

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM  
FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES**

(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)

STATE:	Georgia
COUNTY:	Cobb
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY DATE	10.15.66

**1. NAME**

COMMON: *W*  
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

AND/OR HISTORIC:

**2. LOCATION**

STREET AND NUMBER:  
P. O. Box 1167 On western edge of Marietta, GA, just off US 41

CITY OR TOWN: Marietta CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 7th

STATE: Georgia CODE: 13 COUNTY: Cobb CODE: 067

**3. CLASSIFICATION**

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> District <input type="checkbox"/> Site <input type="checkbox"/> Object	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Public <input type="checkbox"/> Private <input type="checkbox"/> Both	Public Acquisition: <input type="checkbox"/> In Process <input type="checkbox"/> Being Considered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Occupied <input type="checkbox"/> Unoccupied <input type="checkbox"/> Preservation work in progress
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)			Yes: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Restricted <input type="checkbox"/> Unrestricted <input type="checkbox"/> No
<input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment	<input type="checkbox"/> Government <input type="checkbox"/> Industrial <input type="checkbox"/> Military <input type="checkbox"/> Museum	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Park <input type="checkbox"/> Private Residence <input type="checkbox"/> Religious <input type="checkbox"/> Scientific	<input type="checkbox"/> Transportation <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____ _____

**4. AGENCY**

National Park Service, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS: (If applicable)  
Southeast Region

CITY OR TOWN: Atlanta

STREET AND NUMBER: 3401 Whipple Avenue

STATE: Georgia CODE: 13

**5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION**

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:  
Cobb County Courthouse

STREET AND NUMBER:  
177 Washington Avenue, N. E.

CITY OR TOWN: Marietta

STATE: Georgia CODE: 13

**6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS**

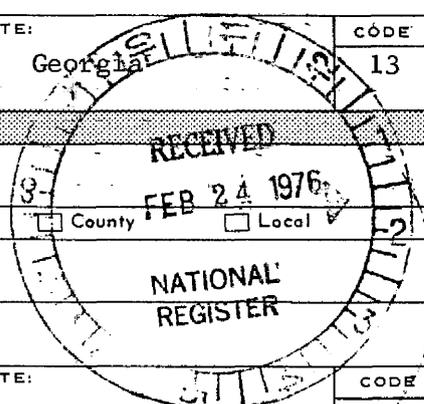
TITLE OF SURVEY:  
None

DATE OF SURVEY:  Federal  State  County  Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:

STREET AND NUMBER:

CITY OR TOWN: STATE: CODE:



SEE INSTRUCTIONS

STATE: Georgia

COUNTY: Cobb

FOR NPS USE ONLY

ENTRY NUMBER

DATE

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One)					
	<input type="checkbox"/> Excellent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Fair	<input type="checkbox"/> Deteriorated	<input type="checkbox"/> Ruins	<input type="checkbox"/> Unexposed
	(Check One)			(Check One)		
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Altered	<input type="checkbox"/> Unaltered	<input type="checkbox"/> Moved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Original Site		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (if known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Kennesaw Mountain is an erosional granitic hornblende remnant located in the upper Georgia Piedmont. The park lies astride a crescent-shaped ridge extending 10 miles northwest of Marietta to the west and south of the city. The ridge is the hydrographic divide between the Etowah and Chattahoochee Rivers. The surrounding lands are composed of rocky hills covered with small conifers and hardwoods mixed with heavy brush in lowland streamside areas. The highest elevation of the park is 1,808 feet above sea level and the lowest is 945 feet. The soil is composed principally of red clay with heavy porous loams in the lowland drainage areas.

The vegetational cover within the park includes forest species typical of those found in the Piedmont transition zone lying between the South Georgia pinelands and the upland Appalachian hardwoods. Widespread stands of pine and oak predominate, though other species occur in small isolated stands and are interspersed among the dominant species.

Natural brush and grasslands have been virtually eliminated through natural succession, although several old fields are either mowed or under agriculture lease to retain historical authenticity.

The wildlife of any note is mostly the small fur-bearing animals such as fox, rabbit, opossum and coon. The land ownership surrounding the park is private and being developed into industrial use or subdivisions and the thin strip of park land will not afford protection to larger animals.

The park encompasses 3,682 acres with inholdings totaling about 800 acres, leaving 2,882.62 acres under Federal control. Located on the Federal lands are many well-preserved Civil War earthworks, one historic building (the Kolb House), Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains, Pigeon Hill and Cheatham Hill. Two residences, a garage, oil storage house, shop and the visitor center comprise the Park Service buildings.

Historic Structures within the park include:

1. Kolb House:  
The Kolb House was built by Peter Valentine Kolb and a Cherokee Indian in 1836. It is a one and a half story building 32' by 46', built of square-hewn pine logs 5" thick and 10-1/2 to 11-1/2 to the face. The base of the house is built on isolated fieldstone piers placed on the ground surface. There are four brick chimneys on stone foundations, one each near the corners on the short side of the house. The house was given an exterior restoration in 1963 and the log chinking was replaced with white soil cement and the logs were given preservative treatment.

(Continued)

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

**B. SIGNIFICANCE**

PERIOD (Check One or More as Appropriate)

- Pre-Columbian       16th Century       18th Century       20th Century  
 15th Century       17th Century       19th Century

SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable and Known)

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

- |  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aboriginal              | <input type="checkbox"/> Education              | <input type="checkbox"/> Political           | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban Planning  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prehistoric             | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Engineering | <input type="checkbox"/> Religion/Philosophy | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Historic                | <input type="checkbox"/> Industry               | <input type="checkbox"/> Science             | _____                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Agriculture             | <input type="checkbox"/> Invention              | <input type="checkbox"/> Sculpture           | _____                                    |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> Landscape Architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> Social/Humanitarian | _____                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Literature             | <input type="checkbox"/> Theater             | _____                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Commerce                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Military    | <input type="checkbox"/> Transportation      | _____                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Communications          | <input type="checkbox"/> Music                  |  | _____                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conservation            |   |  | _____                                    |

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

In the Spring of 1864 the Federal "Army Group" in Chattanooga, Tennessee under General William T. Sherman began the Atlanta Campaign. Sherman's objectives were to move against Johnston's (Confederate) army, "to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country" as far as possible.

By May 7th the Federal Armies were on the march. A series of battles and flanking movements resulted in the Confederates being pushed back to Kennesaw Mountain. On the 18th of June the Confederates began occupying a 10 mile line running from just north of Big Kennesaw Mountain southward to Olley Creek.

Sporadic fighting broke out on the Kennesaw line on the 19th of June and continued through July 2, 1864. Major assaults occurred on June 22 at the Kolb Farm and on June 27th when Sherman made a major effort to break the Confederate line. The attack on the 27th failed miserably so Sherman resumed his flanking tactics and during the night of July 2, 1864 the Confederates abandoned the Kennesaw Line. Casualties from the actions around Kennesaw were about 5,500 killed, wounded and missing.

With the Fall of Kennesaw the Confederates lost the last major geographic obstacle protecting Atlanta. General Johnston was replaced by General Hood and after a series of disastrous Confederate attacks Atlanta fell on September 1, 1864. The capture of Atlanta produced major and far reaching consequences, both military and political.

The purpose of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park is to preserve the battlefield and to provide the visitor with its historical significance. The park provides a place where visitors can sense the reality of the Civil War battles which took place during the Atlanta Campaign of 1864.

The Park preserves one historic house which is typical of early 19th Century pioneer architecture. Also preserved are 11.25 miles of military earthworks which are outstanding examples of 19th Century military engineering. Six monuments and markers are also preserved. Four of these monuments date to the early 20th Century and two, the Georgia and Texas are of modern construction and are not described in Section 7.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Official Records, War of the Rebellion, Part 1, Vol. 38, Parts 1-6.  
 Historic Structures Report, Part II, Charles Grossman, Jan. 1963.  
 Historic Structures Report, Part I, Historic Data, B. C. Yates, Feb. 1961.  
 Historic Structures Report, Part I, Kolb House, Charles Grossman, Jan. 1962.

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING A RECTANGLE LOCATING THE PROPERTY			O R	LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING THE CENTER POINT OF A PROPERTY OF LESS THAN TEN ACRES		
CORNER	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE		LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	
	Degrees Minutes Seconds	Degrees Minutes Seconds		Degrees Minutes Seconds	Degrees Minutes Seconds	
NW	° ' "	° ' "		° ' "	° ' "	
NE	° ' "	° ' "		° ' "	° ' "	
SE	° ' "	° ' "		° ' "	° ' "	
SW	° ' "	° ' "		° ' "	° ' "	

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: **2,882**

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:	Charles L. Vial, Supv. Park Ranger E. Paul Engstrom, Park Ranger (Interp.-EE Spec.)	DATE:	9/6/73
BUSINESS ADDRESS:	Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park		
STREET AND NUMBER:	P. O. Box 1167	PHONE:	
CITY OR TOWN:	Marietta	STATE:	Georgia (30061)
		CODE:	13

12. CERTIFICATION OF NOMINATION

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

State Liaison Officer recommendation:

- Yes
- No
- None

\_\_\_\_\_  
 State Liaison Officer Signature

In compliance with Executive Order 11593, I hereby nominate this property to the National Register, certifying that the State Liaison Officer has been allowed 90 days in which to present the nomination to the State Review Board and to evaluate its significance. The recommended level of significance is  National  State

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
 Federal Representative Signature  
 Secretary

Title

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date \_\_\_\_\_

ATTEST:

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Keeper of The National Register

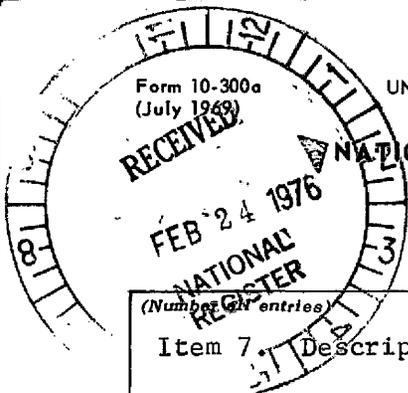
Date \_\_\_\_\_

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	Georgia	
COUNTY	Cobb	
FOR NPS USE ONLY		
ENTRY NUMBER		DATE



(Number of entries)

Item 7 Description

The craftsmanship in the Kolb House is exceptional for the period and the construction is unique since the logs are hewn on all four faces and the corner joints are nonlocking. The house was General Hooker's headquarters prior to June 22, 1864.

The interior of the house is modern and is used as employee quarters.

Significance: 3rd order

Longitude: 84° 35' 51"                      Latitude: 33° 54' 33"

Recommended Treatment; Preservation

Cost: Self-liquidating--paid for by quarters funds

2. Earthworks, 11.25 miles:

In June 1864, both Union and Confederate armies scraped out extensive earthworks running from Big Kennesaw Mountain across Little Kennesaw Mountain, Pigeon Hill, and Cheatham Hill to the Kolb Farm. Approximately 11.25 miles still exist within Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. They are in various states of preservation and vary in height from several inches to five feet. The best preserved works are in the area of Strahls Fort where several acres of land are covered with trenchworks and gun emplacements. The entrenchments contain some very fine examples of 19th Century military engineering. They consist of rifle pits, trenches, enfilades and gun emplacements.

Significance: 1st order

Map Information:

	Latitude	Longitude
NW	33° 59' 34"	84° 35' 44"
NE	33° 59' 8"	84° 33' 52"
SE	33° 54' 20"	84° 35' 30"
SW	33° 54' 47"	84° 37' 22"

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Cost: \$10,000/mi.

3. Illinois Monument:

The Illinois Monument is the oldest and largest monument at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. It consists of a marble terrace, 18-foot high marble shaft, a marble tunnel marker, and a bronze casting of three figures. It was dedicated in 1914 to the Illinois troops who assaulted the Confederate positions on Cheatham Hill where the monument now stands.

(Continued)



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	Georgia	
COUNTY	Cobb	
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Item # Description

The monument was brought up to a preservation state in 1973.

Significance: 3rd order

Latitude Longitude

33° 56' 3" 84° 33' 55"

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Cost: Already in preservation state

4. Fellows Monument:

The Fellows Monument is a 10" X 20" X 30" granite marker at Cheatham Hill.

It is over 50 years old and bears the inscription: "Capt. W. W. Fellows  
Inspector Genl. 3rd Brigade 2nd Div. 14th A.C.".

The monument is slightly chipped on one corner, but is in preservation state.

Significance: 3rd order

Latitude: 33° 56' 3" Longitude: 84° 35' 55"

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Cost: Already in preservation state

5. Grave of Unknown U. S. Soldier:

This is a standard U. S. Government marble headstone that marks the grave of  
an unknown Union soldier who fell in the attack on Cheatham Hill on June 27,  
1864.

The grave is in preservation state.

Significance: 3rd order

Latitude: 33° 56' 3" Longitude: 84° 35' 55"

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Cost: Already in preservation state

6. McCook Monument:

The McCook Monument is a 10" X 28" X 30" granite marker designating the  
starting point of McCook's Brigade assault on Cheatham Hill, June 27, 1864.  
The marker is more than 50 years old, but its exact history is unknown.

Significance: 3rd order

Latitude: 33° 56' 3" Longitude: 84° 35' 55"

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Cost: Already in preservation state

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
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(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Georgia	
COUNTY	
Cobb	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7. Description

7. The Gilbert House - Building #33:

The history of the Gilbert House is obscure. It is located on part of Land Lot 250 of the 20th District, 2nd Section, of Cherokee (now Cobb) County. The land was granted on March 19, 1835, but all evidence indicates there was no house on the site during the Kennesaw Mountain Battles of 1864. The first deed reference to "living" on the land is in 1891, and this is the probable date of construction. The house is named for its present inhabitant, 90 year old T. J. Gilbert.

The house is a five room structure and is located 918' east of the intersection of Stilesboro and Gilbert Road. It is a one-story building. The outside dimensions are irregular with the main axis of the building being 39'8" by 14'2" and the two southern facing portions 9'2" by 11' and 14'2" by 14'2". It has a front (north) porch 33'4" by 7', and a back (south) porch 10' by 7'. The exterior is of board and batten construction over wooden siding. There is a tin roof which was added since 1948 to replace and cover wooden shingles which caught fire.

The house is built on isolated fieldstone piers placed on the ground surface. There are two brick chimneys on stone foundations.

The craftsmanship in the Gilbert House is crude and the building has had no major repairs since 1940. The rear porch is near collapse and all the interior floors are sagging. The roof is in poor repair and the windows are rotting. The board and batten exterior has deteriorated to the extent that it is pulling away from the house.

The house is still occupied by Mr. Gilbert who keeps it clean and as weather-tight as possible. Occupancy does afford some protection.

Significance: 3rd order

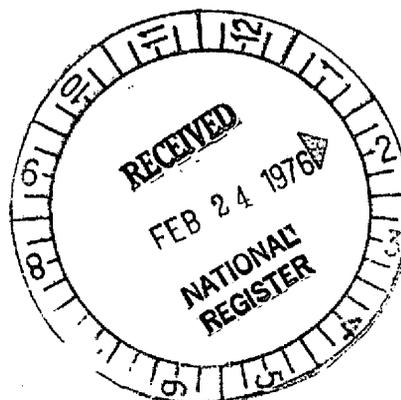
Map Information:

Latitude

Longitude

Recommended Treatment: Stabilization

Cost: \$ 10,000



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

FOR NPS USE ONLY RECEIVED DATE ENTERED
FEB 24 1976

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER **10** PAGE

**Geographical Data - Kennesaw Mountain**  
**UTM References**

- A. 16/724970/ 3763100
- B. 16/722690/3754170
- C. 16/719790/3754900
- D. 16/722060/3763820

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
REGISTRATION FORM

RECEIVED 413  
OMB No. 1024-0014

NOV 25 1994

INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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 Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

other names/site number \_\_\_\_\_

2. Location

street & number Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO)  
Kennesaw Mountain ridge roughly bounded by Old U.S. 41 on the  
north and Powder Springs Road on the south

not for publication \_\_\_\_\_

city or town Marietta \_\_\_\_\_ vicinity x  
state Georgia \_\_\_\_\_ code GA \_\_\_\_\_ county Cobb \_\_\_\_\_ code 067

zip code 30061

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.)

Benjamin Levy  
Signature of certifying official

11/25/94  
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

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal agency and bureau

**4. National Park Service Certification**

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register \_\_\_\_\_  
    \_\_\_ See continuation sheet.
- determined eligible for the National Register \_\_\_\_\_  
    \_\_\_ See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register \_\_\_\_\_
- removed from the National Register \_\_\_\_\_

other (explain): additional

documentation accepted      Ma Q M. Way      1/9/95  
Signature of Keeper      Date of Action

**5. Classification**

Ownership of Property  
(Check as many boxes as apply)

Category of Property  
(Check only one box)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property  
(Do not include previously listed properties in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	buildings
<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	sites
<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	structures
<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	objects
<u>11</u>	<u>24</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 6

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

**6. Function or Use**

*Historic Functions*

(Enter categories from instructions)

Defense: battle site, fortification

Domestic: single dwelling

Agriculture: agricultural field

Recreation and Culture: monument/  
marker

*Current Functions*

(Enter categories from instructions)

Other: National Battlefield Park

Recreation and Culture: monument/  
marker, outdoor recreation

Agriculture: agricultural field

**7. Description**

*Architectural Classification*

(Enter categories from instructions)

Other: Civil War earthworks

Early Republic: Federal

Modern Movement: Modernistic

*Materials*

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation: stone, concrete

walls: log, weatherboard, brick

roof: shingle, asphalt

other: earth, granite, marble

*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)*

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components 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.
- 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)

Military  
Other: Commemoration  
Architecture

Period of Significance

May-September 1864  
1887-1942

Significant Dates

1864  
1887, 1914, 1928, 1933  
circa 1836

Significant Person  
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Maj. Gens. William T. Sherman and George H. Thomas  
and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Architect/Builder

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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.

previously listed in the National Register  
previously determined eligible by the National Register

\_\_\_ designated a National Historic Landmark

\_\_\_ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # GA-1171; GA-1178-E; GA-2169

\_\_\_ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

Primary Location of Additional Data

\_\_\_ State Historic Preservation Office

\_\_\_ Other State agency

Federal agency

\_\_\_ Local government

\_\_\_ University

\_\_\_ Other

Name of repository: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office;  
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

**10. Geographical Data**

Acreage of Property 2,884

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

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A	<u>16</u>	<u>721000</u>	<u>3762070</u>	D	<u>16</u>	<u>722980</u>	<u>3755020</u>
B	<u>16</u>	<u>723140</u>	<u>3763900</u>	F	<u>16</u>	<u>721000</u>	<u>3753920</u>
C	<u>16</u>	<u>724930</u>	<u>3762390</u>	F	___	___	___

\_\_\_ See continuation sheet.

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

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

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**11. Form Prepared By**

name/title Robert W. Blythe, Historian; Maureen A. Carroll; Historian;  
Steven H. Moffson, Architectural Historian

organization National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office

date October 24, 1994

street & number 75 Spring Street, S.W.

telephone (404) 331-5988

city or town Atlanta

state GA

zip code 30303

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**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)

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**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

Kennesaw Mountain  
National Battlefield Park  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Cobb County, Georgia  
county and State

Section 7

Page 1

### Description of Historic Resources

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park contains the site of some of the fiercest fighting of the Civil War's Atlanta Campaign. The Battle of Kolb's Farm on June 22, 1864, and the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864, failed to stem the advancing Union Army and represent the last major engagements before the Confederates' retreat across the Chattahoochee River. The 2,884-acre park interprets the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain through museum exhibits, a slide presentation, and a self-guiding auto tour of the battlefield. The park is located in Cobb County, Georgia, three miles west of Marietta and twenty-three miles northwest of Atlanta. It is irregularly shaped, measuring nearly seven miles north to south and, at its widest point, only two miles east to west. Two state routes, Dallas and Burnt Hickory Roads, intersect the park, dividing it into three sections. Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains dominate the northern section, with the remainder containing ridges and rolling hills characteristic of the Georgia Piedmont region.

The patchwork of open fields and wooded areas that characterized this agricultural area in 1864 is now decidedly more wooded, because most agricultural production has ceased, and many fields have been released to forest succession. Many infantry and artillery positions that were once situated in clearings with commanding views of the landscape now stand in the midst of mature, second-growth trees. The open fields maintained by the National Park Service (NPS), located predominantly at the north end of the park, approximate the location of earlier fields, but are smaller and less rectilinear.<sup>1</sup> Post-Civil War agricultural practices, in which sloping fields were leveled and terraced to minimize erosion, are still evident. In areas that represent some of the most significant action of the battle, efforts have been made to rehabilitate and maintain the historic appearance of the landscape.<sup>2</sup> The NPS maintains approximately half of the open field below Cheatham Hill, which Federal forces ascended in their doomed assault.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Emmet A. Nichols, "Historic Ground Cover—June 1864," Map (Kennesaw Mountain, Ga.: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, 1980).

<sup>2</sup>In 1935, Civil Works Administration laborers under the guidance of the NPS engaged in an effort to rehabilitate overgrown and abandoned agricultural fields and establish meadows in the Cheatham Hill vicinity, see Michael Capps, *Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: An Administrative History* (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Region, Cultural Resources Planning Division, 1994), 16. In addition, the NPS assigns Special Use Permits to local agricultural concerns that raise hay in the open fields.

<sup>3</sup>"General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park" (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1985), 10.

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In recent years, the small farms that surrounded the park have been replaced by residential and commercial development, reflecting the continued growth of Cobb County and the northern suburbs of Atlanta. Within the bounds of the park, three "islands" of private property exist. These densely settled areas, located at the north, central, and south ends of the park, contain large single-family homes that were constructed within the last twenty years. This recent development has contributed to increased traffic in the park and increased recreational use of park facilities.

The park was established through the efforts of private individuals, memorial associations, and a series of congressional acts. Federal legislation in 1917 authorized a national battlefield site at Kennesaw. In 1935, following nine unsuccessful attempts, Federal legislation established the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park "for the benefit and inspiration of the people. . . ."<sup>4</sup> The park contains one of the largest surviving collections of Federal and Confederate field fortifications, or earthworks, totaling approximately eleven miles. The Confederates' carefully prepared line, extending from the top of Big Kennesaw to Powder Springs Road, illustrates the tactical defensive strategy, frequently employed by the close of 1863. These positions are situated along ridges and hills and include structures ranging from infantry lines to more sophisticated artillery positions. Early efforts to commemorate the battle and the establishment of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park contributed to the preservation of the earthworks and other historic resources within the park boundary.

Big and Little Kennesaw, Cheatham Hill, Pigeon Hill, and the Kolb House represent four historic sites within the park currently interpreted by the NPS. Ten monuments and markers have been erected throughout the park, marking the locations of particular units or significant events in the battle. Sixteen miles of trails and two-lane roads provide access to these areas, and small parking lots accommodate those touring the battlefield by car. The Visitor Center is located south of Stilesboro Road at the foot of Big Kennesaw and contains a small museum and theater.

#### **Landscape Features of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park**

During the middle of the nineteenth century, small farms surrounded Kennesaw, reflecting typical antebellum land-use patterns of the Georgia Piedmont. These farms consisted of fifty to 150 acres.<sup>5</sup> The rocky soil supported sturdy crops, such as grains, and some farms contained orchards. Dwellings were generally small, one-story, frame or log structures. Farm complexes contained yards and

<sup>4</sup>Public Law 49 Stat. 423, June 26, 1935; Capps, 5-8.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas A. Scott, "Cobb County, Georgia, 1880-1900: A Socioeconomic Study of an Upper Piedmont County" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1978), 5.

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several outbuildings, including barns and smokehouses. Dirt roads and smaller dirt lanes meandered throughout the area.

In June 1864, Confederate and Union forces transformed this landscape into a line of battle more than eight miles long. The lines ran east to west for a short distance from a point east of Big Kennesaw and then curved around the west face of the mountain and ran south to a point beyond the Powder Springs Road. The Confederates, who chose the site, had more time to construct their field fortifications than did the advancing Union army. The substantial nature of these works reflects their importance in the Confederates' defensive strategy. Placed along high ground, these earthworks consisted of essentially a single infantry line punctuated with artillery positions at key points. In some areas, notably Cheatham Hill, secondary lines were erected for support, and artillery pieces were sited on the crests of Big and Little Kennesaw. The Federal forces constructed defenses composed of a series of overlapping lines supported with artillery emplacements, rather than a continuous line. Both sides had rifle pits for skirmishers in advance of their main entrenchments. Vast numbers of trees were cut to clear paths of fire and to construct the earthworks. The forested ridges provided material for head logs, revetments, and obstacles that slowed the enemy advance. The hilltops were thinned or cleared to provide artillery with a wider field of fire.

Stands of pine soon replaced the hardwoods that were removed along the Kennesaw ridge in 1864, and for approximately one hundred years following the battle, much of the surrounding area was intensely cultivated. In the decades following the battle, farmers terraced their fields and expanded them as agricultural technology improved, leading to the destruction of earthworks. Other fortifications pass through wooded areas that were open during the battle. Most of the earthworks within the park bounds remain intact, with nearly the entire Confederate line and fragments of the Federal line preserved.<sup>6</sup> Wood elements, such as head logs and revetments, have long since disappeared. Currently, the earthworks are defined by an earthen parapet, rear and sometimes front ditches, and in the case of some gun emplacements, embrasures. In most areas, trees have taken root in the earthworks, creating holes in the parapet walls as the dead trunks and root systems rot away. In a few places, grasses and other benign undergrowth cover the earthworks.

Although land-use patterns have changed over time, many of the components that convey the historic significance of the landscape remain intact. Within park bounds, the contours of the land and the locations of streams have been left

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<sup>6</sup>This assessment is based on a reconnaissance-level survey of earthworks at various locations throughout the park. Emmet A. Nichol's, "Historic Ground Cover — June 1864," is the most complete study of earthworks at Kennesaw. It features measured drawings of artillery positions roughly scaled depicting infantry lines. The author provided no text to describe his survey methodology or mapping technique and as a result, the "Historic Ground Cover" map is used cautiously.

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largely unaltered. Six of the nine roads that pass within the park—Stilesboro, Gilbert, Old John Ward, Dallas, Burnt Hickory, and Powder Springs Roads—existed prior to the battle and, though improved, most still follow the course of their historic road beds. Smaller, unpaved roads that date to the middle of the nineteenth century, such as the Marietta-Cassville and Old Mill Roads, can still be found within the park, but have been considerably altered. The Western & Atlantic Railroad, now the CSX Railroad, follows its original path along the park's northern boundary. Nearly twenty buildings, including dwellings, churches, and mills, existed within the present park boundary in 1864. Only the Kolb House, which has been rehabilitated to represent its historic exterior appearance, survives.

#### Descriptions of Selected Earthworks

Among the many miles of earthworks are several features that are sophisticated examples of earthwork technology. The Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement and the Confederate fieldworks at Little Kennesaw Mountain, Pigeon Hill, Cheatham Hill, and Strahl's Fort typify earthen fortifications employed throughout the Atlanta Campaign. The historic integrity of these fieldworks provides a visible link with the events that necessitated their creation.

The Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement is located on a small, wooded rise south of Stilesboro Road and faces Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill. It accommodates four batteries, each containing six gun positions. The gun emplacements are spaced between eight and fourteen feet apart within each battery and consist of rear pits with a surrounding horseshoe-shaped, earthen parapet. A cannon opening, or embrasure, is centered on the parapet wall, and the sides or wings of the parapets taper toward the ends. These emplacements measure between approximately fifteen and twenty-five feet across the front and between twenty and thirty feet along the wings. The northernmost battery resembles an infantry line with each emplacement set side by side, sharing common wings and a single linear parapet. The four batteries are approximately seventy-five to 150 feet apart. <sup>m</sup>

The earthworks at Little Kennesaw include both Confederate infantry and artillery positions. The infantry line along the western crest of Big Kennesaw continues south across the declivity between Big and Little Kennesaw and along the northwest face of Little Kennesaw, below the crest. At the crest, the thick woods covering the mountainsides thin, allowing views of the battlefield and the surrounding area. The line consists of a continuous parapet, between two and four feet high, a rear ditch, and traverses placed intermittently along the line. Along the south and southwest faces, earthen parapets were either constructed atop rock outcroppings or abandoned when these outcroppings alone were sufficient. Loose rock was also used to construct defensive positions, including gun emplacements. Five artillery emplacements are located on the western crest, above the infantry lines. Three consist of single-gun emplacements with horseshoe-shaped parapets. The remaining two emplacements contained two and three guns each and are collectively known as Fort McBride,

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named for Lt. E. D. McBride, who was killed defending this position. A fourth, single-gun emplacement is located in the declivity between Big and Little Kennesaw, distinguished from the parapet of the infantry line by the embrasure and deepened rear pit.

The continuous earthen parapet of the Confederate infantry line at Little Kennesaw ends at the mountain's steep southern slope. As Little Kennesaw merges with Pigeon Hill, the infantry line begins, running northeast to southwest just below the crest of Pigeon Hill. The line, which runs parallel to the Pigeon Hill Trail, is approximately 2,000 feet long and runs through thinly wooded areas with thick undergrowth in places. The line is constructed of loose rock and earth, forming a parapet between two and four feet high. Traverses and rifle pits, located on the right end of the line near the foot of Little Kennesaw, are similarly constructed. The parapet continues along the vertical rock faces of the western and northwestern slopes of the hill before terminating at Burnt Hickory Road, near the bottom of the hill. Four artillery positions are located on Pigeon Hill. Two, four-gun emplacements, consisting of loose rock and earth parapets, are incorporated into the right and left flanks of the infantry line. Two, single-gun emplacements constructed of loose rock and earth are located on the crest of the hill, with the Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement within the field of fire.

The Confederate line resumes east of the Hardage House site, south of Burnt Hickory Road. Between Burnt Hickory and Dallas Roads, the earthen parapet, broken in places, features a salient north of Noses (also known as Noyes) Creek. South of Dallas Road, the earthworks follow the contour of a ridge known as Cheatham Hill, and contain some of the most elaborate earthworks constructed at Kennesaw. A forward earthen parapet lines the crest of the hill forming a salient. The parapet and traverses measure between three and five feet high. Two interior lines meander across the top of the hill, which is thinly wooded with no undergrowth, creating a labyrinth of trenches, traverses, dug-outs, and parapets that overlook a large, open field. The left flank of the salient was anchored by a two-battery artillery position. The right flank was protected by a square redoubt located in a clearing, south of the visitor parking area. The redoubt is shaped by four parapet walls, approximately sixty feet long and four feet high, that enclose the two-gun battery.

Repulsed by the Confederates at the salient, the Federals hastily constructed two lines in a declivity that protected them from Confederate fire. The forward line features a parapet that rises only one to two feet and the mouth of the tunnel where Federal troops attempted to tunnel beneath the Confederate lines and destroy them with explosives. The second Federal line contains a smaller parapet and lies at the edge of an old road bed.

As the Confederate infantry line continues south, across John Ward Creek, it forms a cluster of earthen parapets known as Strahl's Fort. Located on a wooded rise, Strahl's Fort is an eight-gun emplacement with an L-shaped parapet constructed along the rear and right flank. A C-shaped parapet covers the

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front of the fort, just below the crest of the hill. At the center of this arrangement is a C-shaped, four-gun emplacement, approximately thirty feet across with parapets measuring between three and six feet high. The front wall contains three embrasures with the fourth embrasure located on the east or rear wall. The open, right flank of this emplacement is covered by a second, four-gun emplacement located approximately 250 feet to the south. This L-shaped emplacement consists of a two-gun, west-facing parapet and a second, two-gun parapet facing south, with three embrasures for a wider field of fire. An infantry trench lies south and west of this position, meandering along the sloping contours of the hill. This line features outstanding examples of parapets and traverses, some measuring between five and seven feet high.

