

Shining Light on Civil War Battlefield Preservation and Interpretation: From the “Dark Ages” to the Present at Stones River National Battlefield

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CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION AND INTERPRETATION may be described as generational, influenced by a number of factors.¹ Historians writing about the history of Civil War battlefield preservation and interpretation point to several important paradigm shifts. First, there was the “Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation” in the 1890s when Civil War veterans populated Congress and created the first five military parks. There was a second wave of battlefield preservation in the 1920s, spurred by the passing of the Civil War generation, patriotism after World War I, and rising popularity of the automobile. An important administrative reorganization occurred in 1933 when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed an executive order transferring the nation’s military parks and national cemeteries from the War Department to the National Park Service (NPS). This transfer of management signaled a departure in philosophy from battlefield preservation as a function of commemoration and military study to interpretation and education for a wider audience. Historians have also looked intently at the Civil War’s centennial anniversary, which also coincided with the agency’s Mission 66 program and brought substantial infrastructure improvements to Civil War parks. The Cold War pageantry of the centennial was dampened by the Civil Rights Movement, which challenged reconciliationist memories of the war by showing that the country still had a long way to go in terms of repairing race relations. In terms of more recent history, the 1990s saw a resurgence in battlefield preservation and a commitment by NPS to acknowledge slavery as the key cause of the war. NPS began expanding Civil War interpretation to include more social history, with varying degrees of success.² NPS continues to grapple with the war’s legacy as the debate about the use of Confederate symbols in public spaces rages on.³

Individual park histories can reveal compelling stories that help us understand the generational nature of Civil War preservation and interpretation. The story of Stones River National Battlefield’s (STRI’s) creation and development unfolds along these general histo-

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riographical contours.⁴ Congressman James Daniel Richardson, a Confederate veteran, first introduced legislation to establish a military park at Stones River in 1895. His effort was supported by two different veteran organizations comprising both Union and Confederate veterans: the Stones River National Battlefield and Memorial Association, formed in 1896, and the Association of the Survivors of Stones River, formed in Indiana in the late 1890s. The military park's supporters did not achieve success until 1929, when the park was established by Congress under the War Department, after most of the military veterans had died. While veterans originally had grand plans to preserve much of the original 4,000-acre battlefield, Congress was reluctant to create large and expensive battlefield parks. Tennessee Congressman Ewin Lamar Davis, who had taken up Richardson's efforts after his retirement, had to scale down the proposed park, using what was known as the "Antietam Plan." A three-person battlefield commission (composed of a Union veteran, a Confederate veteran, and an Army officer) selected only the "core" battlefield area where significant fighting occurred. This plan was based on the assumption that surrounding farmland would remain agricultural. Despite the park's small size, creation of the battlefield park meant the dislocation of an African American community called Cemetery, named for its proximity to the national cemetery.⁵

A few short years later, in 1933, STRI was transferred from the War Department to NPS as part of a larger reorganization of the Executive Branch. NPS did not do much with the battlefield until after World War II.⁶ Thanks to Mission 66, a ten-year capital improvement campaign aimed at modernizing the national park system, the agency essentially remade the battlefield park by expanding the park's staff and constructing a new tour road, visitor center, and museum. In fact, the new development seemed to take on more importance than the battle's centennial in 1963, which was much quieter than the controversies at Fort Sumter or the fantastical re-enactments at Manassas. STRI's Mission 66 improvements treated visitors as civic pilgrims and focused interpretation almost exclusively on military history, which lent itself well to 1960s Cold War patriotism, and allowed park staff to avoid stories about slavery and race.⁷ However, in 1998, park management helped organize the "Holding the High Ground" conference in Nashville, Tennessee, which laid the groundwork for more collaborative preservation partnerships and more inclusive park interpretation that acknowledged slavery as the primary cause of the war.⁸

There seems to be a historiographical gap between the Cold War patriotism that marked centennial observances and the more inclusive approach that came out of the "Holding the High Ground" conference in 1998. Historian Timothy B. Smith recently described the period between 1965 and 1990 as the "Dark Ages" of Civil War battlefield preservation because the federal government did little to advance a comprehensive battlefield preservation policy and purchase land for preservation purposes.⁹ Just as the actual early Middle Ages were misunderstood, the history of Stones River National Battlefield indicates that this period in battlefield preservation and interpretation is also misunderstood. In fact, the 1970s were some of the most creative and innovative at the park due to a changing consciousness among staff that was influenced by both internal and external forces.

