National Cemetery Administration

FEDERAL STEWARDSHIP OF CONFEDERATE DEAD

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Federal Stewardship of Confederate Dead

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Cover: Entrance to Confederate Stockade Cemetery, Sandusky, OH. Library of Congress

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Acronyms

CCA	Confederate Cemetery Association
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
GPR	Ground-penetrating radar
LMA	Ladies' memorial association
NCA	National Cemetery Administration
SCV	Sons of Confederate Veterans
UCV	United Confederate Veterans
UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
VA	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs and prior to 1989, Veterans Administration

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Beaufort County Library, Beaufort, South Carolina

Brook Library, Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, New York

Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, Little Rock, Arkansas

Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois

Fort Delaware Society, Delaware City, Delaware

Fort Smith National Historic Site, Fort Smith, Arkansas

Fort Smith Public Library, Fort Smith Arkansas

Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Hayner Public Library, Alton, Illinois

Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana

Johnson's Island Preservation Society, Sandusky, Ohio

Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri

Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri

Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

New York Public Library, New York, New York

Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio

Rock Island Arsenal Museum, Rock Island, Illinois

Rock Island County Historical Society, Moline, Illinois

Rock Island Public Library, Rock Island, Illinois

Sandusky Public Library Archives, Sandusky, Ohio

South Carolinian Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

Springfield City Museum, Springfield, Missouri

Springfield-Green County Public Library, Springfield, Missouri

Steele Memorial Library,
Elmira, New York

University of Kentucky Law School
Library, Lexington, Kentucky

U.S. Army Armor School Research
Library, Fort Knox, Kentucky

Vigo County Public Library,
Terre Haute, Indiana

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield
Library, Republic, Missouri

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Introduction

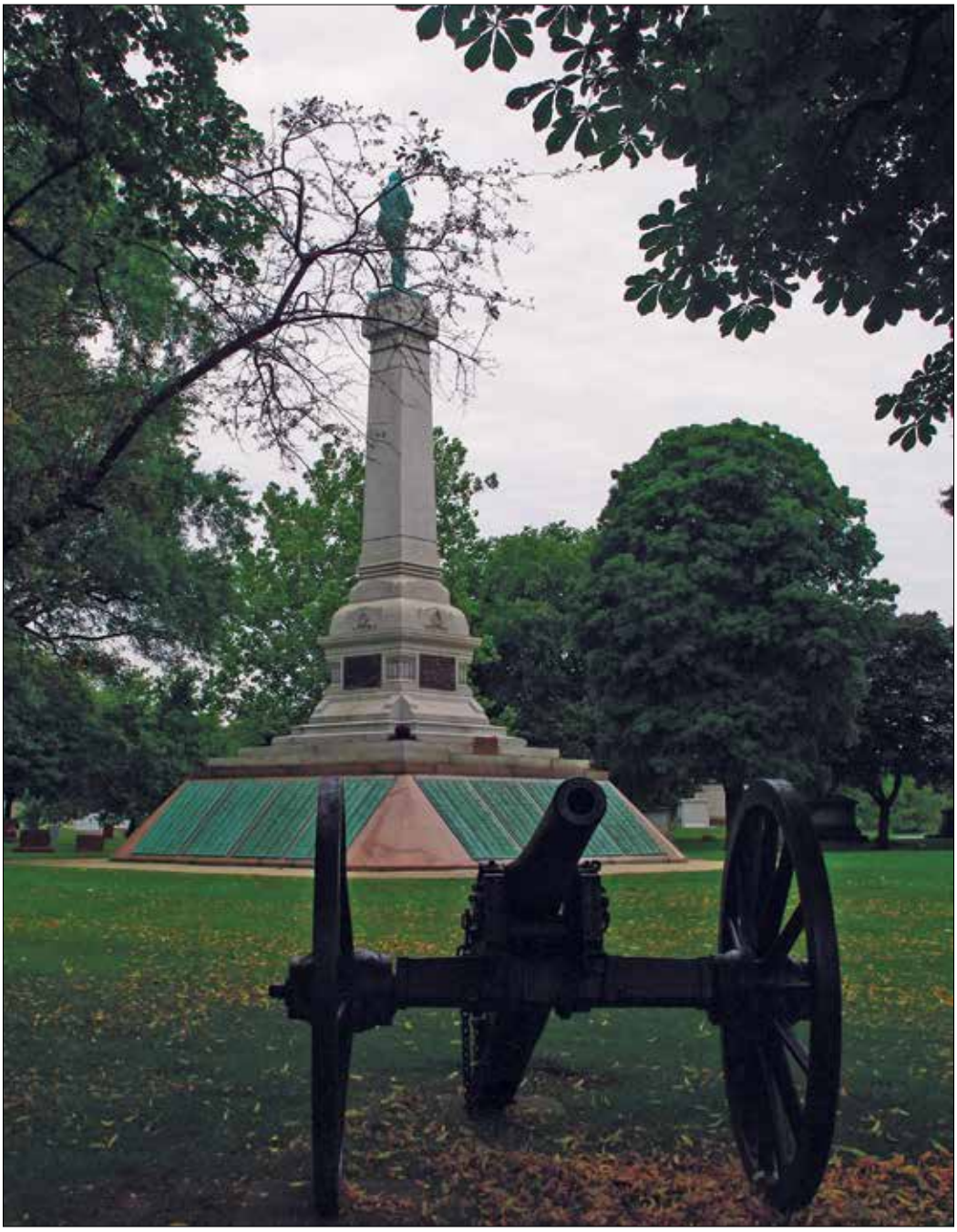


Figure 1. Confederate monument and artillery at Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, Illinois.

This study is the result of a project the History Program of the National Cemetery Administration (NCA), U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (VA), developed to assemble primary historic information about a thematic group of NCA properties—cemeteries and memorials that exclusively or partially contain Confederate burials. The *Confederate Historic Resource Study* encompasses nine Confederate cemeteries and nine national cemeteries that contain in excess of four hundred Confederate interments each (fig. 1). Confederate burials in smaller numbers are found elsewhere in the NCA

system, but they were not included in this project because the locations were not associated with the same level of organized planning as these eighteen sites. The initial phase of this project, 2008–2010, resulted in a draft historic context, site management recommendations, National Register of Historic Places nominations, and text and layout design for interpretive signs to be placed in the eighteen cemeteries.

This publication marks the completion of the 2010 *Confederate Historic Resource Study* context and allows NCA to make it available to users in print and online. The objective is to educate VA and its partners, Civil War scholars and enthusiasts, and the public about these lesser-known federal cemeteries. The accounts address property ownership and physical, administrative, and legislative history from the Civil War to present. NCA also sought to learn how and why other major Confederate burial grounds remained in non-government hands.

NCA historians developed research goals and, in consultation with Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. (CRAI) and Mudpuppy & Waterdog, Inc., the methodology to achieve it. As research and fieldwork unfolded, it became clear each cemetery site had a unique origin.

NCA also tasked the authors with providing answers to some specific questions affiliated with post-Civil War commemoration, including the use of individual headstones versus a single memorial or monument, notable burials and memorial objects, and verification of the number of Confederate dead interred in the study sites. Further agency questions related to the government's adoption of the Confederate headstone design, on-site commemorative activities, display of Confederate flags, identification of veteran service organizations originally affiliated with marking Confederate graves, and erecting Confederate memorials at these cemeteries and elsewhere. As a result, this product is a hybrid document that blends federal historic resource study content with Confederate history.

Research began in August 2008 when the authors examined records in the NCA History Program collection, Washington, D.C. This was followed by research at the National Archives and Records Administration, Library of Congress and elsewhere that continued to May 2010. Local repositories provided sources about cemetery history in relation to each community, especially about interim Confederate dead interments prior to removal by the federal government. Events and facilities related to prisons and hospitals associated with Confederate dead were documented. In 2009, the authors visited the eighteen study cemeteries to assess the integrity of the section(s) containing Confederate burials based on the criteria for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The cemetery's current appearance was evaluated against historic images and written descriptions to verify the presence or absence of original features such as fences, gates, rostrums, memorials, monuments, and decorative and symbolic objects such as artillery. The overall condition of the cemetery and its headstones was recorded.

Part I of the study, the historic context, addresses the legislation and the broad social and political currents that affected the ownership and marking of some Confederate graves. One critical government program responsible for identifying and marking graves at many of the study sites was legislated by Public Act No. 38 in 1906:

> *An Act to provide for the appropriate marking of the graves of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate army and navy who died in Northern prisons and were buried near the prisons where they died, and for other purposes.*[1]

This act was enacted after the Confederate section was created in Arlington National Cemetery, which in turn was prompted by President William McKinley's speech in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1898 in which he said that it was the government's responsibility to mark Confederate graves. The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead was specifically authorized to mark "the graves of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate army and navy in the late civil war . . . who died in federal prisons and military hospitals in the North and who were buried near their places of confinement," and to recommend the purchase of Confederate burial sites by the federal government.[2] Based on this, the Department of War eventually purchased several sites included in this study. However, markers were not authorized for Confederate soldiers who were killed in action, who died in Confederate camps or hospitals and were buried in southern national cemeteries, and for troops who survived the war.

If national cemeteries were created exclusively for Union dead, how did Confederates come to be buried in some of them? Is the answer, as one author suggests, simply a "response to drastic need before the war's end"?[3] This study considers how and why some Confederate soldiers came to be interred in national cemeteries and others in private or community cemeteries, and who authorized them.

Part II of this study, the individual cemetery histories, describes their physical evolution in the context of nineteenth century geography, construction of Confederate monuments/memorials, individuals significant to decision making, the number of Confederate dead interred, and other themes applicable to multiple sites. Each of the national cemeteries, Confederate cemeteries, and soldiers' lots has a unique origin; however, a shared directive or legislative impetus typically caused the burial, relocation, and marking of these Confederate graves.

Almost every cemetery in this study contains a group memorial. The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead erected many of them; others were donated by private organizations or individuals well before and after the Commission. The study attempts to determine why they were erected in these places, when, and what individuals or organizations were responsible.

Tangential but critical information associated with the history of these properties and NCA's management is found in the appendices. This includes the legislation that guided the location, marking, and ownership of Confederate cemeteries; national and military flags of the Confederacy; and instances of commemorative events, including the display of Confederate flags.

Confederates in NCA Cemeteries

The cemeteries examined in this study share common historic threads (fig. 2). Most are associated with Confederate prisoners of war. Two originated with post-Civil War ladies' memorial associations, and one with Confederate occupation of a federal garrison. The prisoner-of-war camp properties are Camp Butler National Cemetery (Springfield, Illinois); Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery (Columbus, Ohio); Confederate Mound (Chicago, Illinois); Confederate Stockade Cemetery (Johnson's Island, Sandusky, Ohio); Crown Hill Confederate Cemetery (Indianapolis, Indiana); Finn's Point National Cemetery (Salem, New Jersey); Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery (St. Louis, Missouri); North Alton Confederate Cemetery (Alton, Illinois); Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery (St. Mary's County, Maryland); Rock Island Confederate Cemetery (Rock Island, Illinois); Woodlawn Cemetery (Terre Haute, Indiana); and Woodlawn National Cemetery (Elmira, New York). Confederate prisoners who died in private or city hospitals were interred in Philadelphia National Cemetery (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania); Cypress Hill National Cemetery (Brooklyn, New York); and Union Cemetery (Kansas City, Missouri).

Confederates who died while incarcerated in prison camps were initially buried in cemeteries associated with the camps. At Camp Butler, Johnson's Island, Terre Haute, and North Alton the dead are found in the original place of interment. Most men buried at Camp Chase, Elmira, Jefferson Barracks, and Rock Island also occupy their original graves; however, Confederate remains were added later. Some remains were moved more than once. Confederate prisoners who died in hospitals in Philadelphia, New York, and

Figure 2. Map showing the locations of cemeteries included in this study. States that were part of the Confederacy are south of the dashed line; those above the line remained in the Union.

Kansas City—initially buried in city or private cemeteries—were later reinterred into cemeteries now overseen by NCA.

Public Act No. 38 directed that headstones were to be placed on individual graves at Camp Butler, Camp Chase, Jefferson Barracks, Rock Island, Elmira, Cypress Hills, and Johnson's Island. However, due to inadequate record keeping, missing wooden headboards, relocated remains, and other factors, the occupants of many graves could not be identified. In these situations, the Commission erected a single monument featuring bronze plaques with the names of the Confederate dead. Examples include major monuments at Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, Finn's Point National Cemetery, North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Philadelphia National Cemetery, and Crown Hill Confederate Cemetery. Smaller monuments were erected at Union Cemetery and Woodlawn Cemetery.

Ladies' memorial associations founded separate Confederate sections at Springfield, Missouri and Little Rock, Arkansas national cemeteries, and in the early twentieth century deeded them to the federal government. Fort Smith (Arkansas) National Cemetery's Confederate burials date to a brief period when Southern troops occupied the federal Fort Smith garrison. Confederate burials at Little Rock, Fort Smith, and Springfield were excluded from Public Act No. 38 because they were located in the South and the dead were not prisoners of war. However, these were marked after passage of "*An act to provide for the appropriate marking of the graves of soldiers and sailors of the Confederate army and navy who died in Northern prisons and were buried near the prisons where they died, and for other purposes,*" approved March 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 56), which authorized the Department of War to mark all Confederate graves regardless of location.[4]

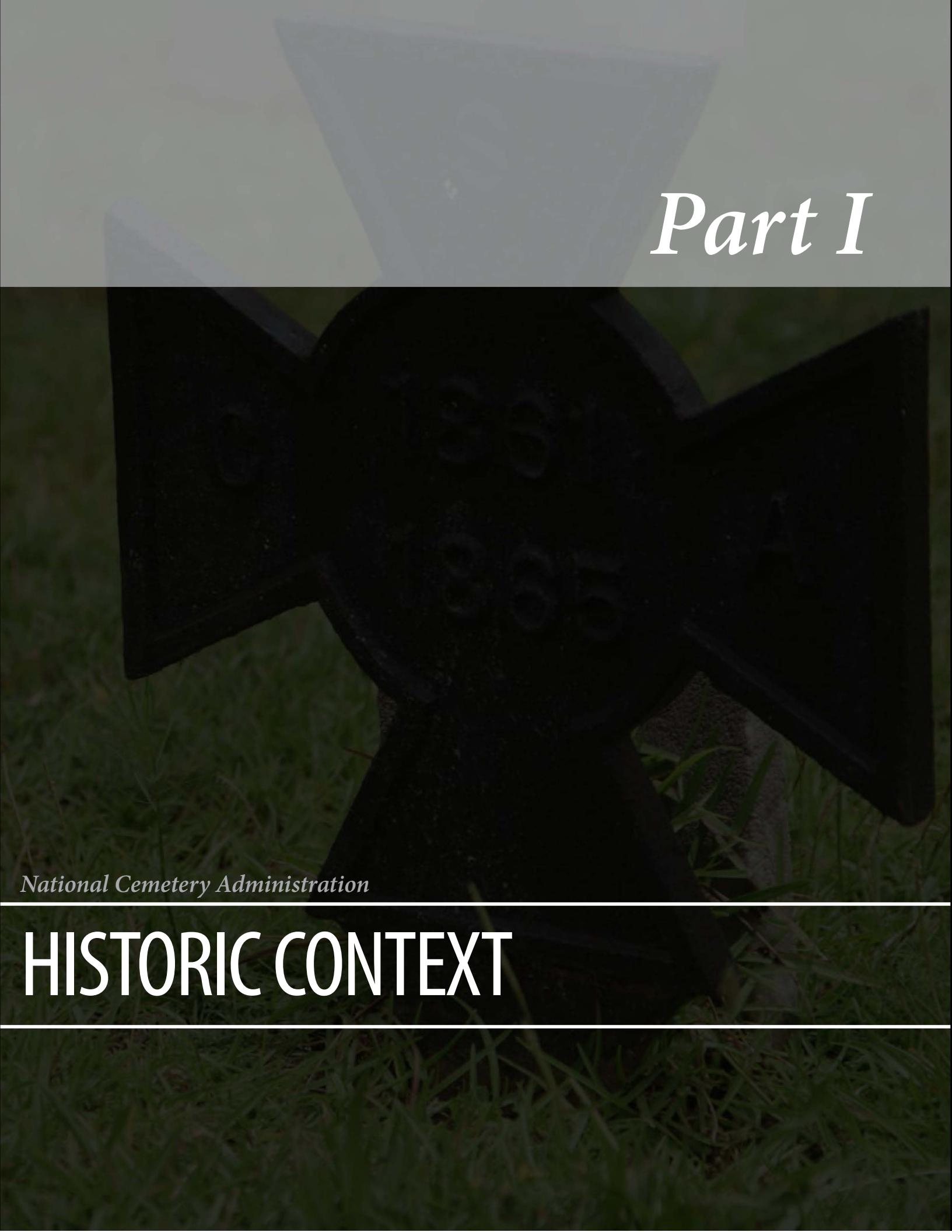
Notes

[1] U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1905 to March, 1907*. Vol. XXXIV in Three Parts—Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1907, p. 56.

[2] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., January 25, 1906, Vol. 38, Part 2, pp. 1109–1110.

[3] Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee, 2003, p. 40.

[4] U.S. Government Printing Office, *Statutes at Large,* p. 56.



Part I

National Cemetery Administration

HISTORIC CONTEXT

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Part I. Historic Context

Social and political events, and patriotic movements, have influenced or even dictated where Confederate burials were to be located, how they were marked, and the type of memorial that would be erected. Most, but not all, Confederate soldiers buried in these cemeteries died as prisoners of war. Some died in battle and military engagements; others passed away in post hospitals. Some veterans chose to be buried in Confederate cemeteries or relatives opted to bury them there. The range of historic scenarios ultimately leads to the same question—why did some soldiers' lots, as independent properties or co-located in municipal or private cemeteries, fall under the jurisdiction of the National Cemetery Administration (NCA)?

Post–Civil War events associated with these places were over time influenced by the "Lost Cause" mythology that guided memory and memorialization in the South. One of the most profound influences on southern culture, this postwar mythology held that, "the southern cause was not only undefiled by defeat but that the bloodbath of the war actually sanctified the values and mores of the Old South."[1] By the last decade of the nineteenth century, as Reconstruction ended, and state and local governments were again under the control of white conservative leadership, the so-called Lost Cause held sway in the South. The Department of War had been content to allow Northern cemeteries where Confederates were interred to languish. However, after the Spanish-American War (1898), the federal government, led by President William McKinley, in the spirit of national reconciliation and in the postwar glow of recent victory, proposed that a loving nation would reach out and care for the graves of fallen Confederates. Recognition of these places as hallowed ground and the individuals interred in them as deserving of honor began with the creation of the Confederate section at Arlington National Cemetery in 1900, and continued with the renewal through 1916 of 1906 legislation that authorized federal funds to mark all Confederate graves.[2]

Confederate Prisoners of War, 1862

For more than a century, the soldiers and sailors who died during the Civil War has been estimated at 618,222. A new study using census manuscript data suggests this figure is closer to 750,000—or one in every ten white men of military age at the time. The exact total may never be determined, but it is a certainty that more men died in the Civil War than during all the conflicts in which the United States has participated through 2012. Records indicate that the Confederacy imprisoned 193,743 Union soldiers, and Union prison camps confined 214,865 Confederate soldiers during the war. Both sides suffered high prison mortality rates: more than 30,000 Union and 26,000 Confederate soldiers died in captivity—12 percent of those in Northern prisons and 15.5 percent in Confederate prisons (fig. 3). Although this study does not address the merits or failures of either prison system during the war, the fact of the high numbers of individuals who perished in Northern facilities is nonetheless germane to the overall context of the recognition of Confederate cemeteries.[3]

Soon after the start of the Civil War, the federal government undertook preparation to receive prisoners of war. Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman was appointed commissary-general for prisoners in October 1861 (fig. 4). His first assignment was to find a site suitable for a prisoner of war camp. Hoffman chose Johnson's Island in Lake Erie near Sandusky, Ohio. Johnson's Island is one-and-a-half miles long and just less than one-half mile wide. Forty or so acres had been cleared, with plentiful wood that

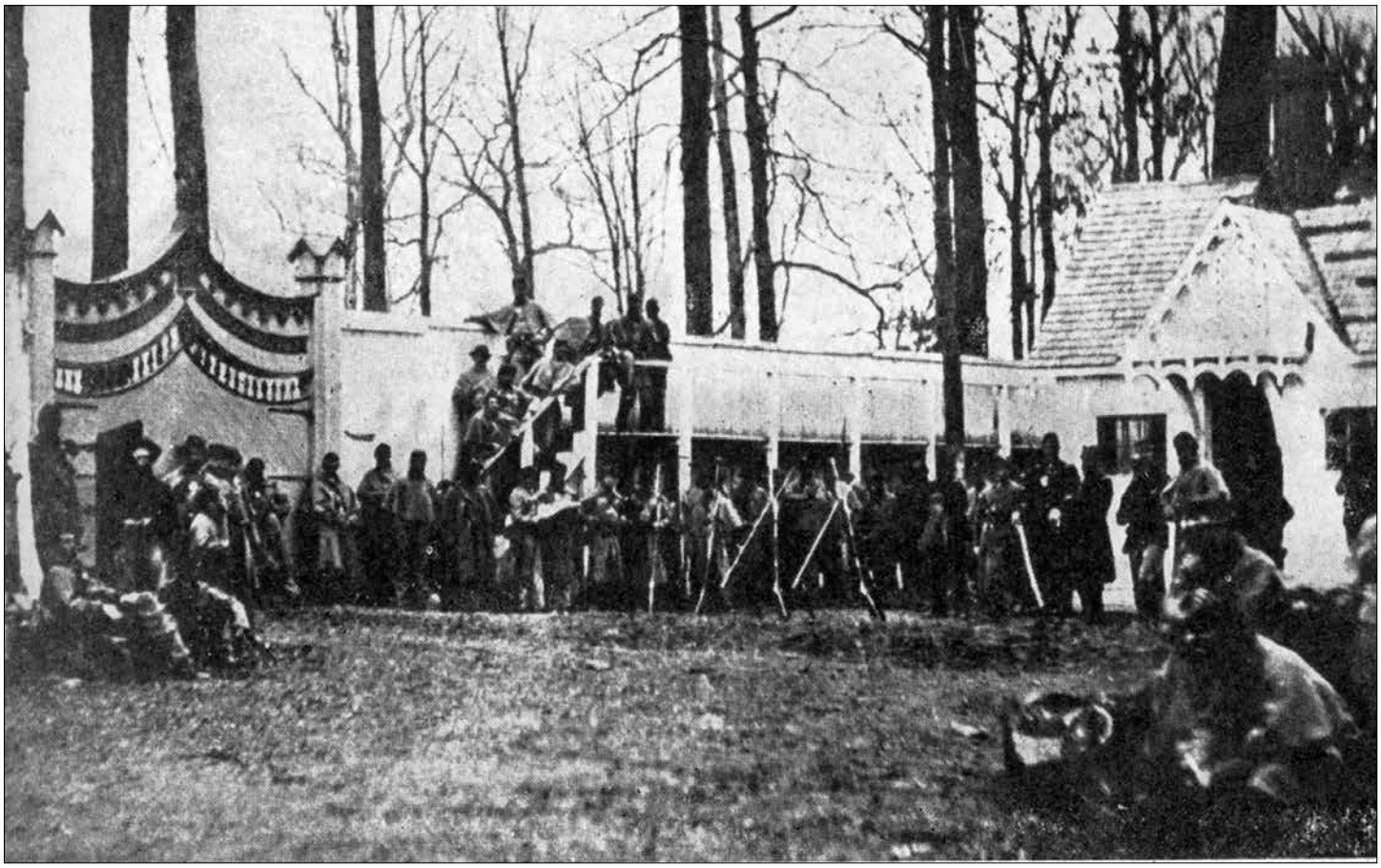


Figure 3. Union guards outside the gate at Camp Morton, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1864. *Francis Trevelyan Miller, Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume 7*.

could be used as fuel. The Army paid $500 per year to lease half the island, and Hoffman was sure this new prison and one or two forts would be sufficient to house prisoners throughout the war. In 1861, few people had expected the Civil War to be so prolonged; neither he nor anyone else imagined that tens of thousands of Southern soldiers would be held as prisoners at any one time.[4]

The Union Quartermaster Department was not prepared for the first mass surrender of Confederates in February 1862 at Fort Donelson, Tennessee. It urgently needed to house 15,000 officers and troops. Union commander General Henry Halleck wired Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton and Ohio Governor David Tod to ask them how many prisoners could be accommodated in their respective states. Governor Morton offered to take 3,000, and Governor Tod agreed to take 1,000.[5]

The Army dispersed the prisoners taken at Fort Donelson among Camp Morton, Camp Douglas, Camp Chase, Camp Butler, and the old Illinois State Penitentiary at Alton, Illinois, which had been used as a military prison since February 9, 1862. The prisoners who died at the Illinois State Penitentiary are buried in North Alton Confederate Cemetery. General Halleck had insisted that enlisted men and officers be housed separately. Some officers went to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor and others were sent to Johnson's Island.[6]

Figure 4. Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman stands in front of the Commissary General of Prisons office, Washington, D.C., 1865. *Library of Congress*.