#### Descriptions of Contributing Properties

**Earthworks:** The park contains approximately eleven miles of infantry trenches, batteries, forts, and gun positions, both earthen and stone, constructed by Federals and Confederates. These fortifications are located on high ground and on slopes of major topographical features and have helped define park boundaries. Currently, the park interprets approximately one-third of the earthworks. Some of these works have been stabilized with grass and tree removal, when feasible, and marked with signs that direct the visitor to stay off the works. The remaining earthworks are hidden from the visitor in wooded areas or are located adjacent to footpaths. Many of these fortifications are covered with understory growth consisting of briars, honeysuckle, and wild grasses, some large and small trees, mainly oak, pine, and dogwood, as well as years of forest debris, such as leaves and fallen limbs. (IDLCS 12176, 90133, 90134, 90135, 90136, 90137, 90138; previously listed; structures)

**Kolb House:** This is a one-and-one-half story, three-bay, Georgian-plan log house, constructed circa 1836. Its construction is characterized by square hewn logs and square notching, concrete chinking, stone piers, and four brick and stone chimneys. The side-gabled roof is covered with wood shingles and possesses gable returns, a vergeboard, and weatherboard gable ends. The house has no front porch, a full-facade rear shed porch, and a shed porch on the west facade. The front entry is trabeated and appears to have been larger at one time, possibly an open breezeway. The exterior of the house was rehabilitated in 1963, and most of the existing oak logs were retained. However, soil cement chinking replaced original mud chinking and appears to have dried out the logs. Window openings, door openings, and porch configurations appear original. The front entry possesses a slate and concrete stoop that probably is not historically accurate. Because few records were extant regarding the historic condition of the house, park staff relied on information from similar houses in north Georgia and interviews of former occupants. The interior of the house consists of four rooms linked by a central hall with an open stair displaying a chamfered newel post. The interior walls had wood paneling, using both beaded-board and plank materials, at the time of the rehabilitation. Behind the paneling, the interior log walls had brick nogging and mud chinking; these were left in place. However, the paneling was removed and replaced with dry wall,

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both on the walls and the ceilings. The floors in the hall and in three of the four rooms are original with four-inch pine boards. All fireplaces, mantels, and stone or brick hearths were removed during the rehabilitation and the interior openings sealed to accommodate a modern heating system. (IDLCS 12175; previously listed; building)

**Kolb Cemetery:** The cemetery is located east of the house and is the only extant landscape feature or secondary structure surviving from the original farmstead. The graveyard measures 48 x 50 feet and is enclosed by a raised concrete foundation. There are eleven marked graves with marble headstones that date from 1839 to 1955. The oldest grave, that of Peter Valentine Kolb, consists of a small pillar on a square base in the center of the graveyard. The pillar is loosened from the base and could pose a safety hazard. (IDLCS 90150; site)

**Stilesboro Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route located on the northern park boundary, south of the CSX Railroad (formerly the Western & Atlantic Railroad). Approximately one-and-one-half miles of the road lie within the park. The road runs east and west. According to historical base maps and reports in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compendium of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Federal troops and earthworks lay astride the Stilesboro Road. As the Federals prepared to initiate their mountain diversion, they moved across the road toward the entrenched Confederates. (IDLCS 90149; structure)

**Gilbert Road:** This is a one-mile gravel road, one-and-one-half lanes wide, that is located between Stilesboro Road and Old Mountain Road and is oriented primarily north and south. Only 600 feet lie within the park boundary, and on this segment, the road turns east out of the park. An extension of this road continues south and is utilized by park maintenance staff. (IDLCS 90147; structure)

**Old John Ward Road:** This is a 20- to 22-foot-wide packed gravel maintenance road, formerly known as John Ward Road. It begins at Dallas Road and proceeds south out of the park to intersect with New John Ward Road. (IDLCS 90146; structure)

**Dallas Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route that runs east and west for a distance of one-half mile within the park. The road is located in the southern part of the park and serves park visitors and Cobb County commuters. Dallas Road provides access to Cheatham Hill and facilitated troop movements. Several earthworks are located within the right-of-way of this road. (IDLCS 90145; structure)

**Burnt Hickory Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route that runs east and west and marks the north-south midpoint of the park. Several earthworks are located in the right-of-way of this road, including those on Pigeon Hill. Reports in the *Official Records* document troop movements along

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this road. Approximately two miles of this road lie within the park boundaries. (IDLCS 90148; structure)

**Big Kennesaw Antebellum Road:** This steep, 10- to 15-foot-wide and approximately 1500-foot-long unpaved road ascends the east face of Big Kennesaw Mountain along the Confederate line of earthworks and is bisected by Mountain Road. The road, which was used by the Confederate Army, is not maintained or interpreted by the park and has deteriorated significantly near the crest of Big Kennesaw and toward the toe of the slope where it diminishes into erosional gullies. (IDLCS 90198; structure)

**New Salem Church Site:** This site consists of a stone foundation ruin, probably granite, and a cemetery of unidentified and largely unmarked graves. A church clearly existed on this site at the time of the battle because it appears on an 1864 manuscript map prepared by an unknown Confederate engineer. An oral history interview conducted in the 1940s described the church as a frame building with board siding. The ruin, which lies west of an abandoned roadbed, consists of two geometric outlines that formed the foundation. One is rectangular and the other is square-shaped, approximately twelve inches high. The twenty-four graves noted are clustered mostly south of the foundation ruins; some are marked by head and foot stones. No conclusive evidence concerning the age of the graves has been discovered. Local tradition has it that the church was used as a Confederate field hospital after the battle; the church's location behind the Confederate lines near the scene of action at Pigeon Hill lends credence to the tradition. (site)

**Illinois Monument:** This monument, erected in 1914, consists of a twenty-five foot battered marble shaft rising from an eight-foot-square base. The marble is inscribed on three sides, with the west elevation dominated by three bronze figures: a Union soldier flanked by two classical female figures. Situated on the crest of Cheatham Hill, the monument overlooks a small plaza and two flights of marble steps to the west. An eagle perched above the figures on the west elevation was damaged by lightning in 1984. In 1991, the eagle was restored atop the monument. (IDLCS 12177; previously listed; object)

**Union Tunnel Marker:** This is a 5- x 3-foot marble arch marking the tunnel entrance Union troops excavated in an attempt to breach the Confederate works at Cheatham Hill. The marker was erected circa 1914 and features an inscribed keystone that describes the tunnel's purpose. It is located at the foot of the Illinois monument and is flanked by a dry-stack stone wall. (IDLCS 90142; object)

**McCook Brigade Marker:** This is a 24- x 24- x 15-inch rectangular granite marker located at the point where McCook's Brigade began its assault, as described on the marker's beveled face. The marker, erected circa 1914, is currently located north of a foot path, on a wooded knoll, but was moved to this location from some point farther south, circa 1935-39. (IDLCS 90141; previously listed; object)

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**C. H. Coffey Marker:** This marker, erected circa 1914, is a 2- x 1- x 3-foot marble tablet indicating the place where C. H. Coffey was mortally wounded during the Federal assault on Cheatham Hill. It is located approximately 300 feet north of the salient at the crest of the hill. (IDLCS 90139; object)

**Fellows Marker:** This is a 1- x 2- x 2-foot rectangular white marker with a beveled face bearing the inscription: "Captain W. W. Fellows/Inspector General/3rd Brigade Second Division/ 14th A.C." It was erected circa 1914 and is located on Cheatham Hill east of the Illinois Monument. (IDLCS 12178; previously listed; object)

**Grave of the Unknown U. S. Soldier:** This is a 1- x 2- x 3-foot marble headstone inscribed: "Unknown/U. S. Soldier/June 27, 1864." Civil Works Administration laborers discovered the grave, in 1934, while clearing the surrounding area of vegetation. Located southeast of the Cheatham Hill salient, the grave is enclosed by a split rail fence. It is the only known Civil War interment at the park. (IDLCS 12179; previously listed; object)

**Cheatham Hill Drive:** This is a one-mile, two-lane narrow asphalt-covered road constructed in 1939-40 by the Civilian Conservation Corps. The road is located adjacent to the Confederate earthworks, situated south of Dallas Road, and ends at a parking area just north of Mebane's Battery near the Cheatham Hill salient. The gently curving road largely follows natural contours and avoids impacting the earthworks. This road, the only one completed by the CCC in the park, provided much-needed visitor access to the area and helped retain the integrity of the earthworks. (IDLCS 90156; structure)

### Noncontributing Properties

Shiloh Church and School Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations  
 Hardage House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations  
 Cass House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations  
 Ballenger House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations  
 Tierce House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations  
 Marietta-Cassville Road, altered, lacks integrity  
 Powder Springs Road, altered, lacks integrity  
 Neighbour Marker, 1985, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90140)  
 Georgia Monument, 1964, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90144)  
 Texas Monument, 1964, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90143)  
 CCC Camp Site, 1938-1942, lacks integrity  
 Maintenance Complex, 2 buildings, 1939-1940, not architecturally significant or representative of NPS design traditions, altered 1974  
 Entrance Signs, 8 signs, 1938-1942, not architecturally significant or representative of NPS design traditions  
 Visitor Center, 1964, postdates period of significance  
 Park Quarters, 2 buildings, 1965, postdates period of significance

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### Statement of Significance

This study evaluates the historic integrity and assesses the eligibility of the park's historic resources within two historic contexts identified by the survey team. These contexts correspond to historic themes identified by the National Park Service and the Georgia State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). The thematic framework of the NPS is outlined in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Landmark Program*. In addition to general historical themes like "Military" and "Public Works," the Georgia SHPO has identified twelve distinctive "aspects" of Georgia history. These aspects are currently undeveloped but should be considered when assembling state and local context studies.

The following two historic contexts have been developed for this study:

- A. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864.
- B. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942.

Context A, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864," relates to the NPS subthemes "War in the West" and "Political and Diplomatic Scene" of Theme VI, "The Civil War." Context A also relates to one aspect of Georgia history, "Major Theater for the Civil War." Context A examines the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain as one in a series of clashes during Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, which began with Sherman's march from Chattanooga in May 1864 and ended with the capture of Atlanta in September of that year. The context discusses military and political aspects of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and Sherman's successful execution of the Atlanta Campaign. The context describes the battles fought at Kennesaw and discusses how military strategy and tactics, developed through the course of the Civil War, were employed at Kennesaw Mountain.

Context B, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942," relates to the NPS facets "Battlefield Preservation" and "The National Park Service and the New Deal" of the subtheme "The Federal Government Enters the Movement, 1884-1949" of Theme XXXIII, "Historic Preservation." National battlefield commemoration stemmed from efforts by veterans groups to honor both the men that fought and died during the Civil War, and the places where they fought. Following these efforts, the Federal government sought protection of these sites through the development of national battlefield parks and national cemeteries. Context B examines the commemoration of Civil War battlefields, beginning with the efforts of veterans at the close of the Civil War and culminating with the establishment and subsequent development of national battlefield parks by the National Park Service. The narrative traces the activities of private commemorative associations at Kennesaw from the 1880s

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through the 1910s, the administration of the battlefield by the War Department from 1928 to 1933, its establishment as a national battlefield park in 1935, and its development by the National Park Service from 1933 to 1942.

Historic resources within the Park represent three periods of significance.<sup>7</sup> The period of the Atlanta Campaign, May to September 1864, is primarily represented by the Kolb House, earthworks, and roads constructed prior to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. The second significant period, representing commemoration of the Kennesaw Mountain battlefield by private individuals and associations, lasted from 1887 to 1917. This period began with reunions by military units that fought at the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and is represented by numerous monuments and markers erected on the battlefield as memorials to individuals and units.<sup>8</sup> The third period witnessed the management and subsequent development of the battlefield by the Federal government from 1917 to 1942. This period included the administration and development of the battlefield by the War Department and the National Park Service. Few historically significant structures remain that demonstrate the importance of early park development planned by the NPS and performed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) from 1938 to 1942.

A. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864.

1. Context Narrative

From May to September 1864, Federal and Confederate forces fought across northwest Georgia from Dalton to Atlanta, which was abandoned by the Confederates on September 1. Occasional fierce battles punctuated almost daily skirmishing and maneuvering for position. Collectively, this activity is known as the Atlanta Campaign. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain, June 27, 1864, occurred near the middle of the campaign. The importance of the battle in the Civil War is described below. This context will describe the Battle of

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<sup>7</sup>The landscape of the battlefield park does not reflect one particular period but illustrates a process of continuous change by various owners and occupants: early-nineteenth-century settlers clearing fields; Union and Confederate armies constructing earthworks; post-Civil War farmers terracing fields; memorial associations erecting monuments; and the CCC constructing roads and planting trees. A Cultural Landscape Report, however, has not been undertaken to determine the historic appearance of the landscape in 1864.

<sup>8</sup>The Georgia and Texas monuments, erected in 1964, are managed as cultural resources but are not eligible for the National Register because they do not meet the standards established by the National Register for resources that have achieved significance within the last fifty years.

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Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, focusing on the remaining park resources.<sup>9</sup>

#### **The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and its Place in the Civil War**

The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain (June 27, 1864) was one of a number of Civil War clashes between Federal and Confederate forces in northwest Georgia in the spring and summer of 1864. Kennesaw Mountain was a physical barrier standing between a large Federal force commanded by Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and Atlanta, an important Confederate railroad and manufacturing center. The war was in its fourth year, and the November 1864 presidential election would soon provide a referendum on Abraham Lincoln's war leadership. Lincoln's reelection depended heavily on the progress of Sherman's army in Georgia and Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's in Virginia. Although it was not a critical turning point in the war, the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain was an important act in a complicated national drama of bitter military combat and politics played out in the summer of 1864. Additionally, the battle illustrated the decided advantage the tactical defensive had over the tactical offensive in the later stages of the war.

In the decade prior to the outbreak of war, sectional divisions over the extension of slavery, a protective tariff, and internal improvements racked the United States. The Democrat party split over the issue of slavery, and four candidates contested the 1860 presidential election. Illinois Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president by carrying the northern states. Believing the Republican Party hostile to southern interests, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas seceded from the Union before Lincoln's inauguration and established the Confederate States of America. Upon assuming office on March 4, 1861, Lincoln decided to assert the Federal government's sovereignty by resupplying the besieged U.S. army garrisons at Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and Fort Pickens in Pensacola Harbor, Florida. The Confederate government ordered an

<sup>9</sup>The best introduction to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta campaign is *Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign* by Dennis Kelly, the park's historian. Albert Castel's recently published work, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*, is a masterful analysis of the campaign. Other important sources are *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* by Stanley F. Horn; *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* by Thomas L. Connelly; *War So Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta* by James L. McDonough and James P. Jones; and two Ph.D. dissertations done at Emory University: "The Atlanta Campaign, December 23, 1863, to July 18, 1864" by Richard M. McMurry and "The Atlanta Campaign, July 18-September 2, 1864" by Errol M. Clauss. McMurry's biography of Hood, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*, is also useful. *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* is a provocative study of Sherman's strategic thinking by the British historian B. H. Liddell-Hart. Sherman, Johnston, and Hood all published memoirs after the war's end. Sherman's work is *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, Johnston's is *Narrative of Military Operations*, and Hood's *Advance and Retreat*.

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attack on the Fort Sumter, signalling its intention to fight for its independence. Following the surrender of Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the Confederacy.<sup>10</sup>

At the outbreak of hostilities, the North enjoyed significant advantages in population and economic resources. The North, with twenty-two million white citizens to the South's six million, had a larger pool of potential combatants. The Confederacy's 3,500,000 slaves supported southern armies with their labor, but did not carry arms. The North possessed 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing capability, forcing the South to quickly develop factories and import armaments from abroad. The North also had a more highly developed railroad network, with two and one-half times more trackage than the Confederate states. Railroads proved crucial in supplying and moving the large armies that fought the Civil War. The South did possess some advantages. Federal troops moving from one area to another would have to move in a wide arc around the front, while the Confederacy could shift forces more quickly along shorter, interior lines. The Confederates, for example, frequently shifted troops between the Shenandoah Valley and Eastern Virginia as the need arose. Additionally, many of the most talented active and inactive U.S. army officers were southerners who rallied to the Confederacy when the war began.<sup>11</sup>

The South's military problem was in a sense simple; it had to keep the war going until the North acquiesced in Southern independence. Southern strategy was defensive and consisted largely of maintaining its territorial integrity. Wanting to maintain independence rather than conquer territory, the Confederacy invaded northern states on only a few occasions. The South relied heavily on the prospect of foreign recognition of the Confederacy and Northern dissatisfaction with the human and material cost of a long war. The North, by contrast, had to wage an aggressive war to subdue the rebellious states and restore the Union. A strategic problem for the South was the question of whether to scatter its forces to defend every inch of territory or to concentrate to protect the areas of greatest strategic importance.

In the Spring of 1861, few on either side envisioned a long war. Many scoffed at U.S. General-in-Chief Winfield Scott's strategy of envelopment, which implied a protracted conflict. Scott advised reliance on a Federal naval blockade of southern ports and control of the Mississippi River to gradually deprive the agricultural South of foreign supplies and markets for its cotton. Envelopment was Federal policy from the start and received increasing emphasis as naive hopes for a quick capture of the Confederate capital at Richmond,

<sup>10</sup>James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 223, 234-35, 271-74, 278-83.

<sup>11</sup>John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1877*, 3d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 561-62; Samuel E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) 615-19.

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Virginia, were dashed. As the war progressed, northern advantages in manpower, industrial might, naval force, and organization increasingly turned the tide against the South.

The natural barrier of the Appalachian Mountains dictated a division of hostilities between eastern and western theaters. Military activity in the eastern theater focused on limited areas of Virginia: the area between Washington, D.C., and Fredericksburg, around Richmond, and the Shenandoah Valley. The western theater, by contrast, was immense, stretching from the Alleghenies to the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. Important western theater battles occurred in Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Although public attention often focused on the major battles in Virginia, the struggle for control of the rivers and railroads in the West was of immense importance to the war's outcome.

As president of a republic in war time, Lincoln had as many political concerns as strategic ones. Lincoln had to employ considerable political skill to maintain popular support for the war, in the face of often disastrous defeats for Federal armies and mounting casualties. Only seven years old in 1861, the Republican Party was an uneasy coalition of often competing interests that Lincoln had to unify. Outside the party, Democrat office holders and powerful newspaper editors such as Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* frequently criticized the administration. Lincoln's political stock rose and fell with the fortunes of Federal armies in the field. Whenever the Federal military effort appeared to stagnate, opposition to the administration's conduct of the war increased. In the South, Confederate victories fed false hopes that Great Britain and France would recognize the Confederacy and that the North would give up the struggle.

Lincoln faced opposition inside and outside the Republican Party. To hold his party's factions together, Lincoln appointed several Republican rivals to his cabinet. Lincoln tolerated considerable dissension and even disloyalty in the cabinet, but outmaneuvered his opponents in the end. Northern Democrats varied in their commitment to the war effort. Some "War Democrats" joined the Republican Party, while others supported a war for the Union but vigorously opposed emancipation. In 1862, "Peace Democrats," who urged an immediate armistice and a negotiated settlement of sectional differences, became a significant force. Many Peace Democrats mistakenly believed that the South would rejoin the Union if slavery were guaranteed; others were covert supporters of southern independence.<sup>12</sup>

The first two years of war brought stalemate in Virginia, but Federal armies made important gains in the West. In February 1862, a joint army-navy expedition led by Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Flag-Officer Andrew H. Foote took Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland

<sup>12</sup>McPherson, 506.

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River, providing two water routes of invasion into Tennessee. Federal control of the Cumberland forced the Confederates to abandon Nashville, an important rail junction and manufacturing city, on February 23, 1862. Northern armies prepared to advance on the Confederate supply center at Corinth, Mississippi. The bloody Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee (April 6-7, 1862), temporarily checked the Federal advance. The 23,000 casualties of Shiloh, including more than 3,000 killed, destroyed any remaining illusions of a short and painless war. Federal forces captured New Orleans in late April 1862, and by June, only the Confederate fortress at Vicksburg, Mississippi, prevented total Northern control of the Mississippi River. In the east, Federal armies were bloodily repulsed by the Confederates at First Manassas (July 21, 1861), the Seven Days' Battles (June 25-July 1, 1862), and Second Manassas (August 28-30, 1862).<sup>13</sup> Lack of Federal military success, particularly in Virginia, increased criticism of the administration and strengthened the position of the Democrat Party going into the 1862 elections.

During 1862, the Republican Party moved rapidly to adopt emancipation as a war policy. Lincoln awaited favorable military news to strike at slavery in the South. At the Battle of Antietam in western Maryland (September 17, 1862), the Army of the Potomac under Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan turned back a Confederate army of invasion commanded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. Within days, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in those areas of the South still engaged in rebellion as of January 1, 1863. Lincoln aimed to undermine Southern resistance and encourage blacks to rally to the Federal effort. Many Northern Democrats charged that the proclamation changed the war's purpose from preservation of the union to the elevation of black slaves to equality with whites. Democrats made significant gains in the Fall 1862 elections, but the Republicans' control of the national government remained solid.<sup>14</sup>

In the first half of 1863, antiwar agitation grew, fueled by Federal defeats in Virginia at Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862) and Chancellorsville (April 30-May 6, 1863). Emancipation and the slow progress of the war remained the major political issues, but the Federal Conscription Act of March 1863 and Lincoln's wartime suspension of civil liberties added to the opposition. The United States' first military draft provoked riots in several cities. The worst rioting occurred in New York City, where 105 died in July 1863 before Federal troops restored order. Lincoln on several occasions ordered the arrest of suspected southern sympathizers. In defiance of Federal court decisions, many were held without charge and denied the writ of habeas corpus.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>McPherson, 339-45, 395-413, 418, 464-71, 528-33.

<sup>14</sup>McPherson, 557-61.

<sup>15</sup>McPherson, 288-89, 610-11.

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In the west in late 1862 and 1863, the Confederates attempted to retake Tennessee, while the Federals sought to capture Vicksburg. The advance of the Confederate Army of Tennessee under Gen. Braxton Bragg into Middle Tennessee was repulsed at the Battle of Stones River (December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863) by Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commander of the Federal Army of the Cumberland. Rosecrans pushed the Confederates out of Middle Tennessee during June and July, and captured Chattanooga in September. Rosecrans's pursuit of Bragg's army was thwarted at the Battle of Chickamauga (September 18-20, 1863) in northwest Georgia. Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga, where the Federal forces remained bottled up until November. Under Grant's leadership, they broke the Confederate stranglehold on the city with victories at Lookout Mountain (November 24, 1863) and Missionary Ridge (November 25, 1863).

The long Federal siege of Vicksburg had ended on July 4, 1863, when Grant, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, occupied the city. The loss of Vicksburg and of Port Hudson on July 9, the last remaining Southern strongholds on the Mississippi, was a serious blow to the Confederacy. With Vicksburg's fall, Texas, Arkansas, and most of Louisiana were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. Troops, provisions, and fresh horses from the Trans-Mississippi region were no longer available to the main southern armies. Along with the capture of Chattanooga and the defeat of Lee's second invasion of the North at the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (July 1-3, 1863), the fall of Vicksburg lifted Northern morale and strengthened the Republican Party in 1863's state and local elections. Republicans interpreted their election successes as an endorsement of the administration's policies, particularly emancipation.<sup>16</sup>

The presidential election year of 1864 brought the greatest test of Lincoln's leadership and northern commitment to the war. Federal control of the Mississippi and an ever tighter blockade put severe strains on the Confederacy. Confederate hopes for foreign recognition had dwindled following the failure of Lee's invasions in 1862 and 1863. However, northern casualties had been very high, and important areas of the South remained untouched by war. Repeated Federal campaigns had failed to capture Richmond. Hoping to hasten the war's end, Lincoln in March 1864 promoted Grant to the rank of lieutenant general and placed him in command of all Federal armies.<sup>17</sup>

#### Strategic Situation in the Spring of 1864

Shortly after assuming overall command, Grant ordered a coordinated offensive designed to destroy Confederate resistance and end the war. The major efforts focused on eastern Virginia and north Georgia, while smaller Federal forces moved toward Richmond from south of the James River, up the Shenandoah Valley, and toward Texas and the Indian Territory by way of the Red River and Southwest Arkansas. Grant accompanied Maj. Gen. George G. Meade and the Army of the

<sup>16</sup>McPherson, 591-97, 600, 666, 687-88.

<sup>17</sup>McPherson, 718-22; Dennis Kelly, *Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign* (Atlanta: Susan Hunter Publishing, 1990), 3.

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Potomac in Virginia, aiming to finally defeat Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Grant placed Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman in command of three Federal armies concentrated near Chattanooga, Tennessee. Grant ordered Sherman to "move against [Confederate Gen. Joseph] Johnston's army, to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources."<sup>18</sup> If Confederate resistance persisted, Grant contemplated combining his army with Sherman's forces in the Lower South. The Confederacy planned to hold off the northern armies until after the November election, in hopes that Lincoln would be defeated by a Democrat sympathetic to southern independence. The future of the administration and, hence, the war effort depended largely on the success of Grant and Sherman.

Aware that the large, well-equipped northern armies could tolerate casualties far more readily than the Confederate armies, Grant waged a war of attrition in Virginia. Where previous Federal commanders had retreated after being bloodied by Lee's army, Grant accepted his losses and relentlessly advanced. In May and June 1864, the Army of the Potomac fought bloody battles at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor. After absorbing 65,000 casualties on these fields alone, Federal troops found themselves in mid-June bogged down in trench warfare on the outskirts of Petersburg. Protected by breastworks, Lee's smaller army was able to repel repeated Federal assaults.<sup>19</sup>

While Grant's objective was the destruction of Lee's army, Sherman focused on the war-making capacity of the Confederacy, which remained formidable after three years of combat. In the spring of 1864, the Federals controlled the Mississippi River, and the Confederates had been expelled from most of Tennessee and much of Mississippi. Still, the heartland of the Confederacy, stretching from Alabama through Georgia to the Carolinas, was virtually untouched by the war. Atlanta, 125 miles southeast of Chattanooga, was an important Confederate rail junction, a significant manufacturing city, and the center of a belt of important manufacturing communities extending from Augusta, Georgia, to Selma, Alabama. Four railroads met at Atlanta, linking the southern Atlantic seaboard states with the western Confederacy. The Western & Atlantic ran northwest to Chattanooga and was the axis along which the Atlanta Campaign was fought. The Georgia Railroad ran east to Augusta, where it connected with lines to Charleston, Raleigh, and Richmond. The Macon & Western ran southeast, with connections to Savannah. Just south of Atlanta at East Point, the Atlanta & West Point, which extended west into Alabama, diverged from the Macon line. Atlanta's factories produced iron, armor plate, railroad rails, ammunition, pistols, uniforms, flour, and meat. Confederate government

<sup>18</sup>McPherson, 722.

<sup>19</sup>McPherson, 742.

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offices in Atlanta included the Quartermaster, Commissary Department, the Signal Corps, and the Railroad Transportation Office.<sup>20</sup>

Sherman had substantial resources to accomplish his mission. He commanded 100,000 soldiers at Chattanooga, divided among Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland with 60,000 troops, Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, 25,000 strong, and Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield's 13,000-man Army of the Ohio. Opposing the Federal force was the Army of Tennessee under Gen. Joseph Johnston at Dalton, Georgia. Johnston received reinforcements in May that brought his strength up to about 65,000. Johnston's army had three infantry corps, commanded by Lt. Gens. Leonidas Polk, William Hardee, and John Bell Hood. Both sides depended for supplies on the single-track Western & Atlantic Railroad. Sherman's rail supply line extended north to Chattanooga and Nashville, while Johnston's ran south to Atlanta. The movements of both commanders were influenced by the need to safeguard the supply lines behind the armies. The numerous mountains and ridges of north Georgia offered the Confederates strong natural defensive positions. Additionally, the advancing Federals would have to cross three rivers, the Oostanaula, the Etowah, and the Chattahoochee. South of Atlanta, the mountains ended, and the Confederates would have fewer natural lines of defense.<sup>21</sup>

The Confederate Army of Tennessee, which Johnston had commanded only since late December 1863, was handicapped by dissension among its top officers and poor overall morale. The army could claim just one clear victory, Chickamauga, and the Federals had routed the army, then commanded by Gen. Braxton Bragg, at the Battle of Missionary Ridge (November 25, 1863). Confederate President Jefferson Davis doubted Johnston's abilities and gave him command of the army with reluctance. Personal animosity and a fundamental disagreement over strategy marred Johnston's relationship with Davis. Davis repeatedly urged Johnston to take the offensive against Sherman, while Johnston felt his inferior numbers dictated a defensive-offensive strategy. Johnston believed he could attack only after he had won some defensive victories over the advancing Federals. Johnston made his position more difficult by failing to fully communicate his intentions to Confederate authorities in Richmond. Additionally, Johnston's three corps commanders, Polk, Hardee, and Hood, mistrusted him. Johnston did much to restore the army's morale, but its command problems were never satisfactorily resolved.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Albert Castel, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 69; B. H. Liddell-Hart, *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* (New York: Praeger, 1958), 233-34; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 7; Thomas L. Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 369-70.

<sup>21</sup>McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 3-5; Liddell Hart, 234-35.

<sup>22</sup>Connelly, 288-93, 313.

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By contrast, Sherman and Grant had cooperated closely while both fought in the Western theater and enjoyed each other's confidence. Grant gave Sherman broad strategic objectives and relied on him to devise tactics to accomplish them. Sherman was an energetic commander who realized early that a Northern victory would require not just battlefield successes but destruction of the Confederates' ability to make war. Sherman targeted the South's economic and military resources equally.

### Civil War Tactics

When the Atlanta campaign opened, tactical considerations were radically altered from the early days of the war. At the war's beginning, officers emphasized the tactical offensive, in which assaulting troops advanced in lines, firing volleys on command. As the enemy line was approached, troops would run the last several yards and break the line with a bayonet charge. These linear tactics dated to seventeenth-century European wars. They had been successful in the Mexican War (1846-1848) and were stressed at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Changes in weaponry during the war decreased the effectiveness of linear tactics. Rifle-muskets of superior range and accuracy, used only by elite units of the old regular army, were in general use on both sides by 1863. The combination of rifle-muskets and the nearly universal use of field entrenchments by late 1863 greatly compromised the effectiveness of the tactical offensive.<sup>23</sup>

Rifle-muskets had an effective range of 300-400 yards, four times greater than the range of the smoothbore muskets used early in the war. By 1863, attacking troops could no longer expect to advance to within a few dozen yards of the enemy, fire a volley, and make a double-time charge while defenders were reloading. Defenders could devastate the ranks of attacking troops well before they were close enough to form for a bayonet charge. When defenders were protected by field entrenchments, their advantage was magnified. By 1864, whenever troops halted near the enemy, they quickly entrenched to have some protection against attack. The Confederates, fighting a largely defensive war, often constructed elaborate systems of trenches, laid out in advance by field engineers to exploit advantages of terrain. Engineers distinguished between the topographic crest and the military crest of a hill. The military crest was often a position slightly downslope of the topographic crest. From the military crest, defenders had a clear field of fire over the ground in front of them without exposing their silhouettes to enemy fire.<sup>24</sup>

Entrenchments on both sides followed the same pattern. Trenches were dug, and the earth from them piled up to form a protective parapet, also known as breastworks. Troops could dig a three-foot deep rifle pit with an earthen parapet in about an hour. In more permanent positions, trenches might be deeper, and log retaining walls, known as revetments, were used to back the

<sup>23</sup>McPherson, 472-73.

<sup>24</sup>McPherson, 473-75.

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earthen parapets. A tree trunk, known as a head-log and held in position by skid logs, was placed atop the parapet. Riflemen stood in the trench or on a firing step and fired through the narrow gap between the head-log and parapet. Other troops would meanwhile be reloading in the trench, waiting to take their turn on the firing line. When time permitted, various obstacles were placed in front of the breastworks to slow an attacking force. A front ditch was sometimes dug directly in front of the parapet. Out beyond the parapet, trees and brush were felled, and their branches interlaced to form obstacles known as abatis. Skirmishers from the attacking force would clear a path, under fire, through the abatis. Infantrymen often dug their own trenches, but Sherman's army increasingly employed freed slaves to dig them, while the Confederates often used gangs of slaves to prepare fall-back lines of defense out of range of Federal artillery.<sup>25</sup>

By late 1863, the tactical defensive possessed a clear advantage. An entrenched position, defended by troops with rifle-muskets, was extremely difficult to overrun. Officers, however, were slow to recognize the altered tactical realities and often had few alternatives to a frontal assault. Many commanders looked for ways to envelop the enemy's flank, but the opposing general was unlikely to leave his flanks unprotected. Officers on both sides repeatedly ordered frontal assaults on entrenched lines, frequently with disastrous results. In some encounters, attacking forces suffered ten times the casualties of defenders. In the Atlanta campaign, Sherman chose repeatedly to outflank the Confederates' entrenched positions, rarely ordering frontal attacks. Sherman's three to two advantage in numbers allowed him to use part of his force to keep the Confederate army in place while other units were sent on turning maneuvers.<sup>26</sup>

### The Atlanta Campaign

When Sherman's forces moved out from Chattanooga on May 7, 1864, the Confederates held a strong defensive line around Dalton, Georgia. Sherman ordered Thomas and Schofield to threaten an attack against the main body of Confederates, while McPherson made a wide move to the right in the direction of Resaca, fifteen miles south of Dalton. McPherson nearly got in Johnston's rear, but was deterred by a small force holding Resaca. This delay gave Johnston enough time to retire from Dalton to a hastily prepared position around Resaca. The two armies fought at Resaca May 13-15, while Sherman tried another flanking move, sending a division of McPherson's army to cross the Oostanaula River and get behind the Confederates' left. When Johnston learned of the successful river crossing, he ordered a retreat, first to Adairsville and then on to Cassville.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Castel, 228; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York: Library of America, 1990), 525-26.

<sup>26</sup>Connelly, 432; McPherson, 472-77.

<sup>27</sup>Connelly, 341-45; Kelly, 13-14; Sherman, 496-504.

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Johnston planned an attack on the Federals for May 19, when he suspected that they would be strung out on two parallel roads between Adairsville and Cassville. General Hood declined to press the attack when he detected a potential threat to his rear, and the opportunity was lost. After a council of war on the night of May 19, Johnston ordered another pullback across the Etowah River to Allatoona Pass. Sherman bypassed this position and swung his forces west away from the railroad and toward the town of Dallas. Johnston moved his army west to counter this new threat. Federal attacks at New Hope Church (May 25) and Pickett's Mill (May 27) were repulsed by the Confederates, and Sherman began to move to his left back toward the railroad to the east. Believing that Sherman's right might be undermanned, Johnston ordered an attack at Dallas on May 28. Here the Federals had the advantage of fighting from trenches, and they decisively turned back the assault.<sup>28</sup>

Following these battles, a period of heavy skirmishing and maneuvering for position lasted well into June. Heavy rainfall impeded the movements of both armies. In the first week of June, Johnston's army took up a position along a ten-mile line approximately 30 miles northwest of Atlanta. The line ran from northeast to southwest, with Brushy Mountain on the right, Pine Mountain in the center, and Lost Mountain on the left. On June 14, a Federal artillery shell killed Confederate General Polk on Pine Mountain. Johnston appointed Maj. Gen. William W. Loring temporary commander of Polk's army corps. Lt. Gen. A. P. Stewart assumed permanent command of the corps in the first week of July. After additional fighting near Gilgal Church on June 15 and Lost Mountain on June 16, the Confederates on the night of June 18-19 fell back southeast to a prepared line anchored by Kennesaw Mountain, a few miles north of Marietta. This new line had been carefully laid out in advance by Johnston's chief engineer, Lt. Col. S. W. Presstman.<sup>29</sup>

#### The Kennesaw Mountain Line

Colonel Presstman took a topographically strong defensive position at Kennesaw Mountain and enhanced it. Kennesaw Mountain is a two-mile-long ridge extending from Big Kennesaw on the northeast to Little Kennesaw on the southwest, with a spur now known as Pigeon Hill extending south from Little Kennesaw.<sup>30</sup> Rising nearly 700 feet above the surrounding landscape, Kennesaw Mountain was described by Sherman as "the key to the whole country."<sup>31</sup> Johnston arrayed his army in a convex, six-mile-long line. The Confederate line extended east to protect the railroad and bent south along the Kennesaw Mountain ridge and beyond to cover the roads leading into Marietta from the west. Hood's corps

<sup>28</sup>Kelly, 15-16; Connelly, 346-56; Sherman, 504-7, 512-15.

<sup>29</sup>Kelly, 21-23; Connelly, 357-58, 421.

<sup>30</sup>Pigeon Hill is a twentieth-century name; at the time of the battle, this feature was called the Kennesaw Spur.

<sup>31</sup>Sherman, 530.

