The present structure is maintained and retains integrity from the War Department and early NPS management periods.

The comfort station was built during the CCC and WPA-era and is the last building construction in the cemetery spanning from the establishment of the national cemetery in 1866 until the CCC program ended in 1941. Due to its relationship to the New Deal building programs designed to lift America out of the Great Depression, the comfort station is considered significant and since it has been minimally altered, has a high degree of integrity.

Landscape Features

NPS Shiloh National Military Park Headquarters Building (Superintendent's Residence CRIS HS #001313)	Contributing
Maintenance Building	Contributing
Comfort Station (CRIS HS #663991)	Contributing



Figure 45. View of the NPS Shiloh National Military Park headquarters building. IMGP2571.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 46. View of the maintenance building, north of the NPS offices. IMGP2592.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 47. View of the comfort station adjacent to the perimeter wall, northwest of the cemetery. IMGP2595.JPG (STA 2017)

Small Scale Features

Small-scale features are the elements that provide detail and diversity for functional needs and for aesthetic concerns in the landscape.[440] The most character-defining small-scale features in Shiloh National Cemetery are the headstones. Most are made of marble and are rectangular and slightly arched at the top. These headstones identify known remains and contain a name and military unit. Unidentified soldiers were originally marked with a low marble block.[441] Markers for unknown soldiers were later changed, however, to resemble the size of known burials. Although these two styles are most common, other headstone characteristics are found. As headstones have been added over the lifetime of the cemetery, different shapes, materials, and details have been incorporated. The casual differences correspond to the practices of manufacturers during the time that the headstones were created.

There are several nonburial monuments within the cemetery, including obelisks that mark regimental burials, single-cannon monuments, two guns overlooking the river, the 9th Illinois stone monument, and the three cannons that were erected in 1914 to mark the tree that stood next to Grant's headquarters. There is also the "First Engagement on Shiloh Battlefield" sign describing the Civil War events that took place on cemetery lands.

Other character-defining small-scale features include iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead," the iron gate at the entrance, the stone perimeter wall, and the flagstaff. Each feature is described in its historic context (Civil War Era: 1862, Cemetery Establishment Era: 1866–1893, and the War Department Era: 1895–1933, and NPS 1933–1945 Eras) and existing conditions. An evaluation and analysis follow of historic and existing conditions including integrity.

Historic: Civil War Era (1862)

Small-scale features are not extant from the Civil War era.

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

Lincoln Sign

In the fall of 1908, 651 cast metal and informational signs were erected throughout the park, including within cemetery walls.

Existing
President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is memorialized in a cast metal sign located east of the cemetery entry gates.

Evaluation
It is assumed that the Lincoln sign is part of the original signs installed in 1908. It is in good condition and retains integrity.

Act Sign

Historic

[440] Robert R. Page, *National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2009), 7–10.
[441] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."

In the fall of 1908, 651 cast metal and informational signs were erected throughout the park, including within cemetery walls.

Existing
The legislative “Act to Establish and to Protect National Cemeteries” is memorialized in a cast metal sign located east of the cemetery entry gates.

Evaluation
The Act sign is part of the original group of signs installed in 1908. It is in good condition and retains integrity.
Poem Signs 1-6

Historic
Stanzas from Theodore O’Hara’s poem, “Bivouac of the Dead,” have appeared in national cemeteries since the 1880s. It is unclear if the signs at Shiloh National Cemetery appeared in the 1880s or if they were part of the 651 cast metal signs erected in the fall of 1908.

Existing
Six signs displaying stanzas from “Bivouac of the Dead” are within Shiloh National Cemetery.

Evaluation
Six signs displaying stanzas from “Bivouac of the Dead” are in good condition and have been well maintained. It appears that the six existing signs are the ones that were installed in 1908 and are therefore contributing features.

Headstone—Round Top (CRIS HS #001312)

Historic
The headstones and grave sites are visible on the 1882 cemetery plan and the 1934 survey.

Existing
Within the cemetery, headstones from different eras and of different materials are found throughout. Most have a round top. For those individuals whose identities are known, information is provided on the face of the headstone. There have been different versions of standard government-issued headstones as needs and sentiments have changed. Subtle details such as symbols, text, and stone sizes mark different eras of headstone standardization.

Evaluation
The headstones are somewhat uniform, but some variation exists for burials of known soldiers, as headstone designs and materials have changed over the years. They are collectively in good condition and are located largely according to the 1882 cemetery plan.

Headstone—Square

Historic
The headstones and grave sites are visible on the 1882 cemetery plan and the 1934 survey.

Existing
Headstones from different eras and of different materials are found throughout the cemetery. The square stones mark grave sites of unknown soldiers. Within Shiloh National Cemetery, a significant percentage of headstones are small squares, as 2,359 are unknown burials.

