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DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Fort Donelson National Military Park and Cemetery are contained within a 554 acre tract of land located approximately one mile west of Dover, county seat of Stewart County, Tennessee. The National Cemetery was established under the War Bepartment in 1867 and Fort Donelson became a National Military Park on March 26, 1928. In 1933, responsibility for the care and protection of the Park and Cemetery passed from the War Department to the National Park Service. Within the Park boundaries and cemetery there are two buildings, two monuments, three examples of man-made earthwork structure, and one reconstructed structure, the powder magazine:

1. Fort Donelson National Cemetery (HS-1)

Fort Donelson National Cemetery was established in 1867 on the west bank of the Cumberland River as a final resting place for the 670 Union soldiers recovered from the battlefield of Fort Donelson. Service men and their dependents buried after the Civil War total 1153 graves and represent the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, Korea, Seminole War and VietNam. Headstones consist of three different stones with one for the Civil War, one for the Spanish American War, and one for the following wars. Total acreage of the cemetery is 15.2 with approximately 2096 gravesites. Two 1850 period brick buildings set in the east corner of the cemetery with one being used at present as the residence of the Superintendent.

Significance: 1st order Acreage: 15.1 acres Recommended Treatment: Preservation Preliminary Cost Estimate for above: 0

2. River Batteries (HS-2)

1 4 4 4

The River Batteries were constructed by Confederate soldiers between the months of September 1861 and February 1862. Construction of the batteries was a preventative measure in halting Union Army movement up the Cumberland River. On February 14, 1862, a fleet of Union ironclad gunboats attempted to move past the batteries and take up positions near the town of Dover, Tennessee. A furious battle occured in which the Confederate cannoneers disabled the Union fleet, forcing them to retreat.

The original parapets of the batteries are significant as representative military engineering of the period, as well as a continuity of past and present.

The River Batteries consist of an upper and lower battery. The lower battery emplacement was 150 yards in length and constructed with logs and sod. The exterior is essentially a straight line, nearly at a right angle to the river. Gun pits occupy different levels and are separated by traverses. The base of the parapets were approximately 16 feet thick, while the superior slope was 10 feet across. The battery was constructed with 10-gun pits. Added protection was given during the battle by placing sand bags on the works.

8 SIGNIFICANCE

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Shortly after the surrender of Fort Donelson on February 16, 1862, Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnson stated, "the blow was most disastrous and almost without remedy." The loss to the Confederacy in men and material was almost beyond measure. Nearly15,000 men had been surrendered, the largest mass surrender on the North American continent to that date. The Confederacy spent the next three years in the west after February, 1862, trying without success to recover from the blow. The heartland of the Confederacy was open to both land and water invasion by the Federal forces and Nashville, an important rail and supply depot, lay unprotected. General Grant began his road to success at Fort Donelson. Had it not been for his victory here and at Fort Henry, he may have remained an obscure brigadier general and certainly would never have been known as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

The Fort Donelson National Cemetery was established in 1867 as a final resting place for Union soldiers killed during the Civil War. Of the 670 Union dead, 512 are unknown. The cemetery also contains the remains of all of our nations wars and conflicts since the Civil War, as well as veterans who died on active duty and those with honorable Discharges.

The site of surrender of Fort Donelson, the Dover Hotel, has outstanding historical significance because it represents the only original standing structure in which a major surrender of the Civil War occured. In February, 1862, the hotel served as the headquarters of General Simon B. Buckner (Confederate), and probably General John B. Floyd. On February 16,1862, the structure became the site of the surrender of Fort Donelson by General Buckner (some 14,000 men) to General U.S. Grant. Following the surrender, the building was converted into a military hospital.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

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The upper battery is 115 yards Southeast of the extreme right of the lower battery. The works were semi-circular and protected by sand bags. The 50 yard semi-circular parapets were, like the lower battery, 16 feet wide at the base, with a superior slope having a thickness of 10 feet. The parapets were designed for 3 guns, and no traverse separated the gun-pits.

Present conditions of the lower battery clearly show the parapets with gun positions being distinct. Visitor traffic causes heavy erosion. Parapets and traverses average about 6 feet in height and are approximately 5 feet thick at the superior slope.

The upper battery parapets have been destroyed leaving only a flat, elevated area approximately 20 yards square.

Significance: 1st order Acreage: 4.0 acres (Recommended treatment): Restoration and preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): \$220,000

3. Fort Donelson (Fort Proper) (No. HS 3)

The Fort Proper was constructed by Confederate soldiers and slave labor between September 1861 and February 1862.

Although the Fort Proper was never under direct attack by Union forces, it was designed as a secondary defense as well as garrison reinforcement for infantry and artillery.

The original parapets of the Fort are significant as representative of earthen fortifications constructed during the Civil War, as well as the military engineering and tactical layout of the period.

The Fort Proper consisted of earthworks approximately 16 feet wide at the base, with a puperior slope 4 feet in thickness, and designed with salient angles to afford better protection. The walls on the outer side were approximately 16 feet high and were circled by a 4 foot moat constructed at the base of the wall. The works partially encircle approximately 15 acres and were constructed by Confederate soldiers and slave labor between September 1861 and February 1862. The interior of the Fort consists of a large sloping hollow, in which 3 regiments of Confederate soldiers erected approximately 400 log cabins as binter quarters.

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Only a representative portion of the earthworks remain, as segments of the works have been destroyed. The portions that exist vary in height.

Significance: 1st order Acreage: 15.0 (Recommended treatment): Preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): 0

4. Rifle Pits (No. HS 4)

The significance of the rifle pits is their use as Fort Donelson's first line of defense. Seven artillery batteries were attached to infantry regiments in the defense of Fort Donelson, and they defended assigned portions of the outer defenses against Union assaults.

When the rifle pits on the Confederate right fell during C. F. Smith's attack on February 15, 1862, the Confederate Generals Floyd, Pillow and Buckner believed that surrender was their only recourse.

The Confederate rifle pits extended from the Confederate right wing (600 yards from the Fort Proper) in a 2 1/2 mile semi-circle running west to east, and ending 400 yards south of the town of Dover, Tennessee. The immediate left wing of the rifle pits near Dover has been completely obliterated by a housing development, while the remainder of the left wing has been subjected to heavy erosion. The right wing is the best preserved segment of the line. The superior slope averages 1 1/2 to 2 feet in thickness, while the pits average 6 to 7 feet wide at the base. Height of the outside walls vary with location, but average about 5 feet.

Like the other breastworks in and around Fort Donelson, the rifle pits were constructed by Confederate soldiers and slave labor. This task was accomplished by cutting the timber, placing the trunks on a direct line, and covering them with sod.

Topography of the area of the right wing has not changed to any appreciable extent since 1862.

Significance: 1st order Acreage: 4.0 acres (Recommended treatment): Preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): \$50,000

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5. Powder Magazine (No. HS 5)

The original powder magazine was built by a fatigue party headed by Captain Beaumont and Lieutenant Bedford shortly before the battle bagan. It was designed to hold 1,000 rounds of ammunition and a corresponding amount of black powder (approximately 100 rounds for each of the 10 guns in the lower battery). Additionally, the magazine contained a number of slow-matches, port-fires and lanterns.

The reconstructed powder represents an outstanding example of Civil War magazine construction and is very typical of the period.

The powder magazine represents a reconstruction of the original which caved in many years ago. In 1937, the magazine was excavated and the following figures represent the original dimensions of the structure: width - approximately 12 feet square; height - about 9 feet; passageway 24 feet in length with an average width of 3 feet. The entire structure was covered with approximately 3 feet of earth. The interior floor, walls and ceiling were double walls built with heavy timbers.

Following the excavation, building bagan to reconstruct the powder magazine circa 1940. The original interior and exterior dimensions remain the same, but the timbers of the floor, walls and ceiling were replaced with concrete slabs.

Significance: 3rd order Acreage: 0 acres (Recommended treatment): Preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): \$4,000

6. Cemetery Lodge (Superintendent's Residence) (No. HS 6)

The superintendent's residence represents an example of 19th Century residential architecture.

The superintendent's residence was constructed by the War Department in 1876 at a cost of \$9,820.00. The exterior, originally constructed of brick on a stone foundation, has not been altered with the exception of a kitchen (12' x 15') which was added in 1932. The second story is faced with slate over brick. The original structure consisted of a basement, ground floor and second floor (a total of 10 rooms).

In 1933, the building was transferred to the Department of the Interior and the first floor den was used as the Park's office until 1959.

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The interior walls are lath and plaster and the floors are pine. The walls of the first floor were replastered in 1951 and the interior was repainted and papered in 1961.

Significance: 3rd order Acreage: 0 acres (Recommended treatment): Adaptive Restoration (Preliminary cost estimate for above): \$80,000

7. Cemetery Shelter (No. HS 7)

The Cemetery Shelter represents an example of late 19th Century and early 20th Century carriage house construction.

The Cemetery Shelter was constructed in 1911 by the War Department at a cost of \$3,500.00. It was originally intended, and for a time used as a carriage house. The exterior appearance has not changed to any substantial degree since its construction. The structure consists of three levels; the basement, ground floor and loft. The exterior is brick on a concrete foundation.

The interior has changed significantly through the years. The original interior was unfinished brick, with an unpainted floor and open rafters. In 1959, it was converted to an office and visitor contact station by adding a partition on the first floor. In 1962, the structure was converted to a visitor shelter and small museum. In 1973, there were extensive changes to the building's interior. A false ceiling was constructed between the rafters and loft, the interior walls were covered with wood paneling, a carpet was laid on the floor and permanent benches were added. Several exhibits have been added to the paneling.

Significance: 3rd order Acreage: 0.1 acre (Recommended treatment): Adaptive Restoration (Preliminary cost estimate for above): \$30,000

8. Confederate Monument (No. HS 8)

Following the surrender of Fort Donelson on February 16, 1862, the Union forces buried approximately 500 Confederate soldiers in a mass grave located near the Confederate Monument. The exact location of the burial side has never been determined, however. The monument was constructed as a living memorial to these Confederate dead.

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The Confederate Monument was constructed in 1933 by the Muldoon Monument Company, Louisville, Kentucky, with money raised by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Clarksville, Tennessee Chapter, and the State of Tennessee. The monument is constructed of Georgia silver gray marble, is 32 1/2 feet high and weighs 41 tons. On the east side of the monument stands the bronze image of a Confederate soldier. The statue is approximately 6 feet tall. The base of the monument is 3 feet 10 inches at the base and 2 feet 2 inches at the top. The monument rests on a concrete base which has 3 steps and is 10 feet square. The monument has not been altered since its construction.

Significance: 2nd order Acreage: 0.05 acres (Recommended treatment): Preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): 0

9. Texas Monument (No. HS 9)

During the seige of Fort Donelson in February 1862, the 7th Texas Infantry (consisting of 350-360men), commanded by Colonel John Gress, was assigned to General Johnson's Division on the Confederate left. This regiment distinguished itself during the seige and ill-fated Confederate breakout attempt on February 15, 1862.

Additionally, the 8th Texas Cavalry (Terry's Texas Rangers) assisted in the February 3, 1863 attack on the Union garrison of Dover, Tennessee, and fought in support of General Wheeler.

The Texas Monument was erected in memory of the Texas soldiers who fought and died at Fort Donelson and in the 1863 Battle of Dover. It is appropriately located on the Confederate left.

The Texas Monument was erected in 1964 with money raised by the State of Texas at a cost of \$1,480.00. Construction was performed by the Stasswender Marble and Granite Works, Austin, Texas. The monument is 6 feet high and rests on a 1 foot high base which measures 3 feet 6 inches by 6 inches. The base of the monument weighs 1,400 pounds. The monument proper weights 2,900 pounds and is constructed of sunset red granite. The monument has not been altered since its construction.

Significance: 2nd order Acreage: 0.001 acres (Recommended treatment): Preservation (Preliminary cost estimate for above): 0

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HS #10- Dover Hotel or Surrender House

At the present time , the Dover Hotel is in a rapid state of deterioration. Exterior preliminary preservation has been limited to stabilization of the structure, painting and replacing the roof. The interior has been declared unsafe for occupancy and has been closed to the public. Because of the possible damage and/or destruction of historical contents, no stabilization or preliminary preservation has been accomplished on the buildings interior.

The building fronts on Petty Street and faces to the east. It is a two story frame structure with a clapboard exterior (painted white), and is covered with a tin roof. There is a two story covered porch along the entire front of the building. Addtionally, there is a stone chimney on the north side of the building and a brick chimney on the south side.

Although the building was probably constructed between 1851 and 1853, the earliest pictorial evidence available concerning the hotel's appearance comes from a sketch completed in 1884. The original exterior appearance of the building appears to be very similar to its present appearance, although this cannot be proven. The notable exceptions are that there were originally two brick chimneys and no windows on the south side of the building.

The building was to be destroyed in 1925 when the hotel was closed. A group of historically minded individuals became interested in the old hotel. This interest led to the establishment of the Fort Donelson Historical Association which purchased the building in 1928. The structure was opened to the public as a museum on September 1, 1930. For the next 29 years, the Dover Hotel was open to the public as a historic house and museum.