During this time, park staff became more aware of the "greater battlefield," the area of land that was part of the original battlefield but not federally owned. This land remained

agricultural until the mid-20th century, when park staff noticed that neighboring farms were increasingly being developed as new highways were being built. Park staff started to feel the urgency of protecting additional battlefield lands in the face of urban encroachment.¹⁰ They also began understanding their role to preserve and interpret the battle's history beyond the three days of the battle. For example, in 1962 Superintendent Lawrence Quist suggested deleting Redoubt Brannon from the park's boundaries, because it was built after the battle.¹¹ Redoubt Brannon was donated to the federal park when STRI was first created. It was a small portion of Fortress Rosecrans, one of the largest Union earthworks built during the war. At about the same time, leaders of the city of Murfreesboro began to realize the historic importance of Fortress Rosecrans and purchased some of the remaining features for a city park. It was a remarkable change then, in the 1970s, when NPS began to support the city's plans to preserve the fort's remnants with the possibility that the agency might eventually take them over.¹² The environmental movement was running high at that moment, too, and park staff started to think about the park's natural resources. In doing so, they discovered that the park's shallow, rocky soil was actually a cedar glade, home to sensitive and rare plant communities. With this new knowledge of the cedar glade, park staff began to think differently about environmental factors influencing the battle.¹³ They came to understand the importance of restoring landscape features, just as the cultural landscape discipline was starting to gain hold in the agency.¹⁴

Despite being known as a conservation agency, NPS did not have an exemplary track record in environmentalism until agency culture started to change in the late 1960s and 1970s. This redirection was due to several factors, including damning reports from some of the nation's top scientists, the grassroots environmental movement, and new federal environmental laws. NPS managers directed employees to incorporate science-based practices into park management and develop environmental education programs.¹⁵ NPS employees carried out these efforts not only in parks traditionally thought of as "nature parks," but in historical parks and Civil War battlefields as well. In 1968, NPS began creating National Environmental Education Development (NEED) materials for schools and encouraged parks to develop Environmental Study Areas (ESAs) for schools to use as outdoor classrooms as a supplement.¹⁶ STRI Superintendent John D. Hunter dedicated Cedar Glades ESA in 1972. The next year, park interpreters brought in eighteen school groups with 662 students to use Cedar Glades ESA.¹⁷ Superintendent Hunter also heartily supported another youth environmental education program called STEP, or Students Toward Environmental Participation, which students developed to encourage their peers to become environmental advocates in their own communities. STEP students would form clubs in their local high schools, receive training from NPS, and could organize field trips and workshops in national park ESAs all over the country. Superintendent Hunter and park technician Bettie Cook worked with Rutherford County and Metro Nashville Public Schools. They planned and held a statewide STEP conference at Opryland in Nashville in 1974, which was attended by 300 students from 29 different communities. Superintendent James Sanders continued to support the program when he replaced Hunter in 1974 (Figure 1).¹⁸

The participatory nature of the park's environmental education programming infiltrated



Figure 1. Environmental education workshop at Cedar Glades National Environmental Study Area, July 1979. Courtesy of STRI.