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held the right, Loring's the center, and Hardee's the left. The crests of Big and Little Kennesaw were cleared of timber to accommodate artillery emplacements and observation stations. A network of trenches for infantry and earthen forts, or redoubts, for supporting artillery lined the lower slopes of the ridge. Earthen parapets protected the infantry trenches. Immediately beyond the parapets were front ditches and abatis, and farther in advance were rifle pits for skirmishers, who observed the enemy and gave warning of an attack.<sup>32</sup>

As was his habit, Sherman ordered the bulk of his troops to dig in close to the enemy line, while he probed both flanks of the Confederate position. McPherson positioned his Army of the Tennessee on the left, Thomas's Army of the Cumberland held the middle, and Schofield's Army of the Ohio was on the right. On June 20, a Federal cavalry sortie across Noonday Creek east of the railroad on the Confederate right flank was checked by three brigades of southern cavalry. Simultaneously, Sherman ordered Schofield's Army of the Ohio to continue trying to envelop Johnston's left flank by moving to the south. Johnston learned that the Federals were pressing Hardee's corps on the Confederate left and threatening to seize the Powder Springs Road, an important route to the Chattahoochee. To counter this southward shift of Federal forces, Johnston ordered Hood to remove his corps from the right and march it behind the Confederate lines to reinforce and extend the left on the night of June 21. Loring's corps shifted to the right, joining Confederate cavalry in manning the positions abandoned by Hood's troops.<sup>33</sup>

#### Cobb County in 1864

The Union and Confederate forces entering Cobb County disrupted a lightly settled agricultural community composed largely of white farmer-landowners. Settlement in the area grew after the 1829 discovery of gold in the north Georgia mountains, near Dahlonega, and encouraged the Georgia legislature to establish Cobb County in 1832. The 1836-1838 removal of the Cherokees from Georgia west to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) greatly expanded the county's white settlement. Enterprising land owners bought land lots, consisting of 160 acres, and gold lots, with forty acres. The majority of the county was distributed in gold lots, although gold discoveries proved insignificant and short-lived. In 1838, the state legislature guaranteed the bonds for the Western & Atlantic Railroad, established by Joseph E. Brown. This rail line, which connected Atlanta and Chattanooga, was completed in 1850 and contributed to Marietta's growth as a summer resort community. At the same time, some industrial activity, particularly in Roswell, Georgia, identified Cobb County as a promising textile manufacturing center.<sup>34</sup> Despite this modest

<sup>32</sup>Kelly, 24; Connelly, 357; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 35.

<sup>33</sup>Kelly, 24-26; Connelly, 358-59.

<sup>34</sup>Roswell was later made a part of Fulton County.

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town development, most Cobb residents lived in the rural countryside and operated small farms among the rolling hills, woods, and lowlands.<sup>35</sup>

The county population in 1860 consisted of 10,000 whites and 4,000 blacks. Most farms were small compared to other Georgia counties. The rolling geography and rocky soil prevented large plantations and also limited the need for a large slave work force. Subsistence farming characterized antebellum Cobb County, with timber sales providing needed cash for some farmers. On the whole, these modestly prosperous people were self-sufficient. The Hardage family settled early in Cobb County, along the Burnt Hickory Road, south of Little Kennesaw. The family originally lived in a log cabin, but over the course of twenty years it moved to several larger residences. In 1853, George W. Hardage built a sawmill on Noyes Creek, paying eighteen dollars an acre for the land. When the Union army invaded Cobb County in June 1864, Mrs. Hardage and her two youngest children fled to Stone Mountain. Some family members remained until the fighting around Kennesaw Mountain intensified, when they also sought refuge at Stone Mountain.<sup>36</sup>

#### **The Battle of Kolb's Farm**

On June 22, Schofield's troops and Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker's XX Corps of the Army of the Cumberland began to advance east toward Marietta along the Powder Springs Road on the Confederate left. By early afternoon, Federal skirmishers had clashed with advance elements of Hood's corps, and the northerners hastily prepared dirt and fence-rail breastworks. Hood's orders were merely to check the Federal advance, but without consulting Johnston, Hood ordered a late-afternoon attack by two of his three divisions, led by Maj. Gens. Thomas C. Hindman and Carter L. Stevenson. The ensuing engagement is known as the Battle of Kolb's Farm.<sup>37</sup>

In this battle, the Confederates advanced westward athwart Powder Springs Road, pushing back Federal skirmishers. Hindman's division was arrayed north of the road, while Stevenson's advanced slantwise across it. Dense underbrush and swampy ground impeded the advance in places. When the advance neared the main Federal lines, it disintegrated. Aided by forty artillery pieces, many sighted to deliver devastating enfilade fire down a ravine, Federal infantry repulsed the advance. The brief battle cost Johnston approximately 1,000 casualties compared to 350 for the Federals. The battle checked Sherman's maneuvering

<sup>35</sup>Scott, 19-21.

<sup>36</sup>Scott, 19-21; James L. Aikman, "Kennesaw Sketches: A Collection of Descriptive Sketches and Anecdotes Sidelighting the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain" (Marietta, Ga.: National Park Service, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, 1941), 16-19.

<sup>37</sup>Kelly, 26-27; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 56-58.

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toward the south and influenced his decision to attempt a penetration of the Confederate line at Kennesaw.<sup>38</sup>

The field of the Battle of Kolb's Farm lies partially within the southern boundary of the park and partially on private property. The rehabilitated four-room log house of Peter Kolb, built in the 1830s, stands on the south side of Powder Springs Road within the park. Peter Valentine Kolb settled early in Cobb County from South Carolina, likely between 1832 and 1838. Shortly thereafter, Kolb built a rectangular log house composed of squarely hewn oak logs with lime and mud chinking. Kolb operated a self-sufficient farm, with ten slaves and approximately 600 acres of land. A blacksmith shop, north of Powder Springs Road, and numerous farm outbuildings occupied the site. The family cemetery lay west of the house. When the Federals approached the farm along Powder Springs Road, the Kolb family fled to Madison, Georgia. Union General Hooker used the house as his field headquarters until the Union armies left Kennesaw. The Kolbs did not occupy the house again until the 1880s, and during this lapse the house was damaged and several outbuildings were lost.<sup>39</sup> At the time of the battle, the area north of Powder Springs Road across from the house was mostly open pasture and cropland surrounded by swampy woods, lying within the floodplain of John Ward Creek. The main Federal lines were west of the Kolb house.

#### **The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain**

Thwarted in his attempt to maneuver beyond the Confederate left flank at Kolb's Farm, Sherman considered his options. His army was now within 20 miles of Atlanta. To the rear of Johnston's Kennesaw line, only one natural obstacle, the Chattahoochee River, protected the city. Nearly constant skirmishing and numerous medium-sized battles had marked the campaign, but neither army had suffered major losses. The rain had finally stopped and the roads were drying, facilitating army movements. Sherman felt that he could not prudently extend his lines farther to his right away from his railroad supply line. Believing that Johnston might have stretched his lines dangerously thin in extending his left, Sherman decided to attack the entrenched Confederates, "a thing carefully avoided up to that time."<sup>40</sup> Sherman later justified his decision on the grounds that troops lost their edge if kept out of combat for too long and his fear that his flanking tactics were becoming too predictable. Sherman may simply have grown impatient with the slow pace of his advance.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Castel, 294-95; Kelly, 26-28; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 55-62.

<sup>39</sup>B. C. Yates, "Historic Structures Report: The Kolb House, Part I" (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1961), 5-7, 11, 13, 22, 30.

<sup>40</sup>Sherman, 530.

<sup>41</sup>Castel, 320-21; Liddell-Hart, 266-67; Kelly, 31.

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Sherman reasoned that an assault on the physically imposing center of the Confederate line would be unexpected and ordered a two-pronged attack for the morning of June 27. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee and Thomas's Army of the Cumberland would attempt to penetrate the Confederate line at points selected by each army's commander. McPherson directed Maj. Gen. John A. Logan's XV Corps to attack at the junction of Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill. That portion of the Confederate line was defended by W. H. T. Walker's division of Hardee's corps and Samuel G. French's division of Loring's corps. The second, larger Federal effort would occur about one mile south. General Thomas chose Brig. Gen. John A. Newton's Second Division of the IV Corps and Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis's Second Division of the XIV Corps to make the attack. The objective was a low ridge defended by the divisions of Maj. Gens. Patrick R. Cleburne and Benjamin F. Cheatham of Hardee's corps. Other portions of the Federal force would feign an attack on the right and left flanks to prevent Johnston from reinforcing his center. As in many Civil War battles, only a fraction, approximately 20 percent, of the Federal force was committed to the June 27 assault. The remaining troops were held in reserve to follow up any successes.<sup>42</sup> Most of the Federal troops involved were Midwesterners, with the great majority coming from Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.

After a fifteen-minute artillery barrage on the morning of the 27th, Federal troops facing Big Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill moved forward from their works at 8:15 A.M. The diversion at Big Kennesaw Mountain and Bell's Ferry Road on the Confederate right was easily repulsed. At Pigeon Hill, 5,500 Federals in three brigades<sup>43</sup> moved toward the Confederate lines through dense underbrush and abatis on both sides of the Burnt Hickory Road only to confront the heavily fortified Confederate line. The western crest of Pigeon Hill was lined with earthworks, some built atop vertical rock faces, and provided the Confederates with a commanding view of Federal movements below. At the junction of Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill is a steep gorge, where the northerners struggled through dense underbrush. Part of this attack's front was within range of Confederate batteries on Little Kennesaw, which supported the defenders. A few Federals came within yards of the breastworks but could not breach the Confederate line. The attack collapsed within two hours.<sup>44</sup>

On Thomas's front south of Dallas Road, 9,000 Federals in Newton's and Davis's divisions formed in open fields behind the Federal lines. Their 9:00 A.M. assault was nearly an hour late. Thomas and his subordinates chose to assail this area because there the Federal lines were closest to the Confederate position. This shorter distance lessened the time that the attacking Federals would be exposed to Confederate fire. Additionally, a bend in the Confederate

<sup>42</sup>Kelly, 31; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 69-71.

<sup>43</sup>The brigades were commanded by Brig. Gen. Giles A. Smith, Brig. Gen. A. J. Lightburn, and Col. Charles Walcutt.

<sup>44</sup>Kelly, 32-36; Castel, 307-11.

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line created a potentially vulnerable salient soon to become known as "The Dead Angle."<sup>45</sup> The Confederate defenders on this portion of the front enjoyed a carefully prepared position. The unusually deep trenches followed the contour of the ridge and were equipped with firing platforms and traverses to provide protection from enfilade fire. One flaw in the position was the siting of the salient on the topographic rather than the military crest of the ridge. Artillery positions, concealed by brush, provided flanking fire from each side of the salient. The right flank was covered by Mebane's Tennessee Battery, a two-gun emplacement within a square redoubt. In places, abatis were supplemented by sharpened pine stakes set four inches apart and by chevaux-de-frise, criss-crossed logs bristling with pointed stakes. The ground to be covered by the Federals was partly occupied by a field, but was rough and rocky in places, with thin forest and dense underbrush impeding the formation of ranks. A small creek lay between the lines of the two armies.

Newton's three brigades attacked a westward-facing section of the Confederate line just north of the salient. The Confederate trenches in this area were protected by especially heavy abatis and a deep front ditch. The brigades of Brig. Gen. Charles Harker on the right and Brig. Gen. George D. Wagner on the left made the initial assault. To increase the chances of a breakthrough, the attack was in dense columns with individual regiments lined up one behind the other. When the Federals emerged from the last stand of light trees, the Confederates opened a devastating fire. Infantry fire was supplemented by shell and canister from Confederate artillery batteries. Both Federal brigades were easily repulsed, and only a few attackers penetrated the abatis to the foot of the Confederate breastworks. Harker, the only general to go into this battle mounted, was killed trying to rally his men for a renewed attack. Newton then ordered Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball's brigade, deployed on Wagner's left, to advance. A handful of Kimball's men reached the parapet, where they were killed or captured.

Just south of Newton's attack, two brigades of Davis's division led by Cols. Daniel McCook and John G. Mitchell assaulted the Dead Angle. McCook's four regiments, formed in line of battle, ran across an open field toward the salient, hitting the toe in successive waves. Mitchell's regiments, similarly aligned, advanced and then wheeled to their left to attack the salient's southern flank. As soon as the Federals entered the wheat field in front of the Confederate position, they came under infantry fire. The defensive fire became intense as the assault force neared the breastworks. The Confederate battery south of the Dead Angle suddenly caught Mitchell's men in deadly enfilade fire. Some of the Federals reached the Confederate trenches and briefly fought hand-to-hand before being killed or captured. Colonel McCook was mortally wounded on the parapet near the toe of the salient. His

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<sup>45</sup>Salients tend to draw focussed attacking fire while fanning out less effective defensive fire. Salients also limit the field of fire for flanking artillery.

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successor, Col. William Dilworth of the 85th Illinois regiment, fell within five minutes of assuming brigade command.<sup>46</sup>

The placement of the Confederate salient on the highest part of the hill, rather than the military crest, prevented even greater Federal casualties. Approximately twenty-five yards below the salient, the hill drops off steeply before regaining its gentle slope to the valley floor. The Federals, repulsed and unable to return to their own works without incurring additional losses, fell back to the shelter provided by this depression. There, they rapidly dug trenches, using tin cups and bayonets, and improving the works at night with entrenching tools brought up from the rear. A second Federal line was constructed and, later, an attempt was made to tunnel under the Confederate works and destroy them with explosives. Several cease-fires were observed in order to retrieve wounded and bury the dead that lay strewn between the two lines following the morning assault. The stand-off ended five days later when Johnston's forces withdrew from the Kennesaw line. The ridge on this portion of the battlefield was named Cheatham Hill, in honor of the successful defense by Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham's troops.<sup>47</sup>

Sherman was reluctant to acknowledge the failure of his attempt to break the Confederate lines. He queried Thomas about renewing the attack on the afternoon of June 27. When Thomas responded that "one or two more such assaults would use up this army,"<sup>48</sup> Sherman abandoned the idea. Federal casualties for the morning's assault were estimated at 3,000. Protected by their breastworks, the Confederates lost less than 1,000. Many of these were skirmishers overrun in advance positions; troops in the main Confederate line suffered minimal losses. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain demonstrated again the overwhelming advantage possessed by motivated defenders in entrenched positions, particularly where the topography also favored the defenders.<sup>49</sup>

Schofield's demonstration on the far right of the Federal position provided Sherman's only gain of the day. In that sector, northern infantry established a position on the Austell Road, and cavalry detachments advanced south to within five miles of the Chattahoochee. In the days following the battle, Sherman ordered McPherson to reinforce Schofield on the far right. Johnston was once again in danger of being outflanked, and he ordered a withdrawal from the Kennesaw line on the night of July 2. The Confederate army took up a new position around Smyrna Station, four miles southeast of Marietta. Although it briefly boosted Southern morale, in the end, the Confederates' defensive

<sup>46</sup>Castel, 307-15; Kelly, 37-40.

<sup>47</sup>Kelly, 36-39; Castel, 307-16.

<sup>48</sup>Kelly, 41.

<sup>49</sup>McPherson, 749-50; Castel, 320.

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victory at Kennesaw Mountain had little impact, because it only delayed, but did not halt, Sherman's advance.<sup>50</sup>

Sherman continued to probe the Confederate left, and on the night of July 4 Johnston ordered another retreat, this time to a prepared line of defenses on the north bank of the Chattahoochee. The Chattahoochee runs from the northeast to the southwest in this area, and Johnston believed Sherman would again attempt to get around his left flank. Sherman encouraged this belief by sending a decoy cavalry detachment to the southwest to ostentatiously scout river crossings. Johnston responded by dispatching the bulk of his cavalry to guard the downstream crossings. Sherman meanwhile ordered Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard's cavalry and Schofield's infantry to cross upstream (northeast) of Johnston's line. The Federals captured the town of Roswell, destroying its cloth mills, and crossed the river at several upstream fords on July 8 and 9. With numerous Federals across the river and threatening to get between him and Atlanta, Johnston ordered the abandonment of his river line. On the night of July 9, the Confederates withdrew to the outer defenses of Atlanta, on the south bank of Peachtree Creek and less than five miles from the city's center.<sup>51</sup>

Johnston's continued withdrawals caused increasing concern in the Confederate capital. On July 16, Jefferson Davis wired Johnston, asking for his plan of operations. Johnston's reply that his plan "must depend on that of the enemy" failed to reassure Davis. On July 17, Davis relieved Johnston of command of the Army of Tennessee and put Lt. Gen. John Bell Hood in his place. General Cheatham assumed temporary command of Hood's old army corps, which was assigned to Lt. Gen. Stephen D. Lee on July 27. Just thirty-three, Hood had a reputation for aggressiveness as a brigade and division commander, but lacked experience in commanding an army. A leg lost at Chickamauga and a mangled left arm limited Hood's ability to ride a horse and personally supervise combat operations. The change of commanders did not end dissension among the officers of the Army of Tennessee. Many officers considered Hood a reckless gambler, and General Hardee's dissatisfaction at being passed over probably affected his performance in the subsequent battles for Atlanta.<sup>52</sup>

#### The Fall of Atlanta

When all of his forces had crossed the Chattahoochee, Sherman advanced on Atlanta in a wheeling movement. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland served as the pivot, moving on the city from the north, while Schofield's Army of the Ohio and McPherson's Army of the Tennessee swung around to the east. On July 19, McPherson was in Decatur, six miles east of Atlanta, marching slowly west along

<sup>50</sup>Kelly, 41-42, 45.

<sup>51</sup>Kelly, 45; Connelly, 392-98.

<sup>52</sup>Connelly, 430-32, 450-51; Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, a Narrative: Red River to Appomattox* (New York: Random House, 1974), 472-73.

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the Georgia Railroad, tearing up track along the way. Schofield was near Decatur advancing on a road parallel to the railroad, and Thomas was beginning to cross Peachtree Creek on a six-mile front. Hoping to capitalize on the division of the Federal forces, Hood ordered Cheatham's corps and Georgia militia under Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith to hold Schofield and McPherson in place while Stewart and Hardee surprised Thomas astride Peachtree Creek. The attack, scheduled to begin at 1:00 P.M. on July 20, fell victim to delay and confusion. Hood remained at his headquarters in Atlanta after issuing his orders, and Hardee and Cheatham were unable to coordinate their assaults. When the attack began, Thomas had virtually all of his troops on the south bank of the creek and held off the disorganized Confederates in the Battle of Peachtree Creek.<sup>53</sup>

Undaunted, Hood ordered an attack on McPherson's army for the 22nd. Hardee's corps was sent on a fifteen-mile night march to get in position on McPherson's left flank and rear. With simultaneous attacks by Cheatham's corps from the west and Hardee's from the south and east, Hood hoped to roll up McPherson's left. The Confederates nearly succeeded in winning the Battle of Atlanta, despite rushed preparations and inadequate coordination. Hardee was hampered by densely wooded terrain and poor reconnaissance and was unable to get all of his divisions engaged until late in the afternoon. Hood inexplicably delayed the attack on Cheatham's front until two hours after Hardee's began. General McPherson was killed in the battle, but the Federal lines held after some early wavering.<sup>54</sup>

Sherman was determined to capture the two rail lines—the Macon & Western and the Atlanta & West Point—still in Confederate hands. The Macon & Western ran south from Atlanta; at the town of East Point five miles away, the Atlanta & West Point branched from it. Sherman sent cavalry detachments southeast around his left flank to disrupt the Macon & Western deep in the Confederate rear. The Army of the Tennessee, now commanded by Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, was ordered on a broad movement counterclockwise around Atlanta to the right to seize the junction at East Point and tear up the Atlanta & West Point. Confederate cavalry turned aside the Federal cavalry raids, and Hood prepared a trap for Howard's advancing army. Stephen D. Lee's corps was to delay the Federals by taking a position along Lickskillet Road near Ezra Church, while Stewart's corps circled around to attack Howard's right flank. When Lee advanced on the morning of July 28, he found the Federals already entrenched. Without consulting Hood or waiting for Stewart to move up, Lee committed his divisions in a series of suicidal attacks. When Stewart arrived, his troops made additional futile charges. The Battle of Ezra Church was the most one-sided of the campaign. The Confederates suffered 5,000 casualties, almost ten times the Federal loss.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Connelly, 439-44; Kelly, 46.

<sup>54</sup>Connelly, 444-50; Kelly, 48-50.

<sup>55</sup>Connelly, 452-55; Kelly, 51.

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Hood's three battles in a week's time cost the Confederates more than 12,000 casualties. Sherman had failed to cut the rail lines but showed no sign of retreating, and the Federals brought up heavy siege guns to bombard Atlanta. Jefferson Davis virtually ordered Hood to make no more attacks on entrenched Federal positions. Hood extended his entrenchments to cover the railroad from Atlanta to East Point. On August 10, Hood sent half his cavalry, about 4,000 men, on a raid deep in Sherman's rear to disrupt Federal supplies. The raid had negligible results, and the lack of cavalry hampered Hood's ability to track Sherman's movements around Atlanta. Throughout August, Federal artillery rained down on the city, while the North waited for favorable war news.<sup>56</sup>

Northern civilian morale was at a low ebb in August 1864. Grant at Petersburg and Sherman at Atlanta were engaged in trench warfare of unpredictable duration. Federal armies had absorbed staggering casualties in 1864—90,000 in one three-month period—to achieve what appeared to be a stalemate. Lincoln's July draft call for 500,000 more men added to the discontent. In late August, the Democrat Party nominated Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan for president on a platform that emphasized peace over restoration of the Union. Privately, President Lincoln predicted a Democratic victory in the fall. Absent a decisive victory for Federal arms, the election of McClellan on a peace platform was a strong possibility.<sup>57</sup>

Mindful that Lincoln's reelection effort depended on Federal victories and impatient with the slow progress of the siege, Sherman in late August abandoned his lines around Atlanta. On August 26, all three Federal armies began a giant wheeling movement counterclockwise around Atlanta aimed at finally tearing up the Atlanta & West Point and Macon & Western tracks south of the city. With much of his cavalry off on a raid, Hood was slow to grasp the dimensions of this shift. On August 30, Hood learned that Howard's Army of the Tennessee was approaching Jonesboro from the west, fifteen miles south of Atlanta. Hood sent Hardee's and S. D. Lee's corps to meet this threat. On August 31, the first day of the Battle of Jonesboro, a numerically superior Confederate force was unable to break the Federal lines. That night, Hood ordered Lee's corps back to Atlanta. A late-afternoon Federal assault on September 1 nearly crushed Hardee's corps, which retreated south to Lovejoy's Station. Federal troops now controlled all the railroads into Atlanta, and Hood was compelled to abandon the city. In their hasty withdrawal, the Confederates accidentally destroyed their reserve ammunition train and numerous other supplies. Sherman wired Washington that "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won."<sup>58</sup>

The fall of Atlanta provided a huge boost to Northern morale and a corresponding letdown for the South. Combined with Rear Adm. David G.

<sup>56</sup>Connelly, 456-58.

<sup>57</sup>McPherson, 766-72.

<sup>58</sup>Kelly, 51-52; Connelly, 461-64.

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Farragut's August 5 victory at Mobile Bay and Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's successes in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley in September and October, the capture of Atlanta deprived the Democrats of their war failure issue. The Republicans fully exploited the implications of the Democrats' peace platform and made repeated accusations of disloyalty. Democrats tried to emphasize opposition to emancipation but made little headway. Believing that a final military victory was at hand, northern voters gave the Republicans an overwhelming electoral victory in November. McClellan carried only Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey, and the Republicans won a three-fourths majority in the Congress. Sherman's success in Georgia was a major factor in Lincoln's reelection.<sup>59</sup>

Vindicated at the polls, Lincoln and the Republican Party pursued the war to a successful conclusion. After destroying Atlanta and expelling its citizens, Sherman in mid-November began his march to the sea, devastating a sixty-mile-wide corridor across Georgia and capturing Savannah in late 1864. Richmond fell in early April 1865; Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House on April 9; and all remaining Confederate forces, including those west of the Mississippi, had surrendered by June 23.<sup>60</sup> The war was over, and the country turned its attention to problems of reconciliation and reconstruction.

#### **Kennesaw Mountain After the War**

After the armies left, families gradually returned to their farms and attempted to restore their livelihoods. However, by 1880, changes in southern agricultural practices had affected the community and the countryside. Tenantry greatly increased among Cobb County farms and throughout the South. Between 1880 and 1900, the use of tenants on Cobb County farms rose from 34 percent to 56 percent. Landowners carved up their land tracts, that had averaged 112 acres per farm, to lots of seventy-two acres or less, to better accommodate the tenant farmer and to increase the number of farms available for tenantry. Improved acreage increased by 31 percent in these twenty years. The county population also rose considerably, from 14,242 in 1860 to 24,664 in 1900. Together, smaller farms and higher population density created a patchwork of cultivated fields, pastures, and orchards that replaced the woodlands and forests of the antebellum period.<sup>61</sup>

#### **Significance**

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park is the only National Park Service property that commemorates the Atlanta Campaign. This campaign had important military and political significance in the final phases of the Civil War. The

<sup>59</sup>McPherson, 773-75, 788-91, 805-6.

<sup>60</sup>McPherson, 846-50; Foote, 1021-22.

<sup>61</sup>Scott, 5-6, 22-26; Sarah B. G. Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County in Ga.*, 6th ed. (Athens, Georgia: A. G. Publishers, 1989), 7.

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earthworks, landscape, some of the roads, and the Kolb House at Kennesaw are tangible links to the Atlanta Campaign. The role of the battle in the Atlanta campaign, the grand strategy of the war, battlefield tactics, and the life of the average soldier are represented by these resources.

The historic resources dating to the time of the battle have varying levels of significance. The entire eleven miles of earthworks are nationally significant under National Register Criteria A, B, and C. The earthworks clearly indicate the areas of combat during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain, a crucial engagement in the Atlanta Campaign, and were built at the orders of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and General Joseph E. Johnston. Although not nominated under Criterion D, the earthworks may also possess information potential. The Kolb House contributes to the national significance of the battlefield under Criterion A and is locally significant as an example of an early farm house under Criterion C. It is the only remaining park building that existed during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and a rare example from an early period of Cobb County settlement. A significant military action, known as the Battle of Kolb's Farm, occurred near the house.

The Kolb Cemetery, located adjacent to the Kolb House, contributes to the national significance of the battlefield and is locally significant under Criterion A because it represents burial customs among early settlers. The New Salem Church Cemetery, which is associated with the ruins of New Salem Church, is also locally significant under Criterion A for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century burial practices. Additionally, the New Salem Church site may possess archeological potential, because the church possibly served as a Confederate field hospital. The Kolb Cemetery and possibly the New Salem Church Cemetery are among the few remaining resources that existed during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain.

Gilbert, Old John Ward, Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads were all present at the time of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads contribute to the national significance of the battlefield under Criterion A, because they served as transportation corridors for the approaching armies. The antebellum road, which was used by the Confederates to haul artillery to Big Kennesaw's summit, also contributes to the national significance. Gilbert and Old John Ward Roads are locally significant under Criterion A for their association with early Cobb County settlement.

## 2. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These are applied to each contributing property and measured against its level of significance and the criteria from which it derives its significance. For example, a property that is significant under Criterion A for its association with an event is not held to the same

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standard of integrity as one that derives its significance from Criterion C, as an example of art or architecture. For a property to contribute to the historic district, it must possess several, and usually most, of the aspects of integrity.

The integrity of the earthworks varies from feature to feature. All earthworks retain integrity of location, and most exhibit integrity of design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. In the best cases, a front and rear ditch and a well-defined parapet wall may be visible. Most of the earthworks are in stable condition, with grasses and other benign understory growth checking erosion. In limited areas, the integrity of the earthworks has been compromised, largely because of erosion or visitor impacts. For example, on Kennesaw Mountain and its spur, trails pass through the earthworks to provide access for visitors. In other areas, particularly among the artillery positions located along the ridgelines, the protective foliage covering the works has been killed by visitors walking along the crest of the parapet walls. All earthworks within the bounds of the park retain integrity as archeological resources that are likely to yield further information.

The Kolb House exhibits a high degree of integrity of design, workmanship, and association. The NPS in 1963 rehabilitated the exterior to its 1830s appearance, removing later clapboard siding to reveal the original hewn logs. Most of the original 1830s historic fabric was retained in the rehabilitation. The interior, although adapted to serve as park quarters, still reflects the original Georgian plan. Integrity of setting and feeling have been compromised by the loss of surrounding farm acreage and outbuildings and the development of Powder Springs Road into a five-lane arterial road. However, the house remains in its original location and clearly identifies the historically significant site.

Kolb Cemetery, which contains eleven marked graves, retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. Integrity of setting and feeling are lessened slightly by the loss of farm outbuildings and heavy traffic on Powder Springs Road. New Salem Cemetery, containing approximately twenty-four marked graves, has substantial integrity of location, design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. The church foundation ruins possess integrity of location and setting and mark the site of a building present at the time of the battle and possibly used as a Confederate field hospital.

Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads exhibit integrity of location and design. Although paved and widened, they maintain their nineteenth-century roadbeds. Where they pass through the battlefield, these roads possess considerable integrity of setting, feeling, and association, allowing visitors to understand how troops reached their positions before and during the battle. Gilbert and Old John Ward Roads also retain a substantial degree of integrity.

Several properties that contribute to the significance of the historic district under Context A also meet various Criteria Considerations. The Kolb and Old

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Salem Church cemeteries meet Criteria Consideration D for their association with the Battle of the Kennesaw Mountain. The Kolb Cemetery is also significant for its association with the Kolb House, the only extant building in the district dating to the battle. The New Salem Church foundation ruins, adjacent to the New Salem Church Cemetery, meet Criteria Consideration A, based on their association with the battle. The Grave of the Unknown U.S. Soldier, the only known interment at the battlefield, meets Criterion Consideration C.

### 3. Contributing Properties under Context A

Earthworks (1864)  
Kolb House (c. 1836)  
Kolb Cemetery (1839-)  
Stilesboro Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Gilbert Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Old John Ward Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Dallas Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Burnt Hickory Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Big Kennesaw Antebellum Road (c. 1840-1864)  
New Salem Church Site (c. 1840-1864)  
Grave of the Unknown U.S. Soldier (1864; 1934)

### 4. Noncontributing Properties

Shiloh Church and School Site  
Hardage House Site  
Cass House Site  
Ballenger House Site  
Tierce House Site

All of these sites are vacant and have not been determined eligible by archeological investigations (only Ballenger has been surveyed.)<sup>62</sup> No standing structures remain, although the park has placed interpretive signs at these locations, and as sites they provide continuity to the historic landscape.

Marietta-Cassville Road  
Powder Springs Road

Both of these roads have been altered and do not meet integrity requirements. Powder Springs Road is currently five lanes of asphalt with curb and gutter in some places and has been straightened. The Marietta-Cassville Road, within and outside of the park, has been fragmented and no longer maintains integrity of setting, feeling, or association.

<sup>62</sup>William R. Bowen, "An Archeological Survey for the Proposed Dallas Road/S.R. 120 Widening, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Cobb County, Georgia," Georgia Department of Transportation, October 1987.

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B. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of  
American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942

The nucleus of today's Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park was a sixty-acre tract at Cheatham Hill acquired and preserved through the efforts of Union veterans. The history of the park's development properly begins with the broader theme of Civil War memorial activity. An examination of privately sponsored memorial activity at Kennesaw Mountain follows and leads into the history of Federal involvement at Kennesaw. The War Department administered the park from 1928 to 1933. National Park Service administration began in 1933 and included development work performed by Civilian Conservation Corps Camp 431, located in the park from 1938 to 1942.

**Early Battlefield Commemoration: Civil War Memorial Activity and the  
Establishment of Kennesaw Mountain Battlefield Park, 1887-1933**

The Civil War was a watershed event in American history and a signal event in the lives of all who participated in it. Of the 2.75 million Americans who saw action in the war, 621,000 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 and state memorial efforts. Commemorative efforts began in the mid-1860s with the formation of local memorial associations in the South, the creation of Union soldiers' cemeteries at Gettysburg and Antietam, the preservation of land at Gettysburg, the establishment of national cemeteries by the Federal government, and the creation of veterans' groups, mostly in the North. 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, became common. The interaction at reunions, a spirit of sectional 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 men provided crucial, especially financial, support. The proper burial of the Confederate dead was the immediate concern of the LMAs, and the individual 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.<sup>63</sup> 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, unveiled in 1907.<sup>64</sup>

The Confederate Cemetery at Marietta, Georgia, is a typical result 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.<sup>65</sup>

The Union possessed greater resources than the Confederacy for establishing military cemeteries, which were initially created through state and local action. The State of Pennsylvania acted immediately in 1863 to lay out a cemetery at Gettysburg. By the time of President Lincoln's famous address dedicating the Gettysburg cemetery on November 19, 1863, landscape gardener William Saunders had laid out a circular burial ground with space for a monument at the center. Arlington National Cemetery was also established during the war, on Mrs. Robert E. Lee's confiscated estate just across the Potomac from Washington. Congress soon authorized a system of national cemeteries, at Civil War battlefields and elsewhere, in legislation enacted on February 22, 1867. The Federal government accepted responsibility for the cemeteries at the Gettysburg and Antietam battlefields in the 1870s. Ultimately, twenty-six national cemeteries were established at or near Civil War battlefields. The Federal role in creating and maintaining Civil War

<sup>63</sup>A representative early Confederate monument is the obelisk in Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery, unveiled April 26, 1874 (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).

<sup>64</sup>Gaines 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.

<sup>65</sup>*History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 140-43; Widener, 67.

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battlefield cemeteries prefigured the creation of national military parks some twenty years later.<sup>66</sup>

A cemetery for Union dead was established in Marietta in 1866 on land donated by the Henry G. Cole, a Marietta citizen who had opposed secession. Cole's initial proposal for a cemetery for the fallen of both sides was rejected, and on July 31, 1866, he conveyed twenty acres to the Federal government for a national cemetery. By 1870, the remains of 9,973 Union soldiers had been transferred to Marietta National Cemetery. Remains came from the battlefields of north Georgia and from a short-lived national cemetery in Montgomery, Alabama.<sup>67</sup>

The formation of Civil War veterans' organizations closely followed the movement to establish cemeteries. These organizations formed earlier in the North than 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. 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-in-chief. Yearly national encampments brought together veterans from hundreds of posts scattered across the country. The GAR experienced an initial spurt of growth 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.<sup>68</sup>

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

<sup>66</sup>Ronald 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.

<sup>67</sup>"Marietta National Cemetery" (Washington, D.C.: Veterans Administration, 1976), 1-2; "Marietta National Cemetery, Marietta, Georgia" (Marietta, Ga.: Dept. of the Army, Office of the Quartermaster General, n.d.), 1-3.

<sup>68</sup>Wallace E. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 29-35.