A cartel—an official agreement to guide the exchange of prisoners—was worked out between the U.S. government and the Confederate States of America. The exchange was one-for-one of prisoners of equal rank. A sliding scale was developed for the exchange of high ranking officers for enlisted men; for instance, a commanding general or admiral could be exchanged for sixty privates or seamen. The massive influx of prisoners in 1862 had forced the two sides into this agreement, which went into effect on July 22, 1862.[7]

The cartel was in force until Confederate President Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation on December 23, 1862, denying prisoner of war status to African-American soldiers and sailors, and their white officers. In response, the federal government suspended the exchanges of officers five days later on December 28. The exchange of enlisted men continued until May 25, 1863, when the Confederate Congress endorsed Davis's proclamation. Federal authorities thereafter suspended all prisoner exchanges.[8]

The July 1863 Battle of Gettysburg and the Chattanooga campaign resulted in a large number of prisoners. Ongoing arguments over paroles,[9] exchanges, and the Confederate government's refusal to treat U.S. Colored Troops and their officers as prisoners of war hindered the exchange program, which had resumed on a limited basis. During this period prisons opened at Rock Island and Elmira, and by 1864, the number of Confederate prisoners far exceeded that of Union prisoners.[10]

General Ulysses S. Grant ordered the cartel suspended on April 17, 1864, citing as the rationale that the Confederacy had not maintained the paroles granted to their soldiers captured at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, as well as their refusal to exchange African-American soldiers equally for white soldiers. In August 1864, Grant sent two letters outlining his position on prisoner exchanges. The first letter was directed to General Benjamin Butler. He explained to Butler that he understood that not exchanging the men was hard on the Union soldiers in Confederate prisons. He suggested that if Confederate prisoners were exchanged, Union soldiers would then have to fight them. On the other hand, if they remained incarcerated, "they amount to no more than dead men." He wrote the second letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward. Grant told Seward that to exchange prisoners would simply turn the conflict into a war of extermination. If it were up to him, Grant wrote, "We ought not to make a single exchange nor release a prisoner on any pretext whatever until the war closes." Grant knew this strategy meant hardship for Union prisoners in the South, but he believed it would shorten the war. General Robert E. Lee proposed exchanges in October 1864, but Grant refused when Lee excluded former slaves from the program. By January 1865, with the Union prevailing, exchanges began once again and continued until the end of the war.[11]

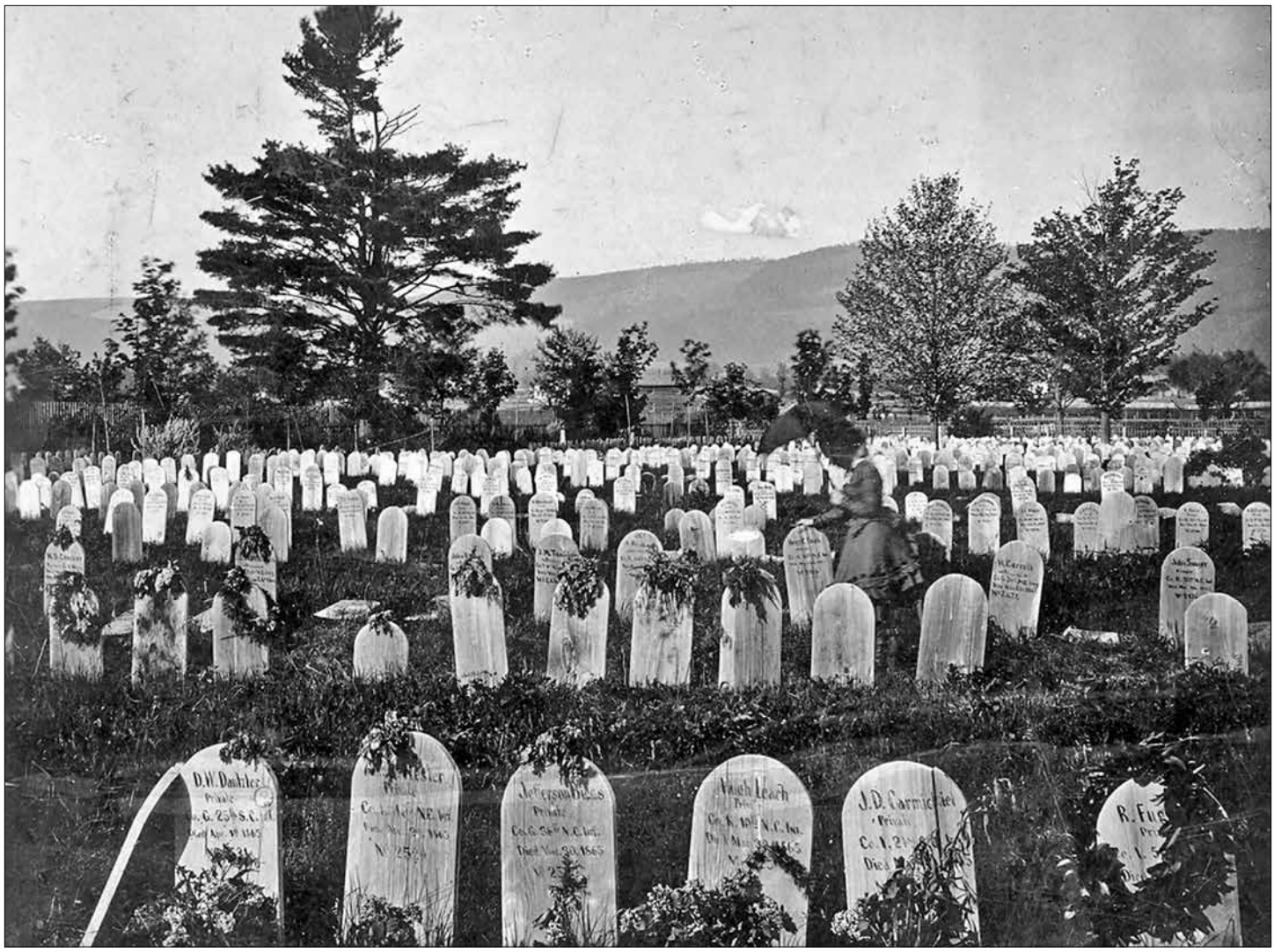
Prison Records, Rotting Headboards, Reinterments

Burial records associated with Union prison camps are among the most incomplete of army interment documentation. Prior to 1864, when a prisoner of war died, the surgeon in charge of a hospital was required only to record the individual's name, rank, regiment, and company, date and place of capture, and date and cause of death. Not until April 20, 1864, did the Army record burial places and grave numbers.[12]

In addition to the lack of uniform record keeping, prison commandants had broad latitude to set policy. Prison staff or prisoners supervised by prison staff buried the dead, or army contractors provided this service. As a rule, burial space was designated for prisoners who died in a camp or in military hospitals; individuals who succumbed to infectious diseases were often interred in separate cemeteries far from the general population in attempts to prevent the spread of disease.

No mandated procedure existed for the burial of prisoners. Records of various camps suggest that Confederate bodies, though often buried in trenches, were first placed in individual coffins. The arrangement of interments varied, however. At Elmira, the government leased a plot in Woodlawn Cemetery for deceased Confederate prisoners. Men were buried in coffins placed in trenches "arranged in parallel double rows feet to feet with wide walks between the rows of headboards—these rows run north-south."[13] At Camp Morton in Indianapolis, burials were contracted out. A local undertaker was paid $3.50 for each plain wooden coffin delivered to Greenlawn Cemetery where the state had purchased five plots. Prisoner details dug trenches about twenty feet long and laid coffins side by side in them. A wooden headboard with an identification number marked each grave.[14]

The army typically marked Union graves with simple wooden headboards per official specifications. A June 30, 1865, annual report issued by the Quartermaster Department stated that:



The tablets or head-boards are principally of white pine, with the exception of some 4,000 of black walnut, purchased more than two years ago. They are painted in white and lettered in black, with the name, company, regiment, and date of death. I would here remark that unless tablets are painted before lettering the wood will absorb the oil in the paint and the rain soon wash off the lead in the lettering.[15]

Figure 5. View of Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, New York, in 1875 shows headboards painted with names. The feet-to-feet pattern of burial is evident by the headboards; every other row is blank because the inscription is on the other side. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

The information on the marker was incised or executed in black or white paint, pencil, or even charcoal (fig. 5).

However, the army did not issue guidance about prisoners' graves, which in general seem to have been marked by a number that correlated to the number in the record of deaths maintained by the surgeon in charge. Some individuals who were responsible for keeping prison records drew cemetery maps showing the location of the trenches, the location of each coffin, and the burial number assigned to each, as at Camp Chase.[16]

Most Confederate cemeteries were, however, forgotten and neglected after the Civil War. The U.S. government bought Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery in 1879 and replaced its rotting headboards with sturdy planks. When William Knauss, a Columbus

businessman and Union veteran, visited the cemetery in 1893, he found it overgrown and the headboards illegible. By 1906, when legislation to authorize the marking of Confederate prisoner of war graves was passed, there were no headboards whatsoever in the cemetery.[17]

Identifying such graves was difficult or impossible. Many Confederate remains were moved from their original places of interment; some were moved more than once. The reasons are many and varied. When the State of Maryland decided to erect a monument at Point Lookout in 1876, they found the cemetery—situated very close to the Chesapeake Bay shore—to be low, swampy, and frequently flooded. Thus, the state moved the remains to a site more suitable for the monument.[18]

Similarly, in late 1865, remains interred in the Camp Douglas cemeteries and, in 1867, those at the Chicago City Cemetery, were moved to Oak Woods Cemetery on the south side of Chicago.[19] Confederates buried in the Columbus City Cemetery and at Camp Dennison near Cincinnati were moved to Camp Chase Cemetery where the camp's Confederate prisoners were buried.[20]

The relocation of the remains of Confederate prisoners was typically necessitated either by local plans for civic improvements or industrial growth. The remains of some Confederates who died at Camp Morton were moved twice. In 1870 a railroad expansion precipitated some relocations within Greenlawn Cemetery. In 1931 all of the Confederate remains in Greenlawn Cemetery were moved to Crown Hill Cemetery.[21] These reinterments destroyed any potential evidence that could have been used to identify individuals.[22]

National Cemeteries and Union Dead

Confederate dead and associated burial needs were absent in early federal law, and limited U.S. government activity was confined to properties included in this study and other national cemeteries with fewer numbers of Southern dead. In the meantime, focus was kept on the Union dead. In July 1862, when national cemeteries were first referenced, they were created for Union dead who had died in combat or from immediate illness. Public Law 165, "An Act to define the pay and emoluments of certain officers of the army, and other purposes," specifically authorizes that "the President of the United States shall have *power whenever in his opinion it shall be expedient, to purchase cemetery grounds, and cause them to be securely enclosed, to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of the country.*"[23] Nearly a year earlier, however, General Orders No. 75 established procedures for recording and marking the graves of Union soldiers and sailors.[24]

Immediately after the April 1865 cessation of hostilities, the Quartermaster initiated plans to exhume human remains from battlefields and other temporary graves and reinter them in national cemeteries starting with two general orders (fig. 6). General Orders No. 40, issued July 3, 1865, sought lists of interments registered during the war, but only documentation for less than 30 percent of the dead was produced; it then became necessary to review casualty reports. As a result, General Orders No.

65, issued on October 30, 1865, requested the locations of cemeteries and gave recommendations for their preservation.[25]

Figure 6. Remains of U.S. soldiers being exhumed from Cold Harbor battlefield, Virginia, ca. 1866. *Library of Congress.*

This prelude to the reburial program was authorized by a joint resolution of Congress on April 13, 1866, in which the secretary of war was directed "to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in the field and in hospitals during the war of the rebellion."[26] The resolution called for burial grounds to be secured to protect the gravesites in perpetuity but the means of marking graves would prove to be contentious. In 1866, U.S. Army Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs unsuccessfully opposed stone in favor of a cast-iron marker galvanized to protect it from rust, which would be less expensive to manufacture and transport.[27]

National cemeteries were officially established with the Act to Establish and to Protect National Cemeteries, approved February 22, 1867.[28] Cemeteries were to be "enclosed with a good substantial stone or iron fence; and to cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone, or block" to replace the wooden headboards that had been placed on the graves upon the death of the soldiers (fig. 7).[29] The army was to erect a lodge—a combined office and residence for the cemetery superintendent and his family. The Department of War was responsible for the cemeteries and the secretary of war was authorized to purchase the necessary land for said cemeteries. Congress appropriated $750,000 to carry out the provisions of the act.[30]

Assistant Quartermaster J.D. Bingham submitted a report to Quartermaster General Meigs in September 1871 providing details on the evolving system. The report listed seventy-four national cemeteries containing the remains of 303,536 Union soldiers. Bingham reported that 2,295 Union dead had been removed to the nearest national cemetery that year, and that he believed few, if any, remains were unaccounted for. In addition to national cemetery interments, 14,214 soldiers and sailors were placed in 316 private cemeteries, for a total of 317,850 burials.[31] The vast majority of these graves were marked with temporary wooden headboards that were "decaying and continually falling to the ground," Bingham noted, "It is desirable that some action be taken to provide permanent marks for the graves."[32]

Initially, only servicemen who had died during the Civil War could be interred in national cemeteries, but 1872–1873 legislation authorized the burial of all Union veterans. It also specified the design of headstones, to be made of "white marble or granite, 4 inches

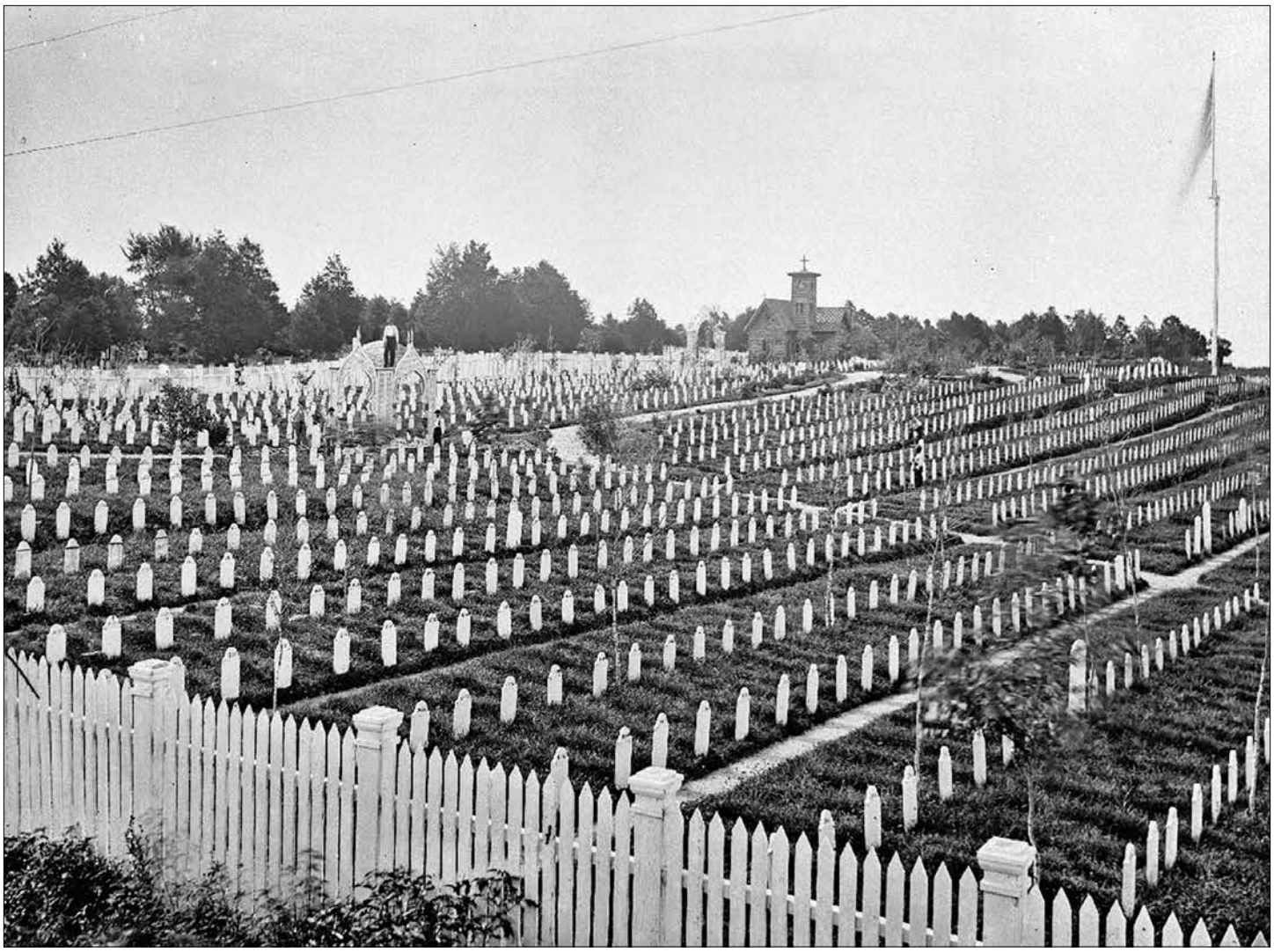


Figure 7. Alexandria National Cemetery, Virginia, ca. 1869, with wood headboards and picket fence. *Library of Congress*.

thick, 10 inches wide." Congress appropriated $1 million to purchase and install these headstones.[33]

A second initiative to mark Union graves was funded and undertaken in 1879, which extended the government headstone benefit beyond national cemeteries to include graves in private cemeteries. By 1881, an estimated 318,850 graves had been marked in all.[34]

The Union soldiers buried in the national cemeteries were marked with the new stones. Rows of these white marble stones became a familiar feature of our national cemeteries. In some of those cemeteries, such as Brooklyn's Cypress Hill Cemetery, the rows of stones were broken by empty spaces, as the graves of Confederates went unmarked. Camp Chase Cemetery, owned by the government since 1879, was unmarked with the exception of fading headboards. There were 151 Confederates buried in City Point National Cemetery, 139 at Loudon Park in Maryland, and no doubt others as well.[35]

Confederate Memorial Associations and the "Lost Cause," 1870

President William McKinley's 1898 Atlanta speech suggesting the U.S. government take some responsibility for Confederate graves found a receptive audience in the South, but it was not universally embraced by Confederate veterans. By the time of the Spanish-American War in 1898–1899, the "Lost Cause" ideology was well established. Confederate veterans organizations, primarily the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), existed in all former Confederate states and many outside the South. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), also well established, worked tirelessly to memorialize the Confederacy and the Confederate dead.

Private memorial efforts began in Winchester, Virginia in late 1865, when a group of women met to plan a cemetery for the Confederate soldiers killed in nearby battles. Across the former Confederacy, women began to host memorial services and place monuments in cemeteries to ensure that soldiers and sailors who fought and died would not be forgotten. This initiated the Lost Cause ideology, what historian Gaines Foster calls "ceremonial bereavement." These women-led efforts generally revolved around events at battlefields and associated cemeteries. In some cases, the ladies arranged for the exhumation of scattered Confederate dead and reinterment in central cemeteries where the associations could care for them. The early work of generic Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs), independent organizations of women across the South, aimed to honor and mourn those who had fought and died for "the cause" (fig. 8).[36]

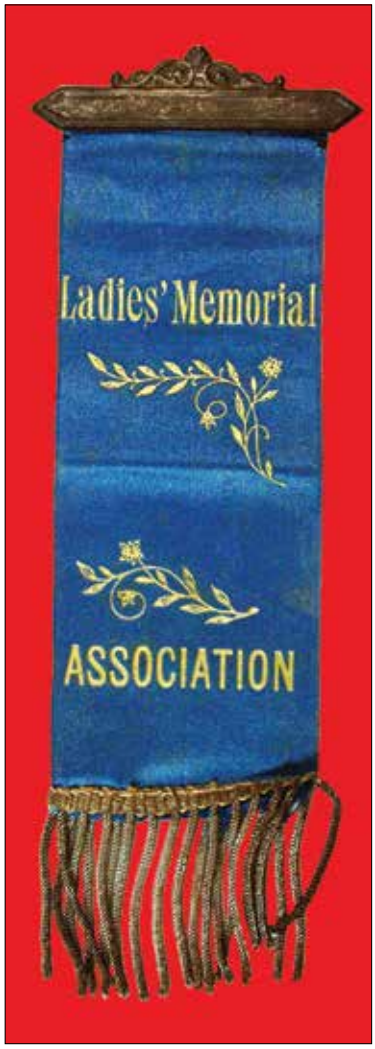


Figure 8. Ladies' Memorial Associations were responsible for establishing Confederate cemeteries at Little Rock, Arkansas, and Springfield, Missouri, and elsewhere. LMA pin, ca. 1892. *Photograph courtesy of Phillips County Museum, Helena, Arkansas*.