other aspects of park interpretation. During the Civil War centennial, living history programs became very popular at Civil War military parks. While NPS management hedged away from “sham battles” by putting in place a policy that prohibited re-enactments on park lands, that policy did not quell Civil War enthusiasts’ desire to act out the past. NPS interpreters also recognized the utility of re-enactments to portray a more human aspect of war. To meet both needs, NPS began incorporating living history demonstrations into park programs all across the country in the mid-1960s. It is unknown when the first living history program was offered at STRI, but these programs were in full swing in the 1970s (Figure 2). Initially the park held firearm demonstrations, but expanded to cavalry and artillery programs, which were popular among visitors. Volunteers in Parks (VIPs) were instrumental in implementing these programs. Some of them



Figure 2. Living history program at STRI, circa 1970. Courtesy of STRI.

tended to be nostalgic. For example, the park held a hay wagon ride with a marshmallow roast halfway through. Overall, though, living history programs helped the park tell different stories about the battle beyond traditional military history, such as a popular Civil War music program. Attendance rose in 1975 by 88%; however, it dropped after the nation's bicentennial in 1976.¹⁹

There were certainly limitations to the park's interpretive programming during this time. The park still focused largely on military history aimed at a white audience. The causes and consequences of the war in terms of slavery and emancipation were not addressed. However, there is also evidence that new scholarship in African American history was starting to reach the park. The grave of William Holland, who served in the United States Colored Troops, was marked on the park's 1980 general management plan (GMP) as a place recommended for interpretation, although it is unclear to what extent park staff knew his story. It would be 20 years before the park started regularly incorporating Holland's story into park interpretation.²⁰

Despite a changing preservation ethic, a new environmental awareness, and a desire to expand park interpretation, park employees faced a distinct financial challenge. After the lush years of Mission 66, the agency had to operate under a leaner budget in the 1970s, which meant little support for land acquisition or landscape rehabilitation. Superintendent Sanders developed creative ways to engage the community in accomplishing some of these tasks. Using NPS historian Ed Bearss's and J.C. Killian's 1962 "Fence and Ground Cover Map for the Battle of Stones River" as a guide, Sanders issued special-use permits to allow locals to cut firewood on park property as a strategy to restore the treeline back to its 1862 location. He also borrowed a tree transplanter from Natchez Trace Parkway to remove trees from historically cleared fields to repopulate the area known to Civil War veterans as the "Round Forest" near the Hazen Brigade Monument. Sanders even offered to replace local landowners' chestnut rail fencing with modern fencing so the park could use the chestnut fencing in the park. Gradually, these efforts helped the park restore certain features of the battlefield's landscape.²¹

Concurrently, Sanders and his employees worked with the NPS Denver Service Center to create new general management and land acquisition plans (Figure 3). Both planning documents were ambitious and aimed to expand the boundaries of the park to counter encroaching development. One of the most ambitious recommendations of the GMP was a bike trail that ran along Stones River connecting the park with various historic sites, including Redoubt Brannan and the rest of Fortress Rosecrans. Sanders noticed that many local residents liked to walk and bike around the battlefield for recreational purposes, which he encouraged. The proposed trail was the first effort to develop what is now known as the Murfreesboro Greenway system. Congress failed to authorize funds to implement these plans when they were finalized in 1980; however, they provided a road map for Congressman Bart Gordon, who successfully introduced legislation to expand the park's boundary in 1987 and again in 1991. Gordon was also a major supporter of the Murfreesboro Greenway system, which now is a favored amenity among local residents.²² The land acquisitions, along with Murfreesboro's explosive growth beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present, were

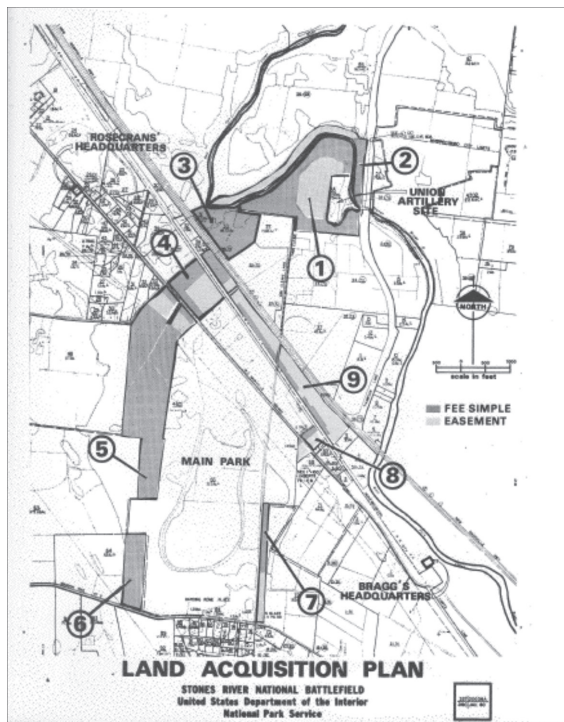
Figure 3. Land acquisition plan, part of the 1980 STRI general management plan.