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1886). Many individual companies and regiments also formed organizations. A primary focus of most unit organizations was socializing at annual reunions, but many erected battlefield monuments. Veterans' groups successfully lobbied state legislatures to appropriate funds for the erection of state monuments on numerous fields.<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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 organizational structure similar to the GAR's, the UCV spread across the South in the 1890s, with membership reaching approximately 80,000 by 1903.<sup>71</sup>

While in the North veterans usually led the way, 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 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 but maintained its independence from the veterans' group.<sup>72</sup>

The commemorative efforts of veterans' groups changed over time. In the early postwar period, various army societies urged the completion of statues and monuments honoring generals. Reunions were always an important commemorative activity and initially included only veterans who had fought on the same side. In the 1880s, the bitterness of excombatants began to diminish, and veterans

<sup>69</sup>Davies, 29-30, 36-37.

<sup>70</sup>More than 100,000 people participated in ceremonies marking the unveiling of the Lee Monument on May 29, 1890 (Foster, 100-101).

<sup>71</sup>Foster, 50-53, 91, 104-7.

<sup>72</sup>Foster, 172-73; Davies, 41-42.

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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.<sup>73</sup>

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. Veterans urged the Federal government to take over from states and army societies the responsibility of protecting battlefield sites 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 keeping with the growing spirit of national reconciliation, the legislation stipulated that all troop positions, Confederate and Federal, were to be marked. National military parks followed at Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899), along with a national battlefield site at Antietam in 1890.<sup>74</sup>

#### Memorial Efforts at Kennesaw Mountain

Union veterans' groups led the initial efforts to preserve and commemorate the Kennesaw Mountain battlefields. In 1887, veterans held a blue-gray reunion at Kennesaw Mountain.<sup>75</sup> After the war, veterans of the Third Brigade, Second Division, of the XIV Federal Army Corps, which made the assault on Cheatham Hill, formed the Colonel Dan McCook Brigade Association, named in honor of their fallen commander. The association, which held its first reunion in August 1900, resolved to purchase the land at Cheatham Hill where the brigade attacked and Colonel McCook was mortally wounded. In December 1899, Lansing J. Dawdy, a veteran of the 86th Illinois regiment, purchased a sixty-acre tract that included the Federal and Confederate trenches at Cheatham Hill. In 1900, Dawdy conveyed this tract to Martin Kingman and John McGinnis, who acted on

<sup>73</sup>Davies, 226, 249; Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 257-58; Foster, 67-68.

<sup>74</sup>John 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.

<sup>75</sup>Buck, 258.

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behalf of the Kennesaw Memorial Association, a nonprofit organization formally incorporated under Illinois law in April 1901.<sup>76</sup>

The Kennesaw Memorial Association attempted to raise funds from Union veterans to erect a monument at Cheatham Hill. Contributions from veterans proved insufficient, and the association secured a \$20,000 appropriation from the state of Illinois in June 1913. Illinois Governor Charles S. Deneen appointed three officers of the association, Dawdy, William A. Payton, and Dr. J. B. Shawgo, to a commission charged with carrying out the work of erecting a monument. The commission contracted with the McNeel Marble Company of Marietta to erect a large monument to Illinois troops at the site of the attack on Cheatham Hill.<sup>77</sup> The \$25,000 monument was unveiled on June 27, 1914, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. A large number of veterans, Governor Edward Dunne of Illinois, and a contingent from the United Daughters of the Confederacy attended the ceremony. The 25-foot-high monument of Georgia marble features a square base and a tapering shaft. On the west side are seven-foot bronze figures of a Union soldier flanked by two robed allegorical figures. Several smaller battlefield markers were erected at Cheatham Hill in this period. These included separate memorials to Captain Neighbour, Captain Fellows, and Sergeant Coffee, a marker at the McCook Brigade's jumping off point, and a stone arch marking the tunnel begun by Federal troops attempting to undermine the Confederate trenches.<sup>78</sup>

#### **Federal Government Commemorative Activity at Kennesaw Mountain**

The northern veterans who led the effort to erect a memorial at Kennesaw intended from the start that a national park be created at the battlefield. Unsuccessful congressional attempts in 1910 and 1912 to establish a national military park at Kennesaw Mountain preceded enactment on February 8, 1917, of a law authorizing the Secretary of War to accept title to the sixty-acre tract at Cheatham Hill from the Kennesaw Memorial Association as a national battlefield site. Problems with the chain of title delayed the conveyance of the tract to

<sup>76</sup>"Program, First Reunion of the Third Brigade, 2d Division, 14th Army Corps"; "Minutes of Business Meeting, Colonel Dan McCook Brigade Association, May 15, 1901"; Capps, 5-6.

<sup>77</sup>McNeel Marble Company aggressively solicited memorial business from United Daughter of the Confederacy chapters and built many monuments across the South (Foster, 167-68).

<sup>78</sup>Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-Eighth General Assembly (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Journal Co., 1913), 58-59; Chicago Daily Tribune, June 28, 1914; Journal of the Illinois Historical Society 4 (Jan. 1912), 531; Capps, 5-6.

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the War Department until 1928. In the interim, the Kennesaw Memorial Association hired the Reverend J. A. Jones as resident caretaker.<sup>79</sup>

In April 1926, Federal legislation established a three-man commission to inspect Kennesaw Mountain and other Civil War battlefield sites in north Georgia. The legislation entrusted this commission, composed of an officer of the Army Corps of Engineers and one veteran each from the Union and Confederate armies, to determine whether a national military park, which would represent the Atlanta campaign, should be established. The commission considered Kennesaw Mountain the most suitable battlefield for designation as a national military park, based on its significance to the campaign, its intrinsic scenic value, and its accessibility.<sup>80</sup>

Concurrent with the commission's actions at Kennesaw, Congress passed legislation on June 11, 1926, that established a comprehensive system of battlefield classification, drafted by the War Department, which created standards for determining the appropriate level of commemoration. In the post-World War I period, private commemorative interests persuaded Congressmen to introduce numerous bills to establish national military parks, most 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.<sup>81</sup>

Prior to this national initiative, the Kennesaw Mountain battlefield survey commission recommended the establishment of Kennesaw Mountain National Military Park. Introduced in December 1926, the legislation to create a national military park at Kennesaw did not pass, and repeated congressional efforts over the next nine years to establish the park were unsuccessful. On June 10, 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, transferring War Department military and historical parks to the National Park Service. Among the properties transferred was the sixty-acre tract at Kennesaw Mountain, known as Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Site, which still constituted the only property administered by the Federal government at the battlefield.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup>Capps, 6-7; Senate Bill S. 6391, 61st Congress, February 15, 1910; Senate Bill S. 7099, 62nd Congress, June 11, 1912; Public Law 44 Stat. 588, February 8, 1917.

<sup>80</sup>Capps, 6-7.

<sup>81</sup>Lee, 47.

<sup>82</sup>Capps, 7-8; Horace M. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1971), 21-22.

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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 by Lt. Col. C. A. Bach, Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, in 1925, 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.<sup>83</sup>

For the War Department, this classification system determined how large of an area would be preserved and the extent 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, like Kennesaw, required the acquisition and marking of the battle lines, clearly delineated at Kennesaw by the miles of earthworks constructed by Union and Confederate forces. This preservation tactic, popularly known as "the Antietam Plan," preserved the smallest amount of land possible 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.<sup>84</sup>

The War Department accomplished very little at Kennesaw Mountain over the five years it actively administered the site. Because the site was never designated a national military park, no additional land acquisition occurred beyond the original sixty acres. Between 1928 and 1932, the superintendent of Marietta National Cemetery administered the battlefield, but few funds were available for improvement or maintenance at Kennesaw. In 1932, a part-time caretaker established residence on a farm near the site and witnessed the construction of a three-quarter-mile entrance road from John Ward Road and the erection of some boundary fencing. Despite plans for better fencing, roads, underbrush clearing near the monument and trenches, and partial reconstruction of the earthworks, no other work was completed by the War Department prior to the site's transfer to the NPS.<sup>85</sup>

The NPS approach to battlefield commemoration differed substantially from War Department policies. In general, the War Department made sporadic efforts to interpret or provide access to its battlefield sites, maintaining them largely for use as study aids for succeeding generations of military men. The National Park Service, established in 1916, was at first strongly oriented to the

<sup>83</sup>Lee, 47-49.

<sup>84</sup>Lee, 39-40.

<sup>85</sup>Capps, 7-8.

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preservation of natural and wilderness areas. Nevertheless, as early as 1917 the question of consolidating all historical and military parks under National Park Service authority was debated.<sup>86</sup> The background of the NPS, its evolving mission, and the development of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park with Civilian Conservation Corps labor are treated below.

**Expansion and Development: National Park Service Administration and the CCC, 1933-1942.**

The national park system, well established in the west, experienced its greatest growth east of the Mississippi just before and during the Great Depression. Several factors contributed to this growth: the authorization of Great Smoky Mountains, Mammoth Cave, and Shenandoah National Parks in 1926; the establishment of Colonial National Monument and the reconstruction of Washington's birthplace in 1930; the construction of Skyline Drive begun in 1930-31; and finally, the 1933 transfer to NPS of all battlefields, national monuments, and historic sites administered by the War Department, the Department of Agriculture, and in Washington, D.C. These developments physically expanded the national park system and significantly enlarged NPS's agenda beyond conservation of natural areas.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), established March 31, 1933, under the Federal Unemployment Relief Act, significantly facilitated the administration and expansion of historic and natural parks by the National Park Service (NPS). The CCC also represented a challenging experiment in social reform, which spawned many subsequent New Deal programs. Through CCC projects, the 1933-1942 period saw a long-held conservation and preservation ethic toward public lands enacted on a national scale, and the national parks benefitted broadly. CCC improvements, which included building roads and trails and providing historic interpretive programs, greatly increased public access. Reforestation, land reclamation, and landscaping enhanced the natural beauty of emerging national parks. In addition, many new state parks were developed, some adjacent to national parks, to provide recreation areas for the increasing numbers of park visitors.

The CCC represented a culmination of conservation philosophies, recreational needs, and an expanding Federal role in natural preservation. The program was heartily embraced by lawmakers and the public alike, because it responded quickly and practically to the greatest economic disaster the United States had yet experienced. Roosevelt conceived of an Advisory Council with representatives from the Departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior that would administer CCC camps and work. The Labor Department would initiate nationwide recruiting; the Army would condition and transport the enrollees and

<sup>86</sup>Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites*, 5.

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operate the camps; and the National Park Service and the Forest Service would create work programs and supervise work assignments.<sup>87</sup>

NPS Director Horace M. Albright served on the Advisory Board and saw great potential for the CCC within the national park system, especially in long-ignored road- and trail-building projects. Albright quickly increased the technical staff of the NPS in preparation for the land conservation work and designed park development projects that the CCC would carry out. The NPS hired hundreds of landscape architects, historians, foresters, and engineers to design and supervise CCC operations.<sup>88</sup> The propitious addition of the military and historic parks, sites, and national monuments to the NPS in 1933 conveniently coincided with the newly created CCC.

The passage of the Federal Unemployment Relief Act (FURA) in March 1933 introduced a new role for the Federal government. Under this Act, Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), later known as the CCC, was created. Congress appropriated funds to the ECW Director, Robert Fechner, who in turn allocated funds to participating Federal agencies. All work performed by ECW labor would be performed on public lands and directed by Federal agencies. Between 1933 and 1935, Congress created numerous work relief programs under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of June 1933. In contrast to the ECW, programs emanating from NIRA entitled states to Federal relief grants that would fund public works projects. Two popular relief agencies emerging from the NIRA, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA), allocated Federal funds to states and municipal governments, provided these agencies contributed matching funds. In 1935, the Works Progress Administration, which replaced the PWA, greatly expanded the type of public works performed with Federal and state funding. Early New Deal public works programs, like the PWA, concentrated solely on construction projects. New Deal programs after 1935 also provided relief to unemployed white-collar workers, professionals, and large numbers of unskilled women.<sup>89</sup>

The CCC served several purposes, but its primary significance lay in creating useful work for unemployed youths. In 1933, three years into the Depression, national unemployment figures for youths spiked to 25 percent, and 30 percent of those employed labored only part-time. Unemployment figures for the nation nearly equalled the youthful rate. In 1930, one year after the stock market crash, national unemployment rates reached 9 percent and continued to rise: to 16 percent in 1931, 24 percent in 1932, and to a zenith of more than 25 percent in 1933. Depressed economic conditions had plagued agricultural areas for nearly a decade, and careless husbandry combined with drought and pestilence

<sup>87</sup>Paige, 10-11.

<sup>88</sup>Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 289-90.

<sup>89</sup>Paige, Appendix A, Selected Draft Legislation, Legislation, and Executive Orders Affecting the Civilian Conservation Corps, 162-78; Shannon, 177-80, 191-93.

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slashed rural production capacity. The cities, especially industrial bases, also witnessed deflated production and massive unemployment.<sup>90</sup> Roosevelt introduced the Emergency Conservation Work Act to Congress within two months of his inauguration, and it was eagerly passed. Although hardly a panacea for unemployment, it foreshadowed the many New Deal economic and employment relief initiatives to follow.

Initially, CCC enrollees were inducted from urban areas, where unemployment was highest, especially among the unskilled. Roosevelt envisioned the program operating on three levels: 1) as a direct relief program, through grants to states; 2) as a large-scale public works project and; 3) as a program to prevent mismanagement of land, specifically addressing soil erosion and forest conservation. The first three camps established in the east were in Shenandoah National Park and Colonial National Monument in May 1933, drawing enrollees from eastern seaboard cities where unemployment was the greatest.<sup>91</sup> Camps were established first in national parks and later in state parks. The Army administered camps composed of approximately two hundred single men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Enrollees were paid \$30 a month; \$25 of their monthly salary was sent directly to their needy families.

The CCC program established a unique relationship among the Army, the National Park Service, and the United States Forest Service (USFS). NPS and USFS Advisory Council representatives immediately recognized that their agencies could not administer the camps. Therefore, the Army, with an established regimen and considerable personnel, maintained camp life. Early camps resembled Army field camps with canvas tents, reveille at 6:00 A.M., meals taken at the mess hall, communal bathing facilities, and limited freedom outside of the camp. Junior Army officers generally commanded the camps, and a military doctor often served several camps in a large geographical vicinity.<sup>92</sup> Within a year, ready-to-assemble camp buildings replaced the tents, and the temporary nature of camps lessened, although these buildings were moveable. When camps were located in national parks, the NPS park superintendent planned and directed work for the enrollees. Park superintendents and state park directors could supplement their CCC labor pools with skilled craftsmen, identified as local experienced men (LEMs); World War I veterans, who generally

<sup>90</sup>David A. Shannon, *Twentieth Century America: The Twenties and Thirties*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), 150-52.

<sup>91</sup>Paige, 7, 15.

<sup>92</sup>Interviews with Kennesaw Mountain CCC enrollees, James Elder Dunn, 22 January 1985; Rupert Jackson Chambers, 19 January 1985; Joseph C. Thompson, 9 January 1985; Herman Allen, 19 December 1984; Dr. Elmer Musarra, 20 February 1985; Horace English, 23 February 1987, TMs, by Retha Stephens and Lynn McFarland; and CarolJo Rushin-Bell, *A History of the Pocket Recreation Area: Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests* (Atlanta: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1984), 65-71.

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did little manual labor because of their age; and, primarily in the west, Native Americans.<sup>93</sup> Many regular CCC enrollees had little experience with manual labor or construction techniques, and LEMs proved valuable to the program. Age and marital status requirements did not apply to LEMs and World War I veterans, and some, if married, lived outside of camps.<sup>94</sup>

CCC enrollments lasted six months and could be extended for a total of two years service. Once the program was in place, Roosevelt authorized the second six-month enrollment period, from October 1933 to March 1934, and hoped to employ 300,000 regular enrollees, 25,000 veterans, and an equal number of LEMs. In 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act extended Emergency Conservation Work for two years to 1937, doubled its size to 600,000 men, and relaxed age requirements; enrollees could enlist at seventeen years and remain until age twenty-eight. By October 1933, the NPS operated 102 camps within national parks, and the number of camps in state natural and recreation areas nearly doubled the NPS operation.<sup>95</sup>

Two separate agendas existed, both administered by the National Park Service: the make-over of existing national parks—especially the newly acquired battlefields, historic sites, and national monuments—and the establishment or revitalization of state recreation and natural areas. For many years, conservationists and preservationists agreed that increased visitation to national parks threatened the integrity of these unique resources. Stephen T. Mather, the first director for the NPS, consistently urged the development of state parks with natural recreational areas that would act as buffers to the national parks.<sup>96</sup> The CCC significantly enlarged state park systems and improved the condition of new and existing national parks.

<sup>93</sup>John A. Salmond, *The CCC, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), 34. John Paige refers to the LEMs as locally employed men, but Salmond's term better describes the roles these men played in the CCC organization.

<sup>94</sup>Paige, 9-15.

<sup>95</sup>Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 105; Paige, 15-19, 21; Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 540. For example, in Georgia alone, the CCC constructed nine state parks as cited in Lucy Ann Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: An Approach to the Management of the Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia" (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1992), 2.

<sup>96</sup>In 1921, Mather sponsored a state park conference to encourage the development of state parks and to reduce the wear and tear on federal holdings (Newton, 533).

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Most CCC enrollees performed labor that improved national park infrastructures through road and trail construction, reforestation, and soil erosion control. The CCC program also greatly enlarged the professional staffs of the national parks. Landscape architects, foresters, and engineers designed and supervised CCC work projects, within both state and national parks. Professional historians, supplemented by college students in the summers, created interpretive programs and engaged in numerous research projects. Conservation, preservation, historic interpretation, and landscape planning and design became key goals for NPS professional staffs. Eventually, funding for improvement projects in state and national parks required drafting master plans developed by NPS technical staffs.<sup>97</sup> In addition, the administrative hierarchy of the NPS experienced growth and change. In 1933, the ECW Advisory Board created four regional offices that administered the state parks program. By 1936, Interior Secretary L. Harold Ickes announced that the NPS also would adopt a regional hierarchy to administer the ECW programs within the national parks.<sup>98</sup>

The CCC program reached its largest enrollment in 1935, although funding from Congress continued until 1942. In 1935, Roosevelt began efforts to reduce the ECW program in order to convince Congress to permanently establish a conservation work program for the state and national parks. The NPS reduced its active camps from 446 to 340 in 1936 and converted some temporary technical positions to permanent NPS employment. In 1937, Roosevelt asked Congress to permanently establish the ECW program. Congress responded with a three-year funding package that formally changed the name of the ECW to the Civilian Conservation Corps and required camps to establish ten hours per week of general education or vocational training classes for enrollees. Another attempt in 1939 to establish a permanent CCC program failed. By 1940, the NPS had to reduce its supervisory personnel without drastically altering work projects. The agency created central service units within NPS regional offices to handle design and technical matters and abolished these positions in the individual camps. By 1941, the NPS discontinued many camps that could not maintain 165 men per camp, eliminating 135 camps between September and November 1941. When the United States entered World War II in December 1941, NPS abolished all but 89 camps, which directly related to the war effort. In 1942, Congress discontinued funding for the CCC program, and it was informally abolished.<sup>99</sup>

#### **Creating a Park: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park**

Legislation enacted on June 26, 1935, established the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park under the authority of the NPS. The act authorized expansion of the park to include Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains and other significant sections of the battlefield. An appropriation of \$100,000 was

<sup>97</sup>Paige, 45; Newton, 576, 578-80.

<sup>98</sup>Paige, 21, 45-52; Newton, 540, 576.

<sup>99</sup>Paige, 21-36.

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included for land acquisition and park development.<sup>100</sup> Between 1933 and 1938, the NPS relied on labor and funding from the Civil Works Administration (CWA). These improvements occurred without the benefit of a master plan for overall park development and largely were concentrated at Cheatham Hill, which contained the sixty acres preserved by the Illinois veterans.

Through CWA funding and labor, the NPS accomplished some reforestation and erosion control and initiated field and earthwork restoration projects. By 1935, the CWA had constructed a parking lot at Cheatham Hill, planted grass in key areas, and created a trail layout. Future work plans included the construction of a custodian's residence, a utility building, a water and sewer system, a north-south highway, an administration building, and a new road to Big Kennesaw.<sup>101</sup> These elements were essential to providing the most basic visitor services at the park.

The CCC, which established a camp at Kennesaw Mountain on June 3, 1938, continued the work begun by the CWA. The Marietta camp, GA NP-4, Company 431, also known as "Camp T. M. Brumby," traveled from a disbanded camp at Rutledge, Georgia, and established itself just south of U.S. 41, near the northeast park boundary. Composed largely of local Georgia men, the camp consisted of twenty-two prefabricated wood buildings bolted together and placed on concrete and brick pier foundations. The circular camp site had a central parade ground marked by cedars and was enclosed by a camp road. The site covered approximately sixty acres. Between 185 and 190 men occupied four barracks.<sup>102</sup>

The CCC provided the labor necessary to complete the transition from farmland to parkland. The CCC at Kennesaw constructed and landscaped roads, fought fires, demolished historic and nonhistoric housing within the park boundaries, and guided interpretive tours. For four years, the Kennesaw CCC spent most of its time on road work. The crew improved drainage ditches and shoulders, landscaped the slopes and land adjacent to the road shoulders, and erected entrance signs at the park boundaries along the public roads that traversed the park. U.S. Highway 41, located on the northern boundary of the park, provided the primary vehicular access to Big Kennesaw Mountain and the CCC camp. The State Highway Department agreed to aid the CCC efforts to improve the shoulders and ditches along U.S. 41 and provided some equipment. Two other roads within the park, Burnt Hickory Road and Dallas Road, passed directly through major areas of conflict associated with the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and also received some shoulder and ditch improvements. The CCC opened a quarry in October 1939 and purchased a rock crusher to produce materials to grade the

<sup>100</sup>Public Law 49 Stat. 423, June 26, 1935.

<sup>101</sup>Capps, 15-17.

<sup>102</sup>Joseph Thompson, interview by Retha Stephens, 9 January 1985; Herman Allen, interview by Retha Stephens, 19 December 1984.

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inadequate dirt roads traversing the park and eventually constructed a new road to Cheatham Hill.<sup>103</sup>

The result of these road improvements clearly established the boundaries of the park through vegetation and signs. Within the park, CCC road improvements are characterized by steep road cuts with grass cover fading into deep pine woods. Although local stone was available—the CCC operated a stone quarry on the side of Big Kennesaw for road construction—the corps used brick to build park structures and incorporated modern, functional design elements into these structures. The few structures built by the CCC at Kennesaw did not reflect traditional rustic park architecture.

Most of the CCC work at Kennesaw proceeded without an approved Master Plan. Between 1938 and 1942, the NPS Eastern Branch of Plans and Design developed several layouts for general park development intended as parts of the Master Plan. These plans incorporated NPS architectural design criteria—typically functional and devoid of rustic stylistic detail by the late 1930s—and standardized spacial relationships among visitor services, historic and scenic areas, and functional park management buildings. Typically, the NPS designed visitor service structures with easy access to roads; curvilinear park roads following the land's natural contours provided access to historic and scenic areas; and park management structures such as employee residences and maintenance facilities were built behind vegetative screens or in remote areas. Although the Eastern Branch completed numerous drawings for headquarters development, employees' residences, interpretive exhibits, and internal park tour roads, the NPS did not accomplish comprehensive park development at Kennesaw before World War II evaporated the CCC labor force.

The Cheatham Hill road best represents the landscape design philosophy embodied in NPS improvements at Kennesaw Mountain. Although access to the Illinois Monument and the Confederate and Union earthworks at the Cheatham Hill site existed from John Ward Road, this War Department road intruded upon the battlefield and significantly damaged earthworks. In November 1939, the NPS drafted road plans that snaked an access road south from Dallas Road among earthworks on the Confederate line and terminated in a parking area just north of the Illinois Monument. This road, covered with a fine stone gravel, replaced a War Department road that approached Cheatham Hill from the northwest and cut across the open field the Federals crossed when they assaulted the Confederate salient. The new road passed several battery positions behind the Confederate forward earthworks and deposited the visitor at Mebane's Redoubt. A foot trail directs the visitor to the Illinois Monument.

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<sup>103</sup>B. C. Yates, "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (October 1939), Records of the National Park Service, RG 79, National Archives, copies of these reports, collected by park staff, are available at the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park library; Neil McL. Conley, Jr., "Investigative Report" (15 November 1938), RG 79, National Archives.

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The CCC completed other work at Cheatham Hill that enhanced the visitor's experience and attempted to preserve the historic integrity of the landscape. The earthworks, swept clean of vegetation under War Department administration, were planted with grass. The corps constructed trails that avoided earthworks but circulated the visitors through the battlefield site. At Cheatham Hill, the CCC planted approximately 25,000 seedlings supplied by the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and erected a small self-help visitor information kiosk.<sup>104</sup>

The CCC also helped improve the grounds within the park. Company 431 dug drainage ditches along U.S. 41 and planted trees. Structures not consistent with the battle period were razed. The CCC eliminated rock agricultural terraces in the vicinity of Burnt Hickory Road and restored the fields to grassy meadows. To improve public relations and prevent erosional run-off that clogged Noses (sic) Creek and John Ward Creek, located within the park, the CCC filled ditches on adjacent farmers' lands. Local residents, at first reluctant to accept the CCC camp, later praised its work, especially when the CCC worked to control forest fires that threatened private property.<sup>105</sup>

In October 1940, the CCC began laying concrete foundations for a group of maintenance buildings at the base of Big Kennesaw Mountain. The corps constructed three buildings: two brick garage facilities with storage rooms and a metal oil house. The corps completed the buildings in August 1941 and continued with other improvements including the construction of red brick and cast iron entrance signs at each intersection of park boundary and road. Before additional work drafted by the Eastern Branch prior to 1940 could be completed—replacing the park headquarters building, constructing a superintendent's residence, and erecting another garage in the maintenance area to form a U-shaped court—the CCC operations at Kennesaw Mountain ceased on March 10, 1942, and all remaining personnel were transferred to Fort Benning, Georgia.

### Significance

Two types of historic properties located within Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park are significant under Criteria A and represent commemorative activity at the park. The Illinois Monument and the associated markers at Cheatham Hill are significant at the state level because they represent the efforts of Illinois veteran organizations to commemorate the participants of the battle in the postwar period, between 1887 and 1917. The War Department

<sup>104</sup>Yates, "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (August 1939), RG 79, National Archives. The superintendent reports do not specify what type of seedlings were planted at Cheatham Hill, or whether the CCC laborers at Great Smokies also helped the Marietta camp to replant the seedlings.

<sup>105</sup>Herman Allen, interview by Retha Stephens and Lynn McFarland, 19 December 1984; "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (June 1939), RG 79, National Archives. The Superintendent reports refer to Noses Creek, which is also known as Noyes Creek.

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continued this commemorative theme, but did not construct any monuments or enlarge the battlefield, and no historic resources are extant that relate to this period, 1917-1933. The NPS also continued a commemorative tradition at the battlefield by enlarging the park boundaries and significantly altering the postbattle landscape. Both the Illinois Monument and Cheatham Hill Drive are locally significant under Criterion C because they possess high artistic value and embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction.

## 2. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

The properties contributing to the historic district under the theme of commemoration and park development exhibit virtually all aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although the McCook Brigade Marker is located approximately 200 feet northwest of its original location, it still retains integrity of setting, marking the approximate location where McCook's brigade began its assault on Cheatham Hill.

It is important that those resources related to park development retain a high degree of integrity, especially in the areas of design, materials, setting, workmanship, and association. The CCC completed hundreds of construction projects in the national parks in the 1933-1942 period, mostly related to the development of park infrastructures. These projects were designed by NPS architects and landscape architects who subscribed to a well-defined design philosophy. As a result, certain stylistic features often define structures built during this era and reflect a park service design approach applied to buildings, structures, and landscapes.<sup>106</sup> Because the CCC ended in 1942, Kennesaw was not comprehensively developed in accordance with an overall plan. Few of the buildings and structures planned in the 1930s for the park were erected; those that were completed remain as isolated units and do not convey a coherent, recognizable design intent. Additionally, the maintenance area has been altered by the 1974 L-shaped connection between the existing buildings. Of the CCC-era work at Kennesaw, only Cheatham Hill Drive represents the prevailing NPS design philosophy and retains sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for the National Register.

Most of the properties that contribute to the significance of the historic district under Context B also meet Criteria Consideration F. Commemorative activities at Kennesaw Mountain began in the late nineteenth century with a blue-gray reunion. In the years that followed, numerous monuments and markers were erected on the battlefield that reflect the efforts of veterans groups to honor their fallen comrades and recognize the places where they fought. This

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<sup>106</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of this design ethic see Linda McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1993).

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associated tradition and its symbolic value has invested the commemorative resources at Kennesaw with their own historical significance.

### 3. Contributing Properties

Illinois Monument (1914)  
Union Tunnel Marker (ca. 1914)  
McCook Brigade Marker (ca. 1914)  
Coffey Marker (ca. 1914)  
Fellows Marker (ca. 1914)  
Cheatham Hill Drive (1939-1940)

### 4. Noncontributing properties

CCC Camp Site (1938-1942)  
Maintenance Complex, two buildings (1939-1940)  
Entrance Signs, eight signs (1938-1942)

The CCC camp was dismantled shortly after the corps moved out. Nothing remains of the original buildings except some concrete foundations that lack architectural integrity. Originally, these foundations supported paneled walls bolted together that formed the camp buildings. The camp site is not considered contributing to this context because other examples of intact CCC architecture are extant within the NPS, and as foundations the camp buildings lack architectural integrity. As a cultural landscape the camp site does not possess integrity. The remaining ruins represent only a small percentage of buildings once present. Currently, the site is defined by a grassed, mown clearing. Vegetation during the CCC's occupation consisted of formerly cultivated fields with primary growth pines and no parade ground vegetation.

The maintenance complex consists of two 1939-1940 buildings joined by a 1970s corner addition, forming an ell-shaped plan that measures approximately 27 x 80 x 95 feet. A planned third building that would have formed a U-shaped court was never constructed. Built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, the completed buildings were known as the Motor Repair Shop and Equipment Storage Building. Separately, they consisted of a three-part building with two garage bays flanked by two toolrooms and another building with eight garage bays. Each has a side-gabled roof covered with asbestos shingles, red brick veneer, and an interior brick chimney. Utilitarian in character, the buildings do not possess architectural merit and do not represent the prevailing NPS rustic design philosophy of the period. The maintenance buildings also do not form part of any comprehensive plan of development for the park. The 1974 addition compromises the integrity of the original configuration of the two buildings.

The CCC constructed eight red brick entrance signs, each bearing a cast iron plaque inscribed, "National Park Service/Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park/United States Department of the Interior." Constructed between 1938 and 1942, the signs do not vary appreciably. They measure 9 x 6 x 2 feet and possess a concrete cap and base and a metal plaque painted brown with white

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lettering. The signs are located at every point where an east-west state route intersects a park boundary except the western park boundary on Powder Springs Road. Simple brick rectangles with quoining, these signs do not embody the characteristics of a specific style, type, or method of construction and are not representative of 1930s NPS rustic architecture.

Mountain Road (1938-1942; 1950)

This existing paved road was partially graded, but not completed, by the CCC. The current road to the top of the mountain was completed by NPS in 1950; the road's overlook was dedicated in 1964. Because the road was completed within the last fifty years, it is not a contributing feature.

Texas Monument (1964)

Georgia Monument (1964)

Neighbour Marker (1914; replaced 1985)

Although these monuments do not contribute to the significance of the district based on their age, they will be managed by the park as cultural resources because of their commemorative purpose.

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### Boundary Justification

The Kennesaw Mountain battlefield is classified as a National Register historic district, following the guidelines established in National Register Bulletins 16 and 40.<sup>107</sup> The district boundary matches the boundary of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, finalized in 1947.<sup>108</sup> Most of the battlefield and nearly all of the areas where significant action occurred are included within this boundary. Most areas associated with the battle that lie beyond the park boundary maintain little or no historic integrity and are not eligible for listing in the National Register.

Several islands of residentially developed land are located within the park's perimeter boundary. These islands are excluded from the park's legal boundary and create a complex National Register boundary. Typically, nonhistoric or incompatibly developed areas located within continuous National Register boundaries would be included in a boundary but labeled as noncontributing elements or intrusions. For national parks, the legislated boundary will usually serve as the National Register boundary delineating the park as a district, an individual property or a group of multiple properties. At Kennesaw, the developed islands are privately owned modern residential subdivisions that no longer maintain historic structural or landscape integrity. The NPS will not pursue acquisition of these islands and has no jurisdiction over these properties.

Two other types of properties potentially historically significant to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain or local history but excluded from the proposed National Register boundary are transportation corridors and adjacent private property. The widening of Powder Springs Road in 1985-86 significantly altered the historic appearance, location, feeling, and setting associated with this resource, making it ineligible for National Register listing. Other important roads within the park, particularly Burnt Hickory, Dallas, and Stilesboro Roads, played pivotal roles in the battle and maintain most elements of historic integrity. Any alterations to these roads would affect adjacent park property and require use of park right-of-way or easements. Thus, these roads are included in the National Register nomination. The CSX railroad corridor is also significant to the history of the battle; however, private ownership of this resource deters NPS from nominating it. The NPS recognizes

<sup>107</sup>National Register Bulletin 16A: *Guidelines for the Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991), 56-57; and National Register Bulletin 40: *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992), 13-16.

<sup>108</sup>Capps, 13-14.

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the historic significance of this resource and others in the immediate vicinity of the park and will encourage state, local, and private efforts to ensure their preservation.

In addition, the CSX railroad corridor, which passes through the park between Old U.S. 41 and Stilesboro Road, creates a discontinuous element at the north end of the park. This approximately 110-acre area features earthworks and potential archeological resources associated with the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. The area is not interpreted and not easily accessible to visitors; however, the significance of the resources in this area merits its listing in the National Register as a discontinuous element of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park.

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### Photographs

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park  
Cobb County, Georgia

Photos: Maureen Carroll and Steven Moffson

Location of Negatives: NPS, SERO

1. Single gun emplacement at Federal Twenty-four-Gun Emplacement, view from NW.
2. Fort McBride, Little Kennesaw Mountain, view from E.
3. Mebane's Redoubt, Cheatham Hill, view from N.
4. Cheatham Hill, view from N. toward salient.
5. Strahl's Fort, view from W.
6. Kolb House, view from NE.
7. Kolb House, view from S.
8. Kolb Cemetery, view from S.
9. New Salem Church Site, view from E.
10. Marietta-Cassville Road, view from S.
11. Illinois Monument (center) and Union Tunnel Marker (lower right), view from NW.
12. Illinois Monument, view from W.
13. McCook Brigade Marker, view from W.
14. Coffey Marker, view from E.
15. Maintenance Complex, Equipment Storage Building (left) and Motor Repair Shop (right), view from N.
16. Entrance Sign marking the park's east boundary on the north side of Burnt Hickory Road, view from E.
17. Parade Ground, CCC Camp Site with Big (right) and Little (left) Kennesaw mountains in background, view from E.
18. Bath House ruins, CCC Camp Site, view from N.