A Little Rock, Arkansas, newspaper summarized the local LMA in 1892: "There is in Little Rock, as well as in other places, women, brave and strong in all good and patriotic work, with a spirit of devotion. These ladies of our city organized 'The Ladies Aid Memorial Association.'"[37] The LMAs held sway through the 1870s. The 1880s represented a transitional period during which time the LMAs continued their work of building monuments and also began to reach out to impoverished veterans and their families. By the mid-1890s, their mission had been assumed by the UCV and the UDC. LMAs survived into the twentieth century, when the UDC became the dominant women's organizations associated with the Lost Cause.

The Lost Cause, in part, championed states' rights and the constitutional rights theory of the Civil War as Jefferson Davis defined it in postwar writings. The question of slavery was marginalized and reverence for the passing of the Old South—portrayed as a culture of tradition, honor, and chivalry—was emphasized. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the South celebrated the Lost Cause by erecting memorials on courthouse lawns and other prominent public places rather than only in cemeteries.[38]

The UCV was formed in New Orleans in 1889 and began to publish the *Confederate Veteran*. By 1896, veterans formed more than 800 UCV camps, and the magazine circulation exceeded 20,000 readers. The UDC, which adopted its name in 1892, began as an auxiliary organization to the UCV. Most memorials that predate the 1906 legislation in cemeteries included in this study have resulted from efforts by the UCV or UDC.[39]

Confederate Decoration Day

Most cemeteries included in this study are located in Northern and border states that did not secede during the Civil War. On Decoration Day it was the practice in some cemeteries for friends, family, and visitors to place flowers or U.S. flags on the Confederate graves. In 1868, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) helped elevate Decoration Day to the status of national holiday; GAR national commander General John Logan proclaimed that all chapters would hold ceremonies and decorate the graves of Union soldiers on May 30. That same year, 1868, witnessed commemoration at Arlington National Cemetery. After the speakers concluded, children from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home and GAR members strew flowers on the graves of both Union and Confederate soldiers. Five years later, New York became the first state to officially recognize Decoration Day, and by 1890, all Northern states recognized the holiday (fig. 9).[40] The *New International Encyclopedia,* 1917 edition, entry reads:

Figure 9. Lithograph, "Decoration Day at Philadelphia: Orphans decorating their fathers' graves in Glenwood Cemetery," 1876, illustrates early Decoration Day activities. *Library of Congress*.

> *A day (May 30) set apart each year by the various Northern States for the purpose of decorating the graves in the national cemeteries and of commemorating the soldiers who during the Civil War lost their lives for the Union cause. It is a legal holiday in all the States and Territories of the Union except Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. Some of the Southern States have also set apart a day for the commemoration of the Confederate soldiers who fell during the war.*[41]

It was not until after World War I, when the commemoration expanded from dedication only to the Civil War sacrifice, to honoring all Americans who died in any war, that former Confederate states recognized the holiday. One hundred years after the GAR's order in 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a bill that officially renamed the holiday Memorial Day; the change took effect in 1971.[42]

The LMAs are credited with initiating the Confederate Memorial Day in the late 1860s.[43] As memorial observances grew in popularity, especially after the end of Reconstruction, Confederate Memorial Day became a legal holiday in most Southern states, although no single date was or is consistently commemorated.[44] Observances were originally based on a significant local date. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi celebrate Confederate Memorial Day on April 26, the day Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Union General William T. Sherman near Raleigh, North Carolina.[45] North Carolina, South Carolina, and several Virginia cities chose May 10, the day General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson died.[46] The Hollywood Memorial Association, of Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery, chose May 31—the first day the city heard the guns of war. Confederate President Jefferson Davis's birthday, June 3, is observed in Kentucky,

Louisiana, and Tennessee.[47] Observances are held at Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery on the Saturday closest to this date.[48]

Arkansas observes the official Confederate Memorial Day on January 19; however, the Fort Smith UDC chapter historically held Decoration Day activities on June 3, Jefferson Davis's birthday. In Little Rock Confederate Cemetery, the UDC constructed a rostrum in 1907. Six years later, it erected a monument in the cemetery, and UDC and Ladies' Memorial Aid Association members decorated graves in the vicinity. UDC and other heritage organizations held Confederate Memorial Day observances at the cemetery until the 1990s.[49]

A Rock Island Confederate Cemetery Memorial Day service in the late nineteenth century is documented by a photograph showing the cemetery decorated with small U.S. flags (fig. 10).[50] The first documented Confederate observance was held on Decoration Day 1895, when Belle Richardson of Davenport, Iowa, placed flowers on the Confederate graves here. As a result of correspondence between the Rock Island Arsenal adjutant and the vice-president of the UDC's national office in 1957, the latter sent a box of small Confederate flags to the cemetery to be placed on each grave. Newspaper coverage confirms that the flags were placed as intended. In addition, a Confederate flag was flown on the shorter of two cemetery flagpoles; a U.S. flag flew on the other one. In this era, Memorial Day flags were raised to half-mast at sunrise and to full staff at noon; the small flags remained on the graves until sunset.[51] By 1975, the small Confederate flags had worn out and were replaced with small U.S. flags; however, that year Confederate flags flew on both flagstaffs. Twenty-five years later, small Confederate

Figure 10. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery, Rock Island, Illinois, photographed pre-1890, shows small U.S. flags on graves. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

flags again decorated the graves and African-American Navy Chaplin Ron Pettigrew conducted the prayer service at the Rock Island Confederate Cemetery.[52]

Current NCA policy for all national cemeteries and other federal-owned cemeteries directs that all flags except the U.S. flag are prohibited in the Confederate cemeteries except on Memorial Day and one-time events. All displays of Confederate flags must follow prescribed guidelines, and the flags and their removal must be paid for privately. For example, a brief dedication ceremony in 2003 for a new small obelisk monument in Rock Island Confederate Cemetery included Civil War reenactors who each carried a Confederate flag. Confederate flags must be flown on staffs lower than the U.S. flag. Small flags placed in front of headstones or markers must be removed the first working day after Memorial Day.[53]

Another ladies' organization, the State Monument Association, created the Confederate burial ground in 1869; it is now part of Springfield National Cemetery, Missouri. An early Springfield history indicates that graves there were decorated on June 12, 1873. In 1887, observances were held on May 27, the weekend before Memorial Day.[54] A rostrum was built in the Confederate cemetery prior to 1901. It is safe to assume that this structure was used for observances, under the guidance of the UDC, UCV, and later the Sons of Confederate Veterans. In the late 1950s the UDC erected a flagpole near the large Missouri Confederate soldier monument. A period photograph shows the First National Confederate flag flying from it (fig. 11). Today, at Springfield National Cemetery, display of the Confederate flag is confined to Confederate Memorial Day, April 26, and one other event by request.[55]

Figure 11. Confederate section of Springfield National Cemetery, Springfield, Missouri, in 1959 with the flagpole donated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy; the First National Confederate flag is flying. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Whereas, the people of Elmira, New York, have always cared for the graves of Confederate prisoners of war buried in Woodlawn National Cemetery. A local congressman sought to provide headstones for them as early as 1875, the same time as local citizenry included the Confederate graves in Decoration Day ceremonies. Initially only flowers decorated graves but eventually small U.S. flags replaced the flowers (fig. 12).[56] Memorial Day observances in the Confederate section of Woodlawn National Cemetery continued into the twentieth century. During the 1940s the observance was broadcast live on the radio. In the 1960s Confederate reenactors from Virginia initiated what was to become an annual cemetery pilgrimage that continued through the twentieth century. Today, Civil War reenactors who camp just outside of the cemetery wall carry on this traditional Memorial Day observance (fig. 13).[57]

The second-oldest Confederate observance in the North may be that of the Confederate Stockade Cemetery on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. In the early 1880s, the GAR McMeens Post of Sandusky, Ohio, first decorated the graves there. Union veterans chartered the *Hayes*, a steamboat from Sandusky, and spent the day on the island. The GAR post continued to lead Memorial Day observances until 1905, when the UDC bought the cemetery land and took responsibility for the ceremonies.[58] The UDC continued to host Memorial Day observances even after the federal government took ownership in 1932. Since the 1980s, reenactors have participated in most, if not all,

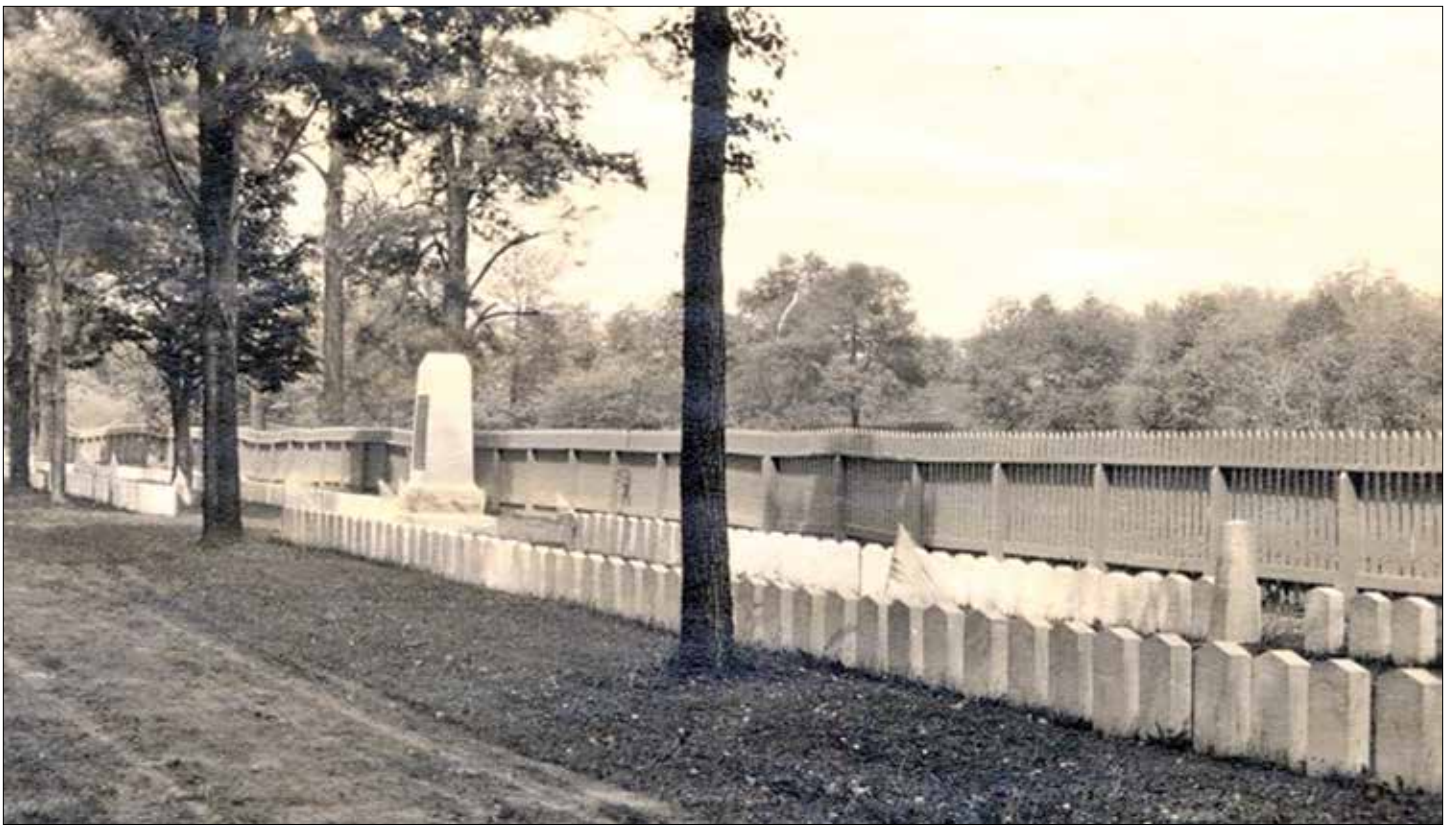


Figure 12. The Shohola Monument at Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, New York, photographed post-1912, shows small U.S. flags among the Confederate graves. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

ceremonies there that include Confederate flags and a fired salute. The UDC rededicated the 1910 monument at Confederate Stockade Cemetery on June 12, 2010.[59]

William H. Knauss, a former Union soldier, organized the first Memorial Day service at Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery on May 30, 1895. The first event attracted an estimated 50 people but, by 1899, some 2,000 attendees traveled to Columbus, Ohio, to participate. Ceremonies orchestrated by Knauss included the GAR, music, speeches, prayer and, in 1900, the appearance of Ohio Governor George K. Nash.[60] Knauss coordinated these observances until his death in 1917, when the UDC Columbus chapter took over, and eventually moved the service from Memorial Day to the Saturday closest to June 3.[61] The UDC hosted the ceremony until 1995—the one hundredth anniversary of the first observance there—when the Hilltop Historical Society took responsibility for the programs. Photographs of Memorial Day events over the years depict Confederate and U.S. flags on the graves, and some salutes to the Confederate flag.[62]

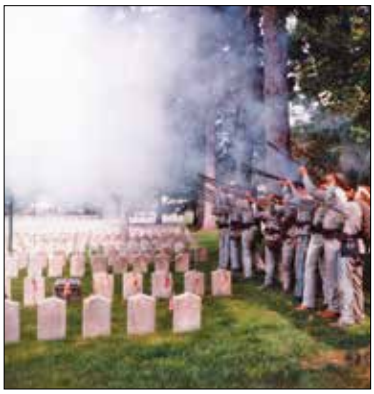


Figure 13. The 1980 Memorial Day observance at Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, New York, included U.S. flags on graves and Confederate reenactors. *Courtesy Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, New York*.

The aforementioned cemeteries have a long tradition of hosting Memorial Day observances are partially or exclusively aimed at remembering Confederate dead. Confederate memorial observances are documented at other cemeteries in the study, but information about them is limited.

Two significant factors are historically associated with Confederate memorial ceremonies: tradition was foremost; second was the role of superintendents as managers of their cemetery domains. Quartermaster General S. B. Holabird summarized the army's expectation on October 2, 1883, when he wrote:

> *It is the desire of the Department to afford every facility to organizations and individuals visiting the national cemeteries for the purpose of holding appropriate ceremonies therein, and to this end it has been the custom, each year, to direct that the grounds be placed in the best possible condition for Decoration Day, and that Superintendents render such assistance as may be in their power to aid in carrying out the purpose of the ceremonies usual on that day. These orders will hereafter be considered as established regulations.*
>
> *Superintendents, however, have the same charge and control of the cemeteries on public occasions as at other times. They are expected and required to exercise such supervision as may be necessary to insure the least possible injury to the grounds and the public property, and visitors are reminded that in the performance of this duty they are but complying with the requirements of law and the instructions of the Department.*[63]

Superintendents tended to adhere to the desires of the local community. Consequently, if the UDC wanted to place a flagpole in a cemetery and the superintendent felt the community would support this action, he allowed it. It follows that the same courtesy was extended for the memorial observances for the Confederate burials under their charge. The longer the federal government endorsed these well-organized and well-attended observances, the greater the communities' dismay at increasingly restrictive policies and regulations. Examples of these evolving requirements that have impacted Confederate recognition in national cemeteries include very limited display of the Confederate flag and that flying any flag other than the U.S. flag is governed by law. The VA has never been authorized to inter Confederate remains on its properties, although it does provide new and replacement Confederate headstones to eligible soldiers and applicants.

The Spanish-American War and Reconciliation

The nation enjoyed a burgeoning sense of pride and reconciliation in the wake of the armistice that ended the Spanish-American War, in which the United States defeated a European power and attracted recognition on the world stage. Many general officers were former Union and Confederate soldiers who had been reactivated to lead the troops. Whereas many other enlisted men who fought side-by-side in 1898–1899, were the sons of veterans who had opposed each other during the Civil War.

President McKinley spoke before the Georgia legislature on December 14, 1898, soon after the treaty ending the Spanish-American War was signed. The president acknowledged the role that southern men played in the victory. He waxed eloquently about the loss of sectional lines in the now undivided nation. He praised the nation for its efforts to care for disabled veterans and remarked on the beauty of the national cemeteries, and offered them as proof that the dead shared a love of the nation with the living.[64]

Then McKinley offered an olive branch to the South:

> *And while when these graves were made we differed widely about the future of this Government, these differences were long ago settled by the arbitrament of arms; and the time has now come in the evolution of sentiment and feeling, under the providence of God, when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of the Confederate soldiers.*[65]

Many in the Georgia legislature may have differed with McKinley regarding the treatment of veterans and the place of the national cemeteries in society, as no disabled Confederate veteran was eligible to live in a federal soldier's home, receive a pension, or, when they died, be buried in a national cemetery. However, it is certain that the president's Atlanta speech began a process culminating eight years later in legislation creating the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead.[66]

Arlington National Cemetery

In autumn 1898, Dr. Samuel E. Lewis, a member of UCV Charles Broadway Rouss Camp #171 in Washington, D.C., visited Arlington National Cemetery in search of information concerning the names, number, location, and condition of Confederate graves. Lewis was shocked at what he found, and on December 28, 1898, wrote to Marcus J. Wright, a former Confederate veteran who worked in the War Records Office in Washington.

Lewis sought Wright's help in addressing what he saw as offenses to the Confederates buried in the cemetery. The graves were scattered throughout the cemetery in three areas; they were intermingled with Union soldiers, civilians, government employees, refugees, and "contraband"—former slaves. As Lewis described it, "There is absolutely no way to distinguish the grave of a Confederate Soldier from that of a Quarter Master's Employee, a Citizen or a Negro Contraband."[67] Lewis did not explain how graves other than Union soldiers were actually marked.[68]

Lewis's letter, received in the wake of the president's speech in Atlanta two weeks earlier, ignited a series of events that culminated in 1901 with the creation of the Confederate section in Arlington National Cemetery. Working with Wright and other former Confederates in Washington, Lewis assembled a petition that was delivered to the president in early June 1899. The petitioners wanted a section of the cemetery to be set aside for Confederate dead, including remains buried at other cemeteries in Washington who should be relocated there. They wanted graves marked "with a suitable headstone" and an accurate record of those burials.[69]

The petitioners made a personal and heartfelt appeal to the president:

> *To you as our President, we appeal also in Fraternal Spirit, having all confidence in your wisdom and kindness, that having made our distress and our needs known we may rest our cause in your care, to do or cause to be done, that which may be determined by you as most fitting.*[70]

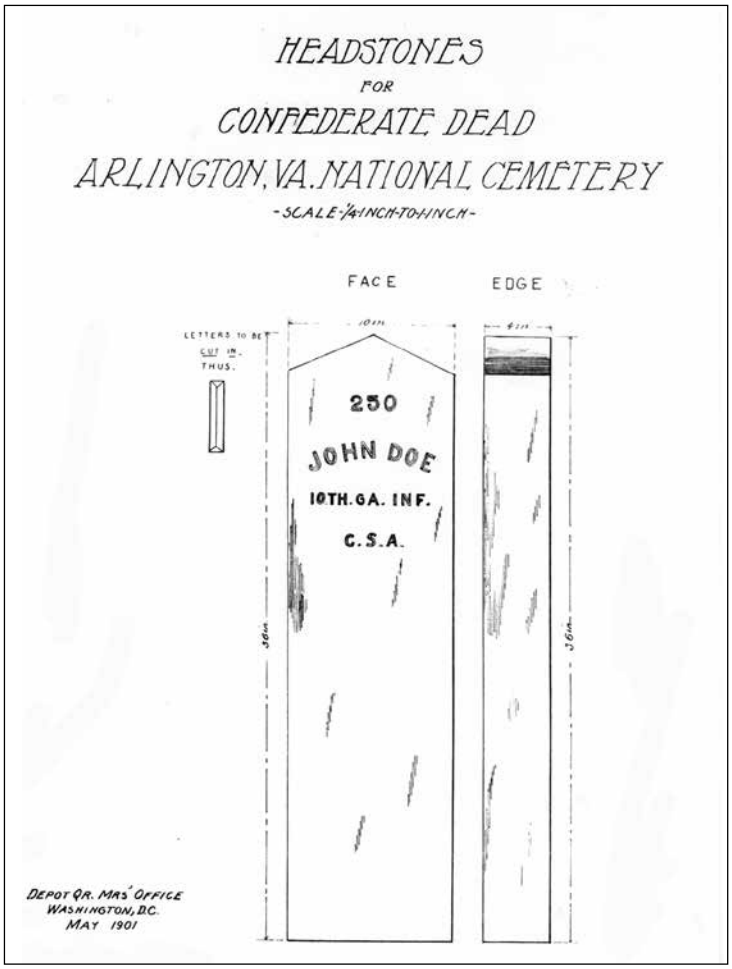


Figure 14. This Arlington National Cemetery Confederate headstone design was used to mark 264 graves in the Confederate section in 1901. *National Cemetery Administration*.

McKinley did not disappoint the former Confederates. With the help of Wright and some sympathetic senators and representatives, a bill passed a year later funding the actions requested in the petition. Plans were nearly derailed, however, when a group of women petitioned the secretary of war to allow Arlington's Confederate dead to be transported south for reburial. The women had previously removed Confederate remains from Washington cemeteries and farther north, and taken them to cemeteries elsewhere. The ladies, though formidable, met their match in Marcus Wright and Samuel Lewis, who enlisted the help of former Confederate generals John B. Gordon and Stephen D. Lee, other Confederate veterans' organizations, and two LMAs to aid them in their cause by writing to the secretary of war. Their efforts were successful.[71]

Public Law 163 passed in 1900 and, among other provisions, appropriated funds to:

> *enable the Secretary of War to have reburied in some suitable spot in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, and to place proper headstones at their graves, the bodies of about one hundred and twenty-eight Confederate soldiers now buried in the National Soldiers' Home near Washington, District of Columbia, and the bodies of about one hundred and thirty-six Confederate soldiers now buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, two thousand five hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary.*[72]

The remains of Confederate prisoners buried in Arlington during the Civil War—before it had been designated a national cemetery—were exhumed and reburied in Section 16, the newly established Confederate section. The remains of soldiers were also moved from the National Soldiers' Home in northwest Washington, D.C.