In 1958, the state of Tennessee denied funds for the upkeep of the builde ing, and provisions were made for the acquiring of the building by the Federal government. On September 1, 1959, the caretaker vacated the building, and the building was closed to the public. The "Surrender House" was formally acquired by the US government by donation form the Historical Association, under authority granted by a Congressional bill passed September 8, 1960. The house has been closed pending restoration as and historical house museum, a dative modification of InTerior

Significance:lst order Acreage: .2 acres Recommended treatment: Adaptive Restoration Cost Estimate: \$200,000 NPS Form 10-900 (Rev. 10-90)

United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Fort Donelson National Battlefield (additional documentation)

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number U.S. High	1Way 79		
			not for publication
city or town Dover			vicinity <u>X</u>
state <u>Tennessee</u> zip code 37058	code <u>TN</u>	county <u>Stewart</u>	code <u>161</u>

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this _/_ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _/_ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant 📈 nationally _ statewide ____ locally. (____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official

1.31.96 Date

National Park Service State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property _____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria. (____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official



Date

4. National Park Service Certification		
<pre>I, hereby certify that this property is</pre>	Mag Ming~	317196
Signat 5. Classification	ure of Keeper Date of	Action
· · · · · ·	y of Property only one box)	
private public-local public-State _X public-Federal	building(s) _X_ district site structure object	
Number of Resources within Property (Do not include previously listed properties .	in the count)	
ContributingNoncontributingbuildingssitesstructuresobjectsTotal		
Number of contributing resources previously 1. Register9	isted in the National	
Name of related multiple property listing (En multiple property listing.) <u>N/A</u>	ter "N/A" if property is n	ot part of a

6. Function or Use

Historic FunctionsCurrent(Enter categories from instructions)(EnterLandscape/objectLandsTransportation/road-relatedTransRecreation and Culture/monument/markerRecreationOtherOther

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions) Landscape/object Transportation/road-related Recreation and Culture/monument/marker Other/National Battlefield/Cemetery

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions) Other/Designed Historic Landscape/ Lawn-park cemetery

Materials	
(Enter categ	ories from instructions)
founda	tion:
walls:	Limestone
roof:	
other:	Iron, Steel, Wood, Marble,
	Earth, Asphalt, Granite, Bronze

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- <u>X</u> A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- <u>X</u> B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- X 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 lack individual distinction.
- ___ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ____ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ____ B removed from its original location.
- ___ C a birthplace or a grave.
- ____ D a cemetery.
- ____ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- <u>X</u> F a commemorative property.
- ___ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions) Landscape Architecture Art Social History

Period of Significance
1866-1942

Significant Dates
<u>1867, 1928, 1933</u>

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above) N/A______

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder War Department National Park Service

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- ____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- X previously listed in the National Register
- ____ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- ____ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ____ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary Location of Additional Data

- ____ State Historic Preservation Office
- ____ Other State agency
- <u>X</u> Federal agency
- ____ Local government
- ____ University
- ____ Other

Name of repository: <u>Fort Donelson National Battlefield, Dover, Tennessee</u>

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property <u>554.2</u>

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

Zone Easting Northing Zone Easting Northing A _____ D ____ D _____ B ____ F ____ F ____ F _____ ____ See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

There is no change in the existing district boundary.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title <u>Robert W. Blythe, Historian; Maureen A. Carroll, Historian;</u> Jill Hanson, Historian

organization National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office

date _____

street & number 75 Spring Street, S.W.

telephone <u>(404) 331-5988</u>

city or town Atlanta ______ state GA _____ zip code 30303 _____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location. A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner (Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name National Park Service

street & number P.O. Box 37127 telephone _____

city or town Washington ______ state DC ____ zip code 20013-7127____

United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

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RESOURCE DESCRIPTIONS

Previously Listed Resources

Fort Donelson National Cemetery, established in 1867, is an approximately three-acre enclosed cemetery with more than 2,000 largely uniform, white marble headstones (IDLCS 07164) arranged in serried ranks in a whimsical design pattern of circle and heart shapes. The cemetery holds the remains of veterans from the Civil War (460 who died at FODO) through the Vietnam War. The cemetery is laid out in the lawn-park style, a design popular among landscape gardeners and cemetery designers during the 1850s through the postwar period. Many individual features including buildings, walkways, allees, markers, and settees, compose the cemetery landscape and were not previously listed or recognized as historic features. They are described below. Site.

River Batteries (1862) Upper River Battery is located north of Fort Donelson on the bluffs above the Cumberland River. Originally a 70-yard-long semicircular parapet wall, the upper battery, or gun position, is greatly eroded. Construction of the parking area and erosion of the hillside to the southeast have removed approximately twenty feet of the parapet wall's left (west) flank. This earthen berm may have held as many as three guns, although a 1968 excavation revealed no evidence of artillery hardware. Located southwest of the battery is a circular, collapsed powder magazine. Likely impacted by cannon shot during the battle, the magazine consists of a clefted, conical mound encircled by a 3-5-foot-deep trench. The upper river battery is covered with mature trees and brushy ground cover. Lower River Battery is located north of Fort Donelson on the bluffs above the Cumberland River. Seven of the original eleven gun positions are extant, characterized by horseshoe-shaped earth parapets that measure between 8 and 10 feet tall. At the time of the survey, the NPS was reconstructing the seven gun positions that face the river by erecting wood revetments, concrete-filled sandbags, a rear trench, and installing traverses and guns on carriages. In the late 1930s, the NPS used CCC labor to reconstruct the batteries and all of the outer defenses. These reconstructions consisted of heaping additional earth on the existing mounds, clearing trees and other vegetation, and checking erosion. Structures. IDLCS 07165, 90301, 90302.

Fort Donelson (1861-1862) is an irregularly-shaped, 15-acre, earth fortification measuring approximately 1,000 feet E to W with bastions on the NE and S sides. Parapet walls are 4 to 10 feet tall and covered with grass and privet. Interior is grassed with mixed hardwoods and pine. Abandoned after the war by Union troops, the fort became overgrown. The War Department cleared the bowl of the densest vegetation (c. 1928) and planted grass and some trees. The NPS maintains the fort parapet walls in grass and bushhogs the bowl vegetation seasonally. Site and Structure. IDLCS 07166.

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Outer Defenses/Rifle Pits (1862) comprise an approximately 2-mile-long string of earthworks that stretch from Hickman Creek (Right Flank) across U.S. 79 (Center) to Main St., south of Dover (Left Flank). Defenses are composed of parapet walls, trenches, and rifle pits. Maney's Battery is an isolated section of the defenses that is separately listed on the LCS. Largely abandoned after the war, many of the outer defenses were destroyed by agricultural production and highway development. These represent a cohesive segment of defense earthworks considered worthy of preservation by the War Department during the period 1928-1931. After the park was established, the earthworks were cleared of vegetation, and road access was provided to some of the preserved earthworks. Structures. IDLCS 07167.

Reconstructed Powder Magazine (1862; 1935) is a small earth berm with a concrete-lined, narrow passage measuring 3 feet wide, 4 feet tall, and approximately 10 feet deep. An iron gate, fastened upon vertical wood revetments, secures the entrance. This magazine serviced the Lower River Battery. This magazine was entirely reconstructed in 1939-1940 by the CCC. Structure. IDLCS 07168.

Cemetery (Superintendent's) Lodge is a 37'x 33', one-and-one-half-story, L-plan, Second Empire-style dwelling constructed of brick on a raised, rock-faced limestone basement/foundation. The dwelling has a mansard roof with slate shingles and gabled window dormers above a molded box cornice and a deep entablature pierced by a sawn leaf motif. Two central interior chimneys pierce The American bond brick walls are irregularly laid with five to the roof. seven stretcher rows to one header course, and decorated with brick quoins. Rubbed-finish, limestone lintels and sills frame each six-over-six double-hung wood-sash window. A one-story, attached corner porch on the northwest elevation is reached by five concrete steps and sheltered by a hipped roof supported on four chamfered wood posts founded on concrete piers. The porch has been rebuilt many times. A one-story brick kitchen ell, constructed in 1931, measures 16' x 14' and also features a raised concrete basement and brick quoins. Many interior details remain intact including wood trim, doors, plaster and beaded board walls, mantels, and staircase. Building. IDLCS 07169.

Carriage House/Stable (1911) is a 20' x 35', one-and-one-half-story, rectangular brick building (laid in an irregular bond of five stretcher courses and one course alternating headers and stretchers) with a standing-seam, side-gable roof, a boxed cornice with returns, and a slightly raised concrete foundation, located south of the lodge abutting the cemetery enclosure wall. The east elevation has a single entry into a former tack room, now used for interpretive displays. The west elevation has three bays with two doors providing access to separate restroom facilities, now unused. The north elevation has three bays with a central, pocketed, two-door stable entry of beaded board with chamfered surrounds. All of the windows and doors have segmental brick arches and limestone sills. Modified for use as storage and contact station, the stable retains most of its original features and basic plan. Building. IDLCS 07170.

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Confederate Monument, erected in 1933, is an approximately 35-foot-tall shaft faced with rubbed-finish marble ashlar and inscribed on three sides with text and low-relief Confederate battle flags and CSA monograms. The shaft is founded on a stepped marble foundation set on a square concrete pad. A castbronze figure of a Confederate soldier is located on the east elevation founded on an inscribed 2-3-foot high marble pedestal. The monument rises above the main park drive on the east and is set below (east) of a line of earthworks that was rumored to contain Confederate soldiers' graves. A semicircular concrete and stone approach consists of six sets of stone risers meeting at a central landing below the monument. The steps rise out of recessed wells cut behind a low, rock-faced limestone wall built along the main park road. The semicircular approach stair replaced a single approach walk constructed when the UDC erected the monument. Minor alterations to the setting of the monument have occurred since the new approach was constructed in 1936. The reconstructed monument wall is a 450-foot-long, coursed, rock-faced limestone retaining wall that surrounds the Confederate Monument on the north and east sides. It is approximately 4 feet tall and has two recessed stairs. Limestone rubble drainage swales are located along the wall. Object and Structures. IDLCS 07171, 90287.

Dover Hotel (1851-1853) is a 51' x 36', two-story, six-bay, frame building with a double-pitched, side-gable roof, three gable-end chimneys, and a two-story, full-width front porch. The first floor is reconstructed with a mid-19th-century interior. The second floor contains the park administrative offices. The first restoration effort occurred in 1928-1930 and largely relied on circumstantial evidence. The NPS rehabilitation in 1978 consisted of a virtual reconstruction of the badly deteriorated wood members and unstable foundation and chimneys. *Building*. IDLCS 00310.

New Contributing Resources

Cemetery Features

Cemetery Wall (1867) consists of the 1,665-foot, kidney-shaped wall surrounding the cemetery with front and rear entrance gates. The wall is constructed of coursed, rock-faced limestone blocks with a limestone coping course. Wall height varies from three to eight feet. The highest sections of wall are located on the river side where the ground drops sharply into a ravine. Three stone stiles are located along the wall at the stable, the maintenance area, and the NE corner along a hiking trail. The cemetery entrance, reconstructed by the NPS in 1939-1940, consists of two limestone rubble piers with pyramidal cannon shot stacks, similar to the main entrance piers, and the original yokeshaped iron gate. Before the NPS reconstruction, upright cannons served as the gate posts. The rear gates (2) are not mentioned in superintendents' reports during the historic period (1867-1933) and may have been recently installed. Structure. IDLCS 90287.

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The Bivouac of the Dead Tablets (c. 1911-1933) consist of three 3' x 1-1/2' cast-iron tablets set on wood posts. Each tablet features one verse of the poem "Bivouac of the Dead" with "Rock Island Arsenal 1881" cast on the rear. The tablets are located on the north side of the former gun monument mound in the central part of the cemetery and may have been installed in the cemetery before the turn-of-the-century, but there is no documentation to verify the installation date. The Bivouac tablets are a common element in national cemeteries. Objects. IDLCS 90295.

Flagstaff, erected in 1907, is a telescoping cast-iron structure that consists of four iron tubes bolted together and stabilized with steel guy wires. The flagstaff is bolted to a concrete foundation and the wires are fastened to concrete anchors. The flagstaff is centered in a circle of marble grave stones within the prominent heart-shaped design grave marker outline located NE of the lodge. Object. IDLCS 90296.

Landscape features associated with the designed layout of the national cemetery include but are not limited to: Grassed avenues that hug the cemetery wall interior and delineate the marker sections. These avenues are slightly concave and are maintained with a mown grass cover. Hardwood and evergreen trees located inside and outside the cemetery wall and randomly placed among the grave markers as indicated on the 1940 Planting Plan. The sugar maple allée on the cemetery entrance road (IDLCS 90293). The road is approximately 18 to 20 feet wide, paved with asphalt and has coursed, rock-faced limestone retaining walls on the east and the west. The NPS rebuilt the walls in 1936. The settees. placed randomly throughout the cemetery are constructed of cast-iron frames with wood slat bench seats and backrests. The gun monument earthen mound located in the center of the cemetery is extant and marks the place where the upright cannon marker was located until 1959. The gun was removed to the river batteries area. The marble headstone tablets and square markers (IDLCS 07164), approximately 640, erected by the U.S. government, and the Civil War-era private headstones are arranged in the design pattern established c. 1867-70. These markers have approximately one foot above the ground surface and establish distinct visual patterns. The U.S. boundary marker and fence remnant located on the southeast corner of the cemetery tract. The square granite marker has U.S. stamped on the top and approximately one-foot is exposed above grade. The fence remnant is wire attached to wood posts and intermittently follows the eastern property line to the parking area. Site and Objects.

Battlefield Park Features

Park Roads and Associated Stonework consist of the road systems constructed by the War Department in 1931-1933 before the NPS took over administration of the national military park and later compatible improvements accomplished by the NPS. The roads include the River Battery or Fort Donelson Road (also referred to as Lock Road), Eddyville Loop Road, Graves Battery Loop Road, and the Wynn's Ferry/Forge Road Loop Road. Stonework associated with each of these roads and

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that compose important features include, stone rubble entry posts (IDLCS 90288) with cannon shot stacks, random-range, squared-off limestone and limestone rubble walls, and limestone rubble drainage swales (IDLCS 90292), headwalls (IDLCS 90291), and drainage structures. The parking ellipse at the lower river batteries is a singular feature composed of random-range, squared-off limestone retaining wall and drop drainage inlets, added several years later by the NPS, stone rubble swales, and limestone rubble culvert headwalls. Some of the stone work, especially the retaining walls at the cemetery and some roadway drainage structures and headwalls, have been reconstructed by the NPS, but this work was done in 1936 and contributes to the design intent and plan established by the War Department. The NPS stonework is characterized by squared-off stone blocks laid in irregular courses compared to the largely rubble, uncoursed stonework that accompanied the War Department road work. The main park entrance (IDLCS 90286) on U.S. 79 consists of another singular feature composed of seven limestone rubble piers, six surmounted by cannon shot pyramids, joined by convex, uncoursed, limestone rubble walls, totalling 380 feet long and approximately 2 feet tall, with rock-faced limestone slabs as coping. The entrance was altered when the Tennessee Department of Transportation realigned U.S. Highway 79. The section of wall nearest the highway (east) was buried in The far west pier is badly eroded and has lost its cannon shot a graded slope. stack, but otherwise the feature retains good integrity. Bronze plaques that read "Fort" & "Donelson" distinguish the two large center piers and also mark the stone rubble piers at the entrance to the earthen fortification. Structures.