important for the development of park interpretation because they helped link the park to community recreation and leisure spaces along Stones River.

During the 1980s, park staff started doing more serious military history research to incorporate human-interest stories into park interpretation. Perhaps the most innovative research-based program during this time was the “Hallowed Ground” lantern tour, an evening tour of the national cemetery. There, park volunteers in period dress acted out vignettes about people historically associated with the battle. These vignettes allowed visitors to interact with these historical figures as they learned about the war’s impact on soldiers who fought at Stones River and the families on the home front. This program remains very popular today, and has generally evolved with Civil War scholarship.²³

The 1990s saw a resurgence of public interest in the Civil War, or “a Renaissance,” as Smith refers to the years 1990 to 2015. Ken Burns’s 1990 documentary series, *The Civil War*, inspired many to visit battlefields and read more about the war. Increasing suburbanization around major battlefields prompted grassroots preservationists to get involved and preserve additional battlefield land. Congress established the American Battlefield Protection Program to help guide preservation efforts, but the federal government was no longer the driving force for battlefield protection. Instead, it was being led by groups like the Civil War Trust and The Nature Conservancy.²⁴

New organizations and partnerships formed to leverage resources for Civil War battlefield preservation and interpretation at STRI as well. Local advocates formed the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield in 1989 to help the park with land acquisition efforts and park programming.²⁵ In 1995, James Huhta, director of the Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU) Center for Historic Preservation, submitted a proposal to establish the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, which was authorized by Congress in 1998—the only heritage area that encompasses an entire state.²⁶ Staff at STRI welcomed both of these new partner organizations, and also formed other partnerships with MTSU to match professors



and students to assist with park needs, such as natural resource inventorying and monitoring, historical research, and interpretation.

Amongst all this renewed energy, there were strong efforts within NPS to bring in more diverse perspectives about the war, particularly the African American experience. As noted earlier, in 1998 National Park Service Civil War battlefield superintendents organized “Holding the High Ground,” a conference to discuss several pressing issues at battlefield parks. STRI staff helped facilitate that meeting, held in nearby Nashville, which included field trips to local Civil War sites. Among other things, participants asked, “How do we go about expanding the scope of interpretation on Civil War battlefields?” The group collectively came to the conclusion that slavery should be discussed as a cause of the Civil War. These findings were reinforced in 2000, when Congressman Jesse Jackson attached an amendment to the Department of Interior’s appropriation bill requiring the NPS to expand interpretation at Civil War sites, including the topic of slavery as central to the cause of the Civil War. At the direction of Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt, NPS put together a report on the status of interpretation at Civil War sites and found that there were deficiencies in placing battles in a larger context. This report was released the same year that NPS held another symposium, this time at Ford’s Theatre in Washington, D.C., featuring several prominent historians who presented the latest Civil War scholarship. One of the symposium’s emergent themes was the link between the Civil Rights Movement and the Civil War, which had a strong influence on sesquicentennial planning activities. While the efforts to bring in more diverse perspectives of the war were based in scholarship widely accepted in the history profession, they proved controversial among audiences who held tightly to Lost Cause ideology.²⁷