Evaluation
Square stones were used to indicate the burial of unknown soldiers in national cemeteries from 1873 until 1903.[442] They are collectively in good condition, and because of the time period in which they were used, it is assumed that the stones mark individuals unidentified from the Civil War Era.

Obelisk

Historic
Obelisks are visible on the 1882 cemetery plan and are presumably indicated by the bold squares among the smaller headstone squares. They are not listed in the legend.

Existing
Obelisks are present in the same locations indicated on the 1882 cemetery plan.

Evaluation
The obelisks date at least to 1882, and presumably earlier. They were most likely installed during the initial cemetery development era, as obelisks mark regimental burial areas. They would have been installed at the same time that burials began in the fall of 1866. They are collectively in good condition.

Step

Historic
The rectangular stone step is not visible on the 1882 cemetery plan or the 1934 survey. It may have been present and not shown, though, as the step may have been too small to locate on a master-plan scaled drawing.

Existing
A rectangular stone step rests adjacent to the north stone perimeter wall, within the cemetery near the 9th Indiana burial area.

Evaluation
The stone step is adjacent to the northern perimeter wall where a drive exists on the northern side of the cemetery. Perhaps the step was used as a crossover point. The color and cut of the stone are similar to those of the adjacent wall; therefore, it is clear that the stone is from the 1867 stone wall installation.

Wall Drain 1

Historic
Although drainage was not included as part of the 1882 cemetery plan or the 1934 survey, it may have been present and not shown, as the feature may have been too small to locate on a master-plan scaled drawing.

Existing
A rectangular cut into the base of the northern stone perimeter wall exists near the 9th Indiana burial area. The void corresponds to nearby drainage and conveys rainwater from the cemetery area.

Evaluation
Since the void corresponds to nearby drainage, and because of the difficulty of removing a stone at the base of the wall, it is assumed that the void was part of the stone wall construction in 1867. It is part of the drainage plan for the cemetery and conveys rainwater from the burial area. The feature is functional and retains integrity.

[442] "History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers," va.gov.

Drain Structure

Historic
Although drainage was not included as part of the 1882 cemetery plan or the 1934 survey, it may have been present and not shown, as the feature may have been too small to locate on a master-plan scaled drawing.

Existing
The rectangular drain structure is made of stone and is located in the northeastern part of the cemetery. It is a stone channel with three sides and is open at one end. The structure transitions into subsurface drainage after approximately two feet. The void corresponds to nearby drainage and conveys rainwater from the cemetery area.

Evaluation
Since the drain channel corresponds to nearby drainage and conveys water northward below the stone wall, it is assumed to have been part of the stone wall construction in 1867. It is part of the drainage plan for the cemetery and conveys rainwater from the burial area. The feature is functional and retains integrity.

Wall Drain 2

Historic
Although drainage was not included as part of the 1882 cemetery plan or the 1934 survey, it may have been present and not shown, as the feature may have been too small to locate on a master-plan scaled drawing.

Existing
A rectangular cut into the base of the southern stone perimeter wall exists in the southern portion of the cemetery. The void has three iron bars and conveys rainwater from the cemetery area.

Evaluation
Since the void corresponds to nearby drainage and because of the presence of the iron bars, it is clear that the void was part of the stone wall construction in 1867. It is part of the drainage plan for the cemetery and conveys rainwater from the burial area. The feature is functional and retains integrity.

Runnel and Wall Drain 3

Historic
Although most drainage was not included as part of the 1882 cemetery plan, this runnel feature is shown north between the cemetery and the stone wall, passing through the stone wall and continuing north of it.

Existing
A rectangular cut into the base of the northern stone perimeter wall exists in the northern portion of the cemetery near the forested area. An approximately 20-foot runnel lined with stone on three sides leads to the void below the perimeter wall.

Evaluation
The feature is part of the original drainage plan for the cemetery and conveys rainwater from the burial area. The feature is functional and retains integrity.

Stone Steps

Historic

Although the steps are not found on the 1882 cemetery plan, it is possible that they were part of the cemetery's early construction.

Existing
Three stone steps are found in the northeastern part of the cemetery. They allow pedestrians to move from the upper cemetery level to the lower grass-drive level.

Evaluation
The stones are the same color as the nearby stone wall and could have been part of the early construction of the cemetery. The steps could have been installed in 1867, the date of installation of the nearby stone wall.

Cemetery Wall (Stone) (CRIS HS #090476)

Historic
The stone retaining wall dates to 1867, one year after the national cemetery was established. According to the 1882 cemetery map, the location of the wall is adjacent to the graves in the western part of the cemetery. In the northeastern, southeastern, and eastern parts, the wall extends beyond the graves and encloses a forested hillside area that slopes to the Tennessee River. In 1934, the wall is recorded as being in a different location on the western part of the site, enclosing the nearby structures. The eastern wall remains in the location shown on the 1882 plan.