Federal Earthworks (1863) consist of a 300-foot-long north-south line located at the confluence of Indian Creek and Lake Barkley (Cumberland River). The structure is 4 to 5 feet tall with a well defined parapet and rear trench. Structure. IDLCS 90298.

War Department Tablets (1931-1933) are 4' x 3' cast-iron plates mounted on iron standards with raised block lettering that identify troop movements and defensive fortifications. Between 10 and 25 tablets are located throughout the park. Objects. IDLCS 90300.

French's Battery (1862) is an approximately 120-foot-by-227-foot earthwork gun battery position within a salient angle of the outer defenses earthworks. The battery has an elevation of 500 feet. *Structure*. IDLCS 91393

Maney's Battery (1862) is a line of earthworks located on the left flank of the outer defenses that stretches one-half mile from Sandy Road to Erin Hollow. It features parapet walls, trenches, and a salient on a rise in the center of the line. Structure. IDLCS 90303.

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Non-Contributing Previously Listed Resources

Texas Monument, constructed in 1963, consists of 2-foot-by-1-foot-by-7 foot vertical slab of Texas red granite set on a 3-foot-by-2-foot base of the same material. The front and rear faces are inscribed with the names of Texas units that fought at Fort Donelson, and the front incorporates a bronze star surrounded by bronze laurel leaves. Although previously listed by nomination in 1978, the monument does not contribute to the significance of the district and is less than fifty years old. Structure. IDLCS 07172

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CIVIL WAR MEMORIALS AND BATTLEFIELD COMMEMORATION: FORT DONELSON NATIONAL CEMETERY AND NATIONAL MILITARY PARK 1866-1933

The Civil War was a watershed event in American history and significantly affected the lives of all who participated in it. Of the 2.75 million Americans who saw action in the war, 623,000 died and 470,000 were wounded. Efforts to memorialize the fallen and recognize and aid veterans and their survivors began even before combat ceased. The creation of the first Civil War national military parks in the 1890s was preceded by twenty-five years of private, federal, and state memorial efforts. Postwar commemorative activities began in the mid-1860s, spurred by the pressing need to establish national cemeteries and properly bury the Union dead. In the same period, local memorial associations in the South also formed, which tended to the burial of the Confederate dead in private cemeteries and the erection of monuments and Finally, state governments and local civic organizations, urged by markers. their citizens and veterans' groups, commemorated the battles and their victims on a large scale through the establishment of cemeteries and battlefield memorial parks. In the early postwar years, commemoration took different forms in the North and the South. In the 1880s and 1890s, as the veteran population aged, commemorative activity expanded, and contact between ex-Confederates and ex-Federals increased. Blue-gray reunions, often held on the battlefields, The interaction at reunions, a spirit of sectional became common. reconciliation and commemoration of the sacrifice of both sides, and an increased appreciation of the nation's past all contributed to the successful movement to establish national battlefield parks.

In the South, independent, local memorial associations sprang up rapidly during and after the war. Many originated in women's wartime groups organized to do hospital and relief work. The new groups often took the name of Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs), but influential male citizens frequently provided crucial financial support. The proper burial of the Confederate dead was the immediate concern of the LMAs, and these groups established many cemeteries across the South. Most cemeteries were located in towns, although a few were established at battle sites. After the cemeteries were laid out, the LMAs turned their attention to memorials. In the first twenty years after the war, these memorials, which typically took the form of stone obelisks, were commonly

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erected in cemeteries.¹ In 1900, local southern memorial associations affiliated with an umbrella group, the Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA). The CSMA assisted local LMAs and raised funds for a Jefferson Davis monument in Richmond, Virginia, unveiled in 1907.²

The Confederate Cemetery at Marietta, Georgia, typifies one kind of memorial activity in the postwar South. The cemetery received its first interments during the war and was officially dedicated in 1866. Catherine Winn of the Ladies' Aid Society and Mary Green of the Georgia Memorial Association spearheaded the establishment of the cemetery. The Georgia legislature appropriated \$3,500 in 1866 to allow the collection of remains from all the north Georgia battlefields for reinterment at the Marietta cemetery. The cemetery contains 3,000 graves, and its Confederate Monument was unveiled July 7, 1908.³

Private cemeteries, established before the war, also served as the final resting place for many Confederate dead. In 1862, the proprietors of Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery donated land within the cemetery for the burial of southern soldiers. Interments mounted and quickly exhausted the amount of land originally donated. After the Battle of Gettysburg, the cemetery reached capacity and could not accept any additional war casualties. In the postwar period, Richmond's citizens erected monuments to the war dead and to southern leaders and political figures like James K. Polk and Jefferson Davis. As a privately owned cemetery, Hollywood played an important role in the commemoration of the Confederate war dead and typified the means that private citizen groups, memorial associations, and state and local governments utilized to honor the war's participants through monument erection and the establishment of cemeteries.⁴

¹Representative early Confederate monuments are the obelisk in Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery, unveiled April 26, 1874, and the obelisk at Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery, erected in 1867. Ralph W. Widener, Jr., Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War Between the States (Washington, D.C.: Ralph W. Widener, Jr., 1982), 42.

²Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 36-41, 158; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South (New Orleans: Confederated Southern Memorial Association, 1904), 32.

³History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, 140-43; Widener, 67.

⁴Mary H. Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery: The History of a Southern Shrine (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1985), passim.

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ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL CEMETERY SYSTEM, 1862-1870

The Union possessed greater resources than the Confederacy for establishing cemeteries for the war dead and participated in widespread cemetery development during and after the war. The U.S. War Department established a standard burial policy for its dead early in the conflict and urged Congress to authorize the acquisition of land for burial purposes. By contrast, the Confederate army relied heavily on the patriotic donation of land and services by local communities for burials. Seven weeks after the first Battle of Manassas, the Department of War issued General Order (G. O.) Number 75 (September 11, 1861), which delegated responsibility for burial of officers and soldiers to the armies' commanding officers. The Quartermaster General established procedures for burial, one of which was to provide a registered wood headboard upon each soldier's grave. By April 1862, the War Department issued G. O. Number 33, which authorized commanding officers to designate a portion of each battlefield for burials and required these officers to officially identify those buried. Both of these orders were largely ignored. However, the 37th Congress passed an Omnibus Act, July 17, 1862, extending authority to President Lincoln to purchase land for use as national cemeteries. The first twelve cemeteries established under this act did not include combat burial grounds--although Alexandria National Cemetery in Virginia served those Union troops stationed to defend the Capitol--but they established an important precedent.

Until 1863, the burial policy for Union dead, although regulated by the War Department, was in practice the responsibility of soldier comrades and troops garrisoned at hospitals. Union and Confederate forces often hastily buried their dead on the battlefields in shallow graves and vacated the area. Few of these graves were marked or inventoried. The Battle of Gettysburg proved the catalyst for the intervention of private and nonfederal government interests in the burial of the Union dead. Because of the massive carnage and hasty retreat associated with this battle, the State of Pennsylvania, urged by citizenactivist and lawyer David Wills,⁶ acted quickly to establish a cemetery at Gettysburg. Identified Confederate dead were sent to Hollywood Cemetery in

⁵Monro MacClosky, Hallowed Ground: Our National Cemeteries (New York: Richard Rosen Press, 1968), 11, 21-24; Edwin Bearss, "The Birth and Evolution of the National Cemetery System," Memorandum to Southeast Superintendents, January 20, 1984, 1.

⁶Wills engineered the land transactions that formalized the cemetery boundaries, but a fellow Gettysburg lawyer, David McConaughy, also deserves credit for the cemetery's establishment. See Kathleen R. Georg, "'This Grand Enterprise': The Origins of Gettysburg's Soldiers' National Cemetery and the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association," Unpublished draft (Gettysburg National Military Park, November 1982).

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Richmond for permanent interment. When President Lincoln dedicated the Gettysburg cemetery on November 19, 1863, William Saunders, Superintendent of Gardens and Grounds for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, had already laid out a semi-circular burial ground, with sections designated by state, and paths radiating from the central monument court.

Designated the Soldiers' National Cemetery by its founders, the Gettysburg cemetery established many precedents followed in later national cemetery development. In 1865, the Select Committee for the Soldiers' National Cemetery reported that five lots comprising seventeen acres had been set aside for burials. By March 21, 1864, the cemetery held the remains of 3,512 Union casualties, many identified through the examination of letters, diaries, receipts, and photographs buried with the bodies. Samuel Weaver, Superintendent of Disinterments appointed by the Gettysburg Cemetery Board of Managers, supervised the exhumation and identification of the remains strewn across the battlefield. A local contractor performed the disinterments, but Weaver, through careful documentation of the exhumed graves, recorded a poignant tribute to the humanity of the fallen soldiers and magnified the commemorative purpose of the cemetery.⁷

The Gettysburg cemetery established a design precedent as well as a commemorative tradition that was adopted in most of the national cemeteries created by the War Department after 1865. Saunders and subsequent national cemetery designers borrowed landscape design elements established during the 1850s in private cemeteries that came to be known as lawn-park cemeteries. Characterized by landscaped lawns, uncluttered vistas, trees with rounded silhouettes, and meandering paths and roads, the naturalistic lawn-park cemeteries exemplified the aesthetic of the "beautiful," wherein nature was subordinated to civilization. The lawn-park approach to cemetery design rapidly replaced the rural-cemetery design philosophy with its greater emphasis on picturesque effects. Popular during the 1830s and 1840s, rural-cemetery design was exuberantly and influentially executed at Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston. Advanced by English-trained landscape architect Adolph Strauch. lawn-park cemetery design significantly reduced the abrupt, irregular, and rugged features of the picturesque landscape in favor of harmony, balance, smooth transitions, softer forms, and professional control over design and

⁷John S. Patterson, "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913," Prospects 7 (1982): 318-19.

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subsequent grounds maintenance.⁸ Strauch introduced his approach to cemetery design when he developed a swampy section of the Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati in 1855 into a greensward with a lake and a few wide lanes flanked by modest monumentation.⁹

By the 1850s, designed rural cemeteries had greatly altered funerary customs and transformed the austere American burial ground into a historical place suitable as a commemorative setting for honored familial, local, and national figures.¹⁰ The lawn-park, or landscape lawn, cemeteries that followed the rural cemeteries reduced the individual lot-holder's expressions of grief or grandeur, typically reflected in monumental grave ornaments and decorative vegetation, and attempted to impose greater regularity and harmony upon the landscape. Private memorials, fenced plots, profusely vegetated landscapes, and serpentine paths and carriage roads had reduced many rural cemeteries to cluttered and unharmonious commemorative labyrinths. At Gettysburg, Saunders strove to create a landscape of "simple grandeur" that would convey the appropriate solemnity that befitted the first, self-consciously national, commemorative landscape. Inspired by the aesthetic of the beautiful and Strauch's landscape lawn plan, Saunders wanted a landscape that would maintain its harmony and quiet beauty as it matured and vegetation changed. The large number of interments and the emphasis on shared sacrifice for democratic ideals in Union soldiers' cemeteries militated against the individualist expressions common in private cemeteries and virtually compelled a formal, geometric

⁸Literary in their origins, the aesthetic categories of the "sublime," the "beautiful," and the "picturesque" emerged from the writings of Edmund Burke, Sir Uvedale Price, and Richard Payne Knight in eighteenth-century England. Relying heavily on English precedents, the American Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) advanced definitions of the beautiful and the picturesque applicable to landscape design, which he popularized, complete with examples, in his work, Landscape Gardening: A treatise on the theory and practice of landscape gardening, adapted to North America (1849), discussed in Ann Leighton, American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 164-72.

⁹David Charles Sloane, The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 2, 49-50, 97-107.

¹⁰Sloane, 79; Blanche Linden-Ward, "Putting the Past Under Grass: History as Death and Cemetery Commemoration," *Prospects*, 10 (1985): 280, 308-09. Linden-Ward briefly outlines the design influences for Mount Auburn and eventually traces "the blending of monuments in a picturesque, commemorative environment" to eighteenth-century English landscaped gardens. The broader theme of commemoration and landscape dominates this work, and the author views cemeteries as the consummate example of commemorative landscapes.

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ordering of the headstones at Gettysburg. Saunders's design included ample lawns that afforded unobstructed views of the proposed central monument and limited tree and shrub planting to minimize the infringement of vistas. Teninch wide granite headstones set in concentric arcs formed a continuous line of graves set nine inches above the ground. Each row of interments could be accessed along five-foot-wide grassed paths. A stone wall with a heavily dressed coping stone and iron gates enclosed the grounds.¹¹ Saunders recognized that the grounds would require maintenance and expected some aspects of his design to change, but he adamantly opposed the alteration of vistas, the addition of fences or roads, and the unchecked erection of monuments.¹²

The design and materials adopted by Saunders at Gettysburg later found widespread application in the National Cemetery system authorized by Congress for Civil War battlefields and other sites. The national cemeteries developed in the postwar period, borrowed the principal design characteristics that Saunders established at Gettysburg, including expansive, closely trimmed lawns, artfully placed trees, gates, modest monumentation, and meandering lanes. The War Department development standards generally dovetailed neatly with these pastoral landscapes, adding small scale buildings, stone and brick walls, and garden structures and ornaments such as settees and rostrums. However, during the commemorative period, between the 1890s and 1930s, cemetery superintendents, veterans' groups, and the local citizenry embellished these landscapes with elaborate flower beds, iron work, walkways and paths, and in some cases monumentation, that frequently cluttered the spare landscape lawn plans and transformed cemeteries into commemorative gardens. As Saunders had predicted, subsequent designers and caretakers would alter the vegetation and some aspects of his simple design. Despite these changes, the cemeteries retained their association with the beautiful primarily because the layout of roads, tree placement, and expansive lawns remained intact.