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19. Georgia Monument, view from N.
20. Fellows Marker, view from E.
21. Neighbour Marker, view from E.
22. Union Tunnel and Stone Wall, view from W.
23. Grave of Unknown U.S. Soldier, view from E.
24. Texas Monument, view from SE.
25. Pigeon Hill, view from E.
26. CSX Railroad Corridor N of Old U.S. 41, view from S.
27. Dallas Road, view from W.
28. Cheatham Hill Drive, view from N.
29. Big Kennesaw Mountain Antebellum Road, view from W.
30. Artillery Positions, Big Kennesaw Mountain, view from S.
31. Gilbert Road, view from S.
32. Stilesboro Road, view from W.
33. Burnt Hickory Road, view from E.
34. Powder Springs Road, view from NE.
35. Cheatham Hill Battery, view from S.
36. Old John Ward Road, view from N.

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet**

Section number \_\_\_\_\_ Page \_\_\_\_\_

**SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD**

**NRIS Reference Number:** 660000063

**Date Listed:** 10/15/66

Kennesaw Mtn. Natl. Battlefield Park  
(Additional Documentation)  
**Property Name**

Cobb  
**County**

GEORGIA  
**State**

**Multiple Name**

-----  
This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

*Mal M. DeG*  
A **Signature of the Keeper**

2/28/95  
**Date of Action**

=====  
**Amended Items in Nomination:**

Section No. 8

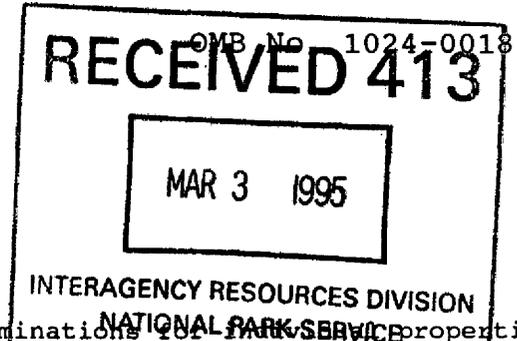
This nomination is amended to add c. 1836 (the date of construction of the contributing Kolb House) to the period of significance. Since significance is not being claimed under Criterion D, the cultural affiliation (Euro-American) is deleted. The eight park entrance signs (objects) are reclassified from non-contributing to contributing status. Constructed by the CCC between 1938 and 1942, these conspicuous signs were consciously designed and reflect a more modern, functional NPS design tradition than the usual "rustic" architecture.

**DISTRIBUTION:**

National Register property file  
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)

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 ~~NATIONAL PARK SERVICE~~ 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 Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park  
other names/site number \_\_\_\_\_

2. Location

street & number Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO)  
Kennesaw Mountain ridge roughly bounded by Old U.S. 41 on the north and Powder Springs Road on the south  
city or town Marietta not for publication \_\_\_\_\_ vicinity x  
state Georgia code GA county Cobb code 067  
zip code 30061

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.)

Benny Haberman  
Signature of certifying official Date 3/14/95

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal agency and bureau

**4. National Park Service Certification**

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register \_\_\_\_\_  
 See continuation sheet.
- determined eligible for the National Register \_\_\_\_\_  
 See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register \_\_\_\_\_
- removed from the National Register \_\_\_\_\_

other (explain): Additional  
documentation accepted Guy M. Rapsley 3/3/95  
for Signature of Keeper Date of Action

**5. Classification**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Ownership of Property<br>(Check as many boxes as apply) | Category of Property<br>(Check only one box) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> private                        | <input type="checkbox"/> building(s)         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> public-local                   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> district |
| <input type="checkbox"/> public-State                   | <input type="checkbox"/> site                |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> public-Federal      | <input type="checkbox"/> structure           |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> object              |

Number of Resources within Property  
(Do not include previously listed properties in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	buildings
<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	sites
<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	structures
<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	objects
<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 6

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

**6. Function or Use**

*Historic Functions*

*(Enter categories from instructions)*

Defense: battle site, fortification

Domestic: single dwelling

Agriculture: agricultural field

Recreation and Culture: monument/  
marker

*Current Functions*

*(Enter categories from instructions)*

Other: National Battlefield Park

Recreation and Culture: monument/  
marker, outdoor recreation

Agriculture: agricultural field

**7. Description**

*Architectural Classification*

*(Enter categories from instructions)*

Other: Civil War earthworks

Early Republic: Federal

Modern Movement: Modernistic

*Materials*

*(Enter categories from instructions)*

foundation: stone, concrete

walls: log, weatherboard, brick

roof: shingle, asphalt

other: earth, granite, marble

*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)*

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components 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.
- 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)

Military  
Other: Commemoration  
Architecture

Period of Significance

May-September 1864  
1887-1942

Significant Dates

1864  
1887, 1914, 1928, 1933  
circa 1836

Significant Person  
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Maj. Gens. William T. Sherman and George H. Thomas  
and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American

Architect/Builder

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.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # GA-1171; GA-1178-E; GA-2169
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office;  
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

### 10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 2,884

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

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing	
A	<u>16</u>	<u>721000</u>	<u>3762070</u>	D	<u>16</u>	<u>722980</u>	<u>3755020</u>
B	<u>16</u>	<u>723140</u>	<u>3763900</u>	F	<u>16</u>	<u>721000</u>	<u>3753920</u>
C	<u>16</u>	<u>724930</u>	<u>3762390</u>	F	<u>   </u>	<u>   </u>	<u>   </u>

See continuation sheet.

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

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

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**11. Form Prepared By**

name/title Robert W. Blythe, Historian; Maureen A. Carroll; Historian;  
Steven H. Moffson, Architectural Historian

organization National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office

date October 24, 1994

street & number 75 Spring Street, S.W. telephone (404) 331-5988

city or town Atlanta state GA zip code 30303

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**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

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INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Description of Historic Resources

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park contains the site of some of the fiercest fighting of the Civil War's Atlanta Campaign. The Battle of Kolb's Farm on June 22, 1864, and the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864, failed to stem the advancing Union Army and represent the last major engagements before the Confederates' retreat across the Chattahoochee River. The 2,884-acre park interprets the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain through museum exhibits, a slide presentation, and a self-guiding auto tour of the battlefield. The park is located in Cobb County, Georgia, three miles west of Marietta and twenty-three miles northwest of Atlanta. It is irregularly shaped, measuring nearly seven miles north to south and, at its widest point, only two miles east to west. Two state routes, Dallas and Burnt Hickory Roads, intersect the park, dividing it into three sections. Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains dominate the northern section, with the remainder containing ridges and rolling hills characteristic of the Georgia Piedmont region.

The patchwork of open fields and wooded areas that characterized this agricultural area in 1864 is now decidedly more wooded, because most agricultural production has ceased, and many fields have been released to forest succession. Many infantry and artillery positions that were once situated in clearings with commanding views of the landscape now stand in the midst of mature, second-growth trees. The open fields maintained by the National Park Service (NPS), located predominantly at the north end of the park, approximate the location of earlier fields, but are smaller and less rectilinear.<sup>1</sup> Post-Civil War agricultural practices, in which sloping fields were leveled and terraced to minimize erosion, are still evident. In areas that represent some of the most significant action of the battle, efforts have been made to rehabilitate and maintain the historic appearance of the landscape.<sup>2</sup> The NPS maintains approximately half of the open field below Cheatham Hill, which Federal forces ascended in their doomed assault.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Emmet A. Nichols, "Historic Ground Cover—June 1864," Map (Kennesaw Mountain, Ga.: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, 1980).

<sup>2</sup>In 1935, Civil Works Administration laborers under the guidance of the NPS engaged in an effort to rehabilitate overgrown and abandoned agricultural fields and establish meadows in the Cheatham Hill vicinity, see Michael Capps, *Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: An Administrative History* (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Region, Cultural Resources Planning Division, 1994), 16. In addition, the NPS assigns Special Use Permits to local agricultural concerns that raise hay in the open fields.

<sup>3</sup>"General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park" (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1985), 10.

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In recent years, the small farms that surrounded the park have been replaced by residential and commercial development, reflecting the continued growth of Cobb County and the northern suburbs of Atlanta. Within the bounds of the park, three "islands" of private property exist. These densely settled areas, located at the north, central, and south ends of the park, contain large single-family homes that were constructed within the last twenty years. This recent development has contributed to increased traffic in the park and increased recreational use of park facilities.

The park was established through the efforts of private individuals, memorial associations, and a series of congressional acts. Federal legislation in 1917 authorized a national battlefield site at Kennesaw. In 1935, following nine unsuccessful attempts, Federal legislation established the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park "for the benefit and inspiration of the people. . . ." <sup>4</sup> The park contains one of the largest surviving collections of Federal and Confederate field fortifications, or earthworks, totaling approximately eleven miles. The Confederates' carefully prepared line, extending from the top of Big Kennesaw to Powder Springs Road, illustrates the tactical defensive strategy, frequently employed by the close of 1863. These positions are situated along ridges and hills and include structures ranging from infantry lines to more sophisticated artillery positions. Early efforts to commemorate the battle and the establishment of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park contributed to the preservation of the earthworks and other historic resources within the park boundary.

Big and Little Kennesaw, Cheatham Hill, Pigeon Hill, and the Kolb House represent four historic sites within the park currently interpreted by the NPS. Ten monuments and markers have been erected throughout the park, marking the locations of particular units or significant events in the battle. Sixteen miles of trails and two-lane roads provide access to these areas, and small parking lots accommodate those touring the battlefield by car. The Visitor Center is located south of Stilesboro Road at the foot of Big Kennesaw and contains a small museum and theater.

#### Landscape Features of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

During the middle of the nineteenth century, small farms surrounded Kennesaw, reflecting typical antebellum land-use patterns of the Georgia Piedmont. These farms consisted of fifty to 150 acres.<sup>5</sup> The rocky soil supported sturdy crops, such as grains, and some farms contained orchards. Dwellings were generally small, one-story, frame or log structures. Farm complexes contained yards and

<sup>4</sup>Public Law 49 Stat. 423, June 26, 1935; Capps, 5-8.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas A. Scott, "Cobb County, Georgia, 1880-1900: A Socioeconomic Study of an Upper Piedmont County" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1978), 5.

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several outbuildings, including barns and smokehouses. Dirt roads and smaller dirt lanes meandered throughout the area.

In June 1864, Confederate and Union forces transformed this landscape into a line of battle more than eight miles long. The lines ran east to west for a short distance from a point east of Big Kennesaw and then curved around the west face of the mountain and ran south to a point beyond the Powder Springs Road. The Confederates, who chose the site, had more time to construct their field fortifications than did the advancing Union army. The substantial nature of these works reflects their importance in the Confederates' defensive strategy. Placed along high ground, these earthworks consisted of essentially a single infantry line punctuated with artillery positions at key points. In some areas, notably Cheatham Hill, secondary lines were erected for support, and artillery pieces were sited on the crests of Big and Little Kennesaw. The Federal forces constructed defenses composed of a series of overlapping lines supported with artillery emplacements, rather than a continuous line. Both sides had rifle pits for skirmishers in advance of their main entrenchments. Vast numbers of trees were cut to clear paths of fire and to construct the earthworks. The forested ridges provided material for head logs, revetments, and obstacles that slowed the enemy advance. The hilltops were thinned or cleared to provide artillery with a wider field of fire.

Stands of pine soon replaced the hardwoods that were removed along the Kennesaw ridge in 1864, and for approximately one hundred years following the battle, much of the surrounding area was intensely cultivated. In the decades following the battle, farmers terraced their fields and expanded them as agricultural technology improved, leading to the destruction of earthworks. Other fortifications pass through wooded areas that were open during the battle. Most of the earthworks within the park bounds remain intact, with nearly the entire Confederate line and fragments of the Federal line preserved.<sup>6</sup> Wood elements, such as head logs and revetments, have long since disappeared. Currently, the earthworks are defined by an earthen parapet, rear and sometimes front ditches, and in the case of some gun emplacements, embrasures. In most areas, trees have taken root in the earthworks, creating holes in the parapet walls as the dead trunks and root systems rot away. In a few places, grasses and other benign undergrowth cover the earthworks.

Although land-use patterns have changed over time, many of the components that convey the historic significance of the landscape remain intact. Within park bounds, the contours of the land and the locations of streams have been left

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<sup>6</sup>This assessment is based on a reconnaissance-level survey of earthworks at various locations throughout the park. Emmet A. Nichol's, "Historic Ground Cover - June 1864," is the most complete study of earthworks at Kennesaw. It features measured drawings of artillery positions roughly scaled depicting infantry lines. The author provided no text to describe his survey methodology or mapping technique and as a result, the "Historic Ground Cover" map is used cautiously.

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largely unaltered. Six of the nine roads that pass within the park—Stilesboro, Gilbert, Old John Ward, Dallas, Burnt Hickory, and Powder Springs Roads—existed prior to the battle and, though improved, most still follow the course of their historic road beds. Smaller, unpaved roads that date to the middle of the nineteenth century, such as the Marietta-Cassville and Old Mill Roads, can still be found within the park, but have been considerably altered. The Western & Atlantic Railroad, now the CSX Railroad, follows its original path along the park's northern boundary. Nearly twenty buildings, including dwellings, churches, and mills, existed within the present park boundary in 1864. Only the Kolb House, which has been rehabilitated to represent its historic exterior appearance, survives.

#### Descriptions of Selected Earthworks

Among the many miles of earthworks are several features that are sophisticated examples of earthwork technology. The Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement and the Confederate fieldworks at Little Kennesaw Mountain, Pigeon Hill, Cheatham Hill, and Strahl's Fort typify earthen fortifications employed throughout the Atlanta Campaign. The historic integrity of these fieldworks provides a visible link with the events that necessitated their creation.

**The Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement** is located on a small, wooded rise south of Stilesboro Road and faces Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill. It accommodates four batteries, each containing six gun positions. The gun emplacements are spaced between eight and fourteen feet apart within each battery and consist of rear pits with a surrounding horseshoe-shaped, earthen parapet. A cannon opening, or embrasure, is centered on the parapet wall, and the sides or wings of the parapets taper toward the ends. These emplacements measure between approximately fifteen and twenty-five feet across the front and between twenty and thirty feet along the wings. The northernmost battery resembles an infantry line with each emplacement set side by side, sharing common wings and a single linear parapet. The four batteries are approximately seventy-five to 150 feet apart.

The earthworks at **Little Kennesaw** include both Confederate infantry and artillery positions. The infantry line along the western crest of Big Kennesaw continues south across the declivity between Big and Little Kennesaw and along the northwest face of Little Kennesaw, below the crest. At the crest, the thick woods covering the mountainsides thin, allowing views of the battlefield and the surrounding area. The line consists of a continuous parapet, between two and four feet high, a rear ditch, and traverses placed intermittently along the line. Along the south and southwest faces, earthen parapets were either constructed atop rock outcroppings or abandoned when these outcroppings alone were sufficient. Loose rock was also used to construct defensive positions, including gun emplacements. Five artillery emplacements are located on the western crest, above the infantry lines. Three consist of single-gun emplacements with horseshoe-shaped parapets. The remaining two emplacements contained two and three guns each and are collectively known as Fort McBride,

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named for Lt. E. D. McBride, who was killed defending this position. A fourth, single-gun emplacement is located in the declivity between Big and Little Kennesaw, distinguished from the parapet of the infantry line by the embrasure and deepened rear pit.

The continuous earthen parapet of the Confederate infantry line at Little Kennesaw ends at the mountain's steep southern slope. As Little Kennesaw merges with Pigeon Hill, the infantry line begins, running northeast to southwest just below the crest of Pigeon Hill. The line, which runs parallel to the Pigeon Hill Trail, is approximately 2,000 feet long and runs through thinly wooded areas with thick undergrowth in places. The line is constructed of loose rock and earth, forming a parapet between two and four feet high. Traverses and rifle pits, located on the right end of the line near the foot of Little Kennesaw, are similarly constructed. The parapet continues along the vertical rock faces of the western and northwestern slopes of the hill before terminating at Burnt Hickory Road, near the bottom of the hill. Four artillery positions are located on Pigeon Hill. Two, four-gun emplacements, consisting of loose rock and earth parapets, are incorporated into the right and left flanks of the infantry line. Two, single-gun emplacements constructed of loose rock and earth are located on the crest of the hill, with the Federal twenty-four-gun emplacement within the field of fire.

The Confederate line resumes east of the Hardage House site, south of Burnt Hickory Road. Between Burnt Hickory and Dallas Roads, the earthen parapet, broken in places, features a salient north of Noses (also known as Noyes) Creek. South of Dallas Road, the earthworks follow the contour of a ridge known as Cheatham Hill, and contain some of the most elaborate earthworks constructed at Kennesaw. A forward earthen parapet lines the crest of the hill forming a salient. The parapet and traverses measure between three and five feet high. Two interior lines meander across the top of the hill, which is thinly wooded with no undergrowth, creating a labyrinth of trenches, traverses, dug-outs, and parapets that overlook a large, open field. The left flank of the salient was anchored by a two-battery artillery position. The right flank was protected by a square redoubt located in a clearing, south of the visitor parking area. The redoubt is shaped by four parapet walls, approximately sixty feet long and four feet high, that enclose the two-gun battery.

Repulsed by the Confederates at the salient, the Federals hastily constructed two lines in a declivity that protected them from Confederate fire. The forward line features a parapet that rises only one to two feet and the mouth of the tunnel where Federal troops attempted to tunnel beneath the Confederate lines and destroy them with explosives. The second Federal line contains a smaller parapet and lies at the edge of an old road bed.

As the Confederate infantry line continues south, across John Ward Creek, it forms a cluster of earthen parapets known as Strahl's Fort. Located on a wooded rise, Strahl's Fort is an eight-gun emplacement with an L-shaped parapet constructed along the rear and right flank. A C-shaped parapet covers the

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front of the fort, just below the crest of the hill. At the center of this arrangement is a C-shaped, four-gun emplacement, approximately thirty feet across with parapets measuring between three and six feet high. The front wall contains three embrasures with the fourth embrasure located on the east or rear wall. The open, right flank of this emplacement is covered by a second, four-gun emplacement located approximately 250 feet to the south. This L-shaped emplacement consists of a two-gun, west-facing parapet and a second, two-gun parapet facing south, with three embrasures for a wider field of fire. An infantry trench lies south and west of this position, meandering along the sloping contours of the hill. This line features outstanding examples of parapets and traverses, some measuring between five and seven feet high.

#### Descriptions of Contributing Properties

**Earthworks:** The park contains approximately eleven miles of infantry trenches, batteries, forts, and gun positions, both earthen and stone, constructed by Federals and Confederates. These fortifications are located on high ground and on slopes of major topographical features and have helped define park boundaries. Currently, the park interprets approximately one-third of the earthworks. Some of these works have been stabilized with grass and tree removal, when feasible, and marked with signs that direct the visitor to stay off the works. The remaining earthworks are hidden from the visitor in wooded areas or are located adjacent to footpaths. Many of these fortifications are covered with understory growth consisting of briars, honeysuckle, and wild grasses, some large and small trees, mainly oak, pine, and dogwood, as well as years of forest debris, such as leaves and fallen limbs. (IDLCS 12176, 90133, 90134, 90135, 90136, 90137, 90138; previously listed; structures)

**Kolb House:** This is a one-and-one-half story, three-bay, Georgian-plan log house, constructed circa 1836. Its construction is characterized by square hewn logs and square notching, concrete chinking, stone piers, and four brick and stone chimneys. The side-gabled roof is covered with wood shingles and possesses gable returns, a vergeboard, and weatherboard gable ends. The house has no front porch, a full-facade rear shed porch, and a shed porch on the west facade. The front entry is trabeated and appears to have been larger at one time, possibly an open breezeway. The exterior of the house was rehabilitated in 1963, and most of the existing oak logs were retained. However, soil cement chinking replaced original mud chinking and appears to have dried out the logs. Window openings, door openings, and porch configurations appear original. The front entry possesses a slate and concrete stoop that probably is not historically accurate. Because few records were extant regarding the historic condition of the house, park staff relied on information from similar houses in north Georgia and interviews of former occupants. The interior of the house consists of four rooms linked by a central hall with an open stair displaying a chamfered newel post. The interior walls had wood paneling, using both beaded-board and plank materials, at the time of the rehabilitation. Behind the paneling, the interior log walls had brick nogging and mud chinking; these were left in place. However, the paneling was removed and replaced with dry wall,

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both on the walls and the ceilings. The floors in the hall and in three of the four rooms are original with four-inch pine boards. All fireplaces, mantels, and stone or brick hearths were removed during the rehabilitation and the interior openings sealed to accommodate a modern heating system. (IDLCS 12175; previously listed; building)

**Kolb Cemetery:** The cemetery is located east of the house and is the only extant landscape feature or secondary structure surviving from the original farmstead. The graveyard measures 48 x 50 feet and is enclosed by a raised concrete foundation. There are eleven marked graves with marble headstones that date from 1839 to 1955. The oldest grave, that of Peter Valentine Kolb, consists of a small pillar on a square base in the center of the graveyard. The pillar is loosened from the base and could pose a safety hazard. (IDLCS 90150; site)

**Stilesboro Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route located on the northern park boundary, south of the CSX Railroad (formerly the Western & Atlantic Railroad). Approximately one-and-one-half miles of the road lie within the park. The road runs east and west. According to historical base maps and reports in *The War of the Rebellion: A Computation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Federal troops and earthworks lay astride the Stilesboro Road. As the Federals prepared to initiate their mountain diversion, they moved across the road toward the entrenched Confederates. (IDLCS 90149; structure)

**Gilbert Road:** This is a one-mile gravel road, one-and-one-half lanes wide, that is located between Stilesboro Road and Old Mountain Road and is oriented primarily north and south. Only 600 feet lie within the park boundary, and on this segment, the road turns east out of the park. An extension of this road continues south and is utilized by park maintenance staff. (IDLCS 90147; structure)

**Old John Ward Road:** This is a 20- to 22-foot-wide packed gravel maintenance road, formerly known as John Ward Road. It begins at Dallas Road and proceeds south out of the park to intersect with New John Ward Road. (IDLCS 90146; structure)

**Dallas Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route that runs east and west for a distance of one-half mile within the park. The road is located in the southern part of the park and serves park visitors and Cobb County commuters. Dallas Road provides access to Cheatham Hill and facilitated troop movements. Several earthworks are located within the right-of-way of this road. (IDLCS 90145; structure)

**Burnt Hickory Road:** This is a two-lane asphalt-covered state route that runs east and west and marks the north-south midpoint of the park. Several earthworks are located in the right-of-way of this road, including those on Pigeon Hill. Reports in the *Official Records* document troop movements along

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this road. Approximately two miles of this road lie within the park boundaries. (IDLCS 90148; structure)

**Big Kennesaw Antebellum Road:** This steep, 10- to 15-foot-wide and approximately 1500-foot-long unpaved road ascends the east face of Big Kennesaw Mountain along the Confederate line of earthworks and is bisected by Mountain Road. The road, which was used by the Confederate Army, is not maintained or interpreted by the park and has deteriorated significantly near the crest of Big Kennesaw and toward the toe of the slope where it diminishes into erosional gullies. (IDLCS 90198; structure)

**New Salem Church Site:** This site consists of a stone foundation ruin, probably granite, and a cemetery of unidentified and largely unmarked graves. A church clearly existed on this site at the time of the battle because it appears on an 1864 manuscript map prepared by an unknown Confederate engineer. An oral history interview conducted in the 1940s described the church as a frame building with board siding. The ruin, which lies west of an abandoned roadbed, consists of two geometric outlines that formed the foundation. One is rectangular and the other is square-shaped, approximately twelve inches high. The twenty-four graves noted are clustered mostly south of the foundation ruins; some are marked by head and foot stones. No conclusive evidence concerning the age of the graves has been discovered. Local tradition has it that the church was used as a Confederate field hospital after the battle; the church's location behind the Confederate lines near the scene of action at Pigeon Hill lends credence to the tradition. (site)

**Illinois Monument:** This monument, erected in 1914, consists of a twenty-five foot battered marble shaft rising from an eight-foot-square base. The marble is inscribed on three sides, with the west elevation dominated by three bronze figures: a Union soldier flanked by two classical female figures. Situated on the crest of Cheatham Hill, the monument overlooks a small plaza and two flights of marble steps to the west. An eagle perched above the figures on the west elevation was damaged by lightning in 1984. In 1991, the eagle was restored atop the monument. (IDLCS 12177; previously listed; object)

**Union Tunnel Marker:** This is a 5- x 3-foot marble arch marking the tunnel entrance Union troops excavated in an attempt to breach the Confederate works at Cheatham Hill. The marker was erected circa 1914 and features an inscribed keystone that describes the tunnel's purpose. It is located at the foot of the Illinois monument and is flanked by a dry-stack stone wall. (IDLCS 90142; object)

**McCook Brigade Marker:** This is a 24- x 24- x 15-inch rectangular granite marker located at the point where McCook's Brigade began its assault, as described on the marker's beveled face. The marker, erected circa 1914, is currently located north of a foot path, on a wooded knoll, but was moved to this location from some point farther south, circa 1935-39. (IDLCS 90141; previously listed; object)

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**C. H. Coffey Marker:** This marker, erected circa 1914, is a 2- x 1- x 3-foot marble tablet indicating the place where C. H. Coffey was mortally wounded during the Federal assault on Cheatham Hill. It is located approximately 300 feet north of the salient at the crest of the hill. (IDLCS 90139; object)

**Fellows Marker:** This is a 1- x 2- x 2-foot rectangular white marker with a beveled face bearing the inscription: "Captain W. W. Fellows/Inspector General/3rd Brigade Second Division/ 14th A.C." It was erected circa 1914 and is located on Cheatham Hill east of the Illinois Monument. (IDLCS 12178; previously listed; object)

**Grave of the Unknown U. S. Soldier:** This is a 1- x 2- x 3-foot marble headstone inscribed: "Unknown/U. S. Soldier/June 27, 1864." Civil Works Administration laborers discovered the grave, in 1934, while clearing the surrounding area of vegetation. Located southeast of the Cheatham Hill salient, the grave is enclosed by a split rail fence. It is the only known Civil War interment at the park. (IDLCS 12179; previously listed; object)

**Cheatham Hill Drive:** This is a one-mile, two-lane narrow asphalt-covered road constructed in 1939-40 by the Civilian Conservation Corps. The road is located adjacent to the Confederate earthworks, situated south of Dallas Road, and ends at a parking area just north of Mebane's Battery near the Cheatham Hill salient. The gently curving road largely follows natural contours and avoids impacting the earthworks. This road, the only one completed by the CCC in the park, provided much-needed visitor access to the area and helped retain the integrity of the earthworks. (IDLCS 90156; structure)

**Eight red brick entrance signs:** Constructed by the CCC between 1938 and 1942, each sign bears a cast iron plaque inscribed, "National Park Service/Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park/United States Department of the Interior." Each measures 9 x 6 x 2 feet, has a slightly broader base than shaft and quoining at the ends, and possesses a concrete cap and foundation. All have metal plaques painted brown with white lettering. The signs are located at every point where an east-west state route intersects a park boundary except the western park boundary on Powder Springs Road. (IDLCS 91332 through 91339; objects)

#### Noncontributing Properties

Shiloh Church and School Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations

Hardage House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations

Cass House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations

Ballenger House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations

Tierce House Site, no aboveground features, no archeological investigations

Marietta-Cassville Road, altered, lacks integrity

Powder Springs Road, altered, lacks integrity

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Neighbour Marker, 1985, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90140)  
Georgia Monument, 1964, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90144)  
Texas Monument, 1964, postdates period of significance (IDLCS 90143)  
CCC Camp Site, 1938-1942, lacks integrity  
Maintenance Complex, 2 buildings, 1939-1940, not architecturally significant or  
representative of NPS design traditions, altered 1974  
Visitor Center, 1964, postdates period of significance  
Park Quarters, 2 buildings, 1965, postdates period of significance

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### Statement of Significance

This study evaluates the historic integrity and assesses the eligibility of the park's historic resources within two historic contexts identified by the survey team. These contexts correspond to historic themes identified by the National Park Service and the Georgia State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). The thematic framework of the NPS is outlined in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Landmark Program*. In addition to general historical themes like "Military" and "Public Works," the Georgia SHPO has identified twelve distinctive "aspects" of Georgia history. These aspects are currently undeveloped but should be considered when assembling state and local context studies.

The following two historic contexts have been developed for this study:

- A. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864.
- B. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942.

Context A, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864," relates to the NPS subthemes "War in the West" and "Political and Diplomatic Scene" of Theme VI, "The Civil War." Context A also relates to one aspect of Georgia history, "Major Theater for the Civil War." Context A examines the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain as one in a series of clashes during Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, which began with Sherman's march from Chattanooga in May 1864 and ended with the capture of Atlanta in September of that year. The context discusses military and political aspects of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and Sherman's successful execution of the Atlanta Campaign. The context describes the battles fought at Kennesaw and discusses how military strategy and tactics, developed through the course of the Civil War, were employed at Kennesaw Mountain.

Context B, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942," relates to the NPS facets "Battlefield Preservation" and "The National Park Service and the New Deal" of the subtheme "The Federal Government Enters the Movement, 1884-1949" of Theme XXXIII, "Historic Preservation." National battlefield commemoration stemmed from efforts by veterans groups to honor both the men that fought and died during the Civil War, and the places where they fought. Following these efforts, the Federal government sought protection of these sites through the development of national battlefield parks and national cemeteries. Context B examines the commemoration of Civil War battlefields, beginning with the efforts of veterans at the close of the Civil War and culminating with the establishment and subsequent development of national battlefield parks by the National Park Service. The narrative traces the activities of private commemorative associations at Kennesaw from the 1880s

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through the 1910s, the administration of the battlefield by the War Department from 1928 to 1933, its establishment as a national battlefield park in 1935, and its development by the National Park Service from 1933 to 1942.

Historic resources within the Park represent three periods of significance.<sup>7</sup> The period of the Atlanta Campaign, May to September 1864, is primarily represented by the Kolb House, earthworks, and roads constructed prior to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. The second significant period, representing commemoration of the Kennesaw Mountain battlefield by private individuals and associations, lasted from 1887 to 1917. This period began with reunions by military units that fought at the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and is represented by numerous monuments and markers erected on the battlefield as memorials to individuals and units.<sup>8</sup> The third period witnessed the management and subsequent development of the battlefield by the Federal government from 1917 to 1942. This period included the administration and development of the battlefield by the War Department and the National Park Service. Few historically significant structures remain that demonstrate the importance of early park development planned by the NPS and performed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) from 1938 to 1942.

A. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, May-September 1864.

1. Context Narrative

From May to September 1864, Federal and Confederate forces fought across northwest Georgia from Dalton to Atlanta, which was abandoned by the Confederates on September 1. Occasional fierce battles punctuated almost daily skirmishing and maneuvering for position. Collectively, this activity is known as the Atlanta Campaign. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain, June 27, 1864, occurred near the middle of the campaign. The importance of the battle in the Civil War is described below. This context will describe the Battle of

<sup>7</sup>The landscape of the battlefield park does not reflect one particular period but illustrates a process of continuous change by various owners and occupants: early-nineteenth-century settlers clearing fields; Union and Confederate armies constructing earthworks; post-Civil War farmers terracing fields; memorial associations erecting monuments; and the CCC constructing roads and planting trees. A Cultural Landscape Report, however, has not been undertaken to determine the historic appearance of the landscape in 1864.

<sup>8</sup>The Georgia and Texas monuments, erected in 1964, are managed as cultural resources but are not eligible for the National Register because they do not meet the standards established by the National Register for resources that have achieved significance within the last fifty years.

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Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign, focusing on the remaining park resources.<sup>9</sup>

#### **The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and its Place in the Civil War**

The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain (June 27, 1864) was one of a number of Civil War clashes between Federal and Confederate forces in northwest Georgia in the spring and summer of 1864. Kennesaw Mountain was a physical barrier standing between a large Federal force commanded by Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and Atlanta, an important Confederate railroad and manufacturing center. The war was in its fourth year, and the November 1864 presidential election would soon provide a referendum on Abraham Lincoln's war leadership. Lincoln's reelection depended heavily on the progress of Sherman's army in Georgia and Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's in Virginia. Although it was not a critical turning point in the war, the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain was an important act in a complicated national drama of bitter military combat and politics played out in the summer of 1864. Additionally, the battle illustrated the decided advantage the tactical defensive had over the tactical offensive in the later stages of the war.

In the decade prior to the outbreak of war, sectional divisions over the extension of slavery, a protective tariff, and internal improvements racked the United States. The Democrat party split over the issue of slavery, and four candidates contested the 1860 presidential election. Illinois Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president by carrying the northern states. Believing the Republican Party hostile to southern interests, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas seceded from the Union before Lincoln's inauguration and established the Confederate States of America. Upon assuming office on March 4, 1861, Lincoln decided to assert the Federal government's sovereignty by resupplying the besieged U.S. army garrisons at Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and Fort Pickens in Pensacola Harbor, Florida. The Confederate government ordered an

<sup>9</sup>The best introduction to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta campaign is *Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign* by Dennis Kelly, the park's historian. Albert Castel's recently published work, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*, is a masterful analysis of the campaign. Other important sources are *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* by Stanley F. Horn; *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* by Thomas L. Connelly; *War So Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta* by James L. McDonough and James P. Jones; and two Ph.D. dissertations done at Emory University: "The Atlanta Campaign, December 23, 1863, to July 18, 1864" by Richard M. McMurry and "The Atlanta Campaign, July 18-September 2, 1864" by Errol M. Clauss. McMurry's biography of Hood, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*, is also useful. *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* is a provocative study of Sherman's strategic thinking by the British historian B. H. Liddell-Hart. Sherman, Johnston, and Hood all published memoirs after the war's end. Sherman's work is *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, Johnston's is *Narrative of Military Operations*, and Hood's *Advance and Retreat*.