Existing
The stone wall remains as it is shown on the 1934 map.

Evaluation
The eastern portion of the wall dates to 1882, whereas the westernmost portion dates to 1934. Both sections are within the period of significance and retain integrity.

Iron Steps (CRIS HS #529409)

Historic
The iron steps located southeast of the cemetery were erected in June 1891 to facilitate the arrival of guests from the Tennessee River.

Existing
The steps are in the same location and are well maintained.

Evaluation
The iron steps date to the Cemetery Establishment Era and retain integrity from that period.

Battlefield Sign

Historic
The battlefield sign is not visible on the 1882 map but may have been part of the 651 cast metal signs erected in the fall of 1908.

Existing
The battlefield sign is silver with blue trim and red text and is in the southeastern part of the cemetery. The content of the text interprets the "First Engagement on Shiloh Battlefield" in which parts of the 32nd Illinois Infantry encountered the 18th Louisiana bivouacked on what is now the cemetery bluff on March 1, 1862.

Evaluation
The battlefield sign appears to be one of the 651 cast metal signs erected in 1908. The sign is in good condition, retains integrity, and interprets the beginning of the Battle of Shiloh.

16th Wisconsin Burial Area

Historic
The 16th Wisconsin burial area is in a prominent location on axis with the center of the burial circle, east of the circle between the rostrum and the Tennessee River.

Existing
The 16th Wisconsin burial area is in a prominent location on axis with the center of the burial circle, east of the circle between the American flag and the Tennessee River. There is a circular brick walk surrounding the burial area, with steps on the north and south sides. The walk reaches a lower level on the east side.

Evaluation
The burial area exists as planned according to the 1882 map, but the circulation material has changed. The brick walks were restored in 1977.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

Western Brick Wall (Historic [now removed]: CRIS HS #090477)

Historic
The original western brick cemetery wall was located on the western perimeter of the cemetery and was built in 1940 as part of the CCC program.

Existing
The western brick wall was rebuilt in 2017 due to deterioration and public safety concerns. Before removal and reconstruction, consultants photographed and measured the wall so that it, along with the columns and wall cap, could be rebuilt in place and replicated in size and detail. The original concrete foundations were retained, and the new wall was built above them.

Evaluation
Since the existing brick wall and columns were replaced from the southwest corner to the comfort station, nothing remains above the foundation of the original 1940s CCC-era wall. The foundation retains integrity, but the brick wall does not. It is still considered compatible, however, since materials and design match the 1940s-era wall.

Iron Gate (CRIS HS #090478)

Historic
In 1911, the War Department placed iron gates at the cemetery entrance.

Existing
The black-painted iron gates mark the western entrance into the cemetery. The brick wall adjacent to the gates was rebuilt in 2017, but the gates were protected and untouched.

Evaluation

The original iron gates have been well maintained and have been protected from the elements. No rust is visible on the surface. They are in good condition and retain integrity.

Fountain, Step, and Brickwork

Historic
Although the fountain, step, and brickwork paving are not present on the 1882 cemetery map, they are found on the 1934 survey.

Existing
A secondary brick sidewalk leads north to a fountain that is set within a brick-paved area. The fountain is concrete but is inoperable.

Evaluation
The fountain, step, and brick paving date to within the period of significance and retain partial integrity. On the 1934 map, the fountain is listed as a "well house." The well house does not remain.

Stone Retaining Wall

Historic
Although the stone retaining wall adjacent to the maintenance building is not present on the 1882 cemetery plan or the 1934 survey, the wall could have been present.

Existing
The stone wall retains a parking area associated with the adjacent maintenance building. The wall is mortared stacked stone set on top of a concrete foundation, and the pattern is a random horizontal stacked pattern.

Evaluation
Although the stone appears to be the same color and potentially from the same source as the stone perimeter wall, the stacked pattern is irregular and different from the more formally arranged pattern of the perimeter wall. Since the retaining wall is not visible on the 1882 and 1934 plans and because there are observed differences in construction between it and the perimeter wall, it is possible that the retaining wall could be a later addition to the cemetery. Conversely, the maintenance building is visible on the 1934 survey, and therefore the wall could have been present, since it retains a parking area associated with the building.

Foundation

Historic
The rectangular concrete foundation is not visible on the 1882 cemetery plan but is visible on the 1934 survey and is labeled "public toilet."

Existing
A rectangular concrete foundation, approximately 10 feet by 6 feet, exists in the northern portion of the cemetery, near the 25th Indiana burial arc.

Evaluation
The concrete foundation is currently affected by bioturbation and may soon be concealed by surrounding grass. Since the foundation is associated with a use within the period of significance, it should be preserved as an Early NPS Era remnant. It does not retain much integrity, since the foundation is all that remains.