¹¹"Revised Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Together with the Accompanying Documents, As Reported to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" (Harrisburg, Penn.: Singerly & Myers, State Printers, 1865), passim, 7-148; see also Reed L. Engle, "Cultural Landscape Report: The Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" (Gettysburg National Military Park, 1994), 67-68. Despite Saunders's thoughtful opinions on the necessity of design integrity and the need to restrain expedient or impulsive alterations, the structural and vegetative scene has changed dramatically over the years. The decision in 1934 to bury the raised granite concentric arcs to at-grade level to accommodate mowing significantly affected the cemetery's design integrity.

¹²Sloane, 114-115.

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On April 13, 1866, a Joint Resolution of Congress authorized and required the Secretary of War to "take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of soldiers." Shortly thereafter, on February 22, 1867, Congress directed the Secretary of War to impose a system of standards upon the national cemeteries that included enclosing the grounds, appointing a superintendent, providing a lodge, and purchasing lands for additional cemeteries. Although the federal government delayed accepting responsibility for the state-owned cemeteries at the Gettysburg and Antietam battlefields until 1870, it had established battlefield cemeteries as early as 1865, especially where the former battlegrounds had been occupied by Federal troops. During the war years, eleven national cemeteries were established at or near Civil War battlefields.¹³ Many of these cemeteries began as military hospital burial grounds or were located near depot centers for theater operations. In the postwar period, national cemetery grounds were prepared to inter thousands of remains hastily buried on adjacent battlegrounds or along campaign routes. By 1870, the War Department had completed the initial development of the cemetery system, determining the location and classification of the burial grounds, and had established seventy-three national cemeteries that contained the remains of 299,696 Union soldiers.

Despite the high mortality rate in the field and at hospital sites, the War Department had to establish most national cemeteries from whole cloth after the war, especially in combat zones where orderly burial policies were rarely enforced. At the Stones River battlefield, located northwest of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, thousands of Union casualties killed in the two-day conflict were buried in scattered graves. Although a federal fort had been established upon the battlefield in the spring of 1863, the occupying troops did not practice a formal burial policy until Gen. George H. Thomas, Commander of the Department of the Cumberland, established the national cemetery in 1864. Thomas directed Chaplain William Earnshaw, an Ohio native, to design and construct the cemetery and direct the reinterment of the thousands of Union dead buried in the Murfreesboro vicinity. Earnshaw conducted an extensive search over an 80- to 90-mile radius around Murfreesboro for Union remains. The chaplain also searched the mountain passes trod by Gen. William S.

¹³Ronald F. Lee, The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Park Historic Preservation, 1973), 17-19; Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 64; MacCloskey, 27-32.

¹⁴Edward Steere, "Shrines of the Honored Dead: A Study of the National Cemetery System," Brochure (Department of the Army, Office of the Quartermaster General), 16; originally published as a series of articles in *The Quartermaster Review* in 1953 and 1954.

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Rosecrans and his army after the Battle of Stones River. Altogether, Earnshaw collected over 3,000 Union remains for burial at Stones River National Cemetery.¹⁵

Similar efforts had begun throughout former combat zones even before Congress passed the national cemetery legislation in 1867. In addition to establishing the Stones River site, Thomas also directed the creation of the national cemeteries at Nashville, Chattanooga, and Marietta, Georgia, utilizing the expertise of Earnshaw and a fellow Ohioan, Chaplain Thomas B. Van Horne. Concurrently, Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, appointed with the authority to oversee the reburial program in 1865, wrote Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton seeking permission to establish national cemeteries at Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), Corinth, Natchez, Vicksburg, and Fort Donelson. In 1867, the Secretary of War authorized ten new cemeteries in Virginia and nine additional cemeteries in Tennessee.

At the conclusion of the program to establish national cemeteries, c. 1870, nearly 300,000 Civil War Union dead had been reinterred in seventy-three national cemeteries. With the transfer of Gettysburg and Antietam National Cemeteries to federal jurisdiction, the War Department took full control of the completion and maintenance of all the national cemeteries. In 1873, Congress authorized the War Department to expand the interment policy to allow burial privileges for all honorably discharged Union veterans, not only active-duty soldiers.¹⁶ In the same year, the department formalized some aspects of cemetery design by replacing the wood headboards with stone markers and

¹⁵MacCloskey, 32-33;

¹⁶This policy resulted from pressure applied from several sources and eventually overturned the restrictive burial policy. Union veterans and their immediate kin, particularly wives, lobbied the War Department and Congress throughout the period 1868-1873 to accept burial of their remains in the national cemeteries. Quartermaster General Meigs staunchly resisted these lobbying efforts. However, two important precedents, among many, helped the veterans gain legislation removing the existing burial restrictions. Post cemetery policies, which preceded the national cemetery system, had followed local burial customs and included wives and children. In addition, Maj. Gen. George Thomas, founder of Chattanooga National Cemetery, set aside a large section of the cemetery for the burial of deceased war veterans and their families. Steere, "Shrines of the Honored Dead," 20-21.

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erecting cast-iron tablets in the cemeteries.¹⁷ The project to replace wood headboards with stone markers began in 1873 and ended in 1877. To provide access to some of the remote cemeteries, the department had to build roads that crossed nonfederal lands. Each of these road projects required congressional authorization and appropriations and often took years to accomplish.

In the immediate postwar period, cemetery development progressed rapidly, but landscaping standards, the construction of access roads, and grounds maintenance regimens evolved over a broad period. Landscape improvements increased as commemorative activities gained popularity throughout the 1880s and 1890s and as the national cemeteries became the focal point of community and national patriotic rituals. The Quartermaster General dispatched engineers from the Department of the Army to propose solutions to inadequate drainage and poor soil and to make recommendations on functional and aesthetic landscape embellishments such as brick walkways, cast-iron settees, rostrums, cistern arbors, and the careful placement and cultivation of trees, shrubs, and grasses.

The War Department profoundly influenced the built environment at the national cemeteries. At least two standard lodge designs were adopted: a modest Second Empire brick dwelling and a substantial four-square brick lodge. Auxiliary buildings tended to be utilitarian one-story gabled brick buildings with decorative window and door arches and steeply pitched roofs. The cemetery enclosure walls varied greatly depending on available local materials, including brick, stone, and concrete, but nearly all of them possessed iron gates. As the 1890s progressed, vigorous monument erection in the cemeteries by veterans' groups expanded and required road and bridge development and maintenance to accommodate increasing visitation. The 1890s also witnessed intensified lobbying efforts by veterans' groups that led to congressional action and the expansion of commemorative landscapes from cemeteries to the battlegrounds themselves.¹⁸

COMMEMORATIVE GROUPS AND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK DEVELOPMENT The formation of Civil War veterans' groups closely followed the movement to establish cemeteries. In the Reconstruction era, northern veterans' organizations formed earlier than those in the South. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), which emerged as the largest and most influential of the many Union veterans' groups, was organized in Springfield, Illinois, in 1866.

¹⁸MacCloskey, 37-43.

¹⁷These tablets contained legislative passages, most notably the 1867 Act to establish national cemeteries throughout former combat zones, and verse, particularly the Gettysburg Address and various stanzas of Theodore O'Hara's "The Bivouac of the Dead."

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Drawing its membership from all ranks of Union Civil War veterans, the GAR adopted a paramilitary structure. Local posts or camps were organized into statewide departments, which were presided over by a national commander-inchief. Yearly national encampments brought together veterans from hundreds of posts scattered across the country. The GAR experienced an initial growth spurt in the late 1860s, a period of decline in the 1870s, and a substantial rebirth in the 1880s, reaching a peak membership of 400,000 in 1890. In its mature phase, the GAR lobbied on issues important to veterans, established old soldiers' homes, sponsored monuments and patriotic observances, and worked to create national battlefield parks.¹⁹

Although by far the largest, the GAR was not the only Union veterans' group. Several Federal army societies formed in the 1860s: the Society of the Army of the Tennessee in 1865, the Society of the Army of the Cumberland in 1868, and the Society of the Army of the Potomac in 1869. Other northern veterans' groups restricted membership based on officer status or length of service. Among these were the Military Order of the Loyal Legion (founded 1865), the Union Veteran Legion (founded 1884), and the Union Veterans' Union (founded 1886). Many individual companies and regiments also formed organizations. A primary focus of many unit organizations was socializing at annual reunions, but some erected battlefield monuments.²⁰

Pressing economic needs and the social and political upheavals of Reconstruction hampered the formation of comparable Confederate veterans' groups. Additionally, any Reconstruction-era regional organization of ex-Confederates risked being charged with fomenting disloyalty. A few local benevolent societies with substantial Confederate veteran membership appeared in the 1860s. In May 1869 in New Orleans, prominent former Confederate officers formed the Southern Historical Society (SHS). In 1870, an Association of the Army of Northern Virginia (AANVA) was formed in Richmond, and an Association of the Army of Tennessee appeared in 1877. The SHS and AANVA focused on the erection of a monument to Robert E. Lee in Richmond.²¹ In the 1880s, more Confederate army units held reunions, and some established permanent organizations. The organization of local veterans' posts into statewide groups in Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia in 1887-1888 preceded the formation of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) in June 1889. Employing an

²¹More than 100,000 people participated in ceremonies marking the unveiling of the Lee Monument on May 29, 1890 (Foster, 100-101).

¹⁹Wallace E. Davies, Patriotism on Parade: the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 29-35.

²⁰Davies, 29-30, 36-37.

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organizational structure similar to the GAR's, the UCV spread across the South in the 1890s, with membership reaching approximately 80,000 by 1903.²²

While in the North veterans usually led public commemorative efforts, in the South, women played a prominent role in commemorative activities. Several local groups calling themselves Daughters of the Confederacy sprang up in the 1890s, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) was founded in 1894 to coordinate commemorative activity across the South. UDC chapters raised funds for monuments, promoted observance of Confederate holidays (such as Confederate Memorial Day and Robert E. Lee's birthday), maintained Confederate museums, and promoted a southern interpretation of the Civil War, emphasizing states' rights. The UDC often cooperated with the UCV, and shared a publication, the *Confederate Veteran*, but maintained its independence from the veterans' group.²³

The veterans' groups commemorative focus changed over time. In the early postwar period, various army societies rushed to erect statues and monuments honoring generals. Reunions were always an important commemorative activity and initially included only veterans who had fought on the same side. By the 1880s, time had diminished the bitterness among excombatants, and veterans focused on common wartime experiences. Contacts between former Confederates and former Federals steadily increased. National GAR encampments began to invite ex-Confederates to participate. Reciprocal visits of individual northern and southern veterans' posts began in the early 1880s, and more formal combined blue-gray reunions and joint ceremonies became increasingly common as the decade wore on. A blue-gray reunion at Gettysburg in 1882 was followed by others at Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Kennesaw Mountain. The emphasis was shifting from which side was "right" to an appreciation of the valor and sacrifice of the foe.²⁴

The spirit of reconciliation manifested in the blue-gray reunions, coupled with veterans' growing interest in securing their place in history, helped advance the cause of Civil War national military parks. Throughout the postwar period, veterans' groups erected monuments to the Union dead within the national cemeteries and on land owned by private or public memorial associations. Confederate associations, consisting mostly of local memorial associations, also erected monuments to their war dead in Confederate cemeteries and southern towns. Veterans persistently urged the Federal government to take over from states and army societies the responsibility of protecting battlefield sites

²²Foster, 50-53, 91, 104-7.

²³Foster, 172-73; Davies, 41-42.

²⁴Davies, 226, 249; Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 257-58; Foster, 67-68.

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and marking unit positions. As early as 1880, Congress appropriated funds to study and survey the Gettysburg battlefield. The GAR lobbied for a national military park at Gettysburg, the Society of the Army of the Cumberland pressed for one at the Chickamauga and Chattanooga battlefields, and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee wanted a park at Vicksburg. In 1890, Congress established the first Civil War national military park at Chickamauga and Chattanooga under War Department administration. In step with the growing spirit of national reconciliation, the legislation stipulated that all troop positions, Confederate and Federal, were to be marked. Within the decade, Congress established three more national military parks at Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899).²⁵

When Congress created Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, it authorized the War Department to acquire land and mark the lines of battle, to appoint a three-man commission, consisting of veterans from the Confederate and Union armies, and to administer the park development for its intended purpose. Congress stated that: "the preservation for national study of the lines of decisive battles, especially when tactical movements were unusual both in numbers and military ability, and when the fields embraced great natural difficulties, may properly be regarded as a matter of national importance." This criterion became the standard by which later national military parks were established and served as the central focus of the criteria established by the Army War College in 1925 for classifying battlefields.²⁶

Congress passed legislation on June 11, 1926, that established a comprehensive system of battlefield classification, based on drafted proposals submitted by the War Department. This legislation created standards that determined the appropriate level of federal commemoration and preservation activity. In the post-World War I period, private commemorative interests persuaded Congressmen to introduce numerous bills to establish national military parks, mostly associated with Civil War battlefields. Until 1926, Congress had appointed individual commissions to inspect and recommend preservation alternatives for many Civil War sites. In that year alone, the Committee on Military Affairs received twenty-eight bills requesting that Congress establish fourteen national military parks and appropriate six million dollars for the inspection of battlefield sites and the erection of markers and tablets.²⁷

 26 Lee, 11, 17-19.

²⁷Lee, 47.

²⁵John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), 9-10; Davies, 228; Lee, 31-35.