It took one year to grade the land, reinter bodies, and set headstones, but by October 1901 work was nearly complete. It was at Arlington that the distinctive pointed-top headstone was first used to mark Confederate graves. Although no specific reference has been found to confirm this, it is assumed that the shape of the headstone, which is clearly described and illustrated in the 1901 publication *Report of the Re-Burial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery,* is no doubt the "suitable headstone" referred to in the petition to President McKinley. This headstone, while the same size as the Union headstone, has a distinctive pointed top, allowing visitors to immediately recognize the markers as those of Confederates (fig. 14).[73]

Confederate Headstones

Prior to the creation of the Confederate section at Arlington National Cemetery, no standard "Confederate" headstone had existed. Local LMAs across the south independently established Confederate cemeteries and marked graves, with no consistent design used for the headstones between one local LMA and another (fig. 15). The Arlington National Cemetery section established a national standard for marking Confederate graves everywhere. The petition to President McKinley asked for: "Headstones at each grave, bearing a legend of the name, Company Regiment and State."[74]

Figure 15. Graves at the Confederate Cemetery in Helena, Arkansas, were originally marked with small rounded stones (shown above). Later burials were marked with a variety of headstones that were inconsistent with those purchased by the Ladies' Memorial Association. *Photograph by Mudpuppy & Waterdog, Inc.*

When Public Law 163 was enacted in 1900, each grave in the Confederate section at Arlington was marked with a new headstone:

> *of American white marble, in slabs not less than 36 inches long, 10 inches wide and a uniform thickness of 4 inches throughout, with bottoms square and at right angles to the sides, of fine grain, good texture, and hard; of grade known to the trade as No. 1; the top of the stones to be slightly pointed, as per drawing, and the edges slightly rounded; that portion of each stone which will be above the ground when set (18 inches from the top) (fig. 14).*[75]

When the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead was authorized in 1906, it adopted a headstone design based on the Arlington model but slightly more distinct. The commission's request for proposals to produce 20,000 headstones, issued on April 5, 1907, specified that they be:

> *of American white marble, in slabs not less than 39 inches long, 12 inches wide, and a uniform thickness of 4 inches throughout, with bottoms square at right angles to the sides, of fine grain, good texture, and hard; of grades known to the trade as Number 1, Average, and Best Number 2 and in all respects equal in quality to the sample exhibited as standard in this office and in the Quartermaster's Office at Boston, Mass.: the top of the stone to be sloped from the center to each side with a one-third (1/3) pitch, and the edges slightly rounded; that portion of each stone which will be above ground when set (20 inches from the top) (fig. 16).*[76]

The difference between the two was in the dimensions: the commission's headstone was wider—12 inches rather than 10 inches—and longer—39 inches rather than 36 inches—than the Arlington model.

The commission's original headstone was used at six cemeteries in the present study: Camp Butler National Cemetery, Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Cypress Hills National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Rock Island Confederate

Cemetery, and Woodlawn National Cemetery. This design was used until May 26, 1930, when the Department of War authorized the addition of the Confederate Cross of Honor in a small circle above the inscription on the front face of the stone (fig. 17).[77] The new headstone was the same size as the commission's headstone.

Figure 16. Left: An original Confederate headstone design at Camp Butler National Cemetery, Illinois.

Figure 17. Right: A pre-1940s Confederate headstone design with the Cross of Honor and punctuation; the latter would be eliminated.

The Confederate Cross of Honor was an award conceived by the UDC in 1898. The small bronze medal was typically presented to Confederate veterans or their families if the veteran was deceased. The UDC envisioned the cross as a badge of honor worn proudly by veterans.

> *[A] bronze cross of honor to each soldier of the Confederate army, which should correspond to the Victorian Cross of England or the Frenchman's cross of honor. It was proposed that the families of those who fell should be entitled to the cross, which would thus become so sacred a relic in the family.*[78]

The UDC took the Cross of Honor and its presentation very seriously. Recipients and UDC members had to adhere to a set of rules. In some states it was illegal to wear the Cross of Honor if one was not entitled to do so. The UDC urged other states to make unauthorized display as part of one's attire a penal offense. By 1901, the Cross of Honor had become a standard part of UDC and UCV gatherings. The UDC would present crosses to veterans at camps and statewide bivouacs. A veteran did not have to be a member of the UCV to receive a Cross of Honor, but it helped.[79]

The UDC and other heritage organizations must have been quite pleased that the Cross of Honor was added to the headstone design. According to an October 1930 article in the *Confederate Veteran*, Maj. John T. Harris, who was in charge of the design process, worked to make the design "distinctive and at the same time pleasing to the descendants of those Confederate soldiers."[80] The article stated that "The stone itself is thirty-nine inches in

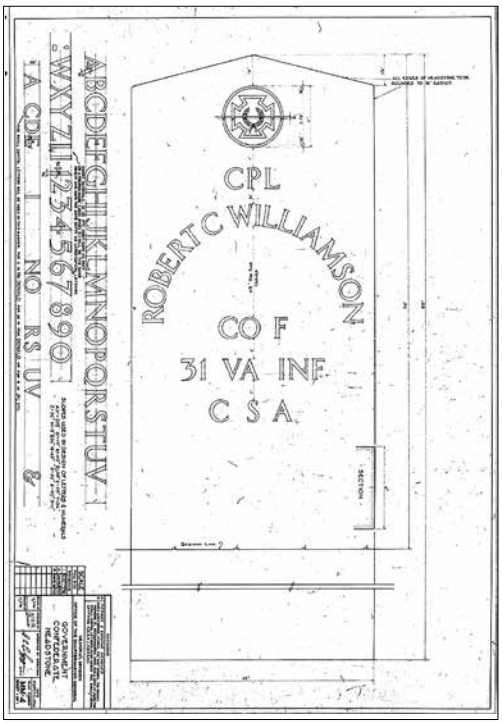


Figure 18. Left: Confederate headstone drawing, 1946, depicts changes instituted in the 1940s. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Figure 19. Right: A 1970s version of the Confederate headstone with a circle around the Cross of Honor removed.

length, twelve inches wide, and four inches thick. Near the top of the stone is a design reproducing the Confederate Cross of Honor, showing the wreath, but not the flag in the center and no lettering."[81] Beneath the Cross of Honor was "C. S. A." along with the name of the soldier, his company, and regiment. The headstone was to be set 24 inches above the ground.[82]

In the 1940s the editorial style of the inscription content changed. Commas and periods were removed; hyphens, apostrophes, and the ampersand were added. The Cross of Honor was retained on the face, now set within a circle 2¾ inches diameter (fig. 18). The circle around the Cross of Honor was later removed (fig. 19).[83]

The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead

After the Army changed Arlington's Confederate graves, former soldiers who had fought for the South began to lobby lawmakers to enact legislation that would allow all Confederate graves to be marked with the distinctive pointed-top headstones.

Following their success at Arlington, Lewis and Wright pushed for congressional action, too. They secured a new ally in Ohio Republican Senator Joseph Benson Foraker (fig. 20). As a former Union soldier, Foraker had supported efforts to preserve the Confederate cemeteries at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island during his term as governor of Ohio. He introduced S. 6486, "To provide for the appropriate marking of the graves of the soldiers of the Confederate army and navy, and other purposes" in December 1902. It was read twice but did not pass.[84]The bill would not become law until March 1906, although when it did finally pass it was nearly identical to what Foraker had proposed the second time in December 1903. The

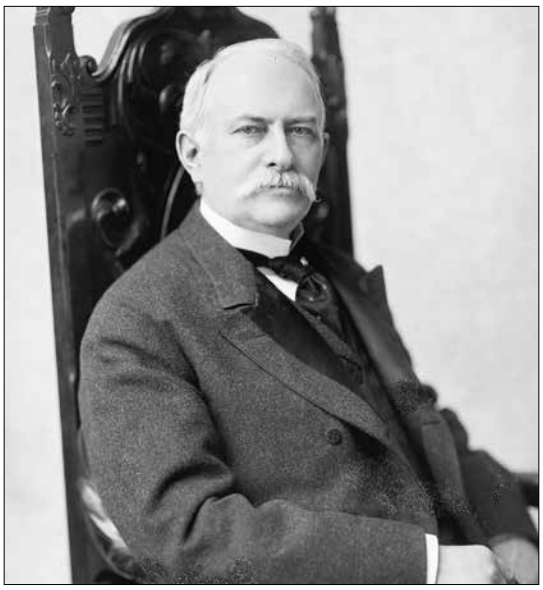


Figure 20. Ohio Senator Joseph Benson Foraker, ca. 1905. *Library of Congress*.

legislation provided for a commissioner to head the new Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed William Elliott of South Carolina to the position (fig. 21). Elliot would be the first of four commissioners; all would be Southerners and veterans of the Confederate army. The original commission expired on December 23, 1912. It was reactivated in 1914 and came to an end in 1916.[85]

Elliott, son of an Episcopal priest, was born in Beaufort, South Carolina, on September 3, 1838. He was educated at Beaufort College before studying at Harvard, and later at the University of Virginia. He was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1861. Elliott enlisted in the Confederate army and participated in the attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861. He served in the 1st South Carolina Infantry as a lieutenant, and later as a lieutenant colonel. He was severely wounded at the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina, in 1865.[86]

After the war Elliott practiced law in Beaufort. He entered politics and was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1866, and served as a delegate to the Democratic conventions in 1876 and 1888. He lost his first campaign for national office in 1884 but was elected to Congress in 1887. He held the office six times between 1887 and 1903. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to head the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead in the North. Elliott died unexpectedly while duck hunting near St. Helena, South Carolina, on December 3, 1907.[87]

A former Confederate was no doubt chosen to head the commission to avoid any suggestion that the work was being carried out by a Northerner. The *Confederate Veteran* and the UDC thought highly of Elliott:

> *The national government has recently made large appropriations for the erection of headstones at the graves of Confederates buried in the North, which work of erecting said stones, etc., is under the immediate supervision of Col. William Elliott, a Confederate Veteran of Columbia, S.C., and which work we believe will be well and faithfully performed.*[88]

Figure 21. Commissioner William Elliott (seated), his son and grandson, both also named William Elliott, ca. 1900. *South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina*.

Elliott got right to work in 1906. In May he wrote the secretary of war to clarify specific duties and to make sure that he understood the law as it was written. First, he wanted to know how "North" was defined. Second, he wanted clarification regarding his role in the acquisition of land. He wanted access to all records relating to Confederate burials and submitted a list of places he wanted to visit, asking that travel orders be issued. Perhaps the most fortuitous decision he made was to hire L. Frank Nye as his clerk and assistant. Nye's tireless efforts to track down information about the location and number of Confederate burials, and his well-written and impartial reports, reflect the importance he placed on the commission's charge (fig. 22).[89]

The secretary of war defined the "North" as states that did not secede. He instructed the commissioner to provide the Department of War with facts relating to a property, and how and under what terms it might be obtained. He approved of hiring Nye and

Figure 22. Commissioner William Elliott (third from right) with L. Frank Nye (far right) and others at Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana, September 1906. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

instructed Elliott to get in touch with the quartermaster general to access the records. With this the commission was underway.[90]

The daunting task of locating and marking 30,152 known burials began during summer 1906. Elliott planned to visit sixteen cemeteries in Delaware, Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. The commissioner probably discovered during these initial visits that his task would be neither easy nor straightforward. The legislation specified that each grave be marked with an individual headstone. At Point Lookout and Finn's Point, Elliot realized that marking each grave individually was impossible because he could not match a name with an individual grave as some of the remains had been moved or because of poor or incomplete record keeping.[91]

Commission correspondence regarding Point Lookout and Finn's Point illustrates the problems with the 1906 law as written. According to Nye's summary report issued following the August 1906 site visit, prisoners at Finn's Point had been buried in graves that held twelve men, three deep. Later, 5-foot-deep trenches were dug and the bodies continued to be buried in them three deep. To add to the confusion, 150 to 200 soldiers who died at Fort Delaware were moved from Pea Patch Island to Finn's Point and buried in separate trenches.[92]

Partial identification of Finn's Point remains might have been possible were it not for controversial cemetery plat maps. The number of burial trenches did not correspond up with the two existing maps. An earlier map showed thirteen trenches; the 1892

U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map showed six trenches (fig. 23). According to Nye's report, the cemetery superintendent told him that bodies were buried seven deep. Nye dismissed that notion as "plainly impossible." The superintendent refused to change his statement. Consequently, individual graves of 2,509 prisoners could not be identified.[93]

Point Lookout had similar issues and, if anything, was more complicated than Finn's Point. Correspondence from 1866 indicates that people were removing remains from the Confederate cemeteries without permits, which meant that the removals were not necessarily recorded on any official list of the dead. In addition, an 1866 letter from Colonel M. I. Ludington, chief of the Washington, D.C., Quartermaster Department, included a crude map of Point Lookout that depicted three Confederate cemeteries: two containing 1,500 graves each and a smaller one to the south on the Hall property, containing 100 graves. No subsequent correspondence mentions the Hall property cemetery.[94]

In 1871, the General Assembly of Maryland appropriated funds to move the bodies to a tract of ground purchased by the state. In the legislation the original location of the Confederate remains was vague: "Confederate soldiers who died at Point Lookout in St. Mary's County" were to be moved to the new lot in the current Confederate Cemetery. A monument was erected at the new cemetery in 1876 (fig. 24). In 1906, when the commission began seeking information about the Confederate graves, more confusion ensued. A memorandum from the governor's office to Elliot indicated that, in 1904, the State of Maryland had gathered its Confederate dead from several battlefields and moved them to Baltimore. No one could tell Elliot if any of these came from Point Lookout.[95]

The ambiguity may have originated from the state records, or perhaps Elliott had seen earlier correspondence about the unauthorized removal of burials; regardless, the commissioner desperately sought a definitive answer. A letter from Millard Minnick, rector of St. Mary's Parish Episcopal Church in St. Mary's, Maryland, to Elliott in February 1907 partially answered his questions. Minnick contacted a local man who said the state had moved the dead from Point Lookout prison camp cemeteries to a location on the point where it had placed a monument. Minnick wrote, "I am quite sure it would be impossible to identify the individual graves as I am informed ten or more were placed in the same box."[96]

In spite of mounting problems with Point Lookout and Finn's Point, the commission pushed on. In spring 1907, a request for proposals to provide the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead with 20,000 white marble headstones was issued on Department of War letterhead. Blue Ridge Marble Company of Nelson, Georgia, was awarded the contract and began work that fall.[97]

When William Elliott died on December 7, 1907, William C. Oates was selected to replace him (fig. 25). Oates was born in Pike County, Alabama, on November 30, 1835. He worked on his father's farm before setting off on his own in the 1840s. He taught school, read law, and in 1858 was admitted to the bar in Alabama. Oates moved to Abbeville in Henry County where he practiced law and edited a local newspaper. When the Civil War began he joined the Confederate army and was elected captain of a company in the 15th Alabama Infantry. He fought with that regiment in numerous

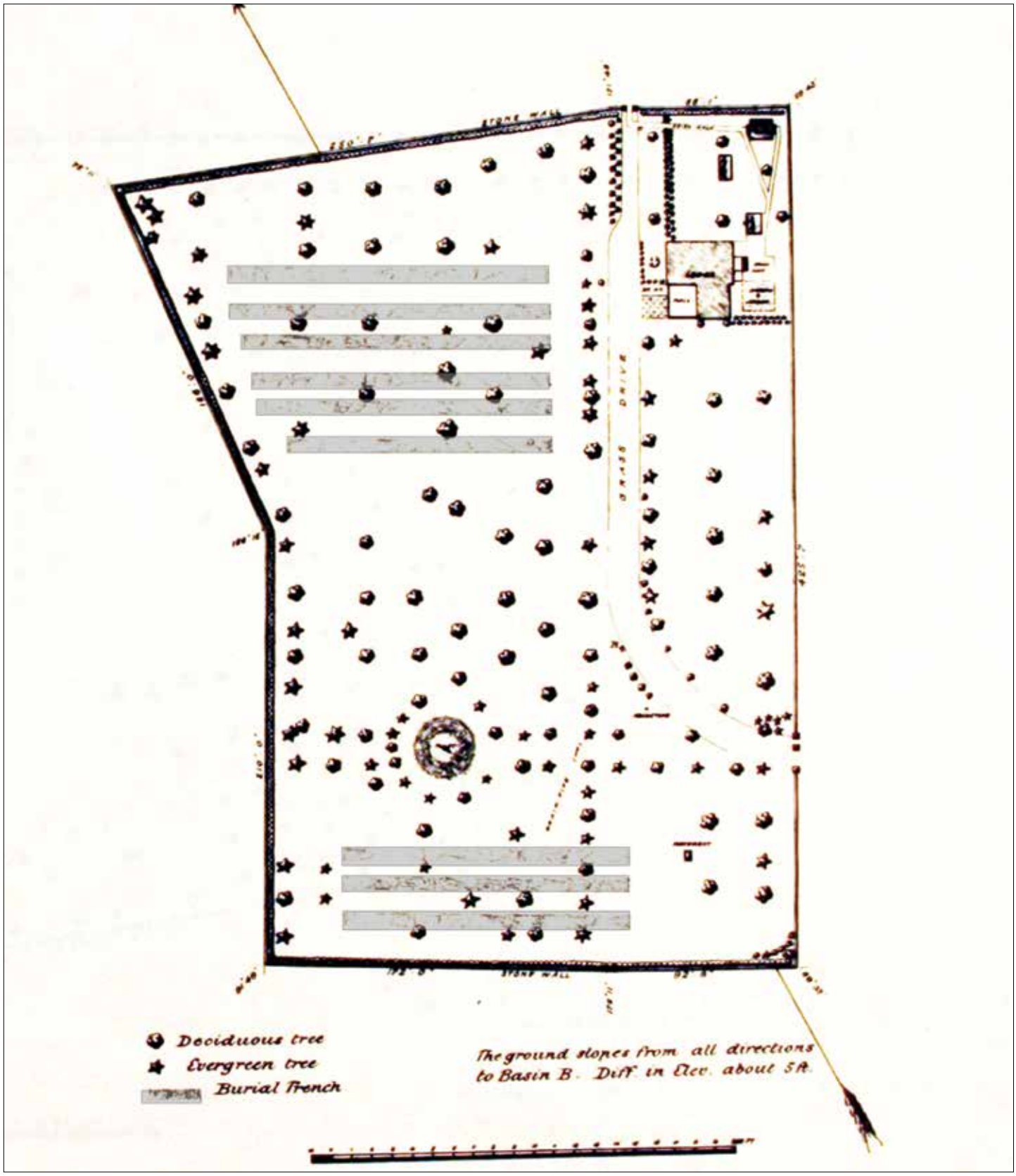


Figure 23. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department site plan of Finn's Point National Cemetery, New Jersey, 1892. Confederate burial trenches (shown in gray) have been enhanced to make them more visible. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 24. Monument erected by the State of Maryland as photographed in 1876, at Point Lookout, St. Mary's County, Maryland. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

battles including Antietam and Gettysburg. In 1863 he was appointed colonel of the 48th Alabama Infantry; he was wounded in battle and his right arm had to be amputated.[98]

After the war Oates entered politics and was elected to the Alabama legislature as a Democrat from Henry County. He was elected to Congress in 1880, and served continuously until 1894, when he resigned to run for governor. Oates was commissioned as a brigadier general in the U.S. Volunteers for the Spanish-American War. He served at Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, but never saw active service. He then served in the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1901 and thereafter retired from public service. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Oates as the second commissioner; he served until his death on September 9, 1910, at age seventy-five.[99]

Figure 25. William C. Oates, commissioner from December 15, 1907, until his death on September 9, 1910, photographed as a brigadier general in 1898. *Alabama Department of Archives and History*.

Soon after Oates was appointed, a joint resolution of Congress reauthorized the commission with a stipulation that the act exclude Confederate Mound in Oak Woods Cemetery in Illinois. Republican Congressman James R. Mann objected to using individual headstones at Confederate Mound. To do so would, "in my judgment, be a desecration of one of the most beautiful burial spots in the country."[100] The congressman's sentiments were echoed by the superintendent of Oak Woods Cemetery, Edward G. Carter, who agreed that the large number of headstones required, estimated to range from 4,000 to 6,500, were inappropriate for a modern lawn-plan cemetery.[101]

Oates visited Greenlawn Cemetery in Indianapolis sometime in October 1908, and upon his return used it as a test case for the type of situation mentioned above. He wrote to Secretary of War Luke E. Wright to propose a plan for marking graves at cemeteries where individual graves could not be identified. Oates recommended that one large monument inscribed with the names of the dead be erected in lieu of individual headstones.[102]

The secretary of war referred the concept to the judge advocate general. The army's lawyer concurred with Oates. The spirit of the law allowed some discretion on the part of the secretary of war. In the opinion of the judge advocate general:

> *[If] individual stones cannot be erected, it is the opinion of this office that a suitable monument may be erected upon which shall be inscribed the names of the deceased prisoners of war who are buried within the enclosure, and that the erection of such monument will be a reasonable execution of the requirements of the Act of March 9, 1906.*[103]

In December 1909 the secretary of war approved Oates's plan to construct large monuments featuring the names of deceased soldiers and sailors when it was the only reasonable option. Oates issued a request for proposals for monuments at Alton, Illinois, and Indianapolis, Indiana (fig. 26). After these designs were agreed upon, the general process of site selection, procurement and bids, and construction established by these two projects became the template for those to come.[104]

Some cemeteries posed few difficulties. Camp Butler was completed in June 1908, followed by Elmira (Woodlawn National Cemetery), Camp Chase, and Rock Island. Although the graves in these cemeteries were marked with headstones early in the tenure of the commission, the overall task required substantial effort. Almost every cemetery associated with a prisoner of war camp claimed multiple lists of interments. The name of each burial and location of each grave had to be reconciled; the commission, working with the Department of War, had to determine which lists were authoritative.[105]

The provision for single monuments was codified in the commission's reauthorization in 1910, which also specified that names be inscribed on bronze plaques affixed to the structure. And in keeping with Department of War policy, the dedication plaque text

Figure 26. Confederate Monument at Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

aimed to avoid wording that would be considered as subjective. The text was simply to indicate that Confederate service men who died as prisoners of war are buried in that place. The provision—that "each tablet shall have a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure"—was the basis of the army's unbiased disapproval of the word "valorous" on a Union monument at Gettysburg.[106]

There were two other addenda: Confederate Mound now fell under the commission's statute, and the graves of civilian prisoners were also to be marked. The headstones were the same as those of military prisoners with the exception that they were to be inscribed with "CIVILIAN."[107]

The question of marking civilian graves arose at Jefferson Barracks in summer 1909 when cemetery officials requested permission to mark the graves of 164 civilian prisoners of war buried there. Commissioner Oates balked, citing legislation that did not extend to civilians. He said he would obey the secretary of war if ordered to provide them, but that it would be inconvenient; he would have to revisit Camp Butler, Camp Chase, Elmira, and Rock Island.[108]

The quartermaster general agreed with Oates but also directed him to supply the Jefferson Barracks headstones. Legal wrangling ensued, recorded on six endorsements to the original letter. It was determined that while the commission would supply the headstones, they would be paid for out of a different fund. The quartermaster general specified that headstones on civilian graves would be the same design as those for Confederates. The quantity of headstones was also reduced from 164 to 39.[109]

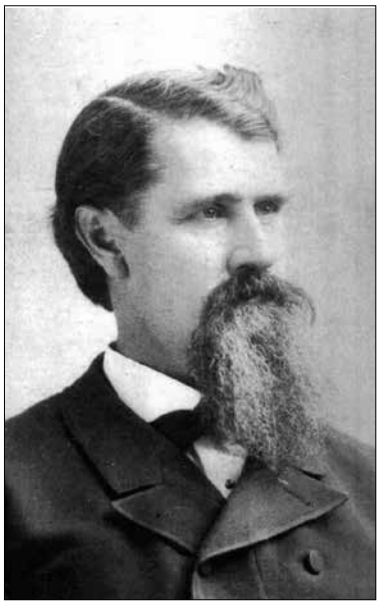


Figure 27. James Henderson Berry, ca. 1890, commissioner from October 1910 until December 1912. *Butler Center for Arkansas Studies*.