Grant's Headquarters Monument (CRIS HS #012242)

Historic
Prior to the 1909 tornado, Grant's headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh was marked by a nearby tree. Although there are several trees in the general location of the headquarters on the 1882 map, the monument tree is not labeled as such. After the tree was downed in the tornado, a monument featuring three upright cannons was erected in its place in 1914.

Existing
The Grant's Headquarters Monument is on the eastern part of the site, east of the cemetery but within the cemetery walls, along the southern brick walk. The monument features three upright cannons that mark the site of Grant's headquarters during the Battle of Shiloh. The cannons are set on a limestone base, three courses high, with a circular brick-paved area surrounding it. Four cannonballs are stacked on top of the cannons in a pyramid form.

Evaluation
The monument is in good condition and exists with integrity as it was built in 1914. The circular brick path surrounding it was rebuilt in 1977.

Cannon Markers 1–3

Historic
One cannon marker is visible on the 1934 survey, and since the interior of the cemetery was not surveyed, it can be inferred that the other two also existed by this time.

Existing
Three single, upright cannon markers exist as monuments in different locations within the cemetery.

Evaluation
The cannons were present by 1934, within the period of significance, and retain integrity from that time period.

Existing Features—Nonhistoric

POW MIA Flag

Historic
The POW MIA flag was not present in the historic eras of the cemetery.

Existing
The POW MIA flag was added to Shiloh National Cemetery in the late 1900s. Use of the flag became popular during the Vietnam War in 1972.

Evaluation
Although the POW MIA flag is dedicated to the memory of soldiers missing in action, it is not considered a contributing feature of the cemetery due to its recent creation in 1972, at the end of the Vietnam War.

Shiloh National Cemetery Sign and Map

Historic
The Shiloh National Cemetery sign and map was not present in the historic eras of the cemetery.

Existing

The Shiloh National Cemetery sign and map is a more recent addition to the cemetery. It provides historic interpretation and burial mapping for park guests.

Evaluation
Although the Shiloh National Cemetery sign and map is an important part of interpretation, it is not considered a contributing feature of the cemetery.

Metal Bench

Historic
Metal benches were not original features within the cemetery landscape.

Existing
Modern metal benches are found throughout the cemetery and were placed as resting places for visitor convenience.

Evaluation
The metal benches are a later addition to the cemetery and were presumably added for visitor comfort. They are black powder-coated metal and are minimal in ornamentation. Although they are not contributing, they are considered compatible with the historic landscape.

Utility Post and Box

Historic
The utilities are not present on the 1882 and 1934 maps.

Existing
The utilities are located north of the headquarters building and are inconspicuous and out of public view.

Evaluation
The utilities are presumably for electrical service for the headquarters building and surrounding structures. The features appear to be later additions to the park and do not hold historic value.

Round Utility Cover

Historic
The utilities are not present on the 1882 and 1934 maps.

Existing
The round utility cover is located north of the headquarters building, between the building and the maintenance structure. It is unclear what utility the cover is concealing.

Evaluation
The round utility cover is concealing a utility—potentially water, irrigation, or drainage. The feature appears to be a later addition to the cemetery and does not hold historic value.

Drain Grate

Historic
Subsurface drainage information is not present on the 1882 and 1934 maps.

Existing
The catch-basin grate is iron and is set within a concrete catch-basin box.

Evaluation
The feature appears to be a later addition to the cemetery and does not hold historic value.

Brick Walks and Steps (CRIS HS #013004)

Historic
The brick walks and steps are not materially historic, but the circulation route partially follows the 1882 circulation plan.

Existing
The brick walks and steps were rebuilt in 1977 after an internal evaluation deemed them to be unsafe. The brick walk begins west of the cemetery gate and leads eastward onto the site. It splits west of the cemetery, with the northern walk reaching the flag circle and beyond. The southern walk leads to the Grant's Headquarters Monument and splits southeast where brick steps lead down to iron steps that access Pittsburg Landing. The southern brick walk loops north and meets the northern walk east of the flagpole, terminating northeast of the flag circle.

Evaluation
The brick walk is set on sand and is in a modified basket-weave pattern. In some areas, the brick steps are deteriorating. The brick walks were rebuilt in 1977 and are not historic, but the location of the circulation routes that they represent retains integrity.

Fire Hose Enclosure

Historic
The fire hose enclosure is a later addition to the cemetery.

Existing
The fire hose enclosure is west of the cemetery between the NPS headquarters building and the brick wall. It is a wooden box made from plywood and was built about two feet above the ground. It has a shed roof and is painted green.

Evaluation
The feature is a later addition to the park and does not hold historic value. It is in an area not easily seen by guests.

Fire Hydrant

Historic
The fire hydrant is a later addition to the cemetery.

Existing
The fire hydrant is west of the cemetery, between the NPS headquarters building and the brick wall and north of the fire hose enclosure. It is a standard fire hydrant and is painted red.