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The June 1926 legislation made the War Department responsible for surveying all of the nation's battlefields. Using a classification system created in 1925 by Lt. Col. C. A. Bach, Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, the department, armed with survey data, would determine which sites should be considered for national military park status (Class I); those that would be designated by marking the lines of battle (Class IIa); and those that would receive only a monument or marker from the U. S. government (Class IIb). The War Department conducted the national survey between 1926 and 1932 and by 1929 had recommended the establishment of two Class I battlefields, nine Class IIa, and fifty Class IIb sites.²⁸

This classification system determined the scope of administrative responsibility required of the War Department by defining the extent of land acquisition and the breadth of interpretive or commemorative efforts. Most battlefields, especially Revolutionary War sites, received Class IIb classifications, which recommended some type of monumentation to mark the battlefield site. Class IIa battlefields required the acquisition and marking of the battle lines. This preservation tactic, popularly known as "the Antietam Plan," preserved the smallest possible amount of land that enabled the War Department to interpret the battle's primary action. The Antietam Plan assumed that the countryside adjacent to abandoned battlefields would remain rural without requiring War Department ownership and responsibility for the land.²⁹

Between 1926 and 1933, Congress had authorized the creation of one national park, four national military parks, and one battlefield memorial. Fort Donelson had originally been authorized on March 26, 1928 as a national park; the designation was later changed to national military park. Congress also drafted legislation that authorized appropriations for land acquisition and monument erection at the fifty Class IIb battlefields designated by the War Department in its battlefield survey. However, no omnibus bill related to all monumentation sites and land acquisitions successfully passed through committee. Instead, acting singly, congressmen proposed acts that appropriated funds for land acquisition and monument erection at individual sites. Thus, the War Department administration of historic battlefield parks and sites remained shackled to minor development plans that required special acts of Congress to initiate and fund. Much of the War Department construction activity occurred in late 1931 and 1932, and the department could engage Civil Works Administration work relief recipients to perform the manual labor related

 28 Lee, 47-49.

 29 Lee, 39-40.

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to road construction, wall building, landscape development, and cemetery upkeep.³⁰

At some sites administered by the War Department, particularly the national cemeteries, site development had occurred before the Army War College initiated the battlefield survey. Many national cemeteries created in the immediate post-Civil War period received new roads, landscaping, and associated buildings between 1890 and 1914. When national military parks were established at some of these cemeteries, park development designs included updating national cemetery layouts to meet the needs of automobiles and increased park visitation. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166 that authorized the transfer of all historic parks and properties administered by the War Department and the Department of Agriculture to the National Park Service. This transfer spurred a new era of park development that ended when the United States entered World War II.

After 1933, the tremendous influx of new park units into the National Park system, especially War Department historic sites and battlefields in the East, required a systematic planning and development effort. To implement national park infrastructure development, the National Park Service (NPS) utilized the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) program, established in April 1933 and later officially named the CCC, supplied funding for a workforce dedicated to federal public works projects. The Public Works Administration (PWA), administered by Department of Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes, provided federal funding for large-scale public works projects between 1933 and 1937. In 1935, Works Progress Administration (WPA) work relief funding supplemented the ECW and PWA appropriations. The NPS utilized the CCC and WPA workforces and PWA funding between 1933 and 1942 to develop a fledgling national park system in the East.

Throughout the 1920s, the NPS had drafted landscape designs and broadly planned park development for the popular natural western parks. When the NPS added more than seventy units to the national park system in 1933, this articulated design philosophy and the idea of general development plans were immediately employed. Most of these units were located in the East and had been administered by the War Department.

Between 1938 and 1940, the CCC helped accelerate park development in the eastern parks. Financed by the PWA, the NPS implemented development plans created by the newly designated Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design and used CCC labor. NPS planning reflected a design philosophy that emphasized subordinating all development to the natural landscape. Roads and trails were routed to follow the contours of the land, and structures were

 30 Lee, 51-52.
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designed to blend into their surroundings. The NPS frequently employed a rustic style of architecture using local materials (often stone and logs) and stylized "pioneer" construction techniques. Most commonly employed in western parks, rustic architecture gained considerable acceptance during the 1930s in the great eastern natural parks including Shenandoah, Great Smokies, Acadia, and the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Eastern Division frequently designed facilities for historic sites, recreational areas, and national military parks that linked the site to broad national historic themes, or which blended new NPS structures with the natural landscape or existing development. These plans met functional needs for park administrative, maintenance, and residential buildings and employed loop roads, barrel-vaulted bridges, and serpentine roadways for visitor circulation. The NPS advanced its design philosophy through the use of stone as a facing or load-bearing material, vegetative screening of utilitarian buildings, and the employment of historic styles for major buildings. Although the NPS standardized many principles and practices for park development, it applied these standards instinctually, often guided by the unique character of each park and the site and setting selected for construction.³¹

The NPS approach to battlefield commemoration and development differed substantially from War Department policies. The War Department's development and interpretive efforts at battlefield sites depended greatly upon the site's establishment date and whether the park was considered a significant commemorative site or if it was used primarily as an arena for study for succeeding generations of military men. The Fort Donelson legislation and the report that informed the House Committee on Military Affairs stressed the historical importance of the battle, battleground, and the extant earthwork structures and urged that the national military park commemorate and preserve the event and the place.³² As a result, despite its small land mass, isolated location, and relative obscurity among powerful national and local commemorative groups, Fort Donelson received considerable attention from the War Department. In contrast, at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. under War Department jurisdiction between 1928 and 1933, the department engaged in minimal improvements and acquired no additional land beyond the small commemorative site established by Illinois veterans. At Fort Donelson, once the national military park was established, the War Department engaged in significant land acquisition and road building between 1928 and 1932 and

³¹Linda Flint McClelland, Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1993) passim, see overview, 1-4.

³²Gloria Peterson, Administrative History: Fort Donelson National Military Park (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, June 30, 1968), 27-29.

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impressed upon the landscape an orderly form that frequently applied standard designs such as serpentine roads and elliptical parking loops and used local materials for hand-dressed stone walls and gate posts.

The Bureau of Public Roads played a significant role in the design and construction of roads in national and national military parks. The War Department generally utilized its own cadre of engineers within the Quartermaster Corps to design and build roads in the national cemeteries, national historic sites, and national military parks it administered. In some War Department parks, high visitation required the construction of substantial road structures including bridges, culverts, hard-surfaced roads, retaining walls, and parking areas. In the early era of park development, especially in the western parks, the National Park Service relied on the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR), which had built roads on federal lands for the Forest Service and helped county and state highway programs expand or develop state-of-the-art road networks. On January 18, 1926, the NPS signed a formal contractual agreement with the BPR under which the highway agency would survey, lay out, and construct roads, drainage structures, and parking facilities for the NPS. Aesthetic design and landscaping criteria would remain the responsibility of the NPS, but the BPR would build the roads.³³

The War Department relied extensively on civil engineering solutions for significant site problems related to drainage, soil composition, and access. These problem-solving improvements dominated War Department development at the national military parks between 1866 and 1926, before the battlefield survey. As a result, landscape design and associated structural features varied considerably from site to site. For example, at Vicksburg National Cemetery and National Military Park, the War Department engineered substantial site modifications including extensive terracing; laying of drainage tile; and building, road, and bridge construction.³⁴ At the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, the War Department corrected a severe flooding problem at the foot of the memorial building, improved site access, visitor circulation, and delineated the maintenance of open land in contrast to the

³³Laura Soulliere Harrison, "By Motor Through Wonderland: Historic Roads in the NPS," Unpublished draft (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1994), 44-77 passim.

³⁴Richard Meyers, The Vicksburg National Cemetery: An Administrative History (Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation: National Park Service, 1968), 44-76 passim.

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memorial's carefully cultivated setting.³⁵ Some War Department improvements carry a certain signature and are recognized by their precise lineal features evident in terracing, parade grounds, and even roadways, and an often incongruent mix of the natural and built environment that resulted from inconsistent planning and subsequent alteration.

The War Department assigned park and historic site development duties to the Ouartermaster General's office or to the Corps of Engineers. Both of these divisions relied heavily on standardized plans and building designs and frequently subordinated setting or design aesthetics to the standards. Because all the national cemeteries had similar layouts and structures, generic department-wide manuals specified regulation and maintenance of the built environment. Most cemeteries possessed standard features such as a lodge, enclosing wall, rostrum, and a flagstaff, which could differ substantially among cemeteries based on materials, siting, and date of construction, but which assured some structural and functional uniformity among the sites. The expansion of road systems in the national cemeteries and the national military parks featured similar application of standardized plans to roadways, visitor access facilities, and interpretive markers. The development of Fort Donelson National Military Park by federal, state, and local interests, discussed below, illustrates the ideals and goals of commemorative groups, and the results of their activities as reflected in the built environment.

FORT DONELSON NATIONAL CEMETERY AND NATIONAL MILITARY PARK, 1867-1933 In legislation passed February 22, 1867, Congress established the national cemetery at Fort Donelson and authorized the Secretary of War to purchase land for that purpose. The federal occupation of the town and bluffs located upon the Cumberland River began after the Union capture of the Confederate fort guarding the river in February 1862. The garrisoned troops must have buried many of their occupying comrades in the fort vicinity during the long occupation, but the Union Army did not attempt a reburial campaign for the hundreds of hastily buried battle dead. Some battle remains were sent to local cemeteries, but no systematic plan to order the remains of Union soldiers emerged in this period. Within two months of the 1867 legislation, the War Department purchased 15.34 acres between the former Confederate fort and the town of Dover from James P. Flood that included the site of the occupying Federals' fort.

In a report submitted from the scene in August 1867, Col. C.W. Folsom of the Quartermaster Corps wrote that the federal fort at Dover had been leveled and the earthworks surviving from the battle had suffered significant destruction

³⁵Robert Blythe, Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson, "Historic Resource Study: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site," Unpublished draft, 46-50.

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at the hands of farmers and tobacco cultivation. Returning to the site, exsoldiers and veterans' families lamented the rapid deterioration and unchallenged destruction of the battleground. Seeking out the graves of companions and kin, these visitors found them interred, often in shallow, mounded graves, on a prospect overlooking the Cumberland River approximately one-half mile from Dover. Federal troops had moved the bodies from the battlefield, from Clarksville, approximately 35 miles upriver, and in the vicinity encompassing both Kentucky and Tennessee now known as the Land Between the Lakes, during the month of March 1867.³⁶ Reporting in 1871, Major General Thomas noted that:

It [the cemetery] occupied the site of a redoubt erected by the Union troops some time subsequent to the capture of Fort Donelson. This would have been an interesting feature, and within the work very many of the dead could have been interred; but, unfortunately, an inexperienced officer was in charge, who not only leveled it with the ground, but also, at great expense, cut off seven feet of the apex of the hill, thus entirely marring its beauty.³⁷

The 15.34-acre site, a rhomboidal tract purchased in 1867, lay between the Eddyville Road, which abutted the south boundary, and the Cumberland River on the north. Just north of the fort site, the ground descended sharply for a distance of approximately 950 feet to the river. Most of this property lay outside the government tract. Access to Dover, the primary river landing comprising a settlement of approximately twenty houses in 1867 and located onehalf mile northeast of the cemetery, followed the Eddyville Road (see Site Map and Plat, Figures 1 and 2).

Thomas further described the site as "very rough and [the ground] broken, especially on the river side, where the descent was very abrupt and cut up with deep gullies. Heavy sustaining walls of stone had to be built on the slope to protect the burial portion." Despite the destruction of the hilltop, the site maintained a commanding view of the river. Improvements to the cemetery between 1867 and 1871 included construction of a dry-laid stone wall built of limestone blocks with a heavy coping set in cement. Four standing cannon served as posts for the cast-iron entrance gates at the cemetery's south entrance. A drive extended around the cemetery inside the wall, and at least two others traversed the cemetery's interior marking off the burial sections.

³⁶Peterson, 12-13.

³⁷"Report of an Inspection Made of Cemeterial Operations at Fort Donelson, Tennessee," by Col. C.W. Folsom, A. Q. M., August 17, 1867, Handwritten report found in Park files; "Report of the Inspector of the National Cemeteries, 1870 and 1871," Senate Executive Document No. 79, 42d Congress 2d Session: 75.

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A circular plot surrounded the flagstaff and another smaller plot encircled a iron gun placed west of the flagstaff. Grass had been sown on the mounded graves, and oaks and pines planted throughout the cemetery, but neither the grass nor the oaks fared well in the poor, eroded soil. Finally, a three-room wooden lodge, located near the main entrance inside the stone wall, housed the superintendent. Poorly built, the house looked "comfortable; [but is] said to leak a little, and to be very cold in winter. The position is very much exposed to the winds. A new lodge, of brick or stone, should be built in a year or two." A small cistern and a detached kitchen completed the developments.³⁸

Compared to other national cemeteries in the Tennessee/Kentucky vicinity and throughout the combat zone, Fort Donelson was small. In August 1867, Colonel Folsom estimated that approximately 1,500 to 2,000 remains would be interred in the cemetery, and he employed a large force, mostly African American laborers and teamsters, to reinter the dead.³⁹ Inspections in 1870 and 1871 revealed that the stone wall enclosed approximately three acres of the entire 15.34-acre tract and included only 670 remains. Less than one-quarter of these remains could be identified. A total of 158 known black and white soldier remains were interred; the remaining 512 were unknown. At Camp Nelson, near Danville, Kentucky, more than 3,600 Union soldiers lay buried; two-thirds of these burials were known and marked. At Stones River, Chaplain William Earnshaw oversaw the disinterment and reburial of more than 3,000 remains from the battle itself and subsequent southern campaigns led by General Rosecrans.

Possibly because of the cemetery's size, the layout and development at Fort Donelson cemetery adhered closely to the guidelines established in the 1867 congressional legislation and later reiterated in *Regulations for the Government of National Cemeteries* published by the Office of the Quartermaster General.⁴⁰ These regulations specified stone or brick enclosures; the appointment of a superintendent, usually a wounded veteran of the officer class; construction of a lodge; vegetation maintenance; painting schedules, colors, and methods; and the maintenance of headstones, monuments, and settees. These detailed regulations left little room for deviations or expressions of creative authority by the superintendents. They also likely encouraged the retention of original plans. A plan of the Fort Donelson cemetery drawn in 1892 illustrates a whimsical site plan composed of a circular line of headstones around a mound

³⁸"Report of the Inspector of the National Cemeteries, 1870 and 1871," Senate Executive Document No. 79, 42d Congress 2d Session: 75.