After Oates's death on September 9, 1910, there was a void of about a month until James Henderson Berry of Arkansas was appointed as third commissioner (fig. 27). Berry was born in Jackson County, Alabama, in 1841. Before he was seven years old, his family moved to Carroll County, Arkansas, where his father became a merchant. The younger Berry was self-taught and studied for a time at Berryville Academy. He returned to Carrollton and joined the Confederate forces; Berry was elected lieutenant of the 16th Arkansas Infantry company. He was engaged at Pea Ridge and fought at the battles of Iuka and Corinth in autumn 1862. At Corinth he was wounded and lost his right leg. He was captured, paroled, and sent home. After the war he taught school briefly but eventually entered into politics.[110]

Berry passed the bar in 1866 and was elected to the Arkansas General Assembly, beginning a successful political career. He became the speaker of the Arkansas House of Representatives in 1874, followed by an elected judgeship, a position he held until 1882. He was elected governor 1883, then U.S. senator from 1885 to 1907. In 1910, when Oates died, President William Howard Taft named Berry to replace him. He served two years and completed the job under budget, returning several thousand dollars to the treasury. Berry picked up where Oates left off and moved the work of the commission forward. Fortunately for Berry, L. Frank Nye remained with the commission and undoubtedly enabled a smooth transition (fig. 28).[111]

Early in Berry's tenure, the first of the private Confederate cemeteries came under Department of War jurisdiction. Springfield (Missouri) Confederate Cemetery was deeded to the federal government in 1911. While this cemetery became part of the National Cemetery System, it did not fit neatly within the commission's enabling

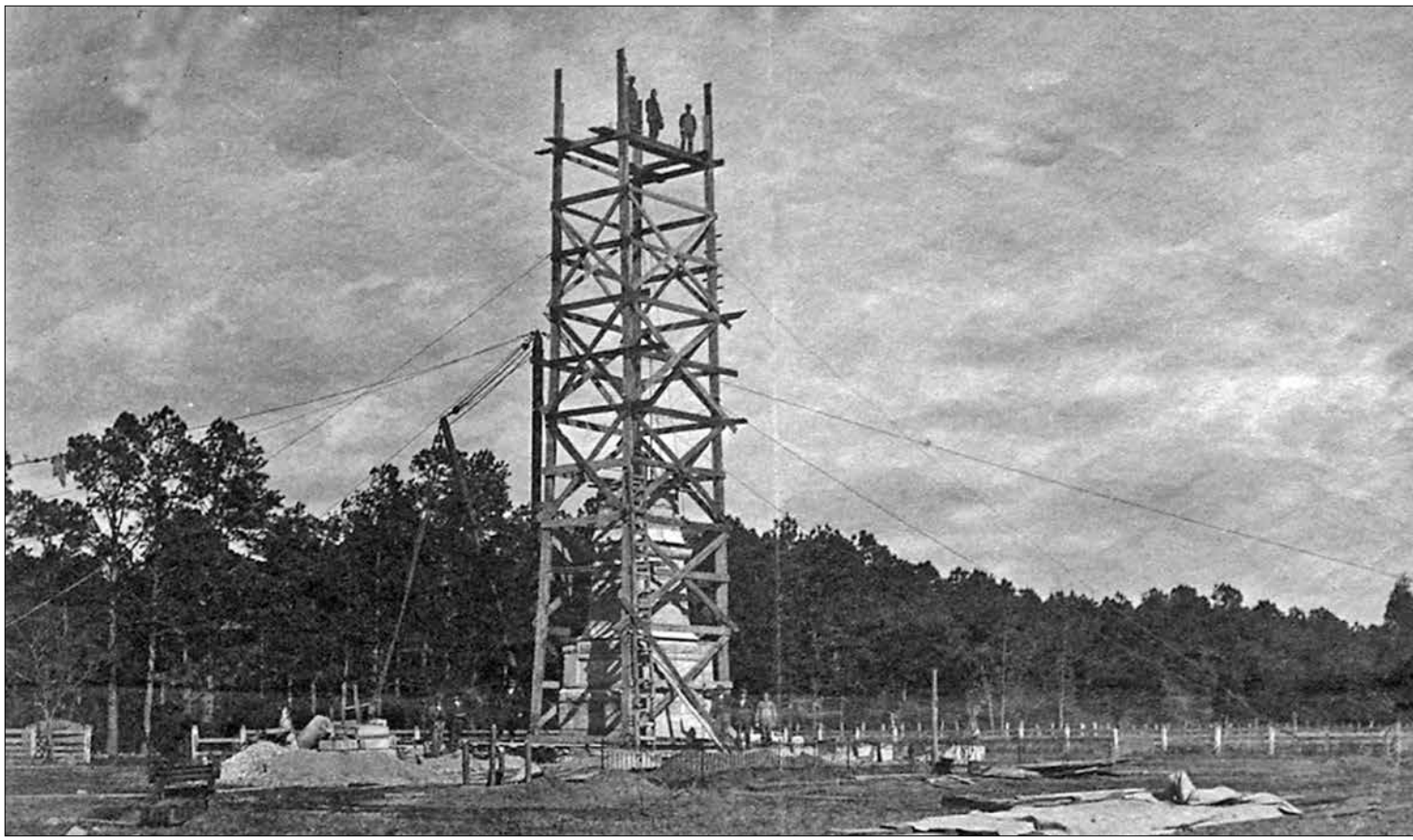


Figure 28. Commissioner James Berry finished many projects that William C. Oates started, including the Point Lookout Confederate Monument in Maryland. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

legislation. The men buried here were killed at Wilson's Creek and other engagements near Springfield. In the 1870s, an LMA purchased land adjacent to Springfield National Cemetery in which to gather the scattered remains of Confederate dead and reinter them in the new Confederate cemetery. A stone wall separated the two cemeteries.[112]

Both the UCV and the GAR opposed a bill that brought the Confederate cemetery under federal government control. The GAR felt that the Confederates should look after their own dead, and the UCV did not want Union veterans comingled with Confederates. Confederate opposition evaporated, however, when it became clear that the local UCV chapter was failing to properly maintain the cemetery; and the bill specified that only Confederate veterans were to be buried in the cemetery. The bill became law on March 3, 1911, and the deed was signed in July.[113]

The commission had accomplished much by 1911. The obelisks at North Alton and Finn's Point, and the large Greenlawn Cemetery memorial were complete. Work was underway on the obelisk at Point Lookout. The old obelisk at Confederate Mound at Oak Woods Cemetery was being raised to be set on a new base (fig. 29). The commission had spent $85,125.64 and obligated funds for work in Maryland and Chicago valued at $42,229.10.[114]

Berry submitted a final report on October 23, 1912—two months before the commission was due to expire—and he did so with a budget surplus. The final report contains a synopsis of the commission's accomplishments at fifty-three cemeteries in fifteen states and the

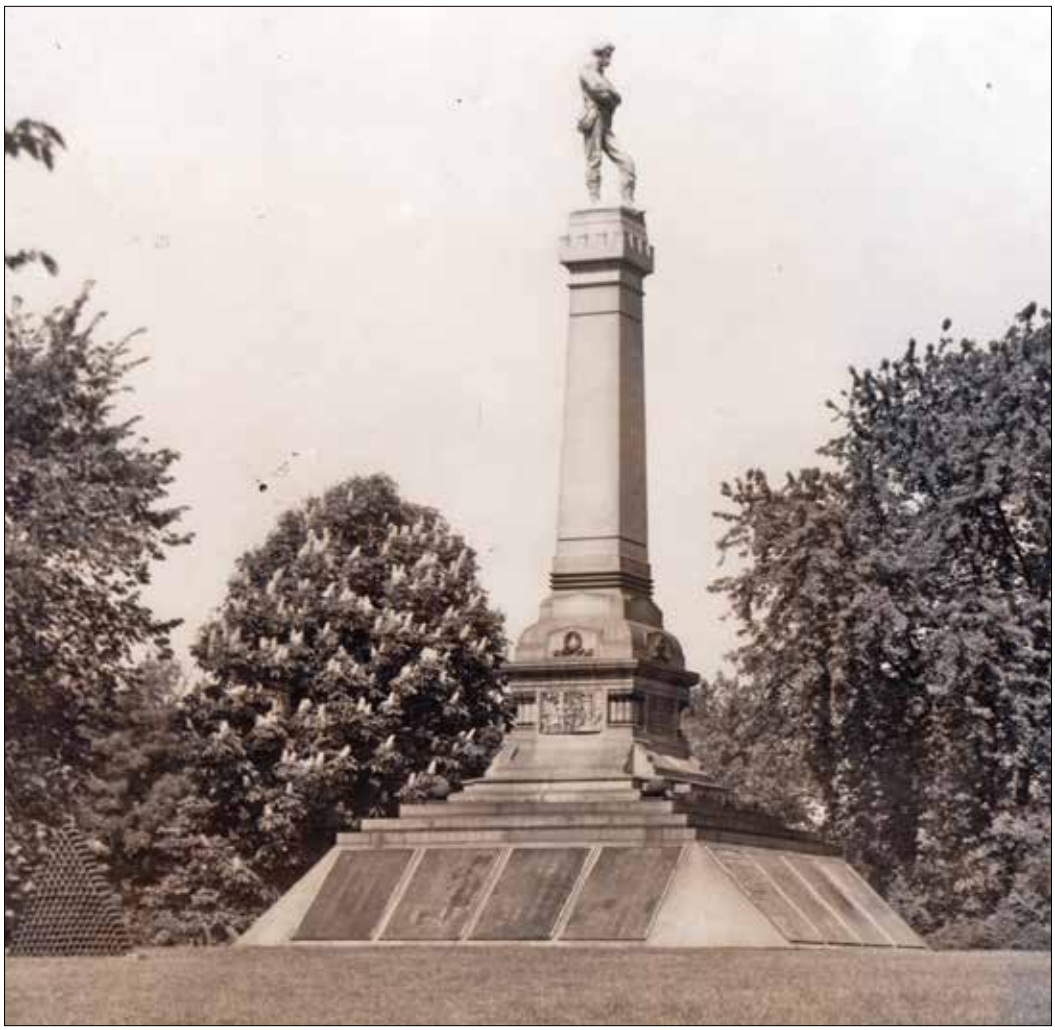


Figure 29. Monument at Confederate Mound, Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, Illinois, ca. 1935, after it was raised and plaques added to the new base. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

District of Columbia. The commission marked the graves of Confederate prisoners of war at fourteen of the eighteen cemeteries in the present study with monuments or headstones, and enclosed them with stone walls or wrought-iron fences. Arrangements had been made for the care of each cemetery.[115]

The commission erected headstones at Camp Butler National Cemetery, Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Cypress Hills National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Rock Island Confederate Cemetery, and Woodlawn National Cemetery. It erected single monuments at Finn's Point National Cemetery, Greenlawn Cemetery, North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Philadelphia National Cemetery, Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, Union Cemetery, and Woodlawn Cemetery, and supplemented the monument at Confederate Mound. Because the owners of Confederate Stockade Cemetery on Johnson's Island refused to transfer title to the federal government, the commission refused to spend funds on the property. However, the Johnson's Island graves were marked in 1890 using private funds.[116]

The commission then lay dormant for two years. It was resurrected and reestablished in March 1914 by joint resolution and authorized to spend $51,454.01—the funds remaining in the account. There was one additional provision: "That hereafter the provisions of said Act shall include and apply to the graves of Confederate soldiers and sailors lying in all

national cemeteries and cemeteries at Federal military stations, or localities throughout the country."[117]

With the return of the commission, efforts to mark the graves of Confederate soldiers and sailors had come full circle. Dr. Samuel E. Lewis, commander of the UCV Charles Broadway Rouss Camp # 171, who helped craft the legislation to create the Confederate section at Arlington, was named commissioner by President Woodrow Wilson. A native of Washington, D.C., Lewis served as a surgeon in the Confederate army (fig. 30). As a member of the UCV, he wrote a book on the treatment of Confederate prisoners. Lewis died in 1917 and is buried in the Confederate section of Arlington National Cemetery.[118]

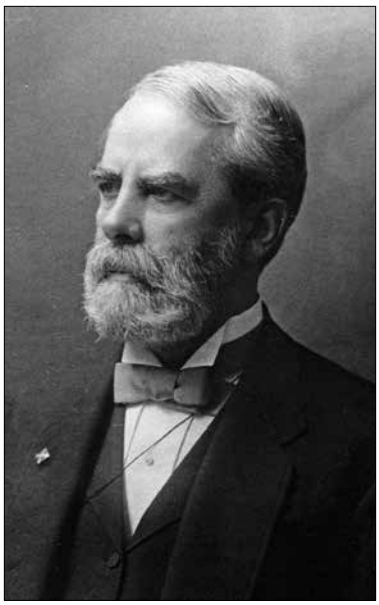


Figure 30. Samuel E. Lewis, photographed in 1904, was the last commissioner, 1914 to 1916. *U.S. Library of Medicine.*

The legislation also authorized Lewis to mark the graves of Confederates buried anywhere in the United States. On December 9, 1914, Lewis wrote to the adjutant general, requesting lists of Confederate soldiers and sailors buried at Alexandria, Louisiana; Alexandria, Virginia; Barrancas, Florida; Beaufort, South Carolina; City Point, Virginia; Fort Donelson, Tennessee; Fort Monroe, Virginia; Fort Pickens, Florida; Fort Pulaski, Georgia; Fort Smith, Arkansas; Goldsboro, North Carolina; Hampton, Virginia; Knoxville, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas; Nashville, Tennessee; Natchez, Mississippi; New Orleans, Louisiana; Petersburg, Virginia; Raleigh, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; Salisbury, North Carolina; Shiloh, Tennessee; Springfield, Missouri; Vicksburg, Mississippi; Wilmington, North Carolina; and Yorktown, Virginia. Three days later, adjutant general H.P. McLain sent a terse but detailed reply to Lewis. McLain said the army did not have information about the Confederates buried at most of the named cemeteries. Interment lists did, however, exist for Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, New Orleans, and Little Rock cemeteries. The adjutant general explained how the process worked: Lewis was welcome to submit names, and army clerks would check them against their lists. That is how it had been done since 1906, and that was how it would continue to be done.[119]

Lewis immediately replied to McLain that he understood that the surgeon general's office had transferred hospital records to the adjutant general's office. If possible, he wished to examine those records. The commissioner admitted that he knew of the correspondence between the adjutant general's office and previous commissioners, and he sought an opportunity to reexamine rolls that his predecessors had seen. Lewis was seeking to mark the remains of men interred outside of the scope of the previous commissioners.[120]

But his task was more daunting than that of the original commission. While there were a few large groups of Confederates identified in southern national cemeteries, for the most part Lewis was seeking individual graves scattered among Union soldiers buried in a much larger number of national cemeteries. It would require combing through burial registers at the national cemeteries to locate and mark any Confederates interred therein.[121]

The assignment proved too much for Lewis. In a February 21, 1916, report—just as the commission's legislation was again about to expire—he estimated that 3,515 Confederate prisoners were buried in "military stations and localities" in the former Confederacy. Lewis further estimated that 9,300 prisoners were buried in the national cemeteries. He proposed to check and double-check the records to ensure that all known graves had been marked. If an individual had been relocated, he would find the place of reinterment, record

the grave, and mark it appropriately. Lewis wanted to tie up all loose ends, but in two years as commissioner he had spent less than $5,000. The commission's appropriation still had a balance of $40,000. Lewis asked for a two-year extension but his request was denied.[122]

Even though the Commission for Marking the Graves of Confederate Dead no longer existed, the government was still obligated to recognize Confederates buried in national cemeteries and elsewhere. Following the commission's recommendation, the federal government purchased land associated with Greenlawn Soldier's Lot in Indianapolis, North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, Union Confederate Monument, and Woodlawn Cemetery Confederate Monument. Ownership imposed responsibility for perpetual care. The work of the commission created a lasting legacy for the United States, and annual congressional appropriations funded the maintenance of that legacy.

While the legislation that reauthorized the commission from 1914 to 1916 was limited to Confederates buried in national cemeteries, a separate line item in the 1914 Department of War budget allocated $50,000 to provide headstones for Confederate graves anywhere in the United States:

> *For continuing the work of furnishing headstones of durable stone or other durable material for unmarked graves of Union and Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national, post, city, town, and village cemeteries, naval cemeteries at navy yards and stations of the United States.*[123]

Previously, Confederates interred at Fort Smith National Cemetery, Little Rock National Cemetery, and Springfield National Cemetery had been excluded from the commission's authority because they were either located in states that had seceded, or the Confederate dead had not been prisoners of war. The graves of Confederate soldiers at all three sites were marked under this legislation. The headstones at Fort Smith National Cemetery were replaced some time later, as indicated by the fact that they feature the Confederate Cross of Honor, an inscription initiated in 1930.[124]

The Springfield and Little Rock Confederate cemeteries became federal property in 1911 and 1913, respectively. Graves at both were marked with small marble headstones when they joined the National Cemetery System (figs. 31–32). It is likely that funding to replace these older headstones derived from a $140,000 appropriation made in 1928 to recognize the unmarked Union and Confederates graves in all cemeteries. The act expressly addressed unmarked Confederate graves in national cemeteries. Grave markers in national cemeteries have always been standard designs, so replacing older, inconsistent examples with government-issue products was a logical evolution at these Confederate cemeteries, too.[125]

Also in 1928, the large monument erected by the commission over Confederate graves in Greenlawn Cemetery was moved to Garfield Park but the Confederate remains at Greenlawn Cemetery were moved in 1931 to Crown Hill Cemetery. The same year, the federal government finally acquired the elusive Confederate Stockade on Johnson's Island—something the commission had failed to accomplish. By the time the Great Depression swept the country, all cemeteries included in this study had become federal property.[126]

Figures 31–32. Left to right: Little Rock Confederate Cemetery, Arkansas, ca. 1911, and Springfield Confederate Cemetery, Missouri, ca. 1901, shown with original headstones that were later replaced. *From Program for UCV Reunion, Little Rock, Arkansas, May 1911.*

After Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, the administration launched a series of initiatives to fight the national economic downturn. The programs were collectively called the New Deal. In 1933, work-relief programs provided jobs and a pay check to the unemployed rather than a government relief check. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration were among the first of these programs. The Works Progress Administration, one of the best known, was later renamed the Work Projects Administration (WPA). WPA, operating from 1935 to 1943, is most identified with New Deal–era work relief. It built countless schools, roads, sewer systems, and other essential facilities across the nation. All the above-named agencies and the Public Works Administration provided labor and funding for projects.[127]

Between the years 1933 and 1941, the Department of War used New Deal funding to improve and update aspects of the national cemeteries (figs. 33–34). Documentation exists for projects at seven study cemeteries: Camp Chase, Finn's Point, Jefferson Barracks, Little Rock, North Alton, Philadelphia, and Point Lookout. Funding from New Deal agencies updated drainage systems, repaired buildings, improved roads, and conducted other needed work at the seven cemeteries. The individual histories of each cemetery provide detailed information on the New Deal improvements.[128]

Responsibility for the National Cemeteries

The evolving nature of federal agencies and their missions led to the periodic transfer of management for national cemeteries. Between 1930 and 1950, the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior, along with the Veterans Administration, managed, expanded, created, and cared for national cemeteries and numerous burial lots.

In 1933, Executive Order 6166 transferred jurisdiction of eleven national cemeteries from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior. "This transfer and consolidation of functions shall include, among others, those of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior and the National Cemeteries and Parks of the Department of War that are located within the continental limits of the United States."[129] This order was amended by Executive Order 6228, which limited the properties turned over to the National Park Service to specific properties as listed.[130]

Figure 33. Entrance to North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Illinois, ca. 1936. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

The War Department resumed management of the Chattanooga National Cemetery in 1945 due to its continued volume of interments. However, the U.S. Army transferred four additional national cemeteries to the Department of the Interior in later years: Chalmette National Cemetery (1939), Custer Battlefield/Little Bighorn National Cemetery (1940), Andrew Johnson National Cemetery (1942), and Andersonville National Cemetery (1971). Today, the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, administers fourteen: Andersonville National Cemetery, Georgia; Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, Tennessee; Antietam National Cemetery, Maryland; Battleground National Cemetery, Washington, D.C.; Chalmette National Cemetery, Louisiana; Custer Battlefield/Little Big Horn National Cemetery, Montana; Fort Donelson National Cemetery, Tennessee; Fredericksburg National Cemetery, Virginia; Gettysburg National Cemetery, Pennsylvania; Poplar Grove National Cemetery, Virginia; Shiloh National Cemetery, Tennessee; Stones River National Cemetery, Tennessee; Vicksburg National Cemetery, Mississippi; and Yorktown National Cemetery, Virginia, all of which are associated with national battlefields or national military parks.

The Veterans Administration was created in 1930 to oversee a range of veterans' benefits, including the administration of medical centers and soldiers' homes. Many of the early VA care facilities contained cemeteries for the burial of veteran residents. Government studies carried out in the 1950s and 1960s eventually led to the National Cemeteries Act of 1973. This act transferred eighty-two national cemeteries from the Department of the Army to the VA—along with thirty-three soldiers' lots, Confederate lots and related properties. These properties were managed by the newly created National Cemetery System. The Veterans Administration was subsequently elevated to a cabinet-level department in 1989 and renamed the Department of Veterans Affairs; and at the same time the National Cemetery System became the NCA.