Evaluation
The feature is a later addition to the park and does not hold historic value. It is in an area not easily seen by guests.

American Flag

Historic: Cemetery Establishment Era (1866–1893)

The flag is located on the 1882 cemetery map at the center of the 16th Wisconsin burial arc, east of the cemetery circular burial layout. A shape resembling a rostrum is located in the center of the circular burial area, west of the flag.

Historic: War Department Era (1895–1933) and Early NPS Era (1933–1945)

The flag is located on the 1934 survey map at the center of the 16th Wisconsin burial arc, east of the cemetery circular burial layout. Guy wires are noted and span four directions for stability. A 'flower stand' is located in the center of the circular burial area, west of the flag.

Existing
The American flag is placed at the center of the circular burial area, west of the original location. Brick walks surround the circle, and there is no path in the center lawn. There is no feature at the center of the 16th Wisconsin burial arc.

Evaluation

The American flag is located west of its original location, in a more prominent space at the center of the circular burial area. Although the flag and location do not retain integrity, they are compatible with the historic design intention.

Landscape Features

Cemetery Wall (Brick) (Removed Wall: CRIS HS #090477)	Noncontributing
Lincoln Sign	Contributing
Act Sign	Contributing
Iron Gate (CRIS HS #090478)	Contributing
POW MIA Flag	Noncontributing
Shiloh National Cemetery Sign and Map	Noncontributing
Poem Sign 1	Contributing
Poem Sign 2	Contributing
Poem Sign 3	Contributing
Poem Sign 4	Contributing
Poem Sign 5	Contributing
Poem Sign 6	Contributing
Metal Bench	Noncontributing
Fountain, Step, and Brickwork	Contributing
Utility Post and Box	Noncontributing
Round Utility Cover	Noncontributing
Typical Drain Grate	Noncontributing
Cemetery Retaining Wall (Stone)	Contributing
Headstone—Round Top (CRIS HS #001312)	Contributing
Headstone—Square	Contributing
Obelisk	Contributing
Foundation	Contributing
Step	Contributing
Wall Drain 1	Contributing

Drain Structure	Contributing
Wall Drain 2	Contributing
Runnel and Wall Drain 3	Contributing
Stone Steps	Contributing
Brick Walk and Steps (CRIS HS #013004)	Noncontributing
Grant's Headquarters Monument (CRIS HS #012242)	Contributing
Cannon Marker 1	Contributing
Fire Hose Enclosure	Noncontributing
Fire Hydrant	Noncontributing
Cemetery Wall (Stone) (CRIS HS #090476)	Contributing
Iron Steps (CRIS HS #529409)	Contributing
Cannon Marker 2	Contributing
Battlefield Sign	Contributing
Special Burial Area	Contributing
American Flag Post	Contributing
Cannon Marker 3	Contributing
LaSalle Burial Tablet (CRIS HS #533333)	Contributing
9th Illinois Infantry Monument (CRIS HS #012236)	Contributing
Forsythe Burial Monument (CRIS HS #533242)	Contributing
Bishop M. Lee Monument (CRIS HS #533259)	Contributing
Officer's Circle Monument (CRIS HS #091289)	Contributing



Figure 48. View looking west toward the east face of the 1940 brick wall. This wall was removed and replaced in 2017. IMGP2558.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 49. View of the sign depicting the Gettysburg Address by President Lincoln. IMGP2570.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 50. Sign depicting the Act to Establish and to Protect National Cemeteries. IMGP2572.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 51. View of the iron entrance gate, looking west. IMGP2573.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 52. View of the POW MIA flag with the NPS office building in the background. IMGP2720.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 53. Shiloh National Cemetery interpretive sign. IMGP2578.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 54. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP2580.JPG (STA 2017)