³⁹Inspection Report, Colonel Folsom, August 17, 1867.

⁴⁰War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, Regulations for the Government of National Cemeteries (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911).

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that supported a standing gun monument, markers arrayed in a heart-shaped design on the east with the flagstaff in the center, and two grassed avenues emanating from the west side of the central circular monument court. The kidney-shaped wall enclosure is lined on the interior with evergreens and on the exterior with hardwoods. The placement of other trees appears mostly random. The superintendent's lodge is located northwest of the gate, inside the wall. A wire fence and osage orange hedge enclosed the 15-acre tract, and a 12-foot wide gravel road with a maple allée provided access from the Eddyville Road to the cemetery gate, located in the southeast corner of the cemetery wall (see 1892 Plan, Figure 3).

The 1867 legislation required the Secretary of War to submit inspection reports for the cemeteries. During the cemetery development period, from 1866 through 1874, the Office of the Quartermaster General sent representatives from its regional depot offices to inspect cemeteries within the regional jurisdiction. The quartermaster reports written in 1871 and 1874 for Fort Donelson are brief and suggest a well-sited layout plagued by poor soil and an inadequate source of water. The hedge that enclosed the 15-acre tract thrived and so did the pines. The oaks planted on the stony prospect found the soil inhospitable and frequently failed to survive a season of drought or high winds.

The site had been selected by a board consisting of Chaplain W. B. Earnshaw, who directed the reburial program at Stones River National Cemetery, Maj. A. W. Wills, and Assistant Quartermaster and Capt. G. W. Marshall. An earlier, more expansive plan was abandoned, primarily because one landowner, Judge Scarboro, would not accept the proposed purchase price offered by the government. The precise extent of the earlier plan is unknown. After the land purchase, Lt. Fred K. Rosencrantz, the officer in charge of the site, leveled the existing fort, removing approximately seven feet from the apex of the hill and filling a nearby ravine with the excavated soil. As originally conceived, the cemetery would contain the remains of all federal troops who fell at the Battle of Fort Donelson and also all those who were interred along the banks of the Cumberland River from Smithland, Kentucky, at the confluence of the Cumberland and Ohio Rivers to Clarksville, Tennessee. Costs for site improvements proved excessive--in November 1867, the projected costs totaled over \$55,000--because ground preparation succeeding Rosencrantz's actions required extensive stabilizing and the construction of a retaining wall to support the eviscerated hill. Possibly to contain further costs, the board decided to limit the reburial to those remains that lay upon the immediate battlefield and from a small adjacent territory, including those buried in town cemeteries.⁴¹

⁴¹"Cumberland River National Cemetery, Fort Donelson, Tennessee," Roll of Honor, No. 23 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1869), 239.

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Once the cemetery was established, the superintendents began filing monthly reports. Superintendent John Fitzgerald submitted the earliest extant report for Fort Donelson on January 2, 1874. Superintendents for the national cemeteries were chosen from among the disabled veteran ranks. Their handicaps tended to be minor or at least noncrippling, which allowed them to perform the frequent manual labor required of superintendents. In addition to mowing grass, superintendents supervised and performed landscape management and extensive maintenance on cemetery buildings and structures. Patrick Hart, cemetery superintendent between 1882 and 1885, frequently complained that his war injury caused crippling in his right arm and he could not perform the manual labor required of cemetery superintendents. In contrast, Hart's successor Absalon C. Hyde was wounded twice at Gettysburg, but throughout his twelve years as superintendent, he never mentioned that his handicap interfered with his duties as superintendent. These men reported to the Quartermaster Depot at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and compiled exhaustive correspondence files that indicate well the laborious standards and regulations the military enforced upon its property holdings and their managers.

The earliest extant plan (1892) of the cemetery illustrates a well-executed layout of paths, drives, and headstones, and a combination of random and linear tree planting. Structures included the heavy stone enclosing wall, a flagstaff, a centrally placed gun monument,⁴² the superintendent's lodge, a tool house, stable, cistern, arbor, and rostrum. Several of the early cemetery lodges were constructed of wood. Brick lodges built between 1875 and the early 1900s replaced most of these deteriorated structures. At Gettysburg, a second brick four-square lodge with Colonial Revival details replaced the original Gothic Revival brick lodge. At Fort Donelson, a Second Empire brick lodge replaced the wood lodge in 1876.

Maintenance at Fort Donelson cemetery, especially of the landscape, required the full-time attention of the superintendent. The site, described as rocky with poor soil, demanded constant replenishment to sustain desirable vegetation. Successive superintendents hauled rich, composted soil to fill eroded graves and run-off rills caused by frequently heavy seasonal rains. They also transplanted native trees and bushes from adjacent forest land to the cemetery only to have them die en masse within a season. Frequent summer drought conditions adversely affected the grass, trees, and shrubs, and subsequent winter and spring precipitation eroded the ravine slopes south of

⁴²A flowery article in the *Confederate Veteran* (1915) described the cemetery "with its grass, trees, monuments, simple headstones, and anon, a captured Confederate gun, established and maintained by a government able and anxious to honor its soldiers." The gun monument may have been a gun hauled from the river batteries to the Federal fort and mounted when the occupying troops left. It was removed in 1959.

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the cemetery wall. In his February 1876 report, Superintendent Fitzgerald reported that he had planted alders, catalpas, and seven willow trees to replace those that had died. He also intended to start a nursery to keep trees and shrubs on hand for spring planting.⁴³ Each spring, the superintendents hauled composted soil to the enclosed cemetery, sowed bluegrass and red clover seed, ministered to a troublesome osage orange hedge planted along the perimeter of the cemetery tract, and transplanted maples and other hardwoods from nearby forests.

When Superintendent William Henry Taylor assumed command of the cemetery in July 1876, he participated in a final push to complete the development of the grounds and buildings. Postwar reconstruction efforts, both political and economic, were nearing completion and the War Department keenly felt the need to finish the initial development at the national cemeteries. In 1873, a contract to erect inscribed marble headstones in the national cemeteries was signed with Thomas P. Morgan of Washington, D.C. DeWitt C. Sage of Cromwell, Connecticut, contracted to provide the marble blocks for the unknown graves. The headstone contract specified fine-grained white marble tablets, four inches thick, ten inches wide, and installed to expose twelve inches above ground level. For the unknowns, Sage would provide six-inch-square white marble blocks, two-and-one-half feet long.⁴⁴ Fort Donelson received its new headstones in the spring of 1876. Installation was complete by July. In the same year, construction began on a new brick lodge consisting of three cellar rooms, two living rooms and an office, and three upstairs rooms. The lodge was completed by December, but could not be used until a civil engineer inspected it. Taylor and his family moved in July 19, 1877. The old lodge, a three-room wood frame building, was moved south of the new building and converted for use as a toolshed and for fuel storage with a wood frame privy attached. Another frame outbuilding was moved outside the stone wall and used as a stable. A new cistern also accompanied the brick lodge.45

Considerable grounds improvements occurred at the same time. In July 1877, Taylor removed the macadam dressing on the walks and avenues, apparently installed when the cemetery was originally laid out, and prepared the ground

⁴³Superintendent John Fitzgerald, "Monthly Report, February 1876," original copies at Fort Donelson National Military Park (FODO).

⁴⁴Contract dated December 31, 1873, between the Quartermaster General and Thomas P. Morgan of Washington, D.C., original copy at FODO. Second contract dated December 31, 1873, between the Quartermaster General and DeWitt C. Sage of Cromwell, Connecticut, original copy at FODO.

⁴⁵Superintendent William H. Taylor, "Monthly Reports, July 1876-July 1877," original copies at FODO.

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for sod. Perpetual maintenance and replacement of the stone surface prompted the removal of the macadam. Taylor constructed walkways around the lodge, linked to the cemetery's interior avenues, and paved them with the brick from the old lodge chimney. The superintendent planted thirteen maples and seven elms along the newly sodded avenues and arranged five settees across the cemetery grounds. Taylor also added six inches of rich soil to the central gun monument mound to facilitate grass growth, filled and tamped down sunken graves, and maintained a nursery, where he cultivated walnuts, hickories, and maples for future transplanting. The cemetery grounds supported a wide variety of plant species, many taken from the adjacent woods. Taylor created an inventory in November 1876 that included ninety dwarf box (woods); three magnolias; fifteen arbor vitae; sixteen spruce pines; six cedars; ten swedish junipers; sixty yellow pines; thirty-five white pines; 110 forest trees, mostly maples; four pears; thirteen peach; four plum; and ten apple trees.⁴⁶

Although Taylor performed much of the required manual work, hiring local laborers to haul dirt and assist in transplanting trees, he worked under the direction of Captain Robbins, a civil engineer from the Quartermaster Corps. In April 1878, Taylor reported that the entrance road from Eddyville Road to the southeast gate was widened from 10 feet to 24 feet with retaining walls constructed on the west where a ravine descended sharply. Robbins likely provided plans and directed the work for the road widening. The road work neared completion in December 1879, and Taylor planted trees along both sides⁴⁷

Taylor served as superintendent for six years, between 1876 and 1882, but was abruptly discharged from his post because of charges of disorderly conduct and public drunkenness lodged by several local citizens. Patrick Hart replaced Taylor and served for three years. Hart reported making many needed repairs to the newly constructed lodge, cisterns, and the stone wall. In addition to the seasonal transplanting of forest trees, Hart planted grape cuttings around the wooden cistern arbors and tended to the boundary-defining osage orange hedge.⁴⁸

Hart's successor, Absalon Hyde, like Taylor, engaged in significant landscape improvements and tended to many structural repairs. Throughout his tenure, Hyde recorded seasonal maintenance and beautification projects that were repeated nearly every year. Hyde reported late winter hauling of dirt to fill the eroded graves, avenues, and ravines, spring planting of grass and flowers,

⁴⁶Taylor, "Monthly Reports, April 1877-December 1879," FODO.

⁴⁷Taylor, "Monthly Reports, July 1878 and December 1879," FODO; William H. Taylor to Gen. James Ekin, Assistant Quartermaster, Louisville, Kentucky, original copy of letter, December 5, 1879, FODO.

⁴⁸Patrick Hart, "Monthly Reports, August 1882-June 1885," FODO.

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fall tree replacement, and summer droughts. The lodge required substantial repairs to the roof, basement, plaster walls, porches, and windows. Hart had reported that the cemetery wall was bulging and poorly founded. Hyde began repairs in March 1887.

From 1866 until 1890, the cemetery superintendents consistently planted trees on the grounds inside the wall and along the exterior avenues. Each spring and summer, storms and drought destroyed nearly as many trees as were planted. Yet, in January 1891, Mr. D. H. Rhodes, identified as the Landscape Gardener for the Cemeterial Department, marked trees for removal. The following February, the Quartermaster hired County Surveyor G. W. Moore to conduct a survey of the cemetery grounds including the boundary, wall, paths, roads, and buildings. This survey also broadly recorded vegetation patterns (See Figure 3, Plat of Cemetery, July 22, 1892). The map illustrated that the cemetery grounds were lush. Hardwood trees lined the entrance road and the avenue outside the wall; newly planted cedars lined the wall's interior. An osage orange hedge, recently reinforced with barbed wire to keep small animals out of the grounds, encircled the cemetery tract. No shrubs or flower beds are indicated on the survey plat.

Hyde reported that Rhodes returned to the cemetery after the survey and marked 35 to 41 trees for removal. The superintendent and his son started to remove the trees in early 1894. Cedars planted in the previous years inside the wall continually failed to thrive because of severe summer droughts. The cisterns served as the only water source for the cemetery, and with consistent drought conditions, no water could be spared to succor the vegetation. Hyde also wrote that additional planted vegetation spirea, roses, golden arbor vitae, and weeping willows suffered from a freeze in March. The superintendents' reports indicate that many trees failed to reach maturity and constant replanting was required. Despite the apparent cycle of transplant failure, enough trees survived to require thinning. Photographs of the grounds taken during Hyde's tenure illustrate a profusion of young trees of great variety (see Photographs 1 and 2).

The cemetery's physical development was manifest in the extensive planting and road and building construction undertaken during the late 1870s through the 1890s. It also gradually gained recognition as a commemorative site. Each May, the superintendents hurriedly prepared the grounds for Decoration (Memorial) Day services, generally led by the John A. Logan Post No. 59 of the Grand Army of the Republic of Erin, Tennessee (see Photograph 3). As an indication of the increased use of the grounds for ceremonial purposes, the Quartermaster General's office agreed to erect a brick rostrum for speechmaking in November 1893. Six additional settees arrived, in 1896, to accommodate the large crowds attracted to the cemetery. Decoration Day service attendance soared during the next few years with an estimated 500 persons at

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the site in 1895 and 1,000 in 1903, the last year an attendance record was maintained. $^{\rm 49}$

LOCAL COMMEMORATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

FORT DONELSON NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Local commemorative groups played a minor role in the physical development of the park, although commemorative activity experienced considerable growth in the area during the 1890s and continued until the United Daughters of the Confederacy successfully erected a Confederate monument in the park in 1933. In addition to the increasingly popular Decoration Day activities at the cemetery sponsored by Union veterans, Confederate veterans met in 1892 upon the battlefield and in Clarksville. Clarksville, the county seat of Montgomery County and the largest commercial center near Dover, served as a base for subsequent gatherings and commemorative activity. In 1897, sixty veterans of both armies met for the dedication of a memorial chapel at Dover, Tennessee. The Reverend Dr. Kelley, who had fought at Fort Donelson in 1862, presided over the service. An elaborate stained glass window, depicting a Confederate and Union soldier with outstretched hands in a gesture of reconciliation and the names of the battle participants, marked the thirty-fifth anniversary of the battle and served as the centerpiece of the commemorative service.⁵⁰

Although veterans' groups participated in reunions and Decoration Day celebrations, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) spearheaded the only effort to erect a monument to the Confederate dead on the battlefield. In November 1913, the UDC met in New Orleans and pledged to begin a monument campaign. Mrs. Herbert N. Leech, President of the Tennessee Division of the UDC, sent a message to the veterans meeting in Clarksville that November and asked for a pledge. The veterans replied that "[t]hey were glad to pledge their aid. . . . The Veteran will help in the work." Little help, however, came from the veterans or anyone else for almost twenty years.⁵¹ But other monuments were erected in Clarksville. A substantial Confederate monument, unveiled in 1893, has three standing figures and a towering shaft on a stepped It holds a prominent position in Greenwood Cemetery. Forbes Bivouac base. erected a small monument to the Unknown Confederate soldier in Riverview Cemetery, also in Clarksville, in 1889. Both of these monuments, located in

⁵⁰"A Memorial Chapel at Fort Donelson," Confederate Veteran (1897), 461.