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attack on the Fort Sumter, signalling its intention to fight for its independence. Following the surrender of Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the Confederacy.<sup>10</sup>

At the outbreak of hostilities, the North enjoyed significant advantages in population and economic resources. The North, with twenty-two million white citizens to the South's six million, had a larger pool of potential combatants. The Confederacy's 3,500,000 slaves supported southern armies with their labor, but did not carry arms. The North possessed 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing capability, forcing the South to quickly develop factories and import armaments from abroad. The North also had a more highly developed railroad network, with two and one-half times more trackage than the Confederate states. Railroads proved crucial in supplying and moving the large armies that fought the Civil War. The South did possess some advantages. Federal troops moving from one area to another would have to move in a wide arc around the front, while the Confederacy could shift forces more quickly along shorter, interior lines. The Confederates, for example, frequently shifted troops between the Shenandoah Valley and Eastern Virginia as the need arose. Additionally, many of the most talented active and inactive U.S. army officers were southerners who rallied to the Confederacy when the war began.<sup>11</sup>

The South's military problem was in a sense simple; it had to keep the war going until the North acquiesced in Southern independence. Southern strategy was defensive and consisted largely of maintaining its territorial integrity. Wanting to maintain independence rather than conquer territory, the Confederacy invaded northern states on only a few occasions. The South relied heavily on the prospect of foreign recognition of the Confederacy and Northern dissatisfaction with the human and material cost of a long war. The North, by contrast, had to wage an aggressive war to subdue the rebellious states and restore the Union. A strategic problem for the South was the question of whether to scatter its forces to defend every inch of territory or to concentrate to protect the areas of greatest strategic importance.

In the Spring of 1861, few on either side envisioned a long war. Many scoffed at U.S. General-in-Chief Winfield Scott's strategy of envelopment, which implied a protracted conflict. Scott advised reliance on a Federal naval blockade of southern ports and control of the Mississippi River to gradually deprive the agricultural South of foreign supplies and markets for its cotton. Envelopment was Federal policy from the start and received increasing emphasis as naive hopes for a quick capture of the Confederate capital at Richmond,

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<sup>10</sup>James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 223, 234-35, 271-74, 278-83.

<sup>11</sup>John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1877*, 3d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 561-62; Samuel E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) 615-19.

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Virginia, were dashed. As the war progressed, northern advantages in manpower, industrial might, naval force, and organization increasingly turned the tide against the South.

The natural barrier of the Appalachian Mountains dictated a division of hostilities between eastern and western theaters. Military activity in the eastern theater focused on limited areas of Virginia: the area between Washington, D.C., and Fredericksburg, around Richmond, and the Shenandoah Valley. The western theater, by contrast, was immense, stretching from the Alleghenies to the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. Important western theater battles occurred in Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Although public attention often focused on the major battles in Virginia, the struggle for control of the rivers and railroads in the West was of immense importance to the war's outcome.

As president of a republic in war time, Lincoln had as many political concerns as strategic ones. Lincoln had to employ considerable political skill to maintain popular support for the war, in the face of often disastrous defeats for Federal armies and mounting casualties. Only seven years old in 1861, the Republican Party was an uneasy coalition of often competing interests that Lincoln had to unify. Outside the party, Democrat office holders and powerful newspaper editors such as Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* frequently criticized the administration. Lincoln's political stock rose and fell with the fortunes of Federal armies in the field. Whenever the Federal military effort appeared to stagnate, opposition to the administration's conduct of the war increased. In the South, Confederate victories fed false hopes that Great Britain and France would recognize the Confederacy and that the North would give up the struggle.

Lincoln faced opposition inside and outside the Republican Party. To hold his party's factions together, Lincoln appointed several Republican rivals to his cabinet. Lincoln tolerated considerable dissension and even disloyalty in the cabinet, but outmaneuvered his opponents in the end. Northern Democrats varied in their commitment to the war effort. Some "War Democrats" joined the Republican Party, while others supported a war for the Union but vigorously opposed emancipation. In 1862, "Peace Democrats," who urged an immediate armistice and a negotiated settlement of sectional differences, became a significant force. Many Peace Democrats mistakenly believed that the South would rejoin the Union if slavery were guaranteed; others were covert supporters of southern independence.<sup>12</sup>

The first two years of war brought stalemate in Virginia, but Federal armies made important gains in the West. In February 1862, a joint army-navy expedition led by Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Flag-Officer Andrew H. Foote took Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland

<sup>12</sup>McPherson, 506.

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River, providing two water routes of invasion into Tennessee. Federal control of the Cumberland forced the Confederates to abandon Nashville, an important rail junction and manufacturing city, on February 23, 1862. Northern armies prepared to advance on the Confederate supply center at Corinth, Mississippi. The bloody Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee (April 6-7, 1862), temporarily checked the Federal advance. The 23,000 casualties of Shiloh, including more than 3,000 killed, destroyed any remaining illusions of a short and painless war. Federal forces captured New Orleans in late April 1862, and by June, only the Confederate fortress at Vicksburg, Mississippi, prevented total Northern control of the Mississippi River. In the east, Federal armies were bloodily repulsed by the Confederates at First Manassas (July 21, 1861), the Seven Days' Battles (June 25-July 1, 1862), and Second Manassas (August 28-30, 1862).<sup>13</sup> Lack of Federal military success, particularly in Virginia, increased criticism of the administration and strengthened the position of the Democrat Party going into the 1862 elections.

During 1862, the Republican Party moved rapidly to adopt emancipation as a war policy. Lincoln awaited favorable military news to strike at slavery in the South. At the Battle of Antietam in western Maryland (September 17, 1862), the Army of the Potomac under Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan turned back a Confederate army of invasion commanded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. Within days, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in those areas of the South still engaged in rebellion as of January 1, 1863. Lincoln aimed to undermine Southern resistance and encourage blacks to rally to the Federal effort. Many Northern Democrats charged that the proclamation changed the war's purpose from preservation of the union to the elevation of black slaves to equality with whites. Democrats made significant gains in the Fall 1862 elections, but the Republicans' control of the national government remained solid.<sup>14</sup>

In the first half of 1863, antiwar agitation grew, fueled by Federal defeats in Virginia at Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862) and Chancellorsville (April 30-May 6, 1863). Emancipation and the slow progress of the war remained the major political issues, but the Federal Conscription Act of March 1863 and Lincoln's wartime suspension of civil liberties added to the opposition. The United States' first military draft provoked riots in several cities. The worst rioting occurred in New York City, where 105 died in July 1863 before Federal troops restored order. Lincoln on several occasions ordered the arrest of suspected southern sympathizers. In defiance of Federal court decisions, many were held without charge and denied the writ of habeas corpus.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>McPherson, 339-45, 395-413, 418, 464-71, 528-33.

<sup>14</sup>McPherson, 557-61.

<sup>15</sup>McPherson, 288-89, 610-11.

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In the west in late 1862 and 1863, the Confederates attempted to retake Tennessee, while the Federals sought to capture Vicksburg. The advance of the Confederate Army of Tennessee under Gen. Braxton Bragg into Middle Tennessee was repulsed at the Battle of Stones River (December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863) by Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commander of the Federal Army of the Cumberland. Rosecrans pushed the Confederates out of Middle Tennessee during June and July, and captured Chattanooga in September. Rosecrans's pursuit of Bragg's army was thwarted at the Battle of Chickamauga (September 18-20, 1863) in northwest Georgia. Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga, where the Federal forces remained bottled up until November. Under Grant's leadership, they broke the Confederate stranglehold on the city with victories at Lookout Mountain (November 24, 1863) and Missionary Ridge (November 25, 1863).

The long Federal siege of Vicksburg had ended on July 4, 1863, when Grant, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, occupied the city. The loss of Vicksburg and of Port Hudson on July 9, the last remaining Southern strongholds on the Mississippi, was a serious blow to the Confederacy. With Vicksburg's fall, Texas, Arkansas, and most of Louisiana were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. Troops, provisions, and fresh horses from the Trans-Mississippi region were no longer available to the main southern armies. Along with the capture of Chattanooga and the defeat of Lee's second invasion of the North at the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (July 1-3, 1863), the fall of Vicksburg lifted Northern morale and strengthened the Republican Party in 1863's state and local elections. Republicans interpreted their election successes as an endorsement of the administration's policies, particularly emancipation.<sup>16</sup>

The presidential election year of 1864 brought the greatest test of Lincoln's leadership and northern commitment to the war. Federal control of the Mississippi and an ever tighter blockade put severe strains on the Confederacy. Confederate hopes for foreign recognition had dwindled following the failure of Lee's invasions in 1862 and 1863. However, northern casualties had been very high, and important areas of the South remained untouched by war. Repeated Federal campaigns had failed to capture Richmond. Hoping to hasten the war's end, Lincoln in March 1864 promoted Grant to the rank of lieutenant general and placed him in command of all Federal armies.<sup>17</sup>

#### **Strategic Situation in the Spring of 1864**

Shortly after assuming overall command, Grant ordered a coordinated offensive designed to destroy Confederate resistance and end the war. The major efforts focused on eastern Virginia and north Georgia, while smaller Federal forces moved toward Richmond from south of the James River, up the Shenandoah Valley, and toward Texas and the Indian Territory by way of the Red River and Southwest Arkansas. Grant accompanied Maj. Gen. George G. Meade and the Army of the

<sup>16</sup>McPherson, 591-97, 600, 666, 687-88.

<sup>17</sup>McPherson, 718-22; Dennis Kelly, *Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign* (Atlanta: Susan Hunter Publishing, 1990), 3.

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Potomac in Virginia, aiming to finally defeat Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Grant placed Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman in command of three Federal armies concentrated near Chattanooga, Tennessee. Grant ordered Sherman to "move against [Confederate Gen. Joseph] Johnston's army, to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources."<sup>18</sup> If Confederate resistance persisted, Grant contemplated combining his army with Sherman's forces in the Lower South. The Confederacy planned to hold off the northern armies until after the November election, in hopes that Lincoln would be defeated by a Democrat sympathetic to southern independence. The future of the administration and, hence, the war effort depended largely on the success of Grant and Sherman.

Aware that the large, well-equipped northern armies could tolerate casualties far more readily than the Confederate armies, Grant waged a war of attrition in Virginia. Where previous Federal commanders had retreated after being bloodied by Lee's army, Grant accepted his losses and relentlessly advanced. In May and June 1864, the Army of the Potomac fought bloody battles at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor. After absorbing 65,000 casualties on these fields alone, Federal troops found themselves in mid-June bogged down in trench warfare on the outskirts of Petersburg. Protected by breastworks, Lee's smaller army was able to repel repeated Federal assaults.<sup>19</sup>

While Grant's objective was the destruction of Lee's army, Sherman focused on the war-making capacity of the Confederacy, which remained formidable after three years of combat. In the spring of 1864, the Federals controlled the Mississippi River, and the Confederates had been expelled from most of Tennessee and much of Mississippi. Still, the heartland of the Confederacy, stretching from Alabama through Georgia to the Carolinas, was virtually untouched by the war. Atlanta, 125 miles southeast of Chattanooga, was an important Confederate rail junction, a significant manufacturing city, and the center of a belt of important manufacturing communities extending from Augusta, Georgia, to Selma, Alabama. Four railroads met at Atlanta, linking the southern Atlantic seaboard states with the western Confederacy. The Western & Atlantic ran northwest to Chattanooga and was the axis along which the Atlanta Campaign was fought. The Georgia Railroad ran east to Augusta, where it connected with lines to Charleston, Raleigh, and Richmond. The Macon & Western ran southeast, with connections to Savannah. Just south of Atlanta at East Point, the Atlanta & West Point, which extended west into Alabama, diverged from the Macon line. Atlanta's factories produced iron, armor plate, railroad rails, ammunition, pistols, uniforms, flour, and meat. Confederate government

<sup>18</sup>McPherson, 722.

<sup>19</sup>McPherson, 742.

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offices in Atlanta included the Quartermaster, Commissary Department, the Signal Corps, and the Railroad Transportation Office.<sup>20</sup>

Sherman had substantial resources to accomplish his mission. He commanded 100,000 soldiers at Chattanooga, divided among Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland with 60,000 troops, Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, 25,000 strong, and Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield's 13,000-man Army of the Ohio. Opposing the Federal force was the Army of Tennessee under Gen. Joseph Johnston at Dalton, Georgia. Johnston received reinforcements in May that brought his strength up to about 65,000. Johnston's army had three infantry corps, commanded by Lt. Gens. Leonidas Polk, William Hardee, and John Bell Hood. Both sides depended for supplies on the single-track Western & Atlantic Railroad. Sherman's rail supply line extended north to Chattanooga and Nashville, while Johnston's ran south to Atlanta. The movements of both commanders were influenced by the need to safeguard the supply lines behind the armies. The numerous mountains and ridges of north Georgia offered the Confederates strong natural defensive positions. Additionally, the advancing Federals would have to cross three rivers, the Oostanaula, the Etowah, and the Chattahoochee. South of Atlanta, the mountains ended, and the Confederates would have fewer natural lines of defense.<sup>21</sup>

The Confederate Army of Tennessee, which Johnston had commanded only since late December 1863, was handicapped by dissension among its top officers and poor overall morale. The army could claim just one clear victory, Chickamauga, and the Federals had routed the army, then commanded by Gen. Braxton Bragg, at the Battle of Missionary Ridge (November 25, 1863). Confederate President Jefferson Davis doubted Johnston's abilities and gave him command of the army with reluctance. Personal animosity and a fundamental disagreement over strategy marred Johnston's relationship with Davis. Davis repeatedly urged Johnston to take the offensive against Sherman, while Johnston felt his inferior numbers dictated a defensive-offensive strategy. Johnston believed he could attack only after he had won some defensive victories over the advancing Federals. Johnston made his position more difficult by failing to fully communicate his intentions to Confederate authorities in Richmond. Additionally, Johnston's three corps commanders, Polk, Hardee, and Hood, mistrusted him. Johnston did much to restore the army's morale, but its command problems were never satisfactorily resolved.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Albert Castel, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 69; B. H. Liddell-Hart, *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* (New York: Praeger, 1958), 233-34; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 7; Thomas L. Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 369-70).

<sup>21</sup>McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 3-5; Liddell Hart, 234-35.

<sup>22</sup>Connelly, 288-93, 313.

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By contrast, Sherman and Grant had cooperated closely while both fought in the Western theater and enjoyed each other's confidence. Grant gave Sherman broad strategic objectives and relied on him to devise tactics to accomplish them. Sherman was an energetic commander who realized early that a Northern victory would require not just battlefield successes but destruction of the Confederates' ability to make war. Sherman targeted the South's economic and military resources equally.

### Civil War Tactics

When the Atlanta campaign opened, tactical considerations were radically altered from the early days of the war. At the war's beginning, officers emphasized the tactical offensive, in which assaulting troops advanced in lines, firing volleys on command. As the enemy line was approached, troops would run the last several yards and break the line with a bayonet charge. These linear tactics dated to seventeenth-century European wars. They had been successful in the Mexican War (1846-1848) and were stressed at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Changes in weaponry during the war decreased the effectiveness of linear tactics. Rifle-muskets of superior range and accuracy, used only by elite units of the old regular army, were in general use on both sides by 1863. The combination of rifle-muskets and the nearly universal use of field entrenchments by late 1863 greatly compromised the effectiveness of the tactical offensive.<sup>23</sup>

Rifle-muskets had an effective range of 300-400 yards, four times greater than the range of the smoothbore muskets used early in the war. By 1863, attacking troops could no longer expect to advance to within a few dozen yards of the enemy, fire a volley, and make a double-time charge while defenders were reloading. Defenders could devastate the ranks of attacking troops well before they were close enough to form for a bayonet charge. When defenders were protected by field entrenchments, their advantage was magnified. By 1864, whenever troops halted near the enemy, they quickly entrenched to have some protection against attack. The Confederates, fighting a largely defensive war, often constructed elaborate systems of trenches, laid out in advance by field engineers to exploit advantages of terrain. Engineers distinguished between the topographic crest and the military crest of a hill. The military crest was often a position slightly downslope of the topographic crest. From the military crest, defenders had a clear field of fire over the ground in front of them without exposing their silhouettes to enemy fire.<sup>24</sup>

Entrenchments on both sides followed the same pattern. Trenches were dug, and the earth from them piled up to form a protective parapet, also known as breastworks. Troops could dig a three-foot deep rifle pit with an earthen parapet in about an hour. In more permanent positions, trenches might be deeper, and log retaining walls, known as revetments, were used to back the

<sup>23</sup>McPherson, 472-73.

<sup>24</sup>McPherson, 473-75.

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earthen parapets. A tree trunk, known as a head-log and held in position by skid logs, was placed atop the parapet. Riflemen stood in the trench or on a firing step and fired through the narrow gap between the head-log and parapet. Other troops would meanwhile be reloading in the trench, waiting to take their turn on the firing line. When time permitted, various obstacles were placed in front of the breastworks to slow an attacking force. A front ditch was sometimes dug directly in front of the parapet. Out beyond the parapet, trees and brush were felled, and their branches interlaced to form obstacles known as abatis. Skirmishers from the attacking force would clear a path, under fire, through the abatis. Infantrymen often dug their own trenches, but Sherman's army increasingly employed freed slaves to dig them, while the Confederates often used gangs of slaves to prepare fall-back lines of defense out of range of Federal artillery.<sup>25</sup>

By late 1863, the tactical defensive possessed a clear advantage. An entrenched position, defended by troops with rifle-muskets, was extremely difficult to overrun. Officers, however, were slow to recognize the altered tactical realities and often had few alternatives to a frontal assault. Many commanders looked for ways to envelop the enemy's flank, but the opposing general was unlikely to leave his flanks unprotected. Officers on both sides repeatedly ordered frontal assaults on entrenched lines, frequently with disastrous results. In some encounters, attacking forces suffered ten times the casualties of defenders. In the Atlanta campaign, Sherman chose repeatedly to outflank the Confederates' entrenched positions, rarely ordering frontal attacks. Sherman's three to two advantage in numbers allowed him to use part of his force to keep the Confederate army in place while other units were sent on turning maneuvers.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Atlanta Campaign**

When Sherman's forces moved out from Chattanooga on May 7, 1864, the Confederates held a strong defensive line around Dalton, Georgia. Sherman ordered Thomas and Schofield to threaten an attack against the main body of Confederates, while McPherson made a wide move to the right in the direction of Resaca, fifteen miles south of Dalton. McPherson nearly got in Johnston's rear, but was deterred by a small force holding Resaca. This delay gave Johnston enough time to retire from Dalton to a hastily prepared position around Resaca. The two armies fought at Resaca May 13-15, while Sherman tried another flanking move, sending a division of McPherson's army to cross the Oostanaula River and get behind the Confederates' left. When Johnston learned of the successful river crossing, he ordered a retreat, first to Adairsville and then on to Cassville.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Castel, 228; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York: Library of America, 1990), 525-26.

<sup>26</sup>Connelly, 432; McPherson, 472-77.

<sup>27</sup>Connelly, 341-45; Kelly, 13-14; Sherman, 496-504.

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Johnston planned an attack on the Federals for May 19, when he suspected that they would be strung out on two parallel roads between Adairsville and Cassville. General Hood declined to press the attack when he detected a potential threat to his rear, and the opportunity was lost. After a council of war on the night of May 19, Johnston ordered another pullback across the Etowah River to Allatoona Pass. Sherman bypassed this position and swung his forces west away from the railroad and toward the town of Dallas. Johnston moved his army west to counter this new threat. Federal attacks at New Hope Church (May 25) and Pickett's Mill (May 27) were repulsed by the Confederates, and Sherman began to move to his left back toward the railroad to the east. Believing that Sherman's right might be undermanned, Johnston ordered an attack at Dallas on May 28. Here the Federals had the advantage of fighting from trenches, and they decisively turned back the assault.<sup>28</sup>

Following these battles, a period of heavy skirmishing and maneuvering for position lasted well into June. Heavy rainfall impeded the movements of both armies. In the first week of June, Johnston's army took up a position along a ten-mile line approximately 30 miles northwest of Atlanta. The line ran from northeast to southwest, with Brushy Mountain on the right, Pine Mountain in the center, and Lost Mountain on the left. On June 14, a Federal artillery shell killed Confederate General Polk on Pine Mountain. Johnston appointed Maj. Gen. William W. Loring temporary commander of Polk's army corps. Lt. Gen. A. P. Stewart assumed permanent command of the corps in the first week of July. After additional fighting near Gilgal Church on June 15 and Lost Mountain on June 16, the Confederates on the night of June 18-19 fell back southeast to a prepared line anchored by Kennesaw Mountain, a few miles north of Marietta. This new line had been carefully laid out in advance by Johnston's chief engineer, Lt. Col. S. W. Presstman.<sup>29</sup>

#### The Kennesaw Mountain Line

Colonel Presstman took a topographically strong defensive position at Kennesaw Mountain and enhanced it. Kennesaw Mountain is a two-mile-long ridge extending from Big Kennesaw on the northeast to Little Kennesaw on the southwest, with a spur now known as Pigeon Hill extending south from Little Kennesaw.<sup>30</sup> Rising nearly 700 feet above the surrounding landscape, Kennesaw Mountain was described by Sherman as "the key to the whole country."<sup>31</sup> Johnston arrayed his army in a convex, six-mile-long line. The Confederate line extended east to protect the railroad and bent south along the Kennesaw Mountain ridge and beyond to cover the roads leading into Marietta from the west. Hood's corps

<sup>28</sup>Kelly, 15-16; Connelly, 346-56; Sherman, 504-7, 512-15.

<sup>29</sup>Kelly, 21-23; Connelly, 357-58, 421.

<sup>30</sup>Pigeon Hill is a twentieth-century name; at the time of the battle, this feature was called the Kennesaw Spur.

<sup>31</sup>Sherman, 530.

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held the right, Loring's the center, and Hardee's the left. The crests of Big and Little Kennesaw were cleared of timber to accommodate artillery emplacements and observation stations. A network of trenches for infantry and earthen forts, or redoubts, for supporting artillery lined the lower slopes of the ridge. Earthen parapets protected the infantry trenches. Immediately beyond the parapets were front ditches and abatis, and farther in advance were rifle pits for skirmishers, who observed the enemy and gave warning of an attack.<sup>32</sup>

As was his habit, Sherman ordered the bulk of his troops to dig in close to the enemy line, while he probed both flanks of the Confederate position. McPherson positioned his Army of the Tennessee on the left, Thomas's Army of the Cumberland held the middle, and Schofield's Army of the Ohio was on the right. On June 20, a Federal cavalry sortie across Noonday Creek east of the railroad on the Confederate right flank was checked by three brigades of southern cavalry. Simultaneously, Sherman ordered Schofield's Army of the Ohio to continue trying to envelop Johnston's left flank by moving to the south. Johnston learned that the Federals were pressing Hardee's corps on the Confederate left and threatening to seize the Powder Springs Road, an important route to the Chattahoochee. To counter this southward shift of Federal forces, Johnston ordered Hood to remove his corps from the right and march it behind the Confederate lines to reinforce and extend the left on the night of June 21. Loring's corps shifted to the right, joining Confederate cavalry in manning the positions abandoned by Hood's troops.<sup>33</sup>

#### **Cobb County in 1864**

The Union and Confederate forces entering Cobb County disrupted a lightly settled agricultural community composed largely of white farmer-landowners. Settlement in the area grew after the 1829 discovery of gold in the north Georgia mountains, near Dahlonega, and encouraged the Georgia legislature to establish Cobb County in 1832. The 1836-1838 removal of the Cherokees from Georgia west to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) greatly expanded the county's white settlement. Enterprising land owners bought land lots, consisting of 160 acres, and gold lots, with forty acres. The majority of the county was distributed in gold lots, although gold discoveries proved insignificant and short-lived. In 1838, the state legislature guaranteed the bonds for the Western & Atlantic Railroad, established by Joseph E. Brown. This rail line, which connected Atlanta and Chattanooga, was completed in 1850 and contributed to Marietta's growth as a summer resort community. At the same time, some industrial activity, particularly in Roswell, Georgia, identified Cobb County as a promising textile manufacturing center.<sup>34</sup> Despite this modest

<sup>32</sup>Kelly, 24; Connelly, 357; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 35.

<sup>33</sup>Kelly, 24-26; Connelly, 358-59.

<sup>34</sup>Roswell was later made a part of Fulton County.

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town development, most Cobb residents lived in the rural countryside and operated small farms among the rolling hills, woods, and lowlands.<sup>35</sup>

The county population in 1860 consisted of 10,000 whites and 4,000 blacks. Most farms were small compared to other Georgia counties. The rolling geography and rocky soil prevented large plantations and also limited the need for a large slave work force. Subsistence farming characterized antebellum Cobb County, with timber sales providing needed cash for some farmers. On the whole, these modestly prosperous people were self-sufficient. The Hardage family settled early in Cobb County, along the Burnt Hickory Road, south of Little Kennesaw. The family originally lived in a log cabin, but over the course of twenty years it moved to several larger residences. In 1853, George W. Hardage built a sawmill on Noyes Creek, paying eighteen dollars an acre for the land. When the Union army invaded Cobb County in June 1864, Mrs. Hardage and her two youngest children fled to Stone Mountain. Some family members remained until the fighting around Kennesaw Mountain intensified, when they also sought refuge at Stone Mountain.<sup>36</sup>

#### **The Battle of Kolb's Farm**

On June 22, Schofield's troops and Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker's XX Corps of the Army of the Cumberland began to advance east toward Marietta along the Powder Springs Road on the Confederate left. By early afternoon, Federal skirmishers had clashed with advance elements of Hood's corps, and the northerners hastily prepared dirt and fence-rail breastworks. Hood's orders were merely to check the Federal advance, but without consulting Johnston, Hood ordered a late-afternoon attack by two of his three divisions, led by Maj. Gens. Thomas C. Hindman and Carter L. Stevenson. The ensuing engagement is known as the Battle of Kolb's Farm.<sup>37</sup>

In this battle, the Confederates advanced westward athwart Powder Springs Road, pushing back Federal skirmishers. Hindman's division was arrayed north of the road, while Stevenson's advanced slantwise across it. Dense underbrush and swampy ground impeded the advance in places. When the advance neared the main Federal lines, it disintegrated. Aided by forty artillery pieces, many sighted to deliver devastating enfilade fire down a ravine, Federal infantry repulsed the advance. The brief battle cost Johnston approximately 1,000 casualties compared to 350 for the Federals. The battle checked Sherman's maneuvering

<sup>35</sup>Scott, 19-21.

<sup>36</sup>Scott, 19-21; James L. Aikman, "Kennesaw Sketches: A Collection of Descriptive Sketches and Anecdotes Sidelighting the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain" (Marietta, Ga.: National Park Service, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, 1941), 16-19.

<sup>37</sup>Kelly, 26-27; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 56-58.

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toward the south and influenced his decision to attempt a penetration of the Confederate line at Kennesaw.<sup>38</sup>

The field of the Battle of Kolb's Farm lies partially within the southern boundary of the park and partially on private property. The rehabilitated four-room log house of Peter Kolb, built in the 1830s, stands on the south side of Powder Springs Road within the park. Peter Valentine Kolb settled early in Cobb County from South Carolina, likely between 1832 and 1838. Shortly thereafter, Kolb built a rectangular log house composed of squarely hewn oak logs with lime and mud chinking. Kolb operated a self-sufficient farm, with ten slaves and approximately 600 acres of land. A blacksmith shop, north of Powder Springs Road, and numerous farm outbuildings occupied the site. The family cemetery lay west of the house. When the Federals approached the farm along Powder Springs Road, the Kolb family fled to Madison, Georgia. Union General Hooker used the house as his field headquarters until the Union armies left Kennesaw. The Kolbs did not occupy the house again until the 1880s, and during this lapse the house was damaged and several outbuildings were lost.<sup>39</sup> At the time of the battle, the area north of Powder Springs Road across from the house was mostly open pasture and cropland surrounded by swampy woods, lying within the floodplain of John Ward Creek. The main Federal lines were west of the Kolb house.

#### **The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain**

Thwarted in his attempt to maneuver beyond the Confederate left flank at Kolb's Farm, Sherman considered his options. His army was now within 20 miles of Atlanta. To the rear of Johnston's Kennesaw line, only one natural obstacle, the Chattahoochee River, protected the city. Nearly constant skirmishing and numerous medium-sized battles had marked the campaign, but neither army had suffered major losses. The rain had finally stopped and the roads were drying, facilitating army movements. Sherman felt that he could not prudently extend his lines farther to his right away from his railroad supply line. Believing that Johnston might have stretched his lines dangerously thin in extending his left, Sherman decided to attack the entrenched Confederates, "a thing carefully avoided up to that time."<sup>40</sup> Sherman later justified his decision on the grounds that troops lost their edge if kept out of combat for too long and his fear that his flanking tactics were becoming too predictable. Sherman may simply have grown impatient with the slow pace of his advance.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Castel, 294-95; Kelly, 26-28; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 55-62.

<sup>39</sup>B. C. Yates, "Historic Structures Report: The Kolb House, Part I" (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1961), 5-7, 11, 13, 22, 30.

<sup>40</sup>Sherman, 530.

<sup>41</sup>Castel, 320-21; Liddell-Hart, 266-67; Kelly, 31.

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Sherman reasoned that an assault on the physically imposing center of the Confederate line would be unexpected and ordered a two-pronged attack for the morning of June 27. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee and Thomas's Army of the Cumberland would attempt to penetrate the Confederate line at points selected by each army's commander. McPherson directed Maj. Gen. John A. Logan's XV Corps to attack at the junction of Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill. That portion of the Confederate line was defended by W. H. T. Walker's division of Hardee's corps and Samuel G. French's division of Loring's corps. The second, larger Federal effort would occur about one mile south. General Thomas chose Brig. Gen. John A. Newton's Second Division of the IV Corps and Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis's Second Division of the XIV Corps to make the attack. The objective was a low ridge defended by the divisions of Maj. Gens. Patrick R. Cleburne and Benjamin F. Cheatham of Hardee's corps. Other portions of the Federal force would feign an attack on the right and left flanks to prevent Johnston from reinforcing his center. As in many Civil War battles, only a fraction, approximately 20 percent, of the Federal force was committed to the June 27 assault. The remaining troops were held in reserve to follow up any successes.<sup>42</sup> Most of the Federal troops involved were Midwesterners, with the great majority coming from Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.

After a fifteen-minute artillery barrage on the morning of the 27th, Federal troops facing Big Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill moved forward from their works at 8:15 A.M. The diversion at Big Kennesaw Mountain and Bell's Ferry Road on the Confederate right was easily repulsed. At Pigeon Hill, 5,500 Federals in three brigades<sup>43</sup> moved toward the Confederate lines through dense underbrush and abatis on both sides of the Burnt Hickory Road only to confront the heavily fortified Confederate line. The western crest of Pigeon Hill was lined with earthworks, some built atop vertical rock faces, and provided the Confederates with a commanding view of Federal movements below. At the junction of Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill is a steep gorge, where the northerners struggled through dense underbrush. Part of this attack's front was within range of Confederate batteries on Little Kennesaw, which supported the defenders. A few Federals came within yards of the breastworks but could not breach the Confederate line. The attack collapsed within two hours.<sup>44</sup>

On Thomas's front south of Dallas Road, 9,000 Federals in Newton's and Davis's divisions formed in open fields behind the Federal lines. Their 9:00 A.M. assault was nearly an hour late. Thomas and his subordinates chose to assail this area because there the Federal lines were closest to the Confederate position. This shorter distance lessened the time that the attacking Federals would be exposed to Confederate fire. Additionally, a bend in the Confederate

<sup>42</sup>Kelly, 31; McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," 69-71.

<sup>43</sup>The brigades were commanded by Brig. Gen. Giles A. Smith, Brig. Gen. A. J. Lightburn, and Col. Charles Walcutt.

<sup>44</sup>Kelly, 32-36; Castel, 307-11.

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line created a potentially vulnerable salient soon to become known as "The Dead Angle."<sup>45</sup> The Confederate defenders on this portion of the front enjoyed a carefully prepared position. The unusually deep trenches followed the contour of the ridge and were equipped with firing platforms and traverses to provide protection from enfilade fire. One flaw in the position was the siting of the salient on the topographic rather than the military crest of the ridge. Artillery positions, concealed by brush, provided flanking fire from each side of the salient. The right flank was covered by Mebane's Tennessee Battery, a two-gun emplacement within a square redoubt. In places, abatis were supplemented by sharpened pine stakes set four inches apart and by chevaux-de-frise, criss-crossed logs bristling with pointed stakes. The ground to be covered by the Federals was partly occupied by a field, but was rough and rocky in places, with thin forest and dense underbrush impeding the formation of ranks. A small creek lay between the lines of the two armies.

Newton's three brigades attacked a westward-facing section of the Confederate line just north of the salient. The Confederate trenches in this area were protected by especially heavy abatis and a deep front ditch. The brigades of Brig. Gen. Charles Harker on the right and Brig. Gen. George D. Wagner on the left made the initial assault. To increase the chances of a breakthrough, the attack was in dense columns with individual regiments lined up one behind the other. When the Federals emerged from the last stand of light trees, the Confederates opened a devastating fire. Infantry fire was supplemented by shell and canister from Confederate artillery batteries. Both Federal brigades were easily repulsed, and only a few attackers penetrated the abatis to the foot of the Confederate breastworks. Harker, the only general to go into this battle mounted, was killed trying to rally his men for a renewed attack. Newton then ordered Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball's brigade, deployed on Wagner's left, to advance. A handful of Kimball's men reached the parapet, where they were killed or captured.

Just south of Newton's attack, two brigades of Davis's division led by Cols. Daniel McCook and John G. Mitchell assaulted the Dead Angle. McCook's four regiments, formed in line of battle, ran across an open field toward the salient, hitting the toe in successive waves. Mitchell's regiments, similarly aligned, advanced and then wheeled to their left to attack the salient's southern flank. As soon as the Federals entered the wheat field in front of the Confederate position, they came under infantry fire. The defensive fire became intense as the assault force neared the breastworks. The Confederate battery south of the Dead Angle suddenly caught Mitchell's men in deadly enfilade fire. Some of the Federals reached the Confederate trenches and briefly fought hand-to-hand before being killed or captured. Colonel McCook was mortally wounded on the parapet near the toe of the salient. His

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<sup>45</sup>Salients tend to draw focussed attacking fire while fanning out less effective defensive fire. Salients also limit the field of fire for flanking artillery.