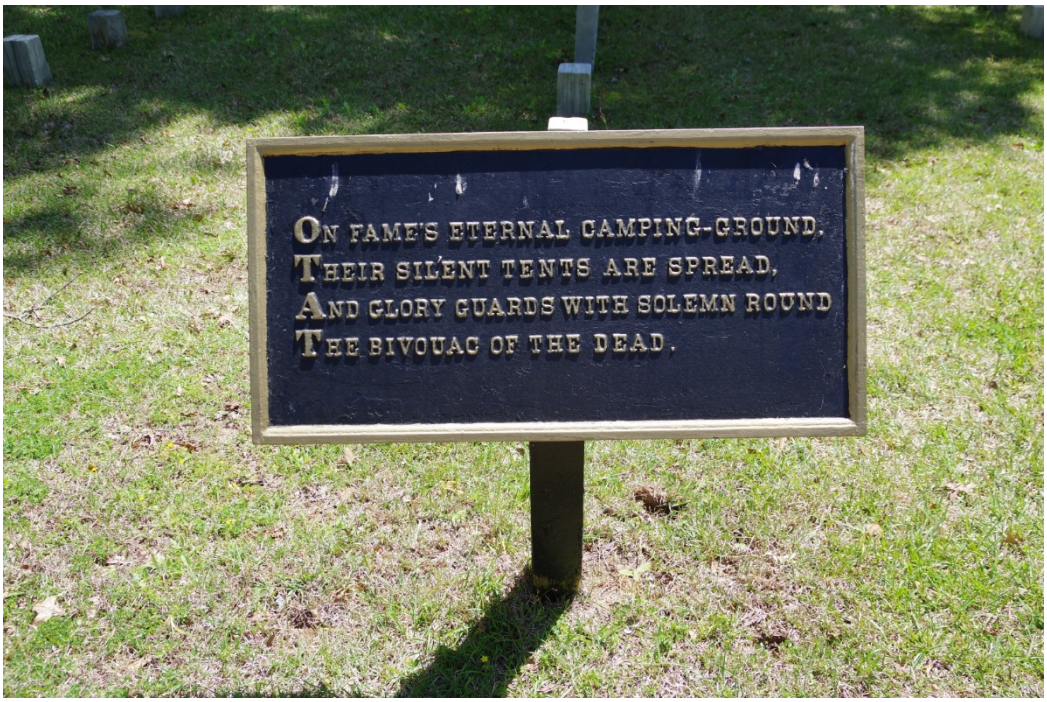


Figure 55. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP3048.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 56. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP3053.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 57. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP3112.JPG (STA 2017)