Figure 34. The Maryland Confederate Monument, 1876 (left), was moved to Point Lookout by the Works Progress Administration in 1938.

The 1973 legislation excluded Arlington National Cemetery and Soldiers' Home National Cemetery from the national cemeteries transferred to the VA. These national cemeteries remain under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army.

The eighteen cemetery histories presented here offer a less familiar chapter in the evolution of the National Cemetery System—through the lens of Confederate burials. This study covers the period and events beginning during the Civil War, the establishment and work of the Commission for Marking the Graves of Confederate Dead (1906–1916), and changes orchestrated in the intervening years to the present day.

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[3] William B. Hesseltine, editor, *Civil War Prisons*, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1972, p. 6; and J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History*, Vol. 57, No. 4, December 2011, pp. 307–348.

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[5] Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph R. H. Moore, *Camp Morton 1861–1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1995, p. 17–77; and *O. R.*, Series II, Vol. III, pp. 269, 280, and 288.

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[7] *O. R.*, Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 26–268.

[8] *O. R.*, Series II, Vol. V, pp. 795–797 and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*, Free Press, New York, 1990, p. 201.

[9] During the Civil War, prisoners were treated in one of two ways. They could be taken to prisoner-of-war camps where they would remain until they were exchanged. The other option was for the captors to parole the prisoners. To be paroled, the prisoner would sign a paper in which he stated, on his honor, that he would not bear arms against those who captured him, visit any places listed on the form, or in any way aid or comfort the enemy of the captors until he was exchanged.

[10] Roger Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*, The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 2009, p. 79; and William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*, Frederick Unger Publishing Co., New York, 1930, p. 104.

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[12] *O. R.*, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 152; and *O. R.*, Series II, Vol. VII, pp. 72–75.

[13] "Confederate Dead at Elmira," *Confederate Veteran*, September 1902, p. 398; and Special Report relating to the government lots in the Woodlawn Cemetery, Elmira, New York, September 23, 1874, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28, Elmira Folder.

[14] Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 76–77.

[15] *O. R.*, Series III, Vol. V, pp. 317–318.

[16] Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, p. 77; Photograph of original carved marker at Johnson's Island, Frohman, *Rebels on Lake Erie*, At Camp Chase the standard headboard was used. See William H. Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Nashville, Tennessee, 1906, p. 11.

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[20] Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, p. 66; Knauss, *Story of Camp Chase*, p.11; and RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3 Folder 3 Camp Chase.

[21] George B. Davis to Luke E. Wright, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701 Box 2; Patricia Demore, "The Readers Corner," *Indianapolis Star Magazine*, October 26, 1975; Crown Hill Cemetery, *Memories of the Past: A Tour of Historic Crown Hill Cemetery*, Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1996, pp. 41–42; and "Confederate Rites for Burial Today," *Indianapolis Star*, October 27, 1931.

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[25] *O. R.*, Series III, Vol. V, p. 316.

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[31] J. D. Bingham to Montgomery Meigs, September 1871, Correspondence J. D. Bingham to M. Meigs. National Cemetery Administration History Program Vertical files.

[32] Ibid.

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[104]Robert Shaw Oliver to William C. Oates, December 19, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

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[113]"Favorable Vote in House Today," *Springfield Leader*, March 2, 1911; and "Deed to Confederate Cemetery Filed Here," *Springfield Leader*, July 25, 1911.

[114]J. M. Dickinson to George W. Gordon, January 23, 1911, letter from the secretary of war to Representative Gordon, National Cemetery Administration vertical file.

[115]See U.S. Congress, *Report of Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves*, House of Representatives, 62nd Congress, 3rd Session, Document No. 1105, 1912.

[116]Berry, *Report of the Commissioner for Locating and Marking Confederate Graves*, pp. 4–37; Rufus H. Wilson to Delbert L. Latta, November 13, 1974, letter from Director of the Veterans Administration to Rep. Delbert L. Latta, National Cemetery Administration History Program Vertical file; "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Daily Register*, October 19, 1889; "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Daily Register*, February 22, 1890; and "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Macon Daily Telegraph*, May 16, 1890.

[117]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1913 to March, 1915*, Vol. XXXVIII in Two Parts, Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1915, p. 769.

[118]Virginia Historical Society, "A Guide to the Samuel Edwin Lewis Papers, 1861–1917," Collection Number Mss1 L5884 a FA2, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, 2008.

[119]Samuel E. Lewis to H. P. McCain, December 9, 1914, including endorsements dated December 12 and 14, 1914, Typescript with notation RG 92 Confed. Cem. File Box 1, folder: Adjutant General A #2, National Cemetery Administration History Program vertical file.

[120]Ibid.

[121]Memorandum for Superintendent William Dillon, Fort Smith National Cemetery, Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 10, 1914, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Fort Smith.

[122]Samuel E. Lewis, *Report of the Commissioner for Locating and Marking Confederate Graves*, February 21, 1916, pp. 7–10, typescript, National Cemetery Administration History Program vertical file.

[123]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1913 to March, 1915*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1915, p. 630.

[124]Correspondence indicates that the Fort Smith Confederate headstones may have replaced earlier ones. Mark C. Mollan, "The Evolution of the Government Policy on Headstones for Fallen Soldiers and Sailors: Confederate Headstones," *Prologue*, p. 65; and Memorandum for Superintendent William Dillon, Fort Smith National Cemetery, Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 10, 1914, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Fort Smith.

[125]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1927 to March, 1929*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1929 p. 354; "Bill Passed By Senate Would Consolidate Cemeteries Here," *Springfield Republican*, February 16, 1910; and U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1911 to March, 1913*, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1913, pp. 663–664.

[126]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large December, 1927 to March, 1929*, p. 354; Patricia Demore, "Forum: The Reader's Corner," *Indianapolis Star Magazine*, October 26, 1976, p. 53; and I*ndianapolis Star*, "Confederate Rites for Burial Today," October 27, 1931.

[127]George T. Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky, 1929–1939*, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 1986, pp. 44–46 and 55–58.

[128]Historical Record, Little Rock National Cemetery, Little Rock, Arkansas, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 24, Folder: Little Rock 1; Q. M. C. Form 117, Philadelphia National Cemetery, Haines St. & Limekiln Pike, Phila., Pa., Combination Double Garage & Tool House, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 31, Folder: Philadelphia; Q. M. C. Form 117, Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 31, Folder: Philadelphia 3; Final Narrative Report and Completion report for the Repair of Monument and fence at the North Alton Confederate Cemetery at Alton, Illinois, Under the Works Progress Administration Official Project 13–116, Completed May 15, 1936, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 1, Folder: Alton 7; Q. M. C. Form 117, Finn's Point National Cemetery, comfort station, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 11, Folder: Finn's Point; Q. M. C. Form 117, Finn's Point National Cemetery, stable, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 11, Folder: Finn's Point; "Confederate Memorial Day," *The Hilltop Record*, May 23, 1936; Q. M. C. Form 117, Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, Scotland, Md., Enclosure and grounds, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 42, Folder: Point Lookout; Q. M. C. Form 117, U.S. National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, Enclosing Wall and Fences, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 22, Folder: Jefferson Barracks 1; Q. M. C. Form 117, U.S. National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, rostrum, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 22, Folder: Jefferson Barracks 1; and Historical Record, Little Rock National Cemetery, Little Rock, Arkansas, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 24, Folder: Little Rock.

[129]Executive Order 6166, Section 2, June 10, 1933.

[130]Larry M. Dilsaver, editor, *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 1994, NPS Online book, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anps/anps_index.htm, Chapter Three, "Organization of Executive Agencies, 1933." The cemeteries listed were: Battleground, District of Columbia; Antietam (Sharpsburg), Maryland; Vicksburg, Mississippi; Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Fort Donelson (Dover), Tennessee; Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), Tennessee; Stones River (Murfreesboro), Tennessee; Fredericksburg, Virginia; Poplar Grove (Petersburg), Virginia: and Yorktown, Virginia.

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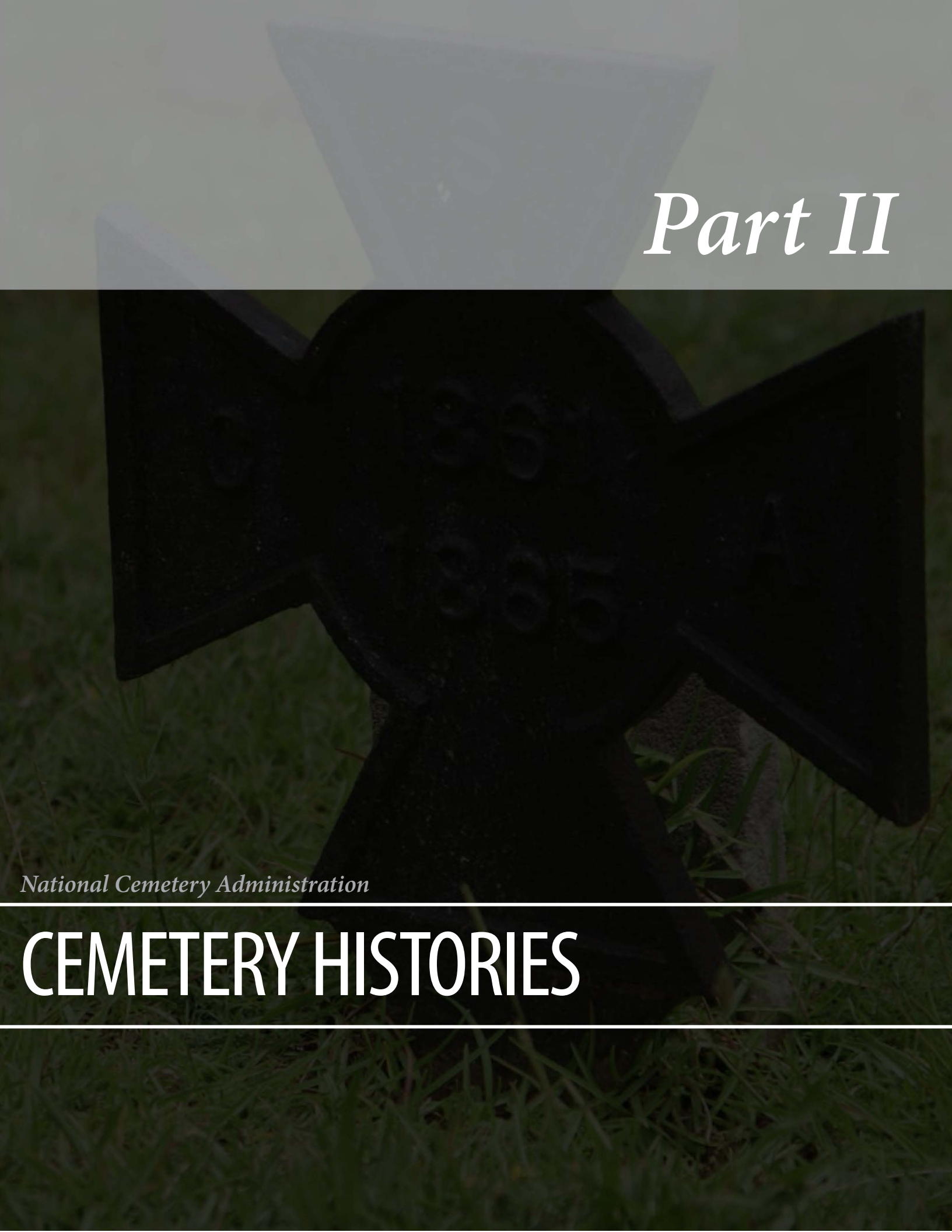


Part II

National Cemetery Administration

CEMETERY HISTORIES

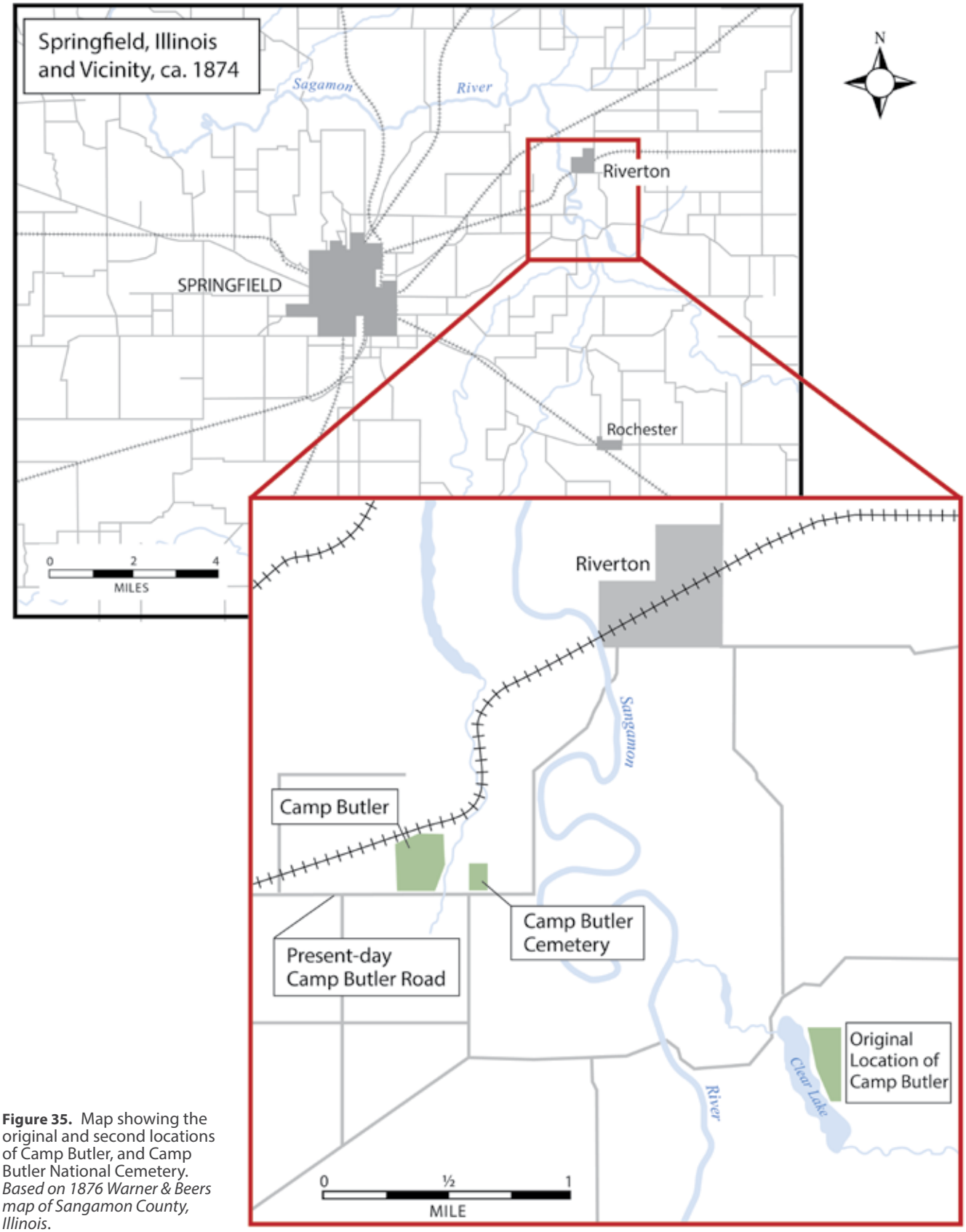


Figure 35. Map showing the original and second locations of Camp Butler, and Camp Butler National Cemetery. *Based on 1876 Warner & Beers map of Sangamon County, Illinois.*

CAMP BUTLER NATIONAL CEMETERY

Springfield, Illinois

The U.S. Army established Camp Butler in July 1861 to replace Springfield's first camp of instruction, Camp Yates. Camp Yates was established in early 1861 at the old fairgrounds. Its location so close to Springfield proved unsatisfactory, mainly because of community complaints of damaged and stolen property. These issues, coupled with President Lincoln's second call for 500,000 volunteers to crush the rebellion, led to Camp Butler being established.[1]

Camp Butler was named for William Butler, the treasurer of Illinois, and was situated near Clear Lake, a spring-fed body of water nearly 2 miles long. The lake was a reliable source of drinking water and a grove of fine trees provided an excellent place for an encampment, but this location also proved to be temporary; by October of that year, measles and typhoid fever were sweeping through the camp. Those who died were buried near the infantry encampment.[2]

Illinois state government officials determined that the camp, which was to serve recruits from south Illinois, should be moved closer to a railroad connection. A site on a good road, 6 miles northeast of Springfield and just south of the Great Western & Springfield Railroad, was chosen. The new location, which was on high ground, retained the name Camp Butler and barracks sufficient for two regiments were hastily constructed: "They are mere shells, single boards forming the sides and roofs. The sides are very low, about eight feet in height, the roof covered with tarpaper. They afford protection neither from storms or heat." With other buildings still under construction, approximately 5,000 soldiers were moved to the new facility. By early February 1862, Camp Butler trainees had shipped out, and the crude barracks began housing the first Confederate prisoners of war to arrive there (fig. 35).[3]

When 15,000 Confederate officers and men surrendered at Fort Donelson near Dover, Tennessee, on February 16, 1862, the captives were divided among a number of prison camps. They included Camp Morton and Camp Douglas in Illinois; Camp Chase, Ohio; and Camp Butler. Despite General Henry Halleck's orders that enlisted men and officers be sent to separate facilities, both were nevertheless sent to Camp Butler. They were housed separately. Initially, prisoners and Union troops received the same rations and the sick were treated at the same hospitals. Prisoners were allowed to receive gifts and to hold small amounts of money.[4]

Camp Butler Prisoner-of-War Camp

Camp Butler had not been designed to house and hold prisoners. When the first Confederates arrived, there was no stockade, and consequently there were many escapes. The prison population grew with the capture of Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River opposite New Madrid, Missouri, on April 8, 1862. The Union victory brought an additional 1,015 prisoners to Camp Butler, raising the total to about 2,250. Construction of a stockade began soon after the second batch of prisoners arrived and was completed about one month later. Escapes continued in spite of the new enclosure, but disease was taking a high toll on the prisoners.[5]

Camp Butler Union prison consisted of a headquarters building and twenty-one frame buildings originally constructed to house two regiments of Union volunteers. The buildings were 24 feet wide, 100 feet long, and 8 feet high with tarpaper roofs. Four served as medical facilities for prisoners. When the number of prisoners exceeded the capacity of the buildings, prisoners were housed in tents. A 12-foot-high fence was erected to enclose the 15-acre prison. With such a large increase in the population, it turned out that the facility's prison would be short-lived, about three months, from February 1862 to May 19, 1862.[6]

Assistant Surgeon, J. Cooper McGee, U.S. Army, was sent to Camp Butler in the late spring of 1862 by the Commissary General of Prisoners Colonel William Hoffman. McGee was appalled by the crowded and filthy conditions in the barracks. Even his room, he said, reached 102 degrees. In front of the barracks there were two rows of tents in which to house prisoners, and according to McGee, everything was odious. McGee saved his most critical commentary for the six hospitals, which he described as "in miserable sanitary condition. . . . The stench from the wards was horrid and sickening." The sick were crowded in wooden bunks; some were on the floor. Many had no blankets; medicines were deficient. McGee reported that the nurses and attendants were negligent and insubordinate.[7]

McGee immediately began organizing the camp, even though his plans required "much explanation and persuasion." The prisoners' tents were moved farther away from the barracks and set out as rows. The cook stoves in the barracks were moved outside to keep spoiled food and vermin out of the poorly ventilated barracks. Lime was applied to floors and walls of the hospital buildings and used liberally in the latrines. McGee also obtained needed supplies from Chicago and ensured that a task, which had been neglected in the past, regular cleaning, was carried out in the prison area. His actions proved to be effective. Around the time of his arrival, during the month of May, 123 prisoners had died, but by June, the monthly death toll had fallen to thirty.[8]

In July 1862, Colonel William Hoffman sent his assistant, Captain H. W. Freedley, to Camp Butler to inspect the prison facility. In a letter dated July 5, 1862, Captain Freedley wrote to Colonel Hoffman that the measures undertaken by McGee were successful:[9]

> *Improvements in the hospitals therein referred to have been made and a most admirable system of police has been established in them. The loss by death has decreased 70 per cent. The general health of the prisoners is good. The police of the camp has been much improved...*[10]

The first group of prisoners at Camp Butler was exchanged in early September 1862 under arrangements set out by the prisoner exchange cartel. Nearly 1,700 prisoners were put on trains and escorted under guard to Vicksburg, Mississippi. Those who made it to Mississippi were lucky; 471 of their comrades remained behind, buried in a former cornfield northeast of the camp.[11]

Camp Butler's commander, Major John G. Fonda, departed with his regiment in December 1862, and command passed to Colonel William F. Lynch. Lynch had earlier been held prisoner by the Confederates and no doubt harbored animosity against his former captors. Lynch's main concern was security; the prisoners' welfare was secondary. Shortly after Lynch took command of Camp Butler, Confederate prisoners began to arrive from the Trans-Mississippi region, west of the Mississippi River.[12]

In 1863, Camp Butler received 1,620 prisoners from Arkansas, Louisiana, as well as Texas regiments captured at Arkansas Post, approximately 120 miles south of Memphis. The men arrived during winter and were likely ill clad for weather in Springfield, Illinois. Another 500 or so men arrived in the following months, adding further to the problematic crowded conditions at the camp. Colonel Lynch's indifference to the health and welfare of the prisoners only made matters worse. The improvements and policies implemented by Dr. McGee steadily began to erode.[13]

Captain Freedley returned to Camp Butler in spring 1863 and on March 21 sent a report to Colonel Hoffman describing its physical accommodations: "[The] prisoners are quartered in twenty-one frame buildings, including hospitals, each one erected for the purpose of quartering 100 U.S. volunteers [soldiers]. These buildings are ample for their accommodation, are provided with comfortable bunks and in every way fitted up as quarters for our own troops." He went on to extol the virtues of the rations issued and the contentment on the part of the prisoners with the food they received.[14]

However, Freedley also cited the lack of discipline, lack of energy amongst the officers, the general trashy conditions at the camp, and the "large amounts of filth and offal" that had accumulated near the prisoners' quarters. He blamed the deplorable living conditions on the prisoners, writing, "The prisoners on their part were content to remain in indolence amidst filth and vermin." He notes, however, that the officers in charge of the camp did nothing to enforce cleanliness. Freedley also remarked on the generally run-down condition of the camp: the need for new barracks, roof repairs, and proper ventilation. None of the needed repairs would cost much, he said, and the prisoners could and should provide the labor.[15]

Of the hospitals, Freedley wrote that they had "but little improvement over the barracks." Once again he blamed a lack of energy on the part of the surgeon in charge, whom he said had given orders regarding the hospital but then had not vigorously enforced them. There were more than 400 sick prisoners, 200 of them seriously ill. The captain summed up his findings at the end of his report:

> *This camp might have been made a very satisfactory one in every respect but there was an apparent neglect in everything relating to discipline. There were no police regulations established. The commanding officer who had been a prisoner in the South seemed to care only for the security of the prisoners. They are closely confined within limits and no regard*

> *paid to their wants or comforts. He appeared to think this was all that was required of him.*[16]

The month before Freedley made his report, 103 prisoners died; his negative report did, however, spur Colonel Lynch into action. The straw in the barracks was replaced and the barracks were repaired. That April, 600 prisoners were exchanged, but before they embarked on their long journey to City Point, Virginia, they received new clothing, most of it furnished by friends of the prisoners in Kentucky. By May 19, 1863, there were no Confederate prisoners left at Camp Butler. Its career as a prison camp was over, except for eighteen civilians confined there in November 1863. After the Confederate prisoners left, Camp Butler resumed its role as a Union army camp.[17]

Camp Butler National Cemetery

Camp Butler's burial ground became a national cemetery in 1862, although the government did not own the property until 1865. Originally, the cemetery was approximately 6.5 acres. The August 1868 inspection report described an ill-maintained cemetery. It was enclosed with a wooden fence, which was not white-washed. The key to the gate was left with a nearby farmer. The grounds were described as "totally neglected, the grass and weeds obscuring the graves entirely." Thirteen of the 641 Union graves of soldiers who died while at Camp Butler had headstones; the remainder were marked with headboards "painted white and lettered black." There was no superintendent, no lodge, and no flagpole. There were very few trees and the graves had not been sodded.[18]

The inspector reported the condition of the cemetery to the Department of War, which authorized $9,621.75 for improvements and ordered that work begin immediately. The inspector recommended that Captain James Campbell, a former quartermaster employee living in Springfield, be given the post of superintendent. Campbell had what few records there were for the cemetery, and it was understood that he was interested in caring for it.[19]

The inspection report listed 643 Confederates buried in the cemetery, of which 454 were known and 180 were unknown. It stated that all the Confederate dead had been captured at Fort Donelson, thus demonstrating the inadequacy of the records Captain Campbell had on hand. The Confederate dead were buried in the cemetery at the time of their deaths and, as far as can be ascertained, they have never been moved.[20]

The inspection of June 23, 1870, told of a much different property. The cemetery was enclosed by a brick wall with an Osage-orange hedge growing along the inside of the wall. The entrance to the cemetery was in the eastern portion of the wall, off a county road known today as Camp Butler Road. A brick lodge was situated within the walled area near the entrance. A picket fence ran north-south through the cemetery, dividing Union graves from those of Confederate prisoners.[21]

The inspector described the layout of graves in the cemetery, which may shed some light on the irregular pattern of both the old Union section and the Confederate section. "The burials were made from the hospitals at Camp Butler as the deaths occurred, and do not seem to have been made according to any regular plan or order; but the graves were dug

as most convenient."[22] It seems very likely, though it was not stated, that the Confederate burials were undertaken in the same fashion.