This discourse surrounding Civil War memory was notable in context with the “culture wars” of the 1980s and 1990s, when interpretations in a variety of public spaces sparked controversy as historians challenged long-revered narratives. Part of the National Park Service response was to develop training around “civic engagement,” in which parks would work with communities to tell untold stories at parks. Civic engagement still remains the heart of NPS interpretation today.²⁸

Staff at STRI were clearly influenced by these national conversations. Under the direction of Superintendent Mary Ann Peckham, the park’s first female superintendent, staff began building a new interpretive vision for the park. As part of its boundary expansion legislation in 1991, Congress directed NPS to undertake a new general management plan for STRI, which was finally completed in 1998. The GMP included new interpretive themes derived from “New Military History,” a growing body of scholarship focused on sociocultural issues instead of the military order of battle, but the planning document stopped short of mentioning slavery and emancipation explicitly. However, in STRI’s annual report for Fiscal Year 2001, shortly after Congressman Jackson’s amendment, park staff reported that they had begun giving programs on slavery in Middle Tennessee. When the park renovated the Mission 66 visitor center in 2004, the African American experience was more fully incorporated into the permanent museum exhibits. Interpretive staff continued popular living history programs, such as weapons demonstrations, but also started to include the experiences of U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) into these programs, particularly the story of William Hol-

land, a veteran of the 111th U.S Colored Infantry, who is buried outside the Hazen Brigade Monument cemetery. As note above, Holland's story was identified in the 1970s as a possible African American interpretive program, but it was not until the 2000s that park staff began to actively interpret it.²⁹

Similar to efforts in the 1970s, STRI staff began, in the 2000s, to engage local teachers and students through workshops and special partnerships. Interpretive staff traveled to schools with limited budgets for field trips. For those groups who could travel, interpretive staff developed an inquiry-based learning approach to park tours. In 2011, the park formed a special partnership with McGavock High School's Academy of Digital Design and Communication (located in Nashville) to develop a multi-disciplinary curriculum, using Stones River National Battlefield as a central theme.³⁰

The park also continued to expand its relationship with MTSU, hosting graduate student researchers, interns, and seasonal employees from a range of disciplines, primarily natural sciences and history, to develop research-based interpretation. In 2002, the park began co-sponsoring, with the Tennessee Civil War Heritage Area and the MTSU Department of History, the "Legacy of Stones River Symposium," an occasional series that explored the topics of slavery, occupation and the home front, Civil War memory, pathways to freedom, and why soldiers fought.³¹ MTSU public historians Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth Goetsch also helped guide the park in integrating natural and cultural interpretations through the cedar glade landscape.³²

By the time of the Civil War sesquicentennial, for which the national theme was "Civil War to Civil Rights," the park had made a great deal of progress in incorporating the African American experience into its interpretation, but was still grappling with how to attract diverse audiences to take part in its programs. Things began to change in 2012, when Gayle Hazelwood became the park's first African American and LGBTQ superintendent. Under Hazelwood's direction, the park collaborated with the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield and the African American Heritage Society of Rutherford County to develop community-based interpretation of the African American experience before, during, and after the Civil War. Much of this programming centers on the historic Cemetery community, which was removed by the War Department to create the park in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Cemetery's story remained relatively unknown to park employees until 2004, when Miranda Fraley, a Ph.D. candidate at Indiana University and seasonal STRI employee, completed her dissertation, "The Politics of Memory: Civil War Commemoration in Rutherford County," which mentions the emergence of the community after the battle and subsequent removal by the War Department half a century later.³³ In 2007, MTSU public historians joined the effort in piecing together Cemetery's history, an effort that is ongoing.³⁴ In 2016 and 2017, these partners co-sponsored programs commemorating Cemetery community and celebrating Decoration Day. While this collaboration is still relatively new and therefore tenuous, it has sparked a desire among local African Americans to become active participants in interpreting black history at the park and surrounding areas.³⁵

Today, STRI is firmly an urban park in one of the nation's fastest-growing counties.³⁶ In the face of encroachment, the park has grown to over 700 acres. Park interpreters, interns,

and volunteers now work to tell the many stories of the war, incorporating African American and women's history. Park staff no longer mow the battlefield, but instead keep it in native grasses, which they manage through prescribed burns. Visitors come to the park not just to see living history demonstrations or the museum exhibits updated ten years ago, but to enjoy the green space and recreational pursuits. These changes of course did not happen overnight, but the groundwork laid by STRI staff in the 1970s certainly bore fruit over the past 30 years.