⁵¹Ibid. Veteran likely refers to the UDC and United Confederate Veterans combined publication, Confederate Veteran.

⁴⁹Absalon C. Hyde, "Monthly Reports, November 1893 and May 1894,"; Francis C. Osbourne, "Monthly Reports, May 1895 and May 1896,"; Joel M. Ferguson, "Monthly Reports, May 1900, May 1902, and May 1903," FODO.

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cemeteries, likely honored the Confederate dead brought as wounded to Clarksville or who were buried in the town's established cemeteries after the battle.⁵² At the nineteenth convention of the Tennessee UDC held in May 1915, the Fort Donelson Monument Committee, created in February, lamented the lack of interest and funds to erect a Confederate monument at Donelson. The first year of fundraising efforts collected \$250, and little more had accumulated in the subsequent years. By May 1919, the Fort Donelson chapter converted their monument fund, totalling \$564.85, to a Liberty Bond. A monument of remembrance for the Confederate veterans who fought at Fort Donelson was put on hold.⁵³

A local woman also led the effort to preserve and rehabilitate the Dover Hotel, known at the time as the Hobing House, located at the landing in Dover, Tennessee. Mrs. Elizabeth Hobing operated the hotel from the 1890s until 1925. Widowed and advanced in age, she closed the deteriorating hotel and moved into a cottage adjacent to the building. By the spring of 1927, Hobing and her daughter had decided to tear down the hotel and erect a bungalow residence. Mrs. Bryce Runyon, an active citizen of Clarksville, expressed great interest in preserving the house upon hearing of the Hobings' plans. She contacted Mrs. Hobing and convinced her to delay destroying the house while Runyon searched for a preservation-minded buyer. Runyon called the UDC and other local patriotic groups in the vicinity but found no one able to purchase the house. As a last resort, Runyon called John Trotwood Moore, the state historian, and pleaded her case. Moore also served on the State Monument and Memorial Commission, a body recently created by Governor Austin Peay to provide financial assistance to agencies and individuals engaged in preserving Tennessee historic sites and erecting markers. Moore told Runyon that the Commission had \$50,000 to match with funds raised by preservation groups and for projects authorized by the Commission.⁵⁴

By the end of July 1927, Runyon had organized the Fort Donelson House Historical Association, sought out a bid for rehabilitation of the hotel, engaged in a publicity campaign, and begun corralling members and subscriptions statewide to support the repair of the hotel. Contributions from among Stewart County residents surged in the first several months and then rapidly flagged. By January 1928, the association had collected approximately \$600 of the estimated \$1,500 to \$2,000 it needed to receive matching funds from the

⁵⁴Edwin C. Bearss, Historic Structure Report, Part I, Historical Data: The Dover Hotel (Fort Donelson, Tenn.: National Park Service, 1959), 34-36.

⁵²Widener, 191.

⁵³Peterson, 16-22.

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Monument Commission.⁵⁵ The owner, Elizabeth Hobing, grew impatient with the apparent indifference of the community and inactivity of the Association and threatened to withdraw her verbal agreement to sell. Runyon, sensing an imminent collapse of her efforts, urged the Commission to match the partial funds collected by the Association with the reassurance that the groups would continue to raise the projected \$5,000 needed to purchase and rehabilitate the house and pay the salary of caretakers, Elizabeth Hobing and her daughter. The Commission agreed.⁵⁶

Rehabilitation of the building began in May 1928 and ended, short of completion, two years later. Mrs. Runyon continued to apply her creativity to fundraising, achieving the most success from a campaign among the school children of Stewart and Montgomery Counties. Despite plans to restore the hotel, the rehabilitation work proceeded without adequate historical documentation and consisted primarily of structural and cosmetic repairs with some conjectural reconstruction and nonhistoric landscaping.⁵⁷

Concurrent with the campaign to purchase and restore the Dover Hotel, Representative Joseph W. Byrns tentatively laid plans to establish a national military park at Fort Donelson. Although some local interest in the resources related to the battle existed, a lobbying group never emerged to forcefully plead the case for national park status. Representative Byrns operated alone initially, apparently out of a genuine interest in the preservation of the battlefield. Byrns first introduced a bill to establish Fort Donelson National Military Park on April 15, 1926. Passed by the House, the bill never left the Senate committee. In June, the War Department initiated a national battlefield study that included inspection of former battlefields and their classification by the Army War College criteria. Byrns received correspondence in March 1927 that Fort Donelson fell into the Class IIb category, which meant it was considered a candidate for markers or monumentation only. No land acquisition was considered, and the highest priority for any government action would apply to those areas where the land would be offered by donation.⁵⁸

⁵⁵An initial cost estimate for rehabilitation of the hotel acquired by Runyon from a local architect was \$3,150. The architect later estimated it would cost from \$5,000 to \$6,000 to restore the hotel to its original configuration. See Bearss, 35, 37.

⁵⁷Bearss, 48-50, 53-59. This report provides a complete description of the rehabilitation work performed from 1928-1930.

⁵⁸Peterson, 25-28.

⁵⁶Bearss, 36-47, passim.

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Despite the War Department's study and subsequent recommendation, Byrns resubmitted his earlier bill with a \$100,000 appropriation to the next session of Congress. Again the bill passed the House and nearly languished in the Senate. After some political wrangling, Byrns and Tennessee Senator Kenneth D. McKellar achieved the endorsement of Secretary of War Dwight Davis and pushed the bill through committee. President Calvin Coolidge signed the bill on April 14, 1928.⁵⁹

Coolidge's signature established Fort Donelson National Military Park and provided for the creation of a three-member commission to inspect the battlefield and determine the plan for development. The commission, appointed by the Secretary of War, would consist of an active-duty Corps of Engineers officer, a veteran of the Union Army, and a veteran of the Confederate Army. The legislation also recommended that the commission appoint a local citizen familiar with the Fort Donelson site as a commission representative. After a survey of the battlefield, the commission proposed to include the Confederate river fort, outer earthwork defenses, and the water batteries, which were part of a Corps of Engineers lock reservation along the Cumberland River, in the recommended park boundaries. The commission also urged that the earthwork features, although good examples of tactical military construction and valuable as military training tools, should be preserved for their role in history and not for their educational potential. The park boundaries enclosed a disjointed set of earthworks and included the national cemetery, which lay approximately one-half mile east of the Confederate fort. A series of roads and interpretive markers would have to be constructed to link the disparate sites into a cohesive national military park.⁶⁰

Land acquisition and legal jurisdiction disputes over the Corps-controlled water batteries delayed physical improvement of the proposed park area until late 1930. Quartermaster General Benjamin F. Cheatham resolved the issue by providing amended text for the act that established the park. With the concurrence of the Secretary of War and the Judge Advocate to the Quartermaster General, Public Law Number 187 was amended on February 18, 1930:

[that the Secretary of War be charged] to construct the necessary roads and walks, plant trees and shrubs, restore and care for the grounds, including the restoration and maintenance of those portions of the old Fort Donelson and of the Confederate Water Batteries that are located on the present Engineer Reservation.⁶¹

⁶¹Peterson, 39.

⁵⁹Peterson, 28-29.

⁶⁰Peterson, 31-32.

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By August 1930, Captain H. J. Conner of the Quartermaster Corps, presiding officer at Stones River National Military Park and Fort Donelson National Military Park, reported that options to purchase on thirteen properties, totalling nearly forty-three acres, had been acquired. Work to clear and landscape the outer defenses commenced on October 30. By December, the entire line of defenses, 11,000 feet, had been cleared of underbrush. The park possessed 92.76 acres of land in June 1931.⁶²

While landscaping continued on the earthworks, the War Department wrestled with access issues and concurrent state road development plans. Because of tight congressional control of road building outside of federal properties, War Department efforts to provide access to the national cemetery had been difficult. Thus, it approached new road development efforts with caution. After seven years of negotiations and repeated legislative efforts, the War Department constructed a road from the landing at Dover to the national cemetery in 1906, thirty-nine years after the cemetery had been established. Previously, direct access to the site had been severely limited by the poor local road network. The 1906 road project essentially improved an existing road, known locally as the Eddyville Road, and provided a necessary link to the principal street through the town of Dover and to the landing. The War Department graded a one-half-mile section of road to a 32-foot-wide right-ofway, laid a crushed limestone surface, and constructed a 7-foot gravel walk on one side for pedestrians. A 625-foot-long, 12-foot-wide driveway constructed of fine gravel with stone drainage structures and two parallel rows of maples led cemetery visitors from the Eddyville Road to the south cemetery gate. The War Department gained a right-of-way easement from Stewart County in 1889 for the road, but did not receive the appropriations to build it until 1906. When the Tennessee Highway Department and Stewart County proposed to improve and realign State Highway 76, which ran parallel to and shared portions of right-of-way with the Eddyville Road, the War Department sought to abandon the former road because it had deteriorated and would be costly to repair. The improved Highway 76 (now called Highway 79) would provide access from Dover to the Confederate fort in a southwesterly alignment that intersected the Corpsconstructed Lock Road. The War Department would then have to construct only access roads to historic sites that emanated from the state highway. Local opposition to closing the Eddyville Road flared, and county officials cited the historical importance of the link between the cemetery, the battlefield, and the rehabilitated Dover Hotel as reasons to maintain the road. In addition, a

⁶²Peterson, 40-43.

⁶³Superintendent's Monthly Report, Fort Donelson National Cemetery, March 1, 1909, RG92, Records of the Quartermaster General, National Archives.

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clause to preserve the highway in perpetuity attached to the right-of-way easement prevented the road's closure.⁶⁴

In April 1931, with the help of the State Highway Department and Stewart County, the Quartermaster Corps conducted a survey to verify the alignment of the old government road to the fort, known as the Lock Road, and to lay out a new roadway near the water batteries, including an elliptical turnaround. The topographic survey of the park, completed in the first five months of 1931, aided the road work and earthwork vegetative clearing, and delineated the boundary line for the erection of steel posts and wire fencing. At the same time, repairs to the Eddyville Road between Dover and the national cemetery began. Day laborers filled ruts and holes, covered the surface with stone chips and heavy paving asphalt, and then tamped and sprayed the surface with asphalt.⁶⁵

In addition to the Lock Road and Eddyville Road improvements, the War Department laid out three access roads to the outer defenses and constructed circular driving loops for turnarounds. On the west, the Eddyville spur turned off the Lock Road in a northwesterly direction and ran parallel to a line of earthworks. South of Highway 76, across from the park entrance, another road and turnaround provided access to Graves Battery. The Wynn's Ferry Loop could be accessed from the Forge Road, which proceeded south from the Dover square, or from a more circuitous route along Wynns Ferry Road. By May 1931, the Quartermaster Corps had redesigned the Fort Donelson National Military Park road system. The plan utilized existing federal and local roads and constructed new access roads to the cleared and landscaped Confederate earthworks (see Figure 4, Exhibit A, Fort Donelson National Military Park, May 1931).

Work on the park entrance road and the earthwork access roads began in September 1931. Landscaping for the roadways was scheduled for the following fall and winter. By June 1932, Captain Conner reported that the entrance road from Highway 76 to the water batteries and the looped parking area had been constructed, and stone work at the entrance to the park, the Confederate fort, and along the Forge Road had been completed.⁶⁶ The War Department constructed retaining walls and entrance posts using locally quarried limestone rubble, laid randomly with a raised mortar joint. Each wall section had a heavily

 64 Peterson, 45-46.

⁶⁵Capt. H. J. Conner to Quartermaster General, Progress Report, Fort Donelson National Military Park, April 1, 1931 TMs, Park Files, Fort Donelson National Military Park.

⁶⁶Peterson, 52.

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dressed limestone-block coping sealed with a cement parge coat. The walls hugged the curved drive and flared in a convex arc along the state highway. Each wall section terminated at a three-foot-square, rubble-filled, limestonerubble post with a squared block coping surmounted by a pyramidal stack of cannon shot. Opposing rubble-filled limestone posts were located at the entrance to the Confederate fort and at the Forge Road entrance to the Wynns Ferry Loop.