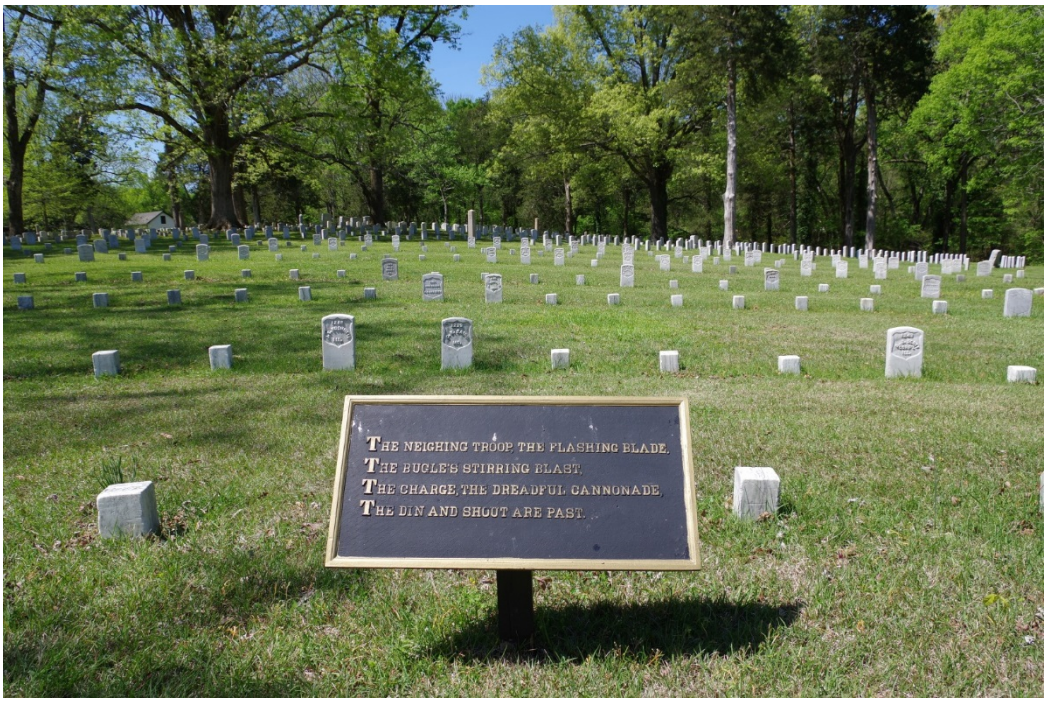


Figure 58. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP3113.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 59. Iron signage containing excerpts from the poem "Bivouac of the Dead." IMGP3118.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 60. Metal bench. IMGP2581.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 61. Fountain, step, and brick paving. IMGP2587.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 62. Utility post and box. IMGP2590.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 63. Round utility cover. IMGP2591.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 64. Typical drain grate. IMGP2593.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 65. Stone retaining wall. IMGP2597.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 66. Typical headstone, round top. IMGP2601.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 67. Headstone for unidentified soldiers. IMGP3028.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 68. Obelisk in the northeastern part of the cemetery. IMGP2628.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 69. Foundation of guest restrooms, circa 1933. IMGP2604.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 70. Step adjacent to the stone wall. IMGP2605.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 71. Drain through stone wall. IMGP2606.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 72. Drain structure. IMGP2608.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 73. Drain through stone wall. IMGP2804.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 74. Stone runnel and drain through stone wall. IMGP2845.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 75. View of stone steps, looking south from the northeast corner of the cemetery. IMGP2627.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 76. View of brick steps in the southeastern portion of the cemetery. IMGP2655.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 77. View of Grant's Headquarters Monument. IMGP2682.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 78. View of a cannon marker with a circular grave arrangement. The graves contain the remains of minor officers. This photograph was taken looking east into the cemetery. IMGP2687.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 79. Fire hose enclosure. IMGP2774.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 80. Fire hydrant. IMGP2775.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 81. View looking north toward the stone perimeter wall. IMGP2788.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 82. View of the iron steps and signage southeast of the cemetery, adjacent to Pittsburg Landing. IMGP2950.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 83. Cannon marker. This photograph was taken looking northeast near the northern boundary of the cemetery. IMGP3088.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 84. View of the interpretive sign depicting the first engagement on Shiloh battlefield. The Tennessee River is visible in the background. IMGP3100.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 85. View of the burial area that contains the remains of the 16th Wisconsin color-bearers. The Tennessee River is visible in the background. IMGP3105.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 86. View of the American flag centered within a circular lawn. IMGP3111.JPG (STA 2017)



Figure 87. View of a cannon. The Tennessee River is visible in the background. IMGP3124.JPG (STA 2017)

Cultural Traditions

Cemetery Legislation

Before the Civil War Era, soldiers were usually buried and recognized as a group rather than as individuals.[443] In 1862, Congress authorized the establishment of national cemeteries. In 1866, further congressional action authorized the establishment of such cemeteries on Southern battlefields. Shiloh National Cemetery was formally established in 1866, after the Civil War had ended. In 1867, Congress passed the National Cemeteries Act, which specified the construction of masonry walls, marble headstones, and permanent lodges for cemetery superintendents.[444]

Cemetery Design

During this time, military cemetery design was somewhat standardized across America. Grounds were secured by stone or masonry walls, and a hedge of Osage orange (*Macular pomifera*) lined the cemetery within the perimeter walls. Permanent buildings and structures were constructed, including utilitarian buildings, a rostrum, and a lodge for the cemetery superintendent.

Graves were arranged in concentric circles around a central flagstaff mound, and the overall pattern of graves followed a geometric plan that included squares, circles, rectangles, and orthogonal patterns defined by roads and paths. In theory, the plan was more suitable for flat ground. Many sites had undulating topography.[445]

This geometric character is present at Shiloh in design features such as the central flag and the concentric and grid grave layouts. Although the Shiloh flagstaff is not elevated on a mound, its presence is emphasized by a

[443] Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh,* 10.

[444] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."

[445] Leach.

circular path surrounding an open lawn. Graves surround the flag, lawn, and brick path and are arranged in four concentric circles. The general flag area and graves are located on a natural hill.

In line with other national cemeteries, Shiloh's shell paths were allowed to green over for aesthetics and for ease of maintenance.[446] The green paths at Shiloh run east-west and north-south and follow the geometric layout of the headstones. The winding brick path at Shiloh is an informal design gesture among a strongly regimented headstone layout and is somewhat atypical for cemetery circulation design of the era.

As early as 1870, Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs consulted with the noted landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmsted on cemetery design and plantings.[447] Olmsted, along with his partner Calvert Vaux, designed New York's Central Park in 1858. He recommended that cemetery designs "establish permanent dignity and tranquility … a sacred grove, sacredness and protection being expressed in the enclosing wall and in the perfect tranquility of the trees within."[448]

Meigs later issued "Instructions Relative to the Cultivation and Care of Trees in the National Cemeteries," which recommended the planting of "cherries and pears, walnuts and hickory-nut trees for their well-proportioned and graceful sizes and shapes." He also called for "climbers about the lodge" and "ornamental shrubbery."[449]

There were other aesthetic standards common in national cemeteries. The office of the US quartermaster general, under the supervision of Meigs, also prepared standardized plans for cemetery superintendent lodges. Architecture was designed in the French Second Empire style, which included a mansard roof.[450] At Shiloh, the original lodge that was destroyed in the 1909 tornado followed this standard, but the current lodge does not. In 1873, the secretary of war designated the slightly arched rectangular marble headstone as a standard. The headstone identified known remains and contained a name and military unit. Although this standard was followed for most gravestones at Shiloh, some that were added over the last century do not follow the original standard. Unidentified soldiers were marked with a small marble block.[451]

Additionally, cast-metal signs with the number of graves, rules of behavior, and lines from the popular poem "Bivouac of the Dead" were installed in all national cemeteries.

Public Access

At the end of the 1800s, people visiting Shiloh National Cemetery had a very different experience than they do today. Some guests would have arrived on surface roads via a horse-drawn carriage, but most would have traveled by steamboat on the Tennessee River and disembarked at Pittsburg Landing. The original visitor entrance for those arriving by river is located at the southeast corner of the cemetery. Currently, the original iron steps that span the stone wall are intact.