The Confederate section, which this report lists as containing 645 burials, was graced by "a fine grove of young, vigorous oaks." The graves, both Union and Confederate, were marked with either headboards or stakes. There were a few stone markers in both sections. It was the inspector's opinion that removing the picket fence would improve the overall look of the cemetery.[23]

Four years later the 1874 report described the lodge as a one-story, three-room brick building with a piazza on the sides. The report stated that "a cistern is attached to the lodge." It also mentioned a well "in the center of the grounds." There were several outbuildings associated with the lodge. Unfortunately, the report is vague, stating: "The out-buildings, tool-house, wood-shed, &c. are in good order."[24] The report did not list a privy or comfort house, though it might have come under the "&c." The cemetery did not have any drives, but a graveled walk extended "from the main entrance to and around the flag-staff, which stands in a small, circular grass-plat a little north of the lodge." The picket fence that divided the Union and Confederate sections had been removed and new trees planted. It reported that the graves were well-sodded and marked with headboards. This report listed 643 Confederate graves: 453 known and 190 unknown.[25]

The inspection report of 1881 portrayed a well-maintained, mature cemetery. The brick wall now included an iron entrance gate mounted on stone posts. An arch with the words "National Cemetery" spelled out in cast-iron letters spanned the entrance. Four gun memorials stood around the flagstaff. This type of monument appears to have become a staple of late nineteenth-century cemetery decoration. "These monuments are iron guns placed in stone bases, piles of iron shot placed upon the bases, and one shot on the face of each piece."[26] The graveled drive that circled the flagstaff remained the only road.

The lodge was now separated from the cemetery by a hedge of Norway spruce and a wooden lattice wall. The inspection recommended razing the wooden tool shed as well as a stable in the northwest corner of the cemetery and constructing a larger brick building for the same purpose near the lodge. The tree planting begun earlier continued and it was reported that the trees were healthy and enhanced the appearance of the cemetery. The graves of the Union soldiers were now marked with white marble upright headstones bearing the soldier's name and the grave number. The Confederate graves, which this report estimated as 642, were marked with white-painted wood headboards with black numbers.[27]

According to a notation on an 1892 U.S. Army map, 647 Confederates were interred in irregular rows. This map shows the entrance road to the cemetery passing just west of the lodge. The flagstaff and gun memorials are located northwest of the lodge and the gravel drive encircles the flagstaff, making this area the focal point of the entranceway. The gravel drive extends east and west of the flagstaff and encircles the perimeter of the cemetery (figs. 36–37).

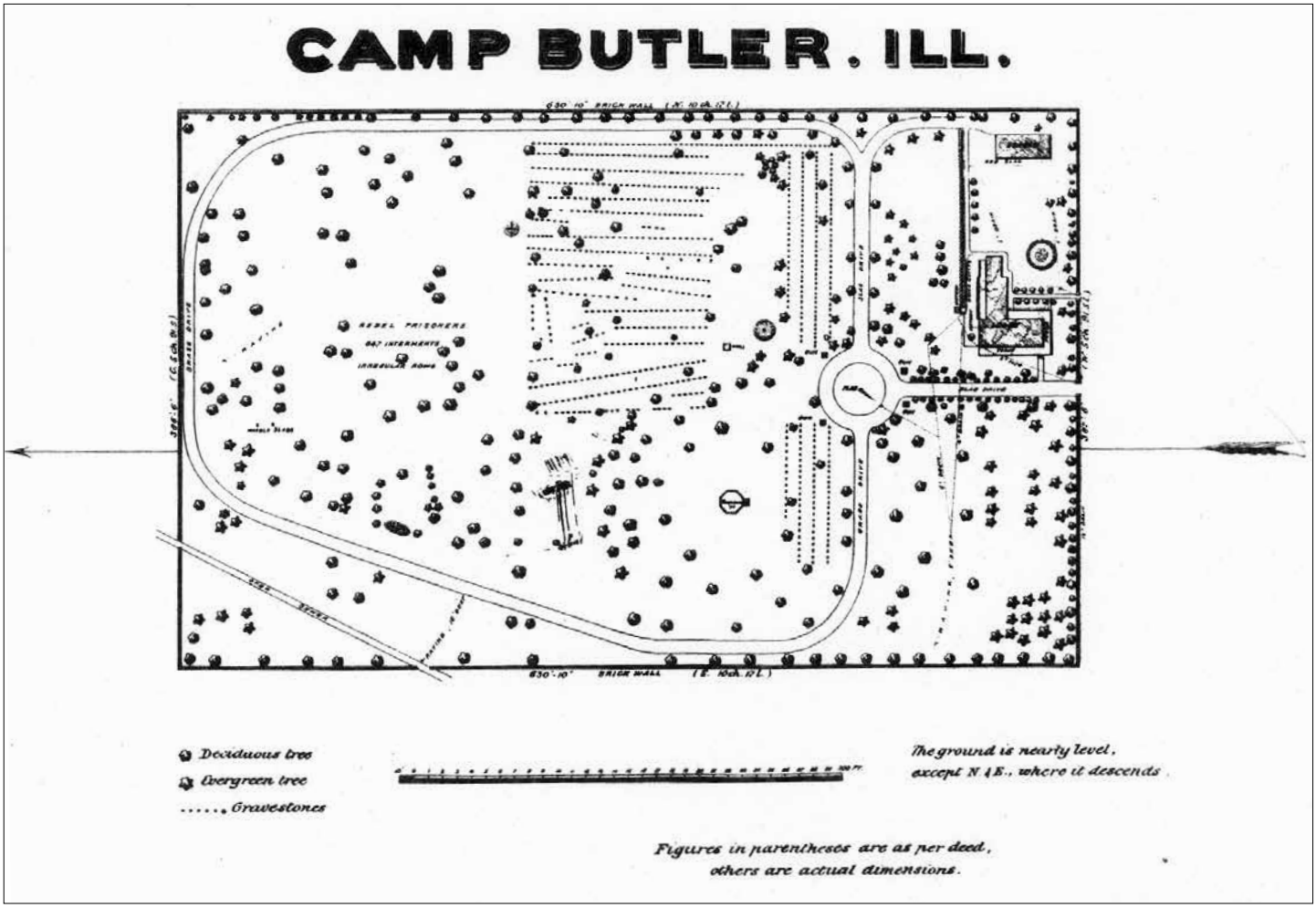


Figure 36. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Camp Butler National Cemetery, 1892. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

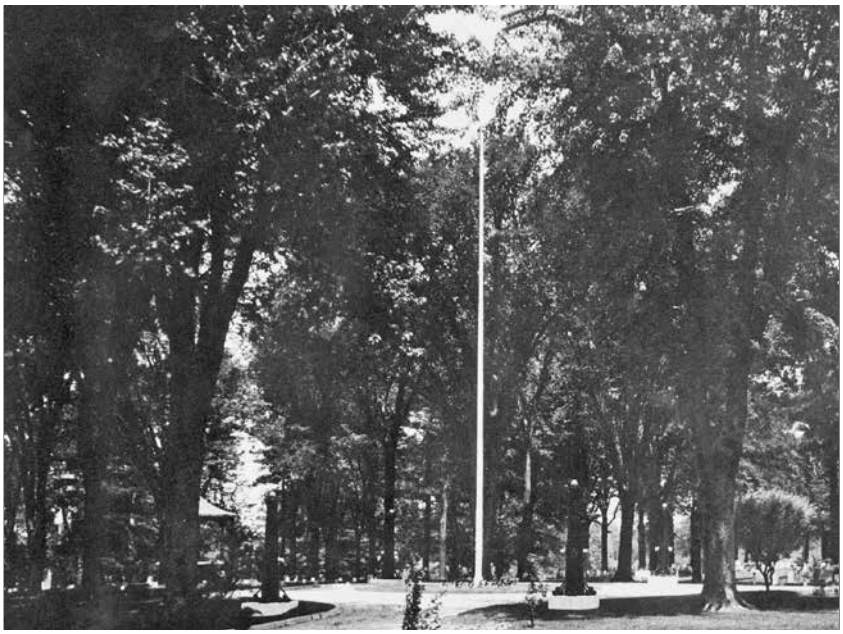


Figure 37. The cemetery entrance, photographed in 1937, had changed little from the layout shown on the 1892 Army map. *Photograph by Emma Eliza Parrotte, from Emma Eliza Parrotte, History of Camp Butler, MA Thesis, Butler University, 1938*.

The Commission

Camp Butler National Cemetery fell under the auspices of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead. Commissioner William Elliott acquired a list of Confederates who had died at Camp Butler. Elliott sent his list to Adjutant General Fred C. Ainsworth, who compared Elliot's list with his own records. As a result, a list of 874 names was compiled and it was determined that those names would be marked at Camp Butler. It is clear that the previous reports' lists of Confederate dead buried at Camp Butler National Cemetery do not match the number there when the commission and the adjutant general arrived, but no reason for the discrepancy was ever given.[28]

Figure 38. The irregular arrangement of Confederate headstones at Camp Butler suggests they are in their original 1908 location.

In spring 1908, the commission sent out requests for bids to haul and place headstones at Camp Butler. The headstones were made by the Blue Ridge Marble Company of Nelson, Georgia, which was already under contract to the commission. T. B. Richardson of Riverton, Illinois, was contracted to haul the stones from the railroad siding to the cemetery; the Springfield Monument Company of Springfield, Illinois, was awarded the contract to set the headstones (fig. 38).[29]

Of the 874 names located, it appears that the remains of nine men had been removed, most likely by friends or relatives. Commissioner Oates sent George Ford a letter instructing him to remove the stakes for grave numbers 111, 126, 247, 259, 279, 322, 333, 434, and 454.[30] On-site inspection determined that these numbers were absent from the graves that were marked.

Shortly after the Confederate graves were marked, a new lodge was completed. This building, which is extant, was built on the site of the original lodge. The new two-story brick dwelling had eight rooms, one of which was used for an office and for records storage (figs. 39–40).[31]

Figure 39. The lodge in 1937. *Photograph by Emma Eliza Parrotte, from Emma Eliza Parrotte, History of Camp Butler, MA Thesis, Butler University, 1938.*

Figure 40. The lodge in 2009; the porch was enclosed in 1942.

In the 1930s several changes were made to Camp Butler National Cemetery (fig. 41). A sprinkler system was installed to help maintain the grass and other plants. Much of the brick wall was torn down and an iron fence erected in its place. In 1938, 137 small marble markers on Union graves with

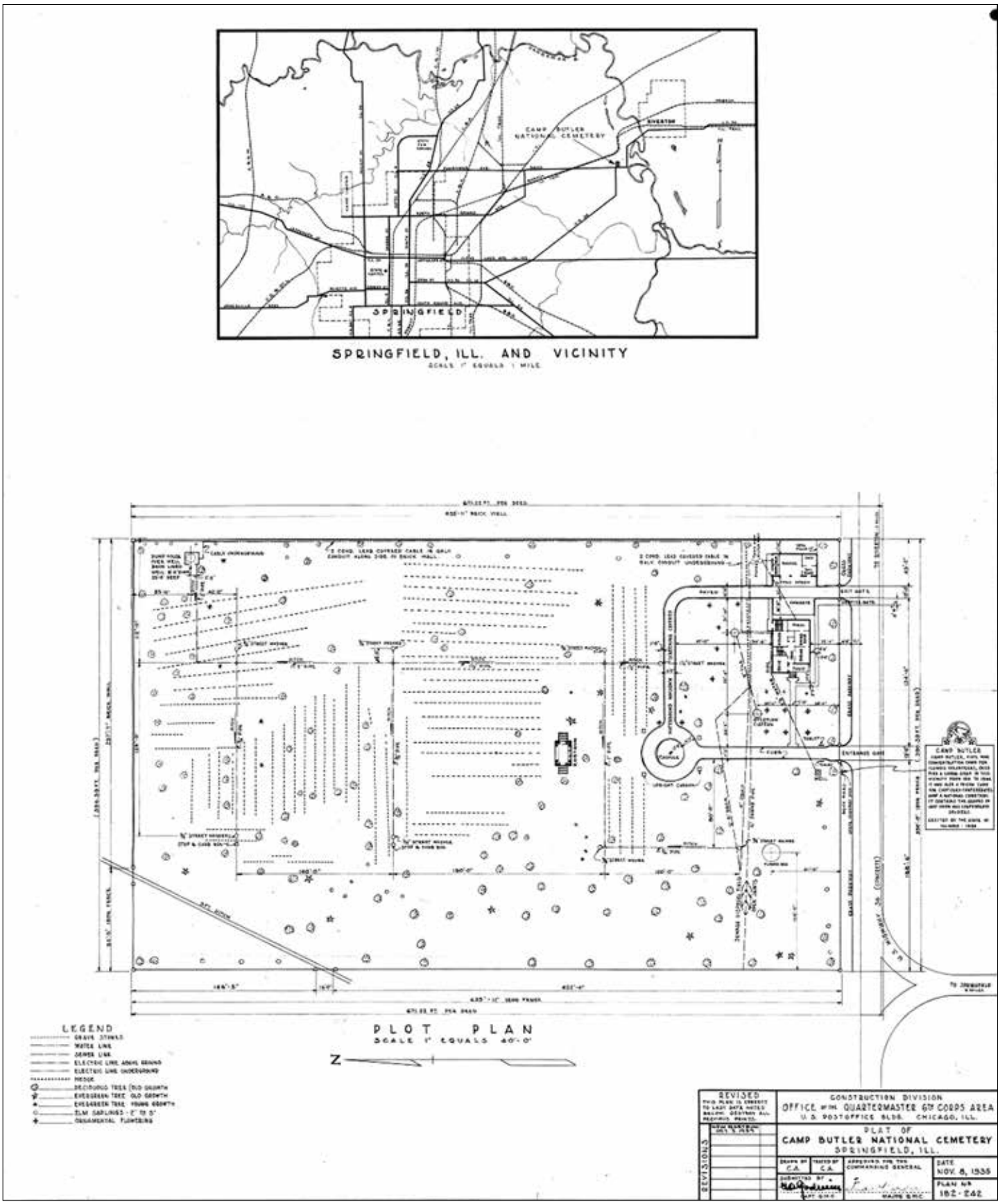


Figure 41. Plat of Camp Butler National Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. *Construction Division, Office of the Quartermaster 6th Corps Area, November 8, 1935.*

numbers on them, presumably marking unknown burials, were replaced with standard headstones, making "the cemetery more uniform in appearance." In 1939, the original 1896–1897 octagonal rostrum was razed and the current rostrum was erected east of the location of the first one.[32]

Camp Butler National Cemetery has changed considerably since 1938, when Emma Parrotte wrote her master's thesis on the cemetery's history. Between 1939 and 1943, another 447 feet of iron fence was installed. In 1948, the cemetery was expanded by 33.23 acres. This land was acquired from Arthur E. Miller and was north and east of the original 6.02 acres, increasing the size of the cemetery to 39.25 acres. Sometime later another 13.75 acres were added. Today there are more than 21,000 interments and the cemetery encompasses 53 acres.

The entrance gate is now located east of the lodge. The road system has been reconfigured and enlarged. The 1938 map shows two entrance gates. The original entrance was west of the lodge, with the road leading to and encircling the flagstaff and gun memorials; the road then turned east for approximately 120 feet, then turned south to exit east of the lodge. The road formed a rounded square around the lodge, with pedestrian access to the cemetery proper. The west entrance is now the only entrance to the cemetery. The flagstaff has been relocated to the memorial section. The area where the flagstaff was located is encircled by the road. In December 2005, the Seven Confederate Knights Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Illinois Chapter Sons of Confederate Veterans, Military Order of the Stars and Bars, and the Order of the Southern Cross placed a small obelisk in the southwest corner of the Confederate section (fig. 42).[33]

The older sections of the cemetery containing Civil War–era burials still retain their identities as separate sections. The original, irregular configuration of the rows of graves is intact and no contemporary burials have been added to this section.

Figure 42. The Confederate Monument at Camp Butler, photograph 2009.

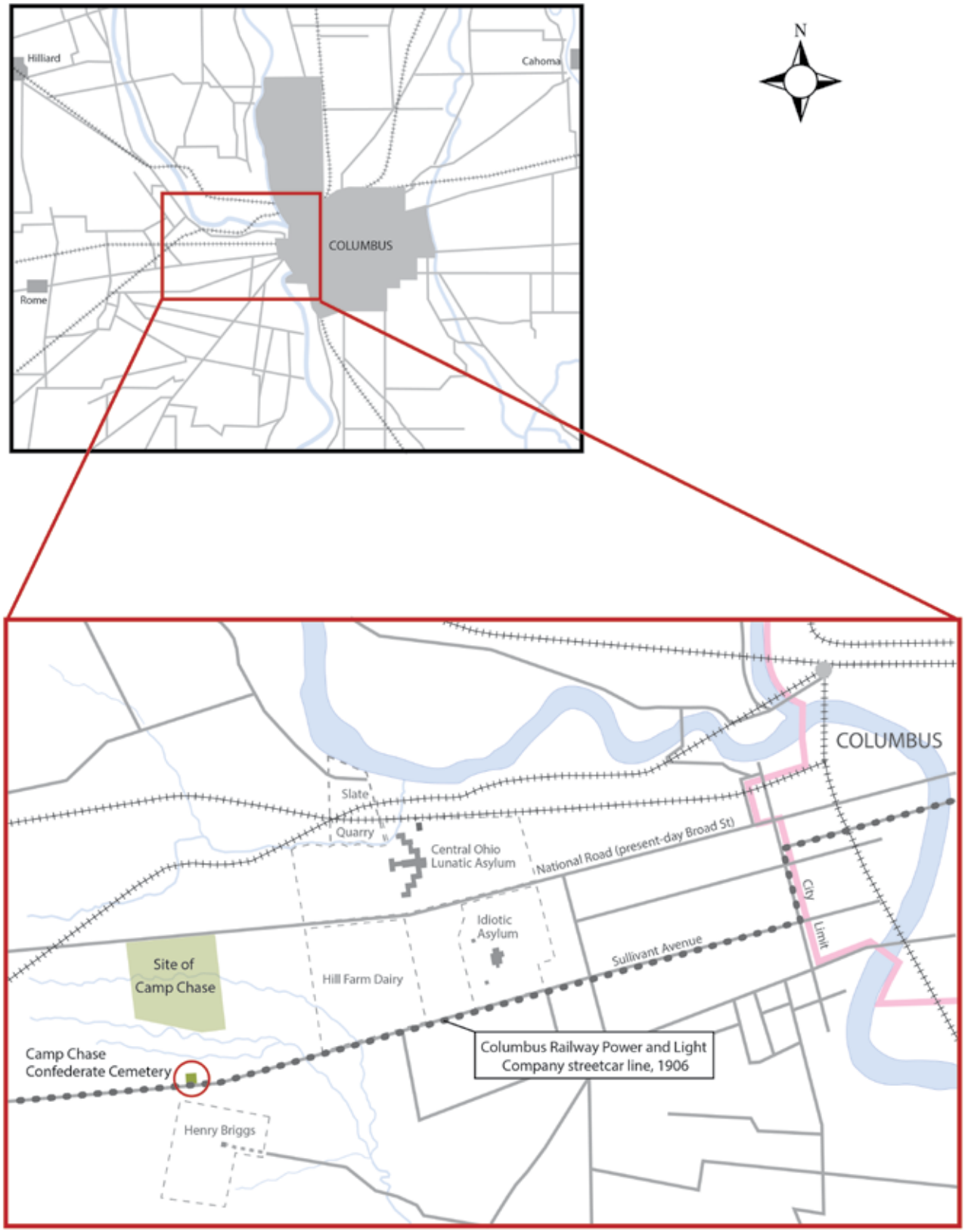


Figure 43. Map of Greater Columbus, Ohio, showing the locations of Camp Chase and the Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery. *Based on 1872 Caldwell and Gould map of Franklin County, Ohio.*

CAMP CHASE CONFEDERATE CEMETERY

Columbus, Ohio

The Civil War officially began on April 12, 1861, when Confederate artillery in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, opened fire on Fort Sumter. President Abraham Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion. Ohio promptly asked for 13,000 men, the state's quota. Thousands more men than needed to fill the quota rushed into Columbus, the state capitol, and it soon became apparent that Camp Jackson, hastily set up in a city park, was too small and too heavily wooded for the purpose of a training camp. A new camp was created in open farmland outside of town and named Camp Chase in honor of Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, Ohioan Salmon P. Chase. The new 100-acre camp had ample space for drills and it easily accommodated the two large dining halls and five barracks that had been taken down and moved from Camp Jackson (fig. 43).[34]

Camp Chase remained a Union camp of instruction throughout the war but it assumed another function on June 29, 1861, when the first prisoner arrived. By November of that year, Camp Chase held nearly 300 prisoners, many of them civilians charged with participation in the rebellion. Then, on February 16, 1862, Fort Donelson, the Confederate stronghold on the Cumberland River near Clarksville, Tennessee, surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant. Grant captured 15,000 Confederate soldiers, men for whom the federal government had no place to house.[35]

Faced with an enormous influx of Confederate prisoners, the government improvised. The following training camps were converted into prison camps: Camp Chase in Ohio; Camp Morton in Indianapolis, Indiana; Camp Douglas in Chicago, Illinois; and Camp Butler in Springfield, Illinois. The condemned and abandoned state prison in Alton, Illinois, was pressed into service as well. The 15,000 Confederate soldier-prisoners were divided among these places and several others.[36]

Camp Chase Prisoner-of-War Camp

A cartel for the exchange of prisoners established in September 1862 kept the prison population low until it broke down in summer 1863. That year, the population of the prison exceeded 2,000 men (fig. 44). When the cartel system failed, Camp Chase became a permanent prison facility. The facility built for Union soldiers in 1861 had fallen into disrepair, and camp commander Colonel William P. Richardson ordered that renovations be made. While construction was underway, prisoners were housed in wall tents provided by the army. After the renovations were completed, Camp Chase would hold 7,000 prisoners.[37]

Renovations began in June 1864 and were not finished until January 1865. The camp was divided into three prisons. Prison No. 1, reserved for Confederate officers, covered

Figure 44. Camp Chase Confederate Prison, print ca. 1865. *Library of Congress*.