The War Department also completed landscaping of the roadways and the earthworks in 1932. To prevent continued erosion of the earthworks, the War Department installed drains in the trenches and seeded the slopes and breastworks with grass. Mixed grass seed containing red top, bluegrass, and white and bush clover was sown. The grounds at the old fort and the water batteries were raked and seeded also. In an effort to reduce erosion at the old fort, formerly used as pasture and farm land, the War Department planted trees within the bowl including oak, tulip poplar, hickory, sweet gum, and red cedar. The War Department planted more than 5,000 trees in the park area, many along new or rehabilitated roadways like the maple allée, which lined the cemetery driveway. The NPS, in later alterations to the roadways and landscaping, removed all of the small maple trees that had been planted along the old fort entrance road and the Lombardy poplars planted along Highway 76 at the west park boundary, near the entrance.⁶⁷

The congressional legislation establishing the park in March 1928 spurred the Tennessee United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to reactivate the monument campaign. Without much fanfare, Mrs. H. N. Leech, former president of the Tennessee UDC, and Mrs. Bennett Bell, Chairman of the Fort Donelson Monument Committee, petitioned for a grant from the State of Tennessee to erect an appropriate memorial for the anonymous Confederate dead at the Fort Donelson battlefield. They received a \$5,000 matching grant in October 1928, similar to the grant obligated to the Fort Donelson Historical House Association by the State Monument and Memorial Commission. Throughout the 1920s, the Fort Donelson Chapter of the UDC had advocated the establishment of a national military park at Fort Donelson, the improvement of roads, and the erection of monuments and markers. The Daughters also tirelessly pursued subscriptions and donations to their negligible monument fund. Between 1914, when the first monument pledges were posted, and 1921, the UDC raised \$1,202 from its members and through other pledges. In 1924, the organization asked all its Tennessee Division members to donate one dollar per member to the monument fund. Mrs. Bell calculated that within a year, \$3,500 could be raised.68

⁶⁷Isidore Celbor, "Public Works Program, Final Progress Report, FP 466, Land Improvement," August 15, 1934, at FODO.

⁶⁸Peterson, 21-24, 54-55.

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By October 1930, after the UDC received its matching grant, the monument committee reported that it possessed \$3,373, leaving it \$1,500 short of the required \$5,000 match. Assured that it could meet its financial obligations, the UDC submitted a formal application to the Quartermaster General to erect the monument at "a selected high point where the Fort Henry Road comes into the Park." The UDC estimated that the monument would cost between \$7,000 and \$10,000. The Quartermaster General contracted with the Muldoon Monument Company of Louisville, Kentucky, in July 1932, to erect a monument of Silver Gray Georgia marble, founded on a concrete base, with a cast-bronze figure. At the dedication ceremony, June 3, 1933, Mrs. W.C. Howell raised the Confederate flag over Fort Donelson.⁶⁹

After Fort Donelson gained national military park status, the War Department renewed construction projects within the national cemetery and attempted to expand its interpretive facilities. In April 1931, the Quartermaster General let a contract to construct a kitchen addition to the lodge. As part of these improvements, the contractor installed interior plumbing and a hot water and heating system in the dwelling. Earlier improvements before World War I are not well documented, but correspondence from the Assistant Quartermaster General's office promised a new brick lodge addition and a flagstaff for the cemetery.⁷⁰ In April 1908, a public notice called for bids to erect a 75-foot cast-iron flagstaff in the cemetery. In 1949, the NPS completed a inventory of existing buildings and recorded a brick utility building, constructed in 1910, with public toilets on one gabled elevation. Finally, Superintendent M. A. Rule reported in March 1909 that the cemetery possessed six cast-iron interpretive tablets, three inscribed with verse from the "Bivouac of the Dead," and a 75-foot iron flagstaff. The War Department ordered fifty additional iron tablets with historical inscriptions related to the Battle of Fort Donelson and had received and erected twenty-five tablets by June 1932.

The maintenance of the grounds in the period before and after World War I is not well documented in the extant records, but problems related to the poor soil and drought conditions likely continued. In 1902, the War Department dug a deep, 236-foot well to supply a consistent water source for visitors, the resident superintendent, and the vegetation, but whether the vegetation improved is unknown. The cisterns were not abandoned altogether until a later

⁶⁹Peterson, 55-56.

⁷⁰Capt. H. J. Conner, officer in charge, Quartermaster Corps, "Progress Report, Fort Donelson National Military Park, April 1, 1931" at FODO. Lodge addition scheduled to be completed June 8, 1931 by Z. W. Vaughn for \$ 1, 844. Capt. James S. Parker to Assistant Quartermaster General, Jeffersonville, Indiana, July 30, 1907, TL copy of original, decision made to construct brick addition and erect flagstaff within fiscal year at FODO.

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date, but the wood-frame arbors erected above the receptacles were removed in 1931. Three years later, the NPS erected a brick pumphouse over the well.

Despite these alterations and additions, the cemetery retained its landscaped character-defining features established in the initial cemetery development period during the 1870s. A 1940 planting plan indicated strong correlations to the 1892 plan, with hardwoods along the wall exterior, evergreens on the interior, a hardwood allee flanking the entrance road, and scattered hardwood and everyreen planting on the lawn within the wall. The 1940 plan verifies that mature boxwood around the gun monument, photographed during a turn-of-thecentury Decoration Day celebration, still existed (see Photographs 3 & 4, and Figure 5). In February 1930, Superintendent Leonard Hood requested seeds and bedding plants for the six large flower beds on the cemetery grounds. None of these are indicated on the 1940 plan. Some tree planting occurred before 1941 and may have followed the plan. The NPS intended to introduce hemlocks, white and chestnut oaks, and lindens; some of these species may have already been represented on the landscape. Post-World War II superintendent reports indicate that vegetation maintenance in the cemetery lagged during the war, and in the intervening years pest infestation, drought, and freezes had considerably impacted the cemetery landscape.

When the War Department transferred all its historic properties, including national cemeteries, national military parks, battlefields, and historic sites, to the NPS in August 1933, the road system at Fort Donelson had been established; the UDC Confederate Monument met visitors on the way to the Confederate Fort Donelson; earthwork stabilization had begun; and the cemetery grounds had been recently trimmed and beautified. Subsequent alterations by the NPS to park roads and the cemetery upgraded paving materials and made minor improvements to the buildings, but did not alter the 1870s layout of the cemetery grounds. The NPS completed road system improvements in the summer of 1935 by replacing concrete pipe culverts and constructing stone headwalls and drop inlets for drainage; reengineering the loop road layouts from circular configurations to elliptical forms; laying hard surfaces--asphalt seal over gravel base course; constructing a cemetery parking area; and rebuilding the retaining wall along the cemetery entrance road. The NPS also constructed a pumphouse within the cemetery west of the lodge, which was subsequently converted to a comfort station. An additional work order authorized in May 1936 provided for the installation of cut stone steps and landings at the three-year-old UDC monument (see Figure 6). The steps, aligned on either side of the monument, linked by a semicircular, 180-degree tiered cement walkway, and set into a realigned random range, rock-faced limestone retaining wall to provide a parking pullout, considerably formalized the approach to the

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monument.⁷¹ In later plans developed as part of a 1940 Master Plan, the NPS intended to construct several additional loop roads and remove the superintendent's residence from within the cemetery wall. The NPS never executed these plans.

Before the United States entered World War II, Fort Donelson National Military Park had been well established through the combined design efforts, construction funds, and historic preservation ethic of the War Department, local commemorative groups, and the National Park Service. Today the cemetery retains considerable integrity of design, setting, feeling, and association. The national military park, composed of the Confederate Fort Donelson and outer defenses linked by carefully designed roads, turnarounds, and landscaped approaches, evokes both the historic events of the Civil War and a consciously solemn memorial design imposed upon the landscape.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Fort Donelson's commemorative history is evident in the designed memorial landscape of the national cemetery and in the well-preserved earthworks, buildings, and monuments erected and protected on this 130-year-old The oldest features of the battlefield are the original battlefield. earthworks associated with the Civil War and the Dover Hotel. Both of these historic resources are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP 660000076) for their association, under NRHP Criteria A, B, and C, with the Battle of Fort Donelson and generals Simon B. Buckner, John B. Floyd, and Ulysses S. Grant. The national cemetery at Fort Donelson, established within a year of the war's end, is also evaluated in the existing NRHP, but many of its unique features and its development history are not adequately discussed. The establishment of the national military park in 1928 and the subsequent erection of the Confederate Monument and development of a road system are evaluated within a commemorative and design context. All of the features associated with this context, listed below, are significant under NRHP Criteria A and C.

The national cemetery is a nationally significant historic site with substantial design and material integrity. Comprising a substantially unaltered designed memorial landscape, conceived and executed in the decade following the war, the cemetery contains buildings, objects, structures, and vegetative features that convey the commemorative intent of its designers and promoters: the War Department of the United States and local commemorative groups. The site possesses many distinctive historic features that evolved during the commemorative period, 1867-1933. The overall design intent of the

⁷¹"Final Construction Report, Fort Donelson National Military Park, Reconstruction of Fort Donelson Roads, Project 1A1, Stewart County, Tennessee," Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Agriculture, August 1936, 4-10. See Drawings No. NMP-FtD 6002 and NMP-DON-2052A.

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cemetery, established in the 1870s, remains intact, although structural and vegetative additions to the landscape occurred throughout the commemorative period. The NPS altered some of the features of the site after 1933, but as a whole, the site retains its character-defining features: original layout including marble headstones and markers, grassed avenues, and original headstone alignment; stone wall enclosure; 1877 brick lodge; entrance road; cast-iron gates; cast-iron flagstaff; 1910 utility building/shed; settees; and vegetative patterns, including the maple allée along the entrance road and the cedar and maple rows along the cemetery wall. Alterations to the cemetery during NPS administration include the 1934 pumphouse/restrooms, the walled parking area, rebuilt stone retaining walls on the cemetery entrance road, and the removal of the gun monument and cannon gate posts. The widening of the entry road to form a triangular, walled parking area and the rebuilding of the retaining walls elaborated on the existing cemetery design and contribute to the cemtery's significance. The pumphouse, which lost considerable integrity in its conversion to a comfort station, does not contribute to the cemetery's national significance. Two gated entries on the northwest edge of the cemetery are later, undocumented additions.

The infrastructure development by the War Department and the National Park Service after the establishment of the national military park also represents an identifiable group of historic structures and landscape features significant on a statewide level. These roads, retaining walls, culverts, and historic tablets are the institutional design response to a commemorative movement and preservation ethic. These structures represent the efforts of congressional representatives, local preservation groups, including the Tennessee Division of the UDC, and the U. S. government. Historic structures that contribute to this period of development and commemoration, defined as 1928-1941, include: serpentine roads and turnarounds engineered by the War Department; stone walls, culverts, gate posts, and entrance walls designed and constructed by both the War Department and NPS; the Confederate Monument; and the cast-iron tablets erected by the War Department and extant on Wynn's Ferry Road and on the earthworks identified as Maney's Battery.

All of the following historic properties retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship (where applicable), feeling, and association and contribute to the Fort Donelson National Military Park District. The cemetery is defined as a nationally significant site within the district that possesses significant, character-defining structural and vegetative historic features that contribute to the site's national significance. The district is defined by the current park boundary and includes all of the roads, roadway structures, earthworks, monuments and markers, and the entire 15.34-acre cemetery site. Additional property acquisitions should be evaluated for inclusion in the district based on their applicability to this context or the Battle of Fort Donelson.

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Contributing Resources

Fort Donelson National Cemetery (Previously listed) Features contributing to cemetery's national significance Marble headstones and tablets (Objects) Limestone wall (Structure) Cast-iron gate (Structure) Stone rubble posts (Structure) Flagstaff (Object) Bivouac of the Dead cast-iron tablets (Objects, 3 extant) Superintendent's Lodge (Previously listed) Carriage House/Stable (Previously listed) Entrance road, retaining walls, & parking area (Structures) Hardwood & evergreen allees (Site) Gun monument mound (Structure) Grassed avenues (Site) U.S. boundary marker (Object) Settees (Objects) Features that do not contribute to cemetery's national significance Pumphouse/Restrooms Battlefield Park Resources River Battery/Fort Donelson Road, turnaround, retaining walls, & culvert headwalls (Structures) Eddyville Loop Road (Structure) Graves Battery Loop Road (Structure) Wynn's Ferry/Forge Road Loop Road (Structure) Stone rubble posts (Structure, one destroyed, 1994) Main entrance (Structure) Features Stone rubble wall (Structure, east wall buried) Stone rubble posts (Structures) Stone rubble swales (Structures) Fort Donelson stone rubble posts (Structures) Confederate Monument (Previously listed) Features Monument (Object) Opposing, tiered stairs (Structure) Parking pullout (Structure) Limestone wall (Structure) War Department cast-iron interpretive tablets (Objects, 10-25 extant) Dover Hotel (Previously listed) Fort Donelson (Previously listed) Upper River Battery and Lower River Battery (Previously listed)

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Reconstructed Powder Magazine (Previously listed) Outer Defenses (Previously listed) Maney's Battery (Structure) French's Battery (Structure) Federal Earthworks (Structure)

Features that do not contribute to battlefield's national significance **Texas Monument**

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Additional Documentation

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PHOTOGRAPHS

Fort Donelson National Battlefield Stewart County, Tennessee Photos: Maureen Carroll and Steven Moffson, 1993 Location of Negatives: NPS, Southeast Field Area Office

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Figure 1 Military Cemetery at Fort Donelson



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Figure 3 Fort Done (Son Nutione (Cemetery Existing Conditions) July 1892





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Figure 6 3 Cont Parels 71 E ÷ £ Groenien und Bean Daust wirs Dannis Late Destings au Showstate Then to be our chart grange to train the be at states there للمعف الجاف المؤاد العجادي 12 - 23 - Martin Courses of a first to be Constant from Means at 12 الحمد و ۲۹ محمد محمد محمد المعالي المالية المالية الم Contact in the Theorem in Contracted an đụ của lực Hran với triệt triệt đã đặn đã P. R. Control N. ide Au munt is there forters to be Removed Under M.R.R. Contract and recessure of the Area asure in Plant Matarial with to be Removal to Contrast Except That Blank. is tradents. to Doals Works LE DEVICEMENT OF THE MERICE S synt jar Shant ? FORT & HELSON SUNT CHALL MILITARY BARR C. Daterel . K PRODUCT LEDE NEWL MENT TREATMENT Due No. Date / T - ASTRON IN S. C. BOMAGOR POWER & DESIGN

Figure 6 Existing + Proposed Treatment VDC Manument Area 1934

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thotograph i



Supt Hyper Formily, C. 1890, in Front 2, Lodge





Photograph 3 Decorotion Day C. 1900 Civil War Veteraus at Gun Monument (Note covical show bbery-boxwoods))

Gun Monomeaf C. 1936 Photograph 4