If Stones River National Battlefield can serve as a text, it would show that the history of preservation and interpretation of Civil War sites does not progress in a linear fashion. Civil War interpretation requires much in terms of "intellectual maintenance," as John Sprinkle noted in this volume's introduction, because tensions between history and heritage remain a constant. In recent decades, NPS and park leadership has softened to accommodate collaboration with a wider range of organizations and groups to help interpret multiple stories. As demonstrated by efforts to preserve the history of Cemetery community, the interest of marginalized groups in a Civil War site's history should not be taken for granted; instead, park staff should make efforts to include their voices in park interpretation. In another vein, the impact of environmental factors, primarily urbanization, has also indelibly shaped how STRI and other Civil War sites are preserved and interpreted, and will likely remain a variable in years to come. As debates about climate change unfold, efforts to more fully integrate natural and cultural resource management will become more critical. What is becoming clear after examining STRI's recent history is the growing importance of volunteers and partners in expanding the agency's capacity for engaging audiences through research and programming. Sprinkle alluded to the many issues facing historical work in the agency, and thus the need for partnerships and volunteers is unlikely to change in the future. NPS should continue to foster and formalize these relationships. Although partnerships and collaborative efforts require significant time and sustained investment, they also increase the public's investment in our national parks.

The views and conclusions in this essay are those of the author and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the National Park Service or the United States government.

Endnotes

1. Timothy B. Smith recently described Civil War battlefield preservation as generational in his new book, *Altogether Fitting and Proper: Civil War Battlefield Preservation in History, Memory, and Policy, 1861–2015* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2017), xvi.
2. For more on the development of National Park Service Civil War battlefield preservation, management, and interpretation, see the following works: Ronald Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1973); Timothy B. Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation: The Decade of the 1890's and the Establishment of America's First Five Military Parks* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008); Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil*

- War Centennial, 1961–1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2007); Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Five Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Jennifer Murray, *On a Great Battlefield: The Making, Management, and Memory of Gettysburg National Military Park, 1933–2013* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014); Richard West Sellars, “Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America’s First National Military Parks, 1863–1900,” *Common Ground*, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 22–52; John Hennessy, “Touchstone: Sesquicentennial, the National Park Service, and a Changing Nation,” *Common-Place* vol. 14, no. 2 (Winter 2014); Robert Sutton, “Holding the High Ground: Interpreting the Civil War in National Parks,” *The George Wright Forum* vol. 25, no. 3 (2008): 45–57.
3. On June 25, 2015, NPS Director Jonathan B. Jarvis issued a policy ending sales of stand-alone Confederate flag items in NPS visitor centers. This policy followed a very public, passionate debate sparked by the murders of nine African Americans at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, by white supremacist Dylan Roof. National Park Service press release, “National Parks Pull Confederate Flag Sales Items,” June 25, 2015. On line at <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/news/release.htm?id=1713>.
 4. The Battle of Stones River occurred December 31, 1862, to January 2, 1863, near the town of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The Union army used United States Colored Troops to re-inter bodies in a national cemetery there after the war.
 5. For more on the initial creation of STRI, see John Riley George, “Stones River: Creating a Battlefield Park, 1863–1932,” dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013; Miranda Fraley, “The Politics of Memory: Remembering the Civil War in Rutherford County, Tennessee,” dissertation, Indiana University, 2004. For more on Cemetery community, see Rebecca Conard, “Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars, Stones River National Battlefield, Rutherford County, Tennessee” in *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Stones River National Battlefield: Final Report*, Will Leggett, ed. (National Park Service: Southeast Regional Office, 2016), 23–106.
 6. Angela Sirna and Rebecca Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield Administrative History* (National Park Service: Southeast Regional Office, 2016), 35–52.
 7. Gilbert J. Backlund, “Patriotism on the Battlefield: The National Park Service and Mission 66 at Stones River,” master’s thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2005; Sirna and Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield Administrative History*, 53–77.
 8. Sutton, “Holding the High Ground,” 47, 52; Sirna and Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield Administrative History*, 118.
 9. Smith, *Altogether Fitting and Proper*, 165–167.
 10. Sherman Perry to Regional Director, memorandum, “Interstate 24 Interchange,” May 29, 1969, and J. Leonard Volz to Southeast Regional Director, memorandum, “Interstate at Stones River National Battlefield,” both Folder 56 D-30 Roads and Trails; Bruce W. Black and John Hunter, “Management Objectives Stones River National Battlefield,” March 22, 1972, Folder 43 D-18 Management Objectives, Series 1, STRI park archives;