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successor, Col. William Dilworth of the 85th Illinois regiment, fell within five minutes of assuming brigade command.<sup>46</sup>

The placement of the Confederate salient on the highest part of the hill, rather than the military crest, prevented even greater Federal casualties. Approximately twenty-five yards below the salient, the hill drops off steeply before regaining its gentle slope to the valley floor. The Federals, repulsed and unable to return to their own works without incurring additional losses, fell back to the shelter provided by this depression. There, they rapidly dug trenches, using tin cups and bayonets, and improving the works at night with entrenching tools brought up from the rear. A second Federal line was constructed and, later, an attempt was made to tunnel under the Confederate works and destroy them with explosives. Several cease-fires were observed in order to retrieve wounded and bury the dead that lay strewn between the two lines following the morning assault. The stand-off ended five days later when Johnston's forces withdrew from the Kennesaw line. The ridge on this portion of the battlefield was named Cheatham Hill, in honor of the successful defense by Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham's troops.<sup>47</sup>

Sherman was reluctant to acknowledge the failure of his attempt to break the Confederate lines. He queried Thomas about renewing the attack on the afternoon of June 27. When Thomas responded that "one or two more such assaults would use up this army,"<sup>48</sup> Sherman abandoned the idea. Federal casualties for the morning's assault were estimated at 3,000. Protected by their breastworks, the Confederates lost less than 1,000. Many of these were skirmishers overrun in advance positions; troops in the main Confederate line suffered minimal losses. The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain demonstrated again the overwhelming advantage possessed by motivated defenders in entrenched positions, particularly where the topography also favored the defenders.<sup>49</sup>

Schofield's demonstration on the far right of the Federal position provided Sherman's only gain of the day. In that sector, northern infantry established a position on the Austell Road, and cavalry detachments advanced south to within five miles of the Chattahoochee. In the days following the battle, Sherman ordered McPherson to reinforce Schofield on the far right. Johnston was once again in danger of being outflanked, and he ordered a withdrawal from the Kennesaw line on the night of July 2. The Confederate army took up a new position around Smyrna Station, four miles southeast of Marietta. Although it briefly boosted Southern morale, in the end, the Confederates' defensive

<sup>46</sup>Castel, 307-15; Kelly, 37-40.

<sup>47</sup>Kelly, 36-39; Castel, 307-16.

<sup>48</sup>Kelly, 41.

<sup>49</sup>McPherson, 749-50; Castel, 320.

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victory at Kennesaw Mountain had little impact, because it only delayed, but did not halt, Sherman's advance.<sup>50</sup>

Sherman continued to probe the Confederate left, and on the night of July 4 Johnston ordered another retreat, this time to a prepared line of defenses on the north bank of the Chattahoochee. The Chattahoochee runs from the northeast to the southwest in this area, and Johnston believed Sherman would again attempt to get around his left flank. Sherman encouraged this belief by sending a decoy cavalry detachment to the southwest to ostentatiously scout river crossings. Johnston responded by dispatching the bulk of his cavalry to guard the downstream crossings. Sherman meanwhile ordered Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard's cavalry and Schofield's infantry to cross upstream (northeast) of Johnston's line. The Federals captured the town of Roswell, destroying its cloth mills, and crossed the river at several upstream fords on July 8 and 9. With numerous Federals across the river and threatening to get between him and Atlanta, Johnston ordered the abandonment of his river line. On the night of July 9, the Confederates withdrew to the outer defenses of Atlanta, on the south bank of Peachtree Creek and less than five miles from the city's center.<sup>51</sup>

Johnston's continued withdrawals caused increasing concern in the Confederate capital. On July 16, Jefferson Davis wired Johnston, asking for his plan of operations. Johnston's reply that his plan "must depend on that of the enemy" failed to reassure Davis. On July 17, Davis relieved Johnston of command of the Army of Tennessee and put Lt. Gen. John Bell Hood in his place. General Cheatham assumed temporary command of Hood's old army corps, which was assigned to Lt. Gen. Stephen D. Lee on July 27. Just thirty-three, Hood had a reputation for aggressiveness as a brigade and division commander, but lacked experience in commanding an army. A leg lost at Chickamauga and a mangled left arm limited Hood's ability to ride a horse and personally supervise combat operations. The change of commanders did not end dissension among the officers of the Army of Tennessee. Many officers considered Hood a reckless gambler, and General Hardee's dissatisfaction at being passed over probably affected his performance in the subsequent battles for Atlanta.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Fall of Atlanta**

When all of his forces had crossed the Chattahoochee, Sherman advanced on Atlanta in a wheeling movement. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland served as the pivot, moving on the city from the north, while Schofield's Army of the Ohio and McPherson's Army of the Tennessee swung around to the east. On July 19, McPherson was in Decatur, six miles east of Atlanta, marching slowly west along

<sup>50</sup>Kelly, 41-42, 45.

<sup>51</sup>Kelly, 45; Connelly, 392-98.

<sup>52</sup>Connelly, 430-32, 450-51; Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, a Narrative: Red River to Appomattox* (New York: Random House, 1974), 472-73.

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the Georgia Railroad, tearing up track along the way. Schofield was near Decatur advancing on a road parallel to the railroad, and Thomas was beginning to cross Peachtree Creek on a six-mile front. Hoping to capitalize on the division of the Federal forces, Hood ordered Cheatham's corps and Georgia militia under Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith to hold Schofield and McPherson in place while Stewart and Hardee surprised Thomas astride Peachtree Creek. The attack, scheduled to begin at 1:00 P.M. on July 20, fell victim to delay and confusion. Hood remained at his headquarters in Atlanta after issuing his orders, and Hardee and Cheatham were unable to coordinate their assaults. When the attack began, Thomas had virtually all of his troops on the south bank of the creek and held off the disorganized Confederates in the Battle of Peachtree Creek.<sup>53</sup>

Undaunted, Hood ordered an attack on McPherson's army for the 22nd. Hardee's corps was sent on a fifteen-mile night march to get in position on McPherson's left flank and rear. With simultaneous attacks by Cheatham's corps from the west and Hardee's from the south and east, Hood hoped to roll up McPherson's left. The Confederates nearly succeeded in winning the Battle of Atlanta, despite rushed preparations and inadequate coordination. Hardee was hampered by densely wooded terrain and poor reconnaissance and was unable to get all of his divisions engaged until late in the afternoon. Hood inexplicably delayed the attack on Cheatham's front until two hours after Hardee's began. General McPherson was killed in the battle, but the Federal lines held after some early wavering.<sup>54</sup>

Sherman was determined to capture the two rail lines—the Macon & Western and the Atlanta & West Point—still in Confederate hands. The Macon & Western ran south from Atlanta; at the town of East Point five miles away, the Atlanta & West Point branched from it. Sherman sent cavalry detachments southeast around his left flank to disrupt the Macon & Western deep in the Confederate rear. The Army of the Tennessee, now commanded by Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, was ordered on a broad movement counterclockwise around Atlanta to the right to seize the junction at East Point and tear up the Atlanta & West Point. Confederate cavalry turned aside the Federal cavalry raids, and Hood prepared a trap for Howard's advancing army. Stephen D. Lee's corps was to delay the Federals by taking a position along Lickskillet Road near Ezra Church, while Stewart's corps circled around to attack Howard's right flank. When Lee advanced on the morning of July 28, he found the Federals already entrenched. Without consulting Hood or waiting for Stewart to move up, Lee committed his divisions in a series of suicidal attacks. When Stewart arrived, his troops made additional futile charges. The Battle of Ezra Church was the most one-sided of the campaign. The Confederates suffered 5,000 casualties, almost ten times the Federal loss.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Connelly, 439-44; Kelly, 46.

<sup>54</sup>Connelly, 444-50; Kelly, 48-50.

<sup>55</sup>Connelly, 452-55; Kelly, 51.

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Hood's three battles in a week's time cost the Confederates more than 12,000 casualties. Sherman had failed to cut the rail lines but showed no sign of retreating, and the Federals brought up heavy siege guns to bombard Atlanta. Jefferson Davis virtually ordered Hood to make no more attacks on entrenched Federal positions. Hood extended his entrenchments to cover the railroad from Atlanta to East Point. On August 10, Hood sent half his cavalry, about 4,000 men, on a raid deep in Sherman's rear to disrupt Federal supplies. The raid had negligible results, and the lack of cavalry hampered Hood's ability to track Sherman's movements around Atlanta. Throughout August, Federal artillery rained down on the city, while the North waited for favorable war news.<sup>56</sup>

Northern civilian morale was at a low ebb in August 1864. Grant at Petersburg and Sherman at Atlanta were engaged in trench warfare of unpredictable duration. Federal armies had absorbed staggering casualties in 1864—90,000 in one three-month period—to achieve what appeared to be a stalemate. Lincoln's July draft call for 500,000 more men added to the discontent. In late August, the Democrat Party nominated Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan for president on a platform that emphasized peace over restoration of the Union. Privately, President Lincoln predicted a Democratic victory in the fall. Absent a decisive victory for Federal arms, the election of McClellan on a peace platform was a strong possibility.<sup>57</sup>

Mindful that Lincoln's reelection effort depended on Federal victories and impatient with the slow progress of the siege, Sherman in late August abandoned his lines around Atlanta. On August 26, all three Federal armies began a giant wheeling movement counterclockwise around Atlanta aimed at finally tearing up the Atlanta & West Point and Macon & Western tracks south of the city. With much of his cavalry off on a raid, Hood was slow to grasp the dimensions of this shift. On August 30, Hood learned that Howard's Army of the Tennessee was approaching Jonesboro from the west, fifteen miles south of Atlanta. Hood sent Hardee's and S. D. Lee's corps to meet this threat. On August 31, the first day of the Battle of Jonesboro, a numerically superior Confederate force was unable to break the Federal lines. That night, Hood ordered Lee's corps back to Atlanta. A late-afternoon Federal assault on September 1 nearly crushed Hardee's corps, which retreated south to Lovejoy's Station. Federal troops now controlled all the railroads into Atlanta, and Hood was compelled to abandon the city. In their hasty withdrawal, the Confederates accidentally destroyed their reserve ammunition train and numerous other supplies. Sherman wired Washington that "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won."<sup>58</sup>

The fall of Atlanta provided a huge boost to Northern morale and a corresponding letdown for the South. Combined with Rear Adm. David G.

<sup>56</sup>Connelly, 456-58.

<sup>57</sup>McPherson, 766-72.

<sup>58</sup>Kelly, 51-52; Connelly, 461-64.

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Farragut's August 5 victory at Mobile Bay and Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's successes in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley in September and October, the capture of Atlanta deprived the Democrats of their war failure issue. The Republicans fully exploited the implications of the Democrats' peace platform and made repeated accusations of disloyalty. Democrats tried to emphasize opposition to emancipation but made little headway. Believing that a final military victory was at hand, northern voters gave the Republicans an overwhelming electoral victory in November. McClellan carried only Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey, and the Republicans won a three-fourths majority in the Congress. Sherman's success in Georgia was a major factor in Lincoln's reelection.<sup>59</sup>

Vindicated at the polls, Lincoln and the Republican Party pursued the war to a successful conclusion. After destroying Atlanta and expelling its citizens, Sherman in mid-November began his march to the sea, devastating a sixty-mile-wide corridor across Georgia and capturing Savannah in late 1864. Richmond fell in early April 1865; Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House on April 9; and all remaining Confederate forces, including those west of the Mississippi, had surrendered by June 23.<sup>60</sup> The war was over, and the country turned its attention to problems of reconciliation and reconstruction.

#### **Kennesaw Mountain After the War**

After the armies left, families gradually returned to their farms and attempted to restore their livelihoods. However, by 1880, changes in southern agricultural practices had affected the community and the countryside. Tenantry greatly increased among Cobb County farms and throughout the South. Between 1880 and 1900, the use of tenants on Cobb County farms rose from 34 percent to 56 percent. Landowners carved up their land tracts, that had averaged 112 acres per farm, to lots of seventy-two acres or less, to better accommodate the tenant farmer and to increase the number of farms available for tenantry. Improved acreage increased by 31 percent in these twenty years. The county population also rose considerably, from 14,242 in 1860 to 24,664 in 1900. Together, smaller farms and higher population density created a patchwork of cultivated fields, pastures, and orchards that replaced the woodlands and forests of the antebellum period.<sup>61</sup>

#### **Significance**

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park is the only National Park Service property that commemorates the Atlanta Campaign. This campaign had important military and political significance in the final phases of the Civil War. The

<sup>59</sup>McPherson, 773-75, 788-91, 805-6.

<sup>60</sup>McPherson, 846-50; Foote, 1021-22.

<sup>61</sup>Scott, 5-6, 22-26; Sarah B. G. Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County in Ga.*, 6th ed. (Athens, Georgia: A. G. Publishers, 1989), 7.

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earthworks, landscape, some of the roads, and the Kolb House at Kennesaw are tangible links to the Atlanta Campaign. The role of the battle in the Atlanta campaign, the grand strategy of the war, battlefield tactics, and the life of the average soldier are represented by these resources.

The historic resources dating to the time of the battle have varying levels of significance. The entire eleven miles of earthworks are nationally significant under National Register Criteria A, B, and C. The earthworks clearly indicate the areas of combat during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain, a crucial engagement in the Atlanta Campaign, and were built at the orders of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and General Joseph E. Johnston. Although not nominated under Criterion D, the earthworks may also possess information potential. The Kolb House contributes to the national significance of the battlefield under Criterion A and is locally significant as an example of an early farm house under Criterion C. It is the only remaining park building that existed during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and a rare example from an early period of Cobb County settlement. A significant military action, known as the Battle of Kolb's Farm, occurred near the house.

The Kolb Cemetery, located adjacent to the Kolb House, contributes to the national significance of the battlefield and is locally significant under Criterion A because it represents burial customs among early settlers. The New Salem Church Cemetery, which is associated with the ruins of New Salem Church, is also locally significant under Criterion A for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century burial practices. Additionally, the New Salem Church site may possess archeological potential, because the church possibly served as a Confederate field hospital. The Kolb Cemetery and possibly the New Salem Church Cemetery are among the few remaining resources that existed during the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain.

Gilbert, Old John Ward, Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads were all present at the time of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads contribute to the national significance of the battlefield under Criterion A, because they served as transportation corridors for the approaching armies. The antebellum road, which was used by the Confederates to haul artillery to Big Kennesaw's summit, also contributes to the national significance. Gilbert and Old John Ward Roads are locally significant under Criterion A for their association with early Cobb County settlement.

## 2. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These are applied to each contributing property and measured against its level of significance and the criteria from which it derives its significance. For example, a property that is significant under Criterion A for its association with an event is not held to the same

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standard of integrity as one that derives its significance from Criterion C, as an example of art or architecture. For a property to contribute to the historic district, it must possess several, and usually most, of the aspects of integrity.

The integrity of the earthworks varies from feature to feature. All earthworks retain integrity of location, and most exhibit integrity of design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. In the best cases, a front and rear ditch and a well-defined parapet wall may be visible. Most of the earthworks are in stable condition, with grasses and other benign understory growth checking erosion. In limited areas, the integrity of the earthworks has been compromised, largely because of erosion or visitor impacts. For example, on Kennesaw Mountain and its spur, trails pass through the earthworks to provide access for visitors. In other areas, particularly among the artillery positions located along the ridgelines, the protective foliage covering the works has been killed by visitors walking along the crest of the parapet walls. All earthworks within the bounds of the park retain integrity as archeological resources that are likely to yield further information.

The Kolb House exhibits a high degree of integrity of design, workmanship, and association. The NPS in 1963 rehabilitated the exterior to its 1830s appearance, removing later clapboard siding to reveal the original hewn logs. Most of the original 1830s historic fabric was retained in the rehabilitation. The interior, although adapted to serve as park quarters, still reflects the original Georgian plan. Integrity of setting and feeling have been compromised by the loss of surrounding farm acreage and outbuildings and the development of Powder Springs Road into a five-lane arterial road. However, the house remains in its original location and clearly identifies the historically significant site.

Kolb Cemetery, which contains eleven marked graves, retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. Integrity of setting and feeling are lessened slightly by the loss of farm outbuildings and heavy traffic on Powder Springs Road. New Salem Cemetery, containing approximately twenty-four marked graves, has substantial integrity of location, design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. The church foundation ruins possess integrity of location and setting and mark the site of a building present at the time of the battle and possibly used as a Confederate field hospital.

Stilesboro, Dallas, and Burnt Hickory Roads exhibit integrity of location and design. Although paved and widened, they maintain their nineteenth-century roadbeds. Where they pass through the battlefield, these roads possess considerable integrity of setting, feeling, and association, allowing visitors to understand how troops reached their positions before and during the battle. Gilbert and Old John Ward Roads also retain a substantial degree of integrity.

Several properties that contribute to the significance of the historic district under Context A also meet various Criteria Considerations. The Kolb and Old

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Salem Church cemeteries meet Criteria Consideration D for their association with the Battle of the Kennesaw Mountain. The Kolb Cemetery is also significant for its association with the Kolb House, the only extant building in the district dating to the battle. The New Salem Church foundation ruins, adjacent to the New Salem Church Cemetery, meet Criteria Consideration A, based on their association with the battle. The Grave of the Unknown U.S. Soldier, the only known interment at the battlefield, meets Criterion Consideration C.

### 3. Contributing Properties under Context A

Earthworks (1864)  
Kolb House (c. 1836)  
Kolb Cemetery (1839-)  
Stilesboro Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Gilbert Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Old John Ward Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Dallas Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Burnt Hickory Road (c. 1840-1864)  
Big Kennesaw Antebellum Road (c. 1840-1864)  
New Salem Church Site (c. 1840-1864)  
Grave of the Unknown U.S. Soldier (1864; 1934)

### 4. Noncontributing Properties

Shiloh Church and School Site  
Hardage House Site  
Cass House Site  
Ballenger House Site  
Tierce House Site

All of these sites are vacant and have not been determined eligible by archeological investigations (only Ballenger has been surveyed.)<sup>62</sup> No standing structures remain, although the park has placed interpretive signs at these locations, and as sites they provide continuity to the historic landscape.

Marietta-Cassville Road  
Powder Springs Road

Both of these roads have been altered and do not meet integrity requirements. Powder Springs Road is currently five lanes of asphalt with curb and gutter in some places and has been straightened. The Marietta-Cassville Road, within and outside of the park, has been fragmented and no longer maintains integrity of setting, feeling, or association.

<sup>62</sup>William R. Bowen, "An Archeological Survey for the Proposed Dallas Road/S.R. 120 Widening, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Cobb County, Georgia," Georgia Department of Transportation, October 1987.

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B. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: The Commemoration of American Battlefields and National Park Development, 1887-1942

The nucleus of today's Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park was a sixty-acre tract at Cheatham Hill acquired and preserved through the efforts of Union veterans. The history of the park's development properly begins with the broader theme of Civil War memorial activity. An examination of privately sponsored memorial activity at Kennesaw Mountain follows and leads into the history of Federal involvement at Kennesaw. The War Department administered the park from 1928 to 1933. National Park Service administration began in 1933 and included development work performed by Civilian Conservation Corps Camp 431, located in the park from 1938 to 1942.

**Early Battlefield Commemoration: Civil War Memorial Activity and the Establishment of Kennesaw Mountain Battlefield Park, 1887-1933**

The Civil War was a watershed event in American history and a signal event in the lives of all who participated in it. Of the 2.75 million Americans who saw action in the war, 621,000 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 and state memorial efforts. Commemorative efforts began in the mid-1860s with the formation of local memorial associations in the South, the creation of Union soldiers' cemeteries at Gettysburg and Antietam, the preservation of land at Gettysburg, the establishment of national cemeteries by the Federal government, and the creation of veterans' groups, mostly in the North. 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, became common. The interaction at reunions, a spirit of sectional 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 men provided crucial, especially financial, support. The proper burial of the Confederate dead was the immediate concern of the LMAs, and the individual 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.<sup>63</sup> 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, unveiled in 1907.<sup>64</sup>

The Confederate Cemetery at Marietta, Georgia, is a typical result 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.<sup>65</sup>

The Union possessed greater resources than the Confederacy for establishing military cemeteries, which were initially created through state and local action. The State of Pennsylvania acted immediately in 1863 to lay out a cemetery at Gettysburg. By the time of President Lincoln's famous address dedicating the Gettysburg cemetery on November 19, 1863, landscape gardener William Saunders had laid out a circular burial ground with space for a monument at the center. Arlington National Cemetery was also established during the war, on Mrs. Robert E. Lee's confiscated estate just across the Potomac from Washington. Congress soon authorized a system of national cemeteries, at Civil War battlefields and elsewhere, in legislation enacted on February 22, 1867. The Federal government accepted responsibility for the cemeteries at the Gettysburg and Antietam battlefields in the 1870s. Ultimately, twenty-six national cemeteries were established at or near Civil War battlefields. The Federal role in creating and maintaining Civil War

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<sup>63</sup>A representative early Confederate monument is the obelisk in Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery, unveiled April 26, 1874 (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).

<sup>64</sup>Gaines 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.

<sup>65</sup>*History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 140-43; Widener, 67.

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battlefield cemeteries prefigured the creation of national military parks some twenty years later.<sup>66</sup>

A cemetery for Union dead was established in Marietta in 1866 on land donated by the Henry G. Cole, a Marietta citizen who had opposed secession. Cole's initial proposal for a cemetery for the fallen of both sides was rejected, and on July 31, 1866, he conveyed twenty acres to the Federal government for a national cemetery. By 1870, the remains of 9,973 Union soldiers had been transferred to Marietta National Cemetery. Remains came from the battlefields of north Georgia and from a short-lived national cemetery in Montgomery, Alabama.<sup>67</sup>

The formation of Civil War veterans' organizations closely followed the movement to establish cemeteries. These organizations formed earlier in the North than 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. 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-in-chief. Yearly national encampments brought together veterans from hundreds of posts scattered across the country. The GAR experienced an initial spurt of growth 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.<sup>68</sup>

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

<sup>66</sup>Ronald 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.

<sup>67</sup>"Marietta National Cemetery" (Washington, D.C.: Veterans Administration, 1976), 1-2; "Marietta National Cemetery, Marietta, Georgia" (Marietta, Ga.: Dept. of the Army, Office of the Quartermaster General, n.d.), 1-3.

<sup>68</sup>Wallace E. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 29-35.

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1886). Many individual companies and regiments also formed organizations. A primary focus of most unit organizations was socializing at annual reunions, but many erected battlefield monuments. Veterans' groups successfully lobbied state legislatures to appropriate funds for the erection of state monuments on numerous fields.<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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 organizational structure similar to the GAR's, the UCV spread across the South in the 1890s, with membership reaching approximately 80,000 by 1903.<sup>71</sup>

While in the North veterans usually led the way, 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 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 but maintained its independence from the veterans' group.<sup>72</sup>

The commemorative efforts of veterans' groups changed over time. In the early postwar period, various army societies urged the completion of statues and monuments honoring generals. Reunions were always an important commemorative activity and initially included only veterans who had fought on the same side. In the 1880s, the bitterness of excombatants began to diminish, and veterans

<sup>69</sup>Davies, 29-30, 36-37.

<sup>70</sup>More than 100,000 people participated in ceremonies marking the unveiling of the Lee Monument on May 29, 1890 (Foster, 100-101).

<sup>71</sup>Foster, 50-53, 91, 104-7.

<sup>72</sup>Foster, 172-73; Davies, 41-42.

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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.<sup>73</sup>

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. Veterans urged the Federal government to take over from states and army societies the responsibility of protecting battlefield sites 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 keeping with the growing spirit of national reconciliation, the legislation stipulated that all troop positions, Confederate and Federal, were to be marked. National military parks followed at Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899), along with a national battlefield site at Antietam in 1890.<sup>74</sup>

#### Memorial Efforts at Kennesaw Mountain

Union veterans' groups led the initial efforts to preserve and commemorate the Kennesaw Mountain battlefields. In 1887, veterans held a blue-gray reunion at Kennesaw Mountain.<sup>75</sup> After the war, veterans of the Third Brigade, Second Division, of the XIV Federal Army Corps, which made the assault on Cheatham Hill, formed the Colonel Dan McCook Brigade Association, named in honor of their fallen commander. The association, which held its first reunion in August 1900, resolved to purchase the land at Cheatham Hill where the brigade attacked and Colonel McCook was mortally wounded. In December 1899, Lansing J. Dawdy, a veteran of the 86th Illinois regiment, purchased a sixty-acre tract that included the Federal and Confederate trenches at Cheatham Hill. In 1900, Dawdy conveyed this tract to Martin Kingman and John McGinnis, who acted on

<sup>73</sup>Davies, 226, 249; Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 257-58; Foster, 67-68.

<sup>74</sup>John 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.

<sup>75</sup>Buck, 258.

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behalf of the Kennesaw Memorial Association, a nonprofit organization formally incorporated under Illinois law in April 1901.<sup>76</sup>

The Kennesaw Memorial Association attempted to raise funds from Union veterans to erect a monument at Cheatham Hill. Contributions from veterans proved insufficient, and the association secured a \$20,000 appropriation from the state of Illinois in June 1913. Illinois Governor Charles S. Deneen appointed three officers of the association, Dawdy, William A. Payton, and Dr. J. B. Shawgo, to a commission charged with carrying out the work of erecting a monument. The commission contracted with the McNeel Marble Company of Marietta to erect a large monument to Illinois troops at the site of the attack on Cheatham Hill.<sup>77</sup> The \$25,000 monument was unveiled on June 27, 1914, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. A large number of veterans, Governor Edward Dunne of Illinois, and a contingent from the United Daughters of the Confederacy attended the ceremony. The 25-foot-high monument of Georgia marble features a square base and a tapering shaft. On the west side are seven-foot bronze figures of a Union soldier flanked by two robed allegorical figures. Several smaller battlefield markers were erected at Cheatham Hill in this period. These included separate memorials to Captain Neighbour, Captain Fellows, and Sergeant Coffee, a marker at the McCook Brigade's jumping off point, and a stone arch marking the tunnel begun by Federal troops attempting to undermine the Confederate trenches.<sup>78</sup>

#### **Federal Government Commemorative Activity at Kennesaw Mountain**

The northern veterans who led the effort to erect a memorial at Kennesaw intended from the start that a national park be created at the battlefield. Unsuccessful congressional attempts in 1910 and 1912 to establish a national military park at Kennesaw Mountain preceded enactment on February 8, 1917, of a law authorizing the Secretary of War to accept title to the sixty-acre tract at Cheatham Hill from the Kennesaw Memorial Association as a national battlefield site. Problems with the chain of title delayed the conveyance of the tract to

<sup>76</sup>"Program, First Reunion of the Third Brigade, 2d Division, 14th Army Corps"; "Minutes of Business Meeting, Colonel Dan McCook Brigade Association, May 15, 1901"; Capps, 5-6.

<sup>77</sup>McNeel Marble Company aggressively solicited memorial business from United Daughter of the Confederacy chapters and built many monuments across the South (Foster, 167-68).

<sup>78</sup>Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-Eighth General Assembly (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Journal Co., 1913), 58-59; Chicago Daily Tribune, June 28, 1914; Journal of the Illinois Historical Society 4 (Jan. 1912), 531; Capps, 5-6.

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the War Department until 1928. In the interim, the Kennesaw Memorial Association hired the Reverend J. A. Jones as resident caretaker.<sup>79</sup>

In April 1926, Federal legislation established a three-man commission to inspect Kennesaw Mountain and other Civil War battlefield sites in north Georgia. The legislation entrusted this commission, composed of an officer of the Army Corps of Engineers and one veteran each from the Union and Confederate armies, to determine whether a national military park, which would represent the Atlanta campaign, should be established. The commission considered Kennesaw Mountain the most suitable battlefield for designation as a national military park, based on its significance to the campaign, its intrinsic scenic value, and its accessibility.<sup>80</sup>

Concurrent with the commission's actions at Kennesaw, Congress passed legislation on June 11, 1926, that established a comprehensive system of battlefield classification, drafted by the War Department, which created standards for determining the appropriate level of commemoration. In the post-World War I period, private commemorative interests persuaded Congressmen to introduce numerous bills to establish national military parks, most 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.<sup>81</sup>

Prior to this national initiative, the Kennesaw Mountain battlefield survey commission recommended the establishment of Kennesaw Mountain National Military Park. Introduced in December 1926, the legislation to create a national military park at Kennesaw did not pass, and repeated congressional efforts over the next nine years to establish the park were unsuccessful. On June 10, 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, transferring War Department military and historical parks to the National Park Service. Among the properties transferred was the sixty-acre tract at Kennesaw Mountain, known as Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Site, which still constituted the only property administered by the Federal government at the battlefield.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup>Capps, 6-7; Senate Bill S. 6391, 61st Congress, February 15, 1910; Senate Bill S. 7099, 62nd Congress, June 11, 1912; Public Law 44 Stat. 588, February 8, 1917.

<sup>80</sup>Capps, 6-7.

<sup>81</sup>Lee, 47.

<sup>82</sup>Capps, 7-8; Horace M. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1971), 21-22.

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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 by Lt. Col. C. A. Bach, Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, in 1925, 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.<sup>83</sup>

For the War Department, this classification system determined how large of an area would be preserved and the extent 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, like Kennesaw, required the acquisition and marking of the battle lines, clearly delineated at Kennesaw by the miles of earthworks constructed by Union and Confederate forces. This preservation tactic, popularly known as "the Antietam Plan," preserved the smallest amount of land possible 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.<sup>84</sup>

The War Department accomplished very little at Kennesaw Mountain over the five years it actively administered the site. Because the site was never designated a national military park, no additional land acquisition occurred beyond the original sixty acres. Between 1928 and 1932, the superintendent of Marietta National Cemetery administered the battlefield, but few funds were available for improvement or maintenance at Kennesaw. In 1932, a part-time caretaker established residence on a farm near the site and witnessed the construction of a three-quarter-mile entrance road from John Ward Road and the erection of some boundary fencing. Despite plans for better fencing, roads, underbrush clearing near the monument and trenches, and partial reconstruction of the earthworks, no other work was completed by the War Department prior to the site's transfer to the NPS.<sup>85</sup>

The NPS approach to battlefield commemoration differed substantially from War Department policies. In general, the War Department made sporadic efforts to interpret or provide access to its battlefield sites, maintaining them largely for use as study aids for succeeding generations of military men. The National Park Service, established in 1916, was at first strongly oriented to the

<sup>83</sup>Lee, 47-49.

<sup>84</sup>Lee, 39-40.

<sup>85</sup>Capps, 7-8.

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preservation of natural and wilderness areas. Nevertheless, as early as 1917 the question of consolidating all historical and military parks under National Park Service authority was debated.<sup>86</sup> The background of the NPS, its evolving mission, and the development of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park with Civilian Conservation Corps labor are treated below.

**Expansion and Development: National Park Service Administration and the CCC, 1933-1942.**

The national park system, well established in the west, experienced its greatest growth east of the Mississippi just before and during the Great Depression. Several factors contributed to this growth: the authorization of Great Smoky Mountains, Mammoth Cave, and Shenandoah National Parks in 1926; the establishment of Colonial National Monument and the reconstruction of Washington's birthplace in 1930; the construction of Skyline Drive begun in 1930-31; and finally, the 1933 transfer to NPS of all battlefields, national monuments, and historic sites administered by the War Department, the Department of Agriculture, and in Washington, D.C. These developments physically expanded the national park system and significantly enlarged NPS's agenda beyond conservation of natural areas.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), established March 31, 1933, under the Federal Unemployment Relief Act, significantly facilitated the administration and expansion of historic and natural parks by the National Park Service (NPS). The CCC also represented a challenging experiment in social reform, which spawned many subsequent New Deal programs. Through CCC projects, the 1933-1942 period saw a long-held conservation and preservation ethic toward public lands enacted on a national scale, and the national parks benefitted broadly. CCC improvements, which included building roads and trails and providing historic interpretive programs, greatly increased public access. Reforestation, land reclamation, and landscaping enhanced the natural beauty of emerging national parks. In addition, many new state parks were developed, some adjacent to national parks, to provide recreation areas for the increasing numbers of park visitors.

The CCC represented a culmination of conservation philosophies, recreational needs, and an expanding Federal role in natural preservation. The program was heartily embraced by lawmakers and the public alike, because it responded quickly and practically to the greatest economic disaster the United States had yet experienced. Roosevelt conceived of an Advisory Council with representatives from the Departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior that would administer CCC camps and work. The Labor Department would initiate nationwide recruiting; the Army would condition and transport the enrollees and

<sup>86</sup>Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites*,

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operate the camps; and the National Park Service and the Forest Service would create work programs and supervise work assignments.<sup>87</sup>

NPS Director Horace M. Albright served on the Advisory Board and saw great potential for the CCC within the national park system, especially in long-ignored road- and trail-building projects. Albright quickly increased the technical staff of the NPS in preparation for the land conservation work and designed park development projects that the CCC would carry out. The NPS hired hundreds of landscape architects, historians, foresters, and engineers to design and supervise CCC operations.<sup>88</sup> The propitious addition of the military and historic parks, sites, and national monuments to the NPS in 1933 conveniently coincided with the newly created CCC.

The passage of the Federal Unemployment Relief Act (FURA) in March 1933 introduced a new role for the Federal government. Under this Act, Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), later known as the CCC, was created. Congress appropriated funds to the ECW Director, Robert Fechner, who in turn allocated funds to participating Federal agencies. All work performed by ECW labor would be performed on public lands and directed by Federal agencies. Between 1933 and 1935, Congress created numerous work relief programs under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of June 1933. In contrast to the ECW, programs emanating from NIRA entitled states to Federal relief grants that would fund public works projects. Two popular relief agencies emerging from the NIRA, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA), allocated Federal funds to states and municipal governments, provided these agencies contributed matching funds. In 1935, the Works Progress Administration, which replaced the PWA, greatly expanded the type of public works performed with Federal and state funding. Early New Deal public works programs, like the PWA, concentrated solely on construction projects. New Deal programs after 1935 also provided relief to unemployed white-collar workers, professionals, and large numbers of unskilled women.<sup>89</sup>

The CCC served several purposes, but its primary significance lay in creating useful work for unemployed youths. In 1933, three years into the Depression, national unemployment figures for youths spiked to 25 percent, and 30 percent of those employed labored only part-time. Unemployment figures for the nation nearly equalled the youthful rate. In 1930, one year after the stock market crash, national unemployment rates reached 9 percent and continued to rise: to 16 percent in 1931, 24 percent in 1932, and to a zenith of more than 25 percent in 1933. Depressed economic conditions had plagued agricultural areas for nearly a decade, and careless husbandry combined with drought and pestilence

<sup>87</sup>Paige, 10-11.

<sup>88</sup>Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 289-90.

<sup>89</sup>Paige, Appendix A, Selected Draft Legislation, Legislation, and Executive Orders Affecting the Civilian Conservation Corps, 162-78; Shannon, 177-80, 191-93.

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slashed rural production capacity. The cities, especially industrial bases, also witnessed deflated production and massive unemployment.<sup>90</sup> Roosevelt introduced the Emergency Conservation Work Act to Congress within two months of his inauguration, and it was eagerly passed. Although hardly a panacea for unemployment, it foreshadowed the many New Deal economic and employment relief initiatives to follow.