[446] Leach, "Designing the First National Cemeteries."

[447] Leach.

[448] Leach.

[449] Leach.

[450] Leach.

[451] Leach.

Condition Assessment

Condition Assessment

Condition Assessment: Good

Condition Assessment Date: 04/11/2017

Condition Assessment Explanatory Narrative:
Although some large specimen trees are in decline due to old age, the overall condition of Shiloh National Cemetery is characterized as “good.” The cemetery may be somewhat vulnerable to erosion on the downslopes located north and east of the cemetery. Much of the major erosion threat from the Tennessee River has been neutralized since the construction of the Pickwick Dam. Weather events are another concern that affects condition. The most notable examples are the 1909 tornado, which toppled cemetery headstones and destroyed the tree canopy and buildings, and the 1951 ice storm. Most recently, in October 2019, winds and rain from Tropical Storm Opal caused widespread damage to the park.

Impacts to Inventory Unit

Impact Type: Adjacent lands

Internal or External: External

Impact Narrative:
A 100-acre mine operates 600 yards northwest of the cemetery. Although decibel levels were not recorded as part of this CLI, park officials noted that noise pollution from the mine adversely affects the cemetery experience.

Impact Type: Structural deterioration

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Stone walls that surround the park on the north, east, and south sides are in varying conditions. Most are well maintained, but some portions are dirty and covered in algae. Deferred maintenance could contribute to deterioration of the mortar joints.

Impact Type: Exposure to elements

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Wind and ice damage from storms have impacted the trees within the cemetery. Branches and sometimes entire trees have been lost during storms. Headstones and monuments are vulnerable and may be damaged when trees are downed. Increased mean annual temperature projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency and intensity and drought events, could lead to an increase in tree damage. Further, as trees decline and are removed, no mechanism is in place to guide or advocate for tree replanting.

Impact Type: Pests/diseases

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Wildlife such as fire ants, woodchucks, and moles threaten headstones, grave sites, monuments, walks, and walls.

Impact Type: Visitation

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Park guests, particularly large groups, can create auditory disturbances within the cemetery. Some also litter, creating a maintenance issue and an unsightly scene for those that follow.

Impact Type: Inappropriate maintenance

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
The use of loud maintenance equipment can cause auditory disturbances within the cemetery. The improper use of this equipment can also cause the deterioration of headstones, monuments, and trees. If used in a careless manner, Weed-eater string, mower steel decks, and mower wheels can crack, mark, or scrape marble headstones and tree trunks. Further, if used after a rain, mowers can rut grassed areas, causing permanent dirt tracks in the lawn.

Impact Type: Pollution

Internal or External: External

Impact Narrative:
Acidification from air pollutants causes damage to cemetery headstones and monuments. This results in increased maintenance costs and reduced cultural value. Views from Pittsburg Landing are often obscured by pollution-caused haze. Coal-fired plants and highway vehicles are believed to be the main contributors to the haze. Emissions have been cut within the decade and should improve air-quality conditions in the park.

Impact Type: Vegetation/invasive plants

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Increased mean annual temperature projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency and intensity and drought events, could lead to an increase in nonnative species and pests.

Impact Type: Erosion

Internal or External: Internal

Impact Narrative:
Increased mean annual temperature projected for the region, including increases in storm frequency and intensity and drought events, could lead to increased erosion of the east slope facing the Tennessee River and within drainage areas.

Treatment

Approved Landscape Treatment: Undetermined

Approved Landscape Treatment Completed: No

Approved Landscape Treatment Explanatory Narrative:

Two sources contain treatment recommendations for Shiloh National Cemetery. The *Resource Management Plan*, *Shiloh National Military Park*, completed by the National Park Service in 1991, contains three project statements concerning cemetery treatment.

1. Project Statement SHIL-C-012, titled “Limit Expansion of the National Cemetery”;
2. Project Statement SHIL-C-013, titled “Stabilize Cemetery Riverbank Erosion”; and
3. Project Statement SHIL-C-014, titled “Maintain the Cultural Landscape of the Cemetery.”

The second source is the 1981 *General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan*. While the plan did not specify a particular treatment approach from the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, it does—under “Management Objectives” on page 115—call for the park “to protect and preserve the battlefield, the Shiloh National Cemetery, the Indian Mounds, and other historic structures, sites, and artifacts in a manner consistent with legislative mandates and the Service historic preservation policies.” Under this objective, one cemetery-related goal was to “reduce or eliminate the threat to the park’s historic resources caused by stream-side erosion along the Tennessee River.”

Approved Landscape Treatment Documents:

Resource Management Plan, *Shiloh National Military Park*

1991

General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan

1981

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