James Sanders interview by Angela Sirna, October 20, 2015, 1–4.

11. Lawrence Quist to Regional Director, memorandum, “Deletion of Brannan Redoubt from Stones River National Battlefield,” February 1, 1962, Folder 111 L-1417 Boundaries, Series 1, STRI park archives.
12. John Hunter to Southeast Region Chief Division of Lands, memorandum, “Draft of Proposed Transfer of Lands by the City of Murfreesboro,” September 20, 1973, Folder 111 L-1417 Boundaries, Series 1, STRI park archives.
13. Elsie Quarterman, “Plant Communities of Cedar Glades in Middle Tennessee,” doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1948; Elsie Quarterman, “Major Plant Communities of Tennessee Cedar Glades,” *Ecology* vol. 31, no. 2 (April 1950): 234–254; Miller, Wihlry, and Lee, Inc., and Elsie Quarterman, *Stones River National Battlefield Cedar Glades Report* (National Park Service: Denver Service Center, 1976); John Hunter to Theodore C. Bigger, letter, April 26, 1972, Folder 34 A8215 Centennial Events, Series 1, STRI park archives; Sanders interview, 16–17.
14. Cultural landscapes as an academic field of inquiry originated with the work of geographer Carl Sauer on “The Morphology of Landscape” in 1925. Cultural geographers and folklorists continued to build upon his work for the next several decades. In the 1950s, J.B. Jackson, who did not align himself with any particular academic discipline, began to make “cultural landscape” a familiar term in the design field, which caught the interest of preservationists interested in historic districts and rural landscapes. NPS became involved in identifying and preserving cultural landscapes in the 1970s. Ebey’s Landing National Historical Reserve became one of the first designated cultural landscapes in the national park system after it was established in 1978. NPS hired its first cultural landscape staff in 1980 and started to develop standards for identifying, treating, and preserving cultural landscapes. See Julie Riesenweber, “Landscape Preservation and Cultural Geography,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, Richard Longstreth, ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 23–34; Nancy Rottle, “A Continuum and Process Framework for Rural Historic Landscape Preservation: Revisiting Ebey’s Landing on Whidby Island, Washington” in *Cultural Landscapes*, 129–149; Robert Melnick, “Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards,” *CRM Bulletin* vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1980): 1–2.
15. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (1997; repr., New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 69–82, 185–191, 214–217, 244–246.
16. Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1986), online at http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/directions_environmental.htm (accessed January 22, 2016).
17. John Hunter, “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1972,” June 12, 1973, and “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1973,” January 18, 1974, both Folder 82 H14 History, Series 1, STRI park archives.
18. Southeast Regional Director to NPS Director, memorandum, “Environmental

Education—A Giant ‘STEP,’” March 7, 1972; John Hunter to State Coordinator, memorandum, “Attendance at Meeting in Nashville Concerning S.T.E.P. and Environmental Education,” October 30, 1972; Vincent Ellis to Superintendent, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, memorandum, “STEP and Environmental Education in the Nashville Area,” November 17, 1972; “A Brief Summary of the S.T.E.P. Program at Stones River National Battlefield, Murfreesboro,” [1974], all Folder 38 A98 STEP, Series 1, STRI park archives.

19. Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service*, online at http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/directions_living_history.htm (accessed February 25, 2016); Hunter, “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1972”; Hunter, “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1973”; James Sanders, “Superintendent’s Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975,” February 17, 1976, and James Sanders, “Superintendent’s Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1976,” January 5, 1977, both “Superintendent’s Annual Reports” binder, Stones River National Battlefield Administrative Files; Don Magee, “Stones River National Battlefield 1980 Annual Report,” March 11, 1981, Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents’ Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Records of NPS, Record Group 79, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (RG 79, NARA-CP); Sirna and Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield Administrative History*, 85–87.
20. Jim Sanders, “1979 Report on YCC Camp 7602 Stones River National Battlefield,” September 6, 1979, Folder 39, Park Archive; A98 YCC (1978–1981), Series 1, STRI park archives; Hunter, “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1973”; Sanders, “Superintendent’s Annual Report on Stones River National Battlefield for Calendar Year 1975”; Teresa Watson interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, February 18, 2016; National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept* (Murfreesboro, TN: National Park Service, 1980), 72.
21. Sanders Interview, 8, 12–13, 17.
22. John Hunter to Associate Regional Director of Professional Services, memorandum, “Stones River Master Plan, Proposed Land Acquisition,” February 28, 1975, Folder 111 L1417 Boundaries, Series 1, STRI park archives; National Park Service, *Stones River National Battlefield General Management Plan/General Design Concept*; Sanders interview, 16; Bart Gordon interview by Angela Sirna, Murfreesboro, TN, October 16, 2015, 3; *An Act to Amend the Boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and for Other Purposes*, Public Law 100-205, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 23, 1987); *To Expand the Boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, and Other Purposes*, Public Law 102-225, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (December 11, 1991); Sirna and Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield*, 83–94, 91, 103–105, 107–110.
23. Donald Magee interview by Angela Sirna, November 3, 2015, 15–16, 28, STRI park archives; Donald Magee, “Superintendent’s Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for Calendar Year 1983,” February 10, 1984, and “Superintendent’s Annual Report of Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery for

- Calendar Year 1984,” February 25, 1985, both located in Folder Stones River National Battlefield, Superintendents’ Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Records of NPS, RG 79, NARA-CP; Donald Magee, “Superintendent’s Annual Report of Stones River National Cemetery for Calendar Year 1985,” February 2, 1986, Folder 157 A2621 Annual Reports, Series 1, STRI park archives.
24. Smith, *Altogether Fitting and Proper*, 191–221.
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33. This is not to say, however, that Cemetery residents and descendants had forgotten about their community’s past. Park neighbor and Cemetery resident Leonora E. Washington wrote a “A Black Perspective of the History of the Area as Compiled during the Tennessee Homecoming Celebration in 1986 by a Local Resident.” A copy is on file in the STRI park archives.
34. Rebecca Conard, et al. “African Americans on the Land: Five Cultural Landscape Studies of Stones River NHB.” Murfreesboro, TN: public history seminar, Middle Tennessee State University, December 2007; Lydia Simpson, “Settling In: Tracking the Formation of the Cemetery Community through Public Records,” master’s thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2011; Rebecca Conard, “Finding Historic Cemetery Community: The 2011 Public History Field School,” *Public History at Middle Tennessee State University Newsletter* (Fall 2011); Conard, “Historic Cemetery Community: The Cedars” (2016).
35. See the Friends of Stones River National Battlefield website: <http://stonesriverbattlefield.org>.
36. Murfreesboro was listed as the 13th-fastest-growing city in the country in 2016; Scott Broden, “Mayor Proud Murfreesboro on Fastest-growing Cities List,” *Daily News Journal* [Murfreesboro, TN], May 20, 2016.

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