Initially, CCC enrollees were inducted from urban areas, where unemployment was highest, especially among the unskilled. Roosevelt envisioned the program operating on three levels: 1) as a direct relief program, through grants to states; 2) as a large-scale public works project and; 3) as a program to prevent mismanagement of land, specifically addressing soil erosion and forest conservation. The first three camps established in the east were in Shenandoah National Park and Colonial National Monument in May 1933, drawing enrollees from eastern seaboard cities where unemployment was the greatest.<sup>91</sup> Camps were established first in national parks and later in state parks. The Army administered camps composed of approximately two hundred single men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Enrollees were paid \$30 a month; \$25 of their monthly salary was sent directly to their needy families.

The CCC program established a unique relationship among the Army, the National Park Service, and the United States Forest Service (USFS). NPS and USFS Advisory Council representatives immediately recognized that their agencies could not administer the camps. Therefore, the Army, with an established regimen and considerable personnel, maintained camp life. Early camps resembled Army field camps with canvas tents, reveille at 6:00 A.M., meals taken at the mess hall, communal bathing facilities, and limited freedom outside of the camp. Junior Army officers generally commanded the camps, and a military doctor often served several camps in a large geographical vicinity.<sup>92</sup> Within a year, ready-to-assemble camp buildings replaced the tents, and the temporary nature of camps lessened, although these buildings were moveable. When camps were located in national parks, the NPS park superintendent planned and directed work for the enrollees. Park superintendents and state park directors could supplement their CCC labor pools with skilled craftsmen, identified as local experienced men (LEMs); World War I veterans, who generally

<sup>90</sup>David A. Shannon, *Twentieth Century America: The Twenties and Thirties*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), 150-52.

<sup>91</sup>Paige, 7, 15.

<sup>92</sup>Interviews with Kennesaw Mountain CCC enrollees, James Elder Dunn, 22 January 1985; Rupert Jackson Chambers, 19 January 1985; Joseph C. Thompson, 9 January 1985; Herman Allen, 19 December 1984; Dr. Elmer Musarra, 20 February 1985; Horace English, 23 February 1987, TMs, by Retha Stephens and Lynn McFarland; and CarolJo Rushin-Bell, *A History of the Pocket Recreation Area: Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests* (Atlanta: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1984), 65-71.

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did little manual labor because of their age; and, primarily in the west, Native Americans.<sup>93</sup> Many regular CCC enrollees had little experience with manual labor or construction techniques, and LEMs proved valuable to the program. Age and marital status requirements did not apply to LEMs and World War I veterans, and some, if married, lived outside of camps.<sup>94</sup>

CCC enrollments lasted six months and could be extended for a total of two years service. Once the program was in place, Roosevelt authorized the second six-month enrollment period, from October 1933 to March 1934, and hoped to employ 300,000 regular enrollees, 25,000 veterans, and an equal number of LEMs. In 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act extended Emergency Conservation Work for two years to 1937, doubled its size to 600,000 men, and relaxed age requirements; enrollees could enlist at seventeen years and remain until age twenty-eight. By October 1933, the NPS operated 102 camps within national parks, and the number of camps in state natural and recreation areas nearly doubled the NPS operation.<sup>95</sup>

Two separate agendas existed, both administered by the National Park Service: the make-over of existing national parks—especially the newly acquired battlefields, historic sites, and national monuments—and the establishment or revitalization of state recreation and natural areas. For many years, conservationists and preservationists agreed that increased visitation to national parks threatened the integrity of these unique resources. Stephen T. Mather, the first director for the NPS, consistently urged the development of state parks with natural recreational areas that would act as buffers to the national parks.<sup>96</sup> The CCC significantly enlarged state park systems and improved the condition of new and existing national parks.

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<sup>93</sup>John A. Salmond, *The CCC, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), 34. John Paige refers to the LEMs as locally employed men, but Salmond's term better describes the roles these men played in the CCC organization.

<sup>94</sup>Paige, 9-15.

<sup>95</sup>Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 105; Paige, 15-19, 21; Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 540. For example, in Georgia alone, the CCC constructed nine state parks as cited in Lucy Ann Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: An Approach to the Management of the Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia" (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1992), 2.

<sup>96</sup>In 1921, Mather sponsored a state park conference to encourage the development of state parks and to reduce the wear and tear on federal holdings (Newton, 533).

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Most CCC enrollees performed labor that improved national park infrastructures through road and trail construction, reforestation, and soil erosion control. The CCC program also greatly enlarged the professional staffs of the national parks. Landscape architects, foresters, and engineers designed and supervised CCC work projects, within both state and national parks. Professional historians, supplemented by college students in the summers, created interpretive programs and engaged in numerous research projects. Conservation, preservation, historic interpretation, and landscape planning and design became key goals for NPS professional staffs. Eventually, funding for improvement projects in state and national parks required drafting master plans developed by NPS technical staffs.<sup>97</sup> In addition, the administrative hierarchy of the NPS experienced growth and change. In 1933, the ECW Advisory Board created four regional offices that administered the state parks program. By 1936, Interior Secretary L. Harold Ickes announced that the NPS also would adopt a regional hierarchy to administer the ECW programs within the national parks.<sup>98</sup>

The CCC program reached its largest enrollment in 1935, although funding from Congress continued until 1942. In 1935, Roosevelt began efforts to reduce the ECW program in order to convince Congress to permanently establish a conservation work program for the state and national parks. The NPS reduced its active camps from 446 to 340 in 1936 and converted some temporary technical positions to permanent NPS employment. In 1937, Roosevelt asked Congress to permanently establish the ECW program. Congress responded with a three-year funding package that formally changed the name of the ECW to the Civilian Conservation Corps and required camps to establish ten hours per week of general education or vocational training classes for enrollees. Another attempt in 1939 to establish a permanent CCC program failed. By 1940, the NPS had to reduce its supervisory personnel without drastically altering work projects. The agency created central service units within NPS regional offices to handle design and technical matters and abolished these positions in the individual camps. By 1941, the NPS discontinued many camps that could not maintain 165 men per camp, eliminating 135 camps between September and November 1941. When the United States entered World War II in December 1941, NPS abolished all but 89 camps, which directly related to the war effort. In 1942, Congress discontinued funding for the CCC program, and it was informally abolished.<sup>99</sup>

#### **Creating a Park: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park**

Legislation enacted on June 26, 1935, established the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park under the authority of the NPS. The act authorized expansion of the park to include Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains and other significant sections of the battlefield. An appropriation of \$100,000 was

<sup>97</sup>Paige, 45; Newton, 576, 578-80.

<sup>98</sup>Paige, 21, 45-52; Newton, 540, 576.

<sup>99</sup>Paige, 21-36.

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included for land acquisition and park development.<sup>100</sup> Between 1933 and 1938, the NPS relied on labor and funding from the Civil Works Administration (CWA). These improvements occurred without the benefit of a master plan for overall park development and largely were concentrated at Cheatham Hill, which contained the sixty acres preserved by the Illinois veterans.

Through CWA funding and labor, the NPS accomplished some reforestation and erosion control and initiated field and earthwork restoration projects. By 1935, the CWA had constructed a parking lot at Cheatham Hill, planted grass in key areas, and created a trail layout. Future work plans included the construction of a custodian's residence, a utility building, a water and sewer system, a north-south highway, an administration building, and a new road to Big Kennesaw.<sup>101</sup> These elements were essential to providing the most basic visitor services at the park.

The CCC, which established a camp at Kennesaw Mountain on June 3, 1938, continued the work begun by the CWA. The Marietta camp, GA NP-4, Company 431, also known as "Camp T. M. Brumby," traveled from a disbanded camp at Rutledge, Georgia, and established itself just south of U.S. 41, near the northeast park boundary. Composed largely of local Georgia men, the camp consisted of twenty-two prefabricated wood buildings bolted together and placed on concrete and brick pier foundations. The circular camp site had a central parade ground marked by cedars and was enclosed by a camp road. The site covered approximately sixty acres. Between 185 and 190 men occupied four barracks.<sup>102</sup>

The CCC provided the labor necessary to complete the transition from farmland to parkland. The CCC at Kennesaw constructed and landscaped roads, fought fires, demolished historic and nonhistoric housing within the park boundaries, and guided interpretive tours. For four years, the Kennesaw CCC spent most of its time on road work. The crew improved drainage ditches and shoulders, landscaped the slopes and land adjacent to the road shoulders, and erected entrance signs at the park boundaries along the public roads that traversed the park. U.S. Highway 41, located on the northern boundary of the park, provided the primary vehicular access to Big Kennesaw Mountain and the CCC camp. The State Highway Department agreed to aid the CCC efforts to improve the shoulders and ditches along U.S. 41 and provided some equipment. Two other roads within the park, Burnt Hickory Road and Dallas Road, passed directly through major areas of conflict associated with the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and also received some shoulder and ditch improvements. The CCC opened a quarry in October 1939 and purchased a rock crusher to produce materials to grade the

<sup>100</sup>Public Law 49 Stat. 423, June 26, 1935.

<sup>101</sup>Capps, 15-17.

<sup>102</sup>Joseph Thompson, interview by Retha Stephens, 9 January 1985; Herman Allen, interview by Retha Stephens, 19 December 1984.

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inadequate dirt roads traversing the park and eventually constructed a new road to Cheatham Hill.<sup>103</sup>

The result of these road improvements clearly established the boundaries of the park through vegetation and signs. Within the park, CCC road improvements are characterized by steep road cuts with grass cover fading into deep pine woods. Although local stone was available—the CCC operated a stone quarry on the side of Big Kennesaw for road construction—the corps used brick to build park structures and incorporated modern, functional design elements into these structures. The few structures built by the CCC at Kennesaw did not reflect traditional rustic park architecture.

Most of the CCC work at Kennesaw proceeded without an approved Master Plan. Between 1938 and 1942, the NPS Eastern Branch of Plans and Design developed several layouts for general park development intended as parts of the Master Plan. These plans incorporated NPS architectural design criteria—typically functional and devoid of rustic stylistic detail by the late 1930s—and standardized spacial relationships among visitor services, historic and scenic areas, and functional park management buildings. Typically, the NPS designed visitor service structures with easy access to roads; curvilinear park roads following the land's natural contours provided access to historic and scenic areas; and park management structures such as employee residences and maintenance facilities were built behind vegetative screens or in remote areas. Although the Eastern Branch completed numerous drawings for headquarters development, employees' residences, interpretive exhibits, and internal park tour roads, the NPS did not accomplish comprehensive park development at Kennesaw before World War II evaporated the CCC labor force.

The Cheatham Hill road best represents the landscape design philosophy embodied in NPS improvements at Kennesaw Mountain. Although access to the Illinois Monument and the Confederate and Union earthworks at the Cheatham Hill site existed from John Ward Road, this War Department road intruded upon the battlefield and significantly damaged earthworks. In November 1939, the NPS drafted road plans that snaked an access road south from Dallas Road among earthworks on the Confederate line and terminated in a parking area just north of the Illinois Monument. This road, covered with a fine stone gravel, replaced a War Department road that approached Cheatham Hill from the northwest and cut across the open field the Federals crossed when they assaulted the Confederate salient. The new road passed several battery positions behind the Confederate forward earthworks and deposited the visitor at Mebane's Redoubt. A foot trail directs the visitor to the Illinois Monument.

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<sup>103</sup>B. C. Yates, "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (October 1939), Records of the National Park Service, RG 79, National Archives, copies of these reports, collected by park staff, are available at the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park library; Neil McL. Conley, Jr., "Investigative Report" (15 November 1938), RG 79, National Archives.

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The CCC completed other work at Cheatham Hill that enhanced the visitor's experience and attempted to preserve the historic integrity of the landscape. The earthworks, swept clean of vegetation under War Department administration, were planted with grass. The corps constructed trails that avoided earthworks but circulated the visitors through the battlefield site. At Cheatham Hill, the CCC planted approximately 25,000 seedlings supplied by the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and erected a small self-help visitor information kiosk.<sup>104</sup>

The CCC also helped improve the grounds within the park. Company 431 dug drainage ditches along U.S. 41 and planted trees. Structures not consistent with the battle period were razed. The CCC eliminated rock agricultural terraces in the vicinity of Burnt Hickory Road and restored the fields to grassy meadows. To improve public relations and prevent erosional run-off that clogged Noses [sic] Creek and John Ward Creek, located within the park, the CCC filled ditches on adjacent farmers' lands. Local residents, at first reluctant to accept the CCC camp, later praised its work, especially when the CCC worked to control forest fires that threatened private property.<sup>105</sup>

In October 1940, the CCC began laying concrete foundations for a group of maintenance buildings at the base of Big Kennesaw Mountain. The corps constructed three buildings: two brick garage facilities with storage rooms and a metal oil house. The corps completed the buildings in August 1941 and continued with other improvements including the construction of red brick and cast iron entrance signs at each intersection of park boundary and road. Each sign has a base slightly broader than its shaft and quoining at the ends, with a cast iron plaque inscribed "National Park Service/Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park/United States Department of the Interior." Before additional work drafted by the Eastern Branch prior to 1940 could be completed—replacing the park headquarters building, constructing a superintendent's residence, and erecting another garage in the maintenance area to form a U-shaped court—the CCC operations at Kennesaw Mountain ceased on March 10, 1942, and all remaining personnel were transferred to Fort Benning, Georgia.

### Significance

Two types of historic properties located within Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park are significant under Criteria A and represent commemorative activity at the park. The Illinois Monument and the associated markers at Cheatham Hill are significant at the state level because they represent the

<sup>104</sup>Yates, "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (August 1939), RG 79, National Archives. The superintendent reports do not specify what type of seedlings were planted at Cheatham Hill, or whether the CCC laborers at Great Smokies also helped the Marietta camp to replant the seedlings.

<sup>105</sup>Herman Allen, interview by Retha Stephens and Lynn McFarland, 19 December 1984; "Superintendent Monthly Reports" (June 1939), RG 79, National Archives. The Superintendent reports refer to Noses Creek, which is also known as Noyes Creek.

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efforts of Illinois veteran organizations to commemorate the participants of the battle in the postwar period, between 1887 and 1917. The War Department continued this commemorative theme, but did not construct any monuments or enlarge the battlefield, and no historic resources are extant that relate to this period, 1917-1933. The NPS also continued a commemorative tradition at the battlefield by enlarging the park boundaries and significantly altering the postbattle landscape. Both the Illinois Monument and Cheatham Hill Drive are locally significant under Criterion C because they possess high artistic value and embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. The eight brick entrance signs are locally significant under Criterion A because they represent the New Deal-era development of the park with CCC labor.

## 2. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

The properties contributing to the historic district under the theme of commemoration and park development exhibit virtually all aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although the McCook Brigade Marker is located approximately 200 feet northwest of its original location, it still retains integrity of setting, marking the approximate location where McCook's brigade began its assault on Cheatham Hill.

It is important that those resources related to park development retain a high degree of integrity, especially in the areas of design, materials, setting, workmanship, and association. The CCC completed hundreds of construction projects in the national parks in the 1933-1942 period, mostly related to the development of park infrastructures. These projects were designed by NPS architects and landscape architects who subscribed to a well-defined design philosophy. As a result, certain stylistic features often define structures built during this era and reflect a park service design approach applied to buildings, structures, and landscapes.<sup>106</sup> Because the CCC ended in 1942, Kennesaw was not comprehensively developed in accordance with an overall plan. Few of the buildings and structures planned in the 1930s for the park were erected; those that were completed remain as isolated units and do not convey a coherent, recognizable design intent. Additionally, the maintenance area has been altered by the 1974 L-shaped connection between the existing buildings. Of the CCC-era work at Kennesaw, Cheatham Hill Drive represents the prevailing NPS design philosophy and retains sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for the National Register. The eight brick entrance signs are unaltered, remain in their original locations, and retain all aspects of integrity.

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<sup>106</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of this design ethic see Linda McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1993).

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Most of the properties that contribute to the significance of the historic district under Context B also meet Criteria Consideration F. Commemorative activities at Kennesaw Mountain began in the late nineteenth century with a blue-gray reunion. In the years that followed, numerous monuments and markers were erected on the battlefield that reflect the efforts of veterans groups to honor their fallen comrades and recognize the places where they fought. This associated tradition and its symbolic value has invested the commemorative resources at Kennesaw with their own historical significance.

### 3. Contributing Properties

Illinois Monument (1914)  
Union Tunnel Marker (ca. 1914)  
McCook Brigade Marker (ca. 1914)  
Coffey Marker (ca. 1914)  
Fellows Marker (ca. 1914)  
Cheatham Hill Drive (1939-1940)  
Entrance Signs (eight) (1938-1942)

### 4. Noncontributing properties

CCC Camp Site (1938-1942)  
Maintenance Complex, two buildings (1939-1940)

The CCC camp was dismantled shortly after the corps moved out. Nothing remains of the original buildings except some concrete foundations that lack architectural integrity. Originally, these foundations supported paneled walls bolted together that formed the camp buildings. The camp site is not considered contributing to this context because other examples of intact CCC architecture are extant within the NPS, and as foundations the camp buildings lack architectural integrity. As a cultural landscape the camp site does not possess integrity. The remaining ruins represent only a small percentage of buildings once present. Currently, the site is defined by a grassed, mown clearing. Vegetation during the CCC's occupation consisted of formerly cultivated fields with primary growth pines and no parade ground vegetation.

The maintenance complex consists of two 1939-1940 buildings joined by a 1970s corner addition, forming an ell-shaped plan that measures approximately 27 x 80 x 95 feet. A planned third building that would have formed a U-shaped court was never constructed. Built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, the completed buildings were known as the Motor Repair Shop and Equipment Storage Building. Separately, they consisted of a three-part building with two garage bays flanked by two toolrooms and another building with eight garage bays. Each has a side-gabled roof covered with asbestos shingles, red brick veneer, and an interior brick chimney. Utilitarian in character, the buildings do not possess architectural merit and do not represent the prevailing NPS rustic design philosophy of the period. The maintenance buildings also do not form part of

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any comprehensive plan of development for the park. The 1974 addition compromises the integrity of the original configuration of the two buildings.

Mountain Road (1938-1942; 1950)

This existing paved road was partially graded, but not completed, by the CCC. The current road to the top of the mountain was completed by NPS in 1950; the road's overlook was dedicated in 1964. Because the road was completed within the last fifty years, it is not a contributing feature.

Texas Monument (1964)

Georgia Monument (1964)

Neighbour Marker (1914; replaced 1985)

Although these monuments do not contribute to the significance of the district based on their age, they will be managed by the park as cultural resources because of their commemorative purpose.

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### Boundary Justification

The Kennesaw Mountain battlefield is classified as a National Register historic district, following the guidelines established in National Register Bulletins 16 and 40.<sup>107</sup> The district boundary matches the boundary of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, finalized in 1947.<sup>108</sup> Most of the battlefield and nearly all of the areas where significant action occurred are included within this boundary. Most areas associated with the battle that lie beyond the park boundary maintain little or no historic integrity and are not eligible for listing in the National Register.

Several islands of residentially developed land are located within the park's perimeter boundary. These islands are excluded from the park's legal boundary and create a complex National Register boundary. Typically, nonhistoric or incompatibly developed areas located within continuous National Register boundaries would be included in a boundary but labeled as noncontributing elements or intrusions. For national parks, the legislated boundary will usually serve as the National Register boundary delineating the park as a district, an individual property or a group of multiple properties. At Kennesaw, the developed islands are privately owned modern residential subdivisions that no longer maintain historic structural or landscape integrity. The NPS will not pursue acquisition of these islands and has no jurisdiction over these properties.

Two other types of properties potentially historically significant to the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain or local history but excluded from the proposed National Register boundary are transportation corridors and adjacent private property. The widening of Powder Springs Road in 1985-86 significantly altered the historic appearance, location, feeling, and setting associated with this resource, making it ineligible for National Register listing. Other important roads within the park, particularly Burnt Hickory, Dallas, and Stilesboro Roads, played pivotal roles in the battle and maintain most elements of historic integrity. Any alterations to these roads would affect adjacent park property and require use of park right-of-way or easements. Thus, these roads are included in the National Register nomination. The CSX railroad corridor is also significant to the history of the battle; however, private ownership of this resource deters NPS from nominating it. The NPS recognizes

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<sup>107</sup>National Register Bulletin 16A: *Guidelines for the Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991), 56-57; and National Register Bulletin 40: *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992), 13-16.

<sup>108</sup>Capps, 13-14.

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the historic significance of this resource and others in the immediate vicinity of the park and will encourage state, local, and private efforts to ensure their preservation.

In addition, the CSX railroad corridor, which passes through the park between Old U.S. 41 and Stilesboro Road, creates a discontinuous element at the north end of the park. This approximately 110-acre area features earthworks and potential archeological resources associated with the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. The area is not interpreted and not easily accessible to visitors; however, the significance of the resources in this area merits its listing in the National Register as a discontinuous element of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park.

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Photos: Maureen Carroll and Steven Moffson  
Location of Negatives: NPS, SERO

1. Single gun emplacement at Federal Twenty-four-Gun Emplacement, view from NW.
2. Fort McBride, Little Kennesaw Mountain, view from E.
3. Mebane's Redoubt, Cheatham Hill, view from N.
4. Cheatham Hill, view from N. toward salient.
5. Strahl's Fort, view from W.
6. Kolb House, view from NE.
7. Kolb House, view from S.
8. Kolb Cemetery, view from S.
9. New Salem Church Site, view from E.
10. Marietta-Cassville Road, view from S.
11. Illinois Monument (center) and Union Tunnel Marker (lower right), view from NW.
12. Illinois Monument, view from W.
13. McCook Brigade Marker, view from W.
14. Coffey Marker, view from E.
15. Maintenance Complex, Equipment Storage Building (left) and Motor Repair Shop (right), view from N.
16. Entrance Sign marking the park's east boundary on the north side of Burnt Hickory Road, view from E.
17. Parade Ground, CCC Camp Site with Big (right) and Little (left) Kennesaw mountains in background, view from E.
18. Bath House ruins, CCC Camp Site, view from N.

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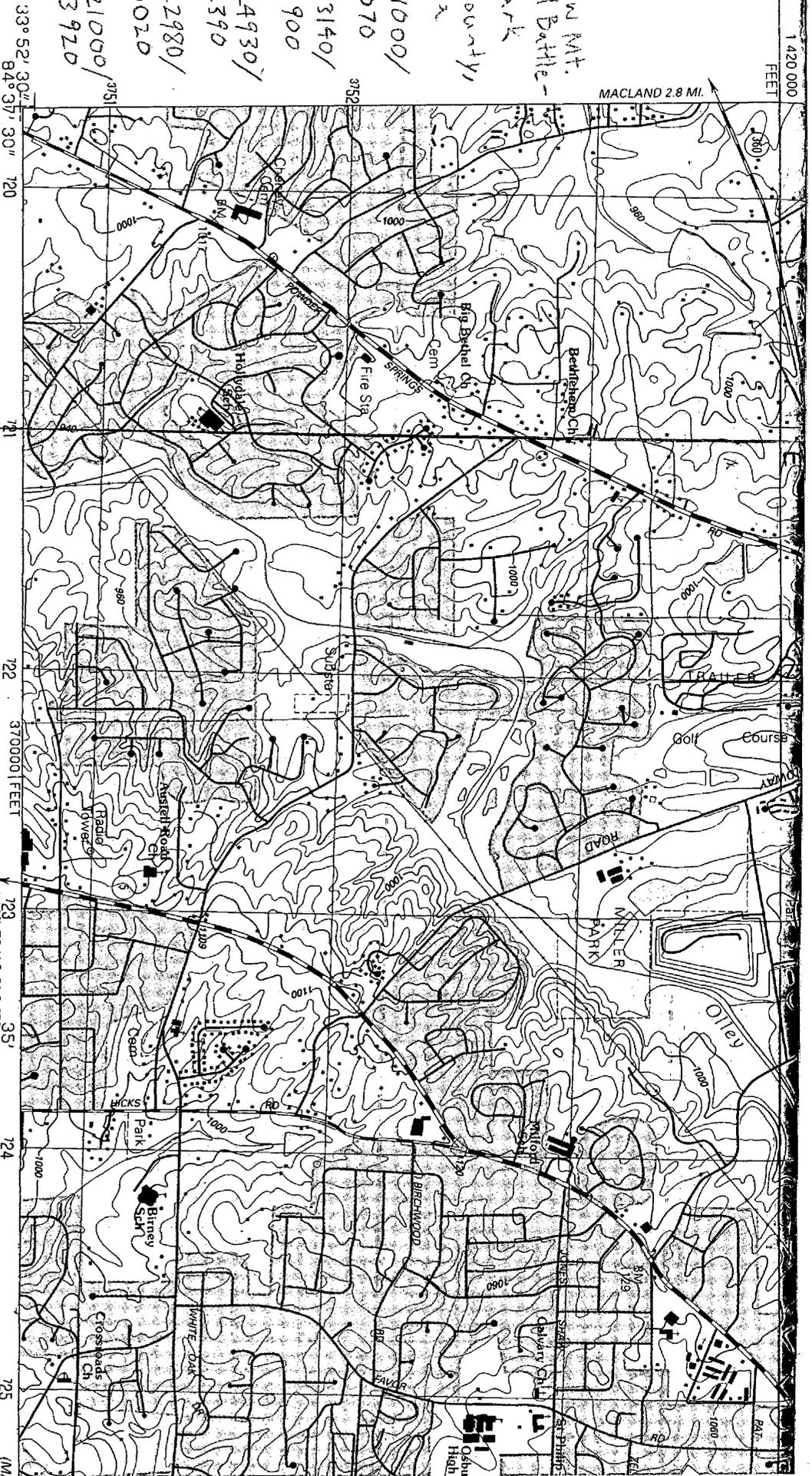
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19. Georgia Monument, view from N.
20. Fellows Marker, view from E.
21. Neighbour Marker, view from E.
22. Union Tunnel and Stone Wall, view from W.
23. Grave of Unknown U.S. Soldier, view from E.
24. Texas Monument, view from SE.
25. Pigeon Hill, view from E.
26. CSX Railroad Corridor N of Old U.S. 41, view from S.
27. Dallas Road, view from W.
28. Cheatham Hill Drive, view from N.
29. Big Kennesaw Mountain Antebellum Road, view from W.
30. Artillery Positions, Big Kennesaw Mountain, view from S.
31. Gilbert Road, view from S.
32. Stilesboro Road, view from W.
33. Burnt Hickory Road, view from E.
34. Powder Springs Road, view from NE.
35. Cheatham Hill Battery, view from S.
36. Old John Ward Road, view from N.



Kennesaw Mt.  
 National Battle-  
 field Park  
 Cobb County,  
 Georgia  
 A 16/721000/  
 3762070  
 B 16/723140/  
 3763900  
 C 16/724930/  
 3762390  
 D 16/722980/  
 3755020  
 E 16/721000/  
 3753920

(AUSTELL)  
1051 SW



**Produced by the United States Geological Survey**

Control by USGS and NOS/NOAA

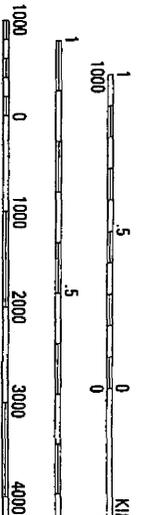
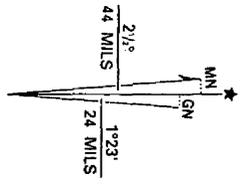
Topography by photogrammetric methods from aerial photographs taken 1952. Field checked 1954. Revised from aerial photographs taken 1988. Field checked 1991. Map edited 1992

Projection and 10,000-foot grid ticks: Georgia coordinate system, west zone (transverse Mercator)  
 1000-meter Universal Transverse Mercator grid, zone 16  
 1927 North American Datum

The difference between 1927 North American Datum and North American Datum of 1983 (NAD 83) for 7.5-minute intersections is given in USGS Bulletin 1875. The NAD 83 is shown by dashed corner ticks

There may be private inholdings within the boundaries of the National or State reservations shown on this map  
 Gray tint indicates area in which only landmark buildings are shown

UTM GRID AND 1992 MAGNETIC NORTH DECLINATION AT CENTER OF SHEET



SCALE

CONTOUR IN  
NATIONAL GEODETIC

COMPLETES WITH U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY  
 FOR SALE BY U.S.  
 DENVER, COLORADO 80222  
 A FOLDER DESCRIBING TOPOGRAPHIC M/



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM**

*(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)*

1. NAME		
COMMON	AND/OR HISTORIC	NUMERIC CODE <i>(Assigned by NPS)</i>
<b>Kolb Farm</b>	<b>Peter Valentine Kolb House</b>	

2. LOCATION		
STATE	COUNTY	TOWN
<b>Georgia</b>	<b>Cobb</b>	<b>Marietta</b>

STREET AND NUMBER

**Intersection of Calloway and Powder Springs Roads. Fourmiles SW of Marietta**

3. PHOTO REFERENCE		
PHOTO CREDIT	DATE	NEGATIVE FILED AT
<b>National Park Service</b>	<b>April 1973</b>	<b>Kennesaw Mtn NBP Marietta, GA</b>

4. IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

**View looking Northwest**



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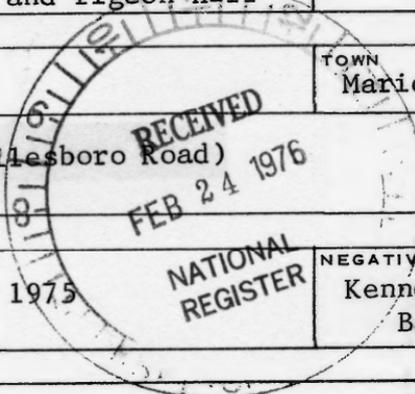
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

1. NAME		
COMMON	AND/OR HISTORIC	NUMERIC CODE (Assigned by NPS)
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park	Big & Little Kennesaw Mountain and Pigeon Hill	
2. LOCATION		
STATE	COUNTY	TOWN
Georgia	Cobb	Marietta
STREET AND NUMBER		
P. O. Box 1167 (Int. Old U.S. 41 and Stilesboro Road) Marietta, Georgia 30061		
3. PHOTO REFERENCE		
PHOTO CREDIT	DATE	NEGATIVE FILED AT
National Park Service	December 1975	Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park
4. IDENTIFICATION		
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.		

View of Little Kennesaw Mountain, Big Kennesaw Mountain and Pigeon Hill looking east along Burnt Hickory Road. This view is similar to photo 111-B-531 (Brady Collection) in the National Archives.



20/3



GA-20

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM**

*(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)*

1. NAME		NUMERIC CODE <i>(Assigned by NPS)</i>
COMMON	AND/OR HISTORIC	
Kennesaw Mountain NBP		

2. LOCATION		
STATE	COUNTY	TOWN
Georgia	Cobb	Marietta

STREET AND NUMBER

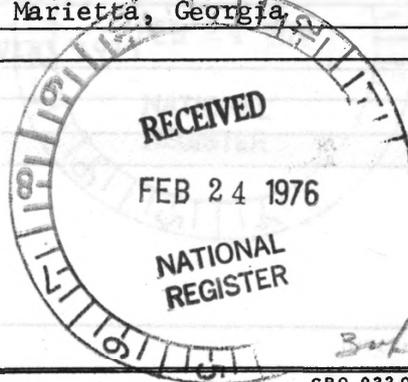
P. O. Box 1167

3. PHOTO REFERENCE		
PHOTO CREDIT	DATE	NEGATIVE FILED AT
National Park Service	1972	Kennesaw Mountain NBP Marietta, Georgia

4. IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

View from summit of Big Kennesaw Mountain looking north.





Federal 24 Gun Emplacement

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Fort McBride

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

2 of  $\frac{3}{6}$



Mebane's Redoubt

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Cheatham Hill  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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Strahl's Fort

Kennesaw Mt. NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Kolb House  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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Kolb House

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Kolb Cemetery

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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New Salem Church Site

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Marietta-Cassville  
Road  
(1864)

Marietta-Cassville Road

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Illinois Monument and Union Tunnel Marker

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb  Co., GA

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ILLINOIS

DEDICATED  
JUNE 27, 1854

Illinois Monument

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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THIS MARKS THE STARTING POINT  
OF

COL. DAN MCGOOK'S

3RD BRIGADE 2ND DIVISION  
14TH ARMY CORPS

IN THE ASSAULT ON THE  
CONFEDERATE WORKS TO  
THE EAST ON THE MORNING  
OF JUNE 27TH 1864.

McCook Brigade Marker  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA

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C. H. COFFEY  
FIRST SERGEANT  
COMMANDING CO. I  
22<sup>ND</sup> IND. VOL. INF.  
MORTALLY WOUNDED  
AT THIS PLACE JUNE 27  
DIED JUNE 28, 1864  
AND BURIED HERE  
AFTERWARDS BURIED IN  
MARIETTA NATIONAL CEMETERY

Coffey Marker

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co, GA

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Maintenance Complex

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

KENNESAW MOUNTAIN  
NATIONAL  
BATTLEFIELD PARK

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Entrance Sign on Burnt Hickory Road

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Parade Ground, CCC Camp Site

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Bath House ruins, CCC Camp Site

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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GEORGIA



GEORGIA CONFEDERATE  
· SOLDIERS ·

WE SLEEP HERE IN OBEDIENCE TO LAW  
WHEN DUTY CALLED WE CAME  
WHEN COUNTRY CALLED WE DIED

Georgia Monument

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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WILLIAMS

INSPECTOR

DYSON

Fellows Marker

Kennesaw Mountain, NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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HERE FELL  
CAPT.  
S. M. NEIGHBOUR  
Co. D. 52 O.V.I.  
OF  
NEWCOMERTOWN,  
OHIO.  
MORTALLY WOUNDED  
IN THE ASSAULT  
OF  
JUNE 27, 1864

Neighbour Marker  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Union Tunnel and Stone Wall

Kennesaw Mountain NHP

Cobb Co., GA

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MARKER  
OF  
SOLDIER

MARKER  
OF  
SOLDIER

Grave of Unknown U.S. Soldier  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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TEXAS



Texas Monnment  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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Pigeon Hill Earthworks  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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CSX Railroad Corridor  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Dallas Road

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Cheatham Hill Drive  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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Big Kennesaw Mountain Antebellum Road

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Artillery Positions, Big Kennesaw Mountain

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

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Gilbert Road  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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Stilesboro Road  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
32 of 36



Burnt Hickory Road

Kennesaw Mountain NBP

Cobb Co., GA

33 of 36



Powder Springs Road  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
34 of 36



Cheatham Hill Battery  
Kennesaw Mountain NHP  
Cobb Co., GA  
view from N  
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Old John Ward Road  
Kennesaw Mountain NBP  
Cobb Co., GA  
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