1.5-acres and contained two barracks, with room for more if necessary. Prison No. 2, for civilians, had eighteen barracks each designed to hold 200 to 300 men. Prison No. 3 housed the Confederate enlisted men. As the largest of the three, Prison No. 3 was enclosed by an 18-foot-high stockade on 7 acres of land. The new buildings were constructed by reusing the lumber from the old buildings. The work was carried out by prisoners who had taken the oath of allegiance.[38]

The Camp Cemetery

By the end of the war, 2,035 Confederate soldiers were recorded as being buried in the Camp Chase cemetery, which comprised less than an acre. The cemetery was outside of the stockade, south of the prison facility, on what is today Sullivant Avenue. Wooden headboards painted with the individual's name, regiment, company, state, and date of burial were placed on each grave at the time of interment. At the close of the war, 126 bodies in the Camp Chase cemetery had been removed by friends or family. Sometime after the war, sixty-eight Confederate soldiers buried in the City Cemetery in Columbus and thirty-one buried in Camp Dennison near Cincinnati were exhumed and reinterred at Camp Chase.[39]

In 1866, Ohio Governor Jacob D. Cox, a former Union general, ordered Chaplain D. W. Tolford to compile a list of the Confederate dead buried in the state of Ohio. Tolford created what he called the "Book of the Confederate Dead." The book listed the names of

the dead as well as plats that showed the locations of the graves. A second list was drawn up in 1867 by the Ohio Adjutant General; this report included a list of the dead at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island. The State of Ohio made an effort to document the prisoners buried in the state.[40]

After the war, the federal government sold Camp Chase at a public auction. The cemetery property was leased from William J. Marshall and lumber from the dismantled camp buildings was used to construct a fence around it; the original wooden headboards were replaced with new substantial planks. While Rutherford B. Hayes was governor of Ohio, monies were appropriated to pay Henry Briggs, a farmer in the neighborhood, as caretaker of the cemetery. The appropriation ceased when Hayes left office. In 1879, against the wishes of the secretary of war, who had warned that the purchase of the land "will probably be a precedent affecting ground at other places in the United States," the federal government bought the cemetery property for $500, and thereafter pretty much left it alone.[41]

The government's decision to purchase the cemetery may have been influenced by a speech given by then-Congressman William McKinley at Ohio's Oberlin College around 1878. In speaking of Camp Chase he said, "On us, too, rests the responsibility of caring for their graves. If it was worthwhile to bury each man in a separate grave, or give him an honorable interment, is it not worthwhile to preserve the grave as a sacred trust, as it is, and as it is to us alone?"[42]

On May 15, 1886, at the request of Governor J. B. Foraker, Ohio Adjutant General H. A. Axline wrote to the quartermaster general of the United States reporting on the current conditions of the Confederate cemetery. "The grounds have been neglected for some years. The fences are all down; the head boards have been displaced." The Ohio adjutant general also asked if there was money to restore the grounds. The answer was no. General Samuel B. Holabird replied that "there is no appropriation that can legally be applied to the care and maintenance of the cemetery."[43]

Sometime after 1886 money was appropriated through Congress to erect a stone wall around the Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery. Again, not much happened to the cemetery until 1893, when William Knauss arrived in Columbus. Knauss, a former Union soldier, had made a personal pledge to help his former foes when they were in need (fig. 45). Knauss found Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery in a poor state of repair. He made arrangements to clean it up with Henry Briggs, the former caretaker, who lived just across Sullivant Avenue from the cemetery. A large boulder was placed in the cemetery containing the inscription: *2,260 Confederate soldiers of the war 1861–1865 are buried in this enclosure*. Flowers were planted and Knauss determined to find a more permanent solution.[44]

Figure 45. William Knauss, 1839–1912. *From William H. Knauss, The Story of Camp Chase.*

On May 30, 1895, Knauss organized the first Memorial Day service at Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery. It was a small affair attended by about fifty people. Knauss continued his efforts to improve the cemetery and to interest people in the annual ceremony (fig. 46). By 1899, approximately 2,000 people attended the Memorial Day service, which featured a choir, speeches, and solemn ceremony conducted by the local Grand Army of the Republic drum corps. After this event, Knauss formed the Camp Chase Memorial Association to "solicit funds for decorating graves of the Confederates

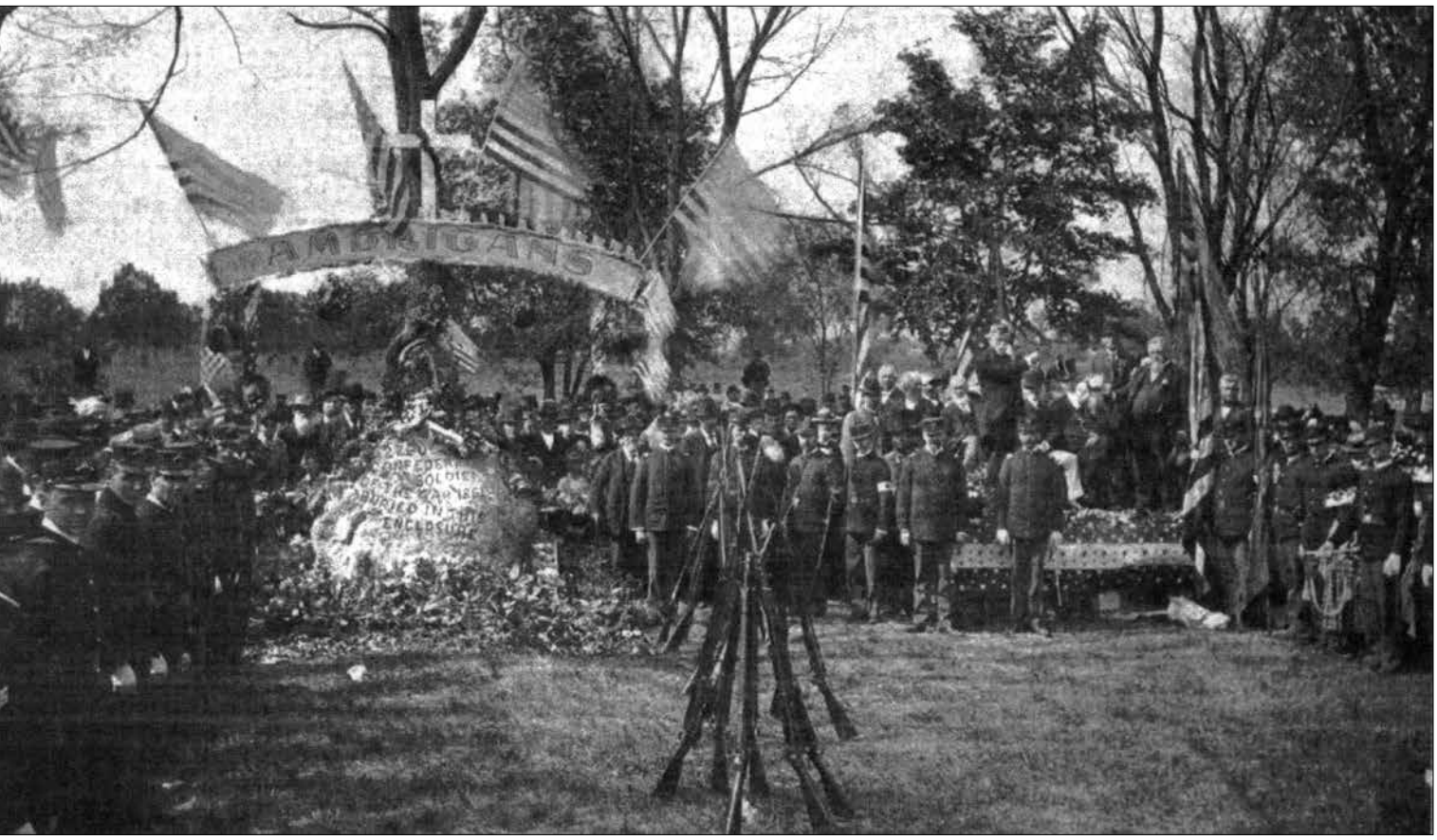


Figure 46. Memorial Day ceremony 1897. Note the absence of headboards in the cemetery. *From William H. Knauss, The Story of Camp Chase.*

buried there and to erect a shaft symbolic of the bravery and sacrifices made by these unknown dead."[45]

It would be another three years until the Camp Chase Memorial Association achieved its goal. Finally, on June 7, 1902, a monument was unveiled: a 17-foot-tall granite arch topped with a zinc or "white bronze" figure of a Confederate soldier with the word "AMERICANS" inscribed on the keystone (fig. 47). The arch was erected over the boulder that was brought to the cemetery years earlier. Both were set back approximately 60 feet from the entrance gate.[46] At the ceremony Knauss was praised:

> *Colonel Knauss has toiled, struggled, and endured to make this monument a success. He has braved the criticism and censure of a few, but bitter, opponents of reconciliation. He has resisted the advice of those who have told him that it was not expedient and good policy for him to manage and superintend the decoration of these graves from year to year, and I repeat that he should be honored for what he has done.*[47]

The monument has been altered over the years. In 1902, zinc urns flanked the arch. The urns, which were probably damaged or stolen, were replaced sometime between 1940 and 1946 with granite spheres (fig. 48).

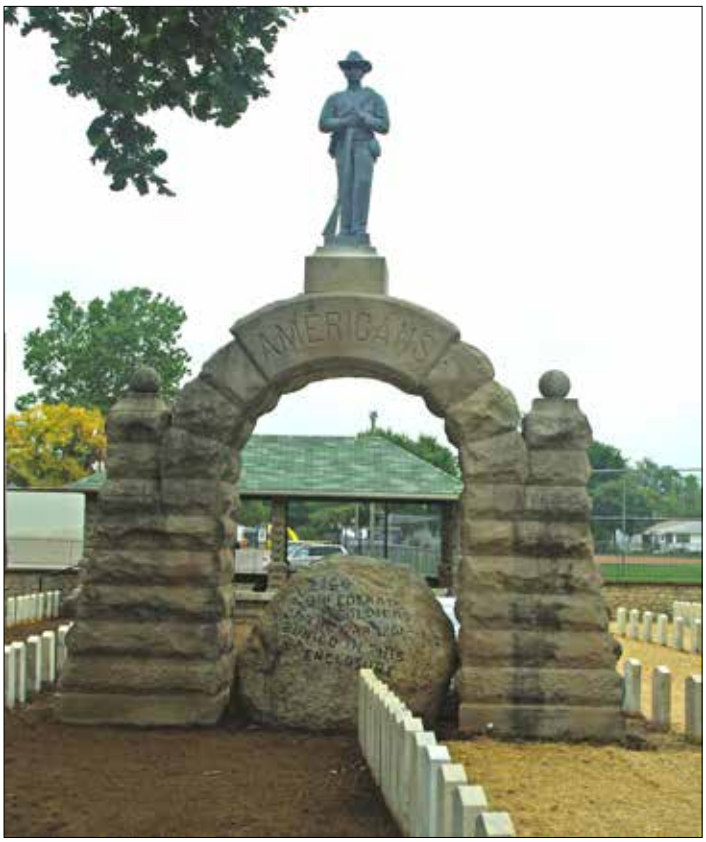


Figure 47. Left: Union veteran William Knauss helped raise funds to erect the monument, which was dedicated in 1902.

Figure 48. Right: Camp Chase monument in 1940, with urns flanking the arch. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

The Commission

Upon the installation of the Confederate Memorial, Knauss had completed his work at Camp Chase. Four years later, the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead began the necessary research to mark the graves of the men buried in the Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery. Commissioner William Elliott and his clerk L. Frank Nye visited Columbus in 1906 to inspect the cemetery and locate the records of Confederate burials. Nye found the grave depressions clearly visible, which allowed him to determine the pattern of burial. Nye believed he could identify individual graves once a plat of the burials was found. Grass and underbrush were removed, and a surveyor hired to mark each grave with a stake.[48]

Nye located Chaplain D. W. Tolford's book at the adjutant general's office in Columbus. He also examined the *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year 1867* from the same office. The second book included not only a list of the names of individuals interred at Camp Chase, but also the names of the men buried at Columbus's City Cemetery, Camp Dennison near Cincinnati, and at Johnson's Island, Sandusky.[49]

As with all of his cemetery visits, Nye tried to locate the individual graves, reconcile the number of burials with the records available, and match graves with names so that a headstone could be erected. Nye contacted former caretaker Henry Briggs, who by 1908 had moved 6 miles southwest to Grove City, Ohio. Briggs remembered when the headboards had stood and was able to provide useful information. "He [Briggs] says the remains from the City Cemetery were taken to Camp Chase by government teams

along about 1865, and that they were all interred in the section just inside the eastern wall of the enclosure." This section contains the remains of a number of officers and has numerous double graves.[50]

Nye found a plat of the graves in the Ohio adjutant general's office showing grave numbers. Nye explained how he determined the number of graves and the names of the men buried by comparing lists:

> *The first thing done in connection with this cemetery was to copy the list furnished by the Q. M. G. [Quartermaster General], which was a list purporting to contain 2166 names, but an error in numbering reduces it 100, showing name, company, organization, and date of death for those prisoners who died between August 4, 1863, and August 9, 1865. No grave numbers were given, and as grave numbers are shown in the "Record of Deaths, Prisoners of War, Confederate, Office of Commissary General of Prisoners," this list was compared with the above record and the grave numbers supplied, but it developed that there were a considerable number of names in this record opposite which there was no grave number, and as the time was limited no copy of Camp Chase was made from this record until having visited the cemetery.*
>
> *After copying the names from the Records of the Commissary General of Prisoners, together with its grave numbers, and taking the grave numbers from the Adjutant General of Ohio for those not supplied by the C. G. of P., the result is the most satisfactory, with some few duplicate grave numbers.*[51]

Nye also had to determine the number of men buried in each row based on the information he had concerning method of burial. The graves in different parts of the cemetery were supposedly spaced at different intervals. Those in the western section of the cemetery were said to be 3 feet 2 inches from center to center, while those in the eastern section were 1 foot 8.5 inches center to center. The rows were supposed to be 13 feet 10 inches from headboard to headboard. There were forty rows or sections within the cemetery.[52] Nye experimented and determined how the graves were placed within the cemetery. He wrote:

> *The total enclosure only measures 456 feet, so that the forty sections could not possibly be 13 feet 10 inches headboard to headboard and be inside the enclosure, but after experimenting with several clearly defined sections an average was obtain, [sic] which carried across the entire section, located the sections approximately, after which they were definitely located, and are distant from each other as noted in the field book, making the forty sections indicated on the plat, together with an additional trench in which were reinterred the remains of the prisoners first interred in the Cemetery southeast of Columbus.*
>
> *As to the average distance between graves, it was greater than 3 feet 2 inches, but, as the ground showed very clearly, there was no trouble in locating them. As to those buried 1 foot and 8 ½ inches, center to center, that average held out exactly, putting the required number inside the enclosure north to south.*

> *The 21st row of headstones will strike the large stone containing the inscription about 1 foot east of the center and will be a serious obstacle to the approach to the monument. If this row of headstones is moved east so as to be on a line with the eastern face of the base of the arch it will obviate the trouble. Row 22 runs just 3 feet east of the eastern face of the arch, and row 20 runs one foot west of the western face of the arch.*
>
> *The first sections were not at right angles to the south wall, but along about the 12th and 13th sections the space between is wedge-shaped and from then on to the eastern end of the sections are at right angles. The western wall is about 83 degrees to the southern wall.*[53]

Nye worked diligently to ensure that each individual was recognized with a headstone. Eventually, each grave was marked but the stones were not necessarily at the head of the corresponding burial. They were within the enclosure, which seemed to have been his goal, and by extension, the goal of the commission. The voices of the commissioners were strangely silent on what was done at Camp Chase. Nye, however, was very clear.

> *As to the removals from the City Cemetery and for which additional space is needed. The total number to be provided for is 105. We set stakes for 58, which were placed in the last row next [to] the east wall. Besides these 58 there are 11, or the first row of Camp Dennison, in this row, making 69. The total number that can be put in a row is 74, using the distance between that was used, 1'- 8½", which is about as close as the headstones will permit.*
>
> *I enclose a copy of the plat taken from Knauss' Story of Camp Chase from which you will see that the last, or 40 section, is not filled out, and if you should care to do it, this unoccupied space in the 40 section would be sufficient to set up all the headstones needed for the City Cemetery removals. It would be arranged by continuing the numbers on to the end of the 40 row, and then on to the Camp Dennison at the end of the extra row.*[54]

A handwritten note scribbled on the above letter, probably by Commissioner Elliott, read, "All right do as you say." The commission was well on its way to setting headstones in the cemetery. At most, the rows contained seventy-four burials. The burials from the City Cemetery were in the eastern portion of the cemetery and were numbered 2064–2121. The Camp Dennison graves were in the same section, beginning with 2122 and continuing through 2152. There were seven burials on the lists that had no numbers assigned to them. Nye assigned half numbers to these graves, writing, "The occasion for half numbers is that it seemed to me the only way to assign those without grave numbers was to put them in this way" (fig. 49).[55]

Figure 49. Remains from the City Cemetery in Columbus or Camp Dennison near Cincinnati were reinterred at the back, or east end, of the cemetery.

Given the number of graves, the size of the enclosure, and the presence of the boulder and monument, it was not possible to place the headstones exactly over each grave. In addition, it was unlikely that there would be paths around the cemetery. Commissioner Elliott did not believe that a lack of paths would be an issue. He explained his views in a letter to W. H. Knauss:

> *First about the paths: as the rows of graves run in many cases right up to the wall, and as to the paths through the cemetery, it seems that it would be better, perhaps, to have none, but to have the whole place in grass, just as is the Confederate section at Elmira, [NY] which is a beautiful place.*[56]

The commission also acted on concerns expressed in Columbus about the height of the stone wall enclosing the cemetery, which was only about 4 feet high. Colonel Knauss reported that boys could and did jump over the wall. He suggested a number of solutions. Finally, a 2-foot iron fence was placed on top of the stone wall, precluding easy access. In 1909, the fence, gate, and new gate posts were installed by the William Bayley Company of Springfield, Ohio (fig. 50).[57]

The progress of work at Camp Chase was probably slowed by the death of Commissioner Elliott in 1907. The headstones began arriving in spring 1908. Delays of one sort or another kept the fence and gate from being completed until May 1910.[58]

Figure 50. The U.S. government paid for the stone wall in the 1880s; the fence was added in 1907.

An inspection of the cemetery in 1911 found that the grass was in poor condition. It also noted that a "speaker's stand" or rostrum had been erected. It did not say where the rostrum was located or of what material it was made. By 1911 the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) had taken charge of the annual Decoration Day ceremony, which was held on the Saturday closest to Jefferson Davis's birthday (June 3). The UDC continued to oversee the ceremony until 1994. In 1995, the Hilltop Historical Society assumed management of the ceremony, a role that continues to this day.[59]

The contractor who repaired the grounds recommended a permanent caretaker. The UDC wanted irrigation water in the cemetery to help maintain the grass. They also wanted the government to pay for a caretaker. Commissioner James Berry explained that Camp Chase was not a national cemetery and thus did not merit a government-paid caretaker. He also did not believe that Congress intended the commission's funding to be spent on waterlines.[60]

It is not clear if Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery was open to the public following the work undertaken by the commission. It seems unlikely. On L. Frank Nye's 1912 visit, he had to climb the fence because the cemetery gate was locked. That same year, the UDC complained that if they did not keep the gate locked, cows would otherwise wander in to graze.

A 1934 drawing of the cemetery shows a rostrum built of concrete block simulating stone, in the same position as the current one, against the wall on axis with the monument and entrance. It also depicts a small tool shed along the wall between rows twenty-three and twenty-four. It does not show the stone tool shed now located at the east end of the cemetery. The drawing depicts three hydrants and a flagpole near the

southern wall, and the headstones running almost uninterrupted across the cemetery, north to south, with only a tree here or there (fig. 51).[61]

By the 1930s, Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery was again in disrepair. In 1934, the Civil Works Administration, an early New Deal agency, put new gutters on the rostrum. In 1936, a local newspaper reported that the cemetery had fallen into "a state of dilapidation." As part of a WPA project, the rostrum was reroofed and the enclosure wall repaired, four water hydrants installed, grass planted, and the headstones straightened and cleaned.[62]

The cemetery was open to the public on Memorial Day and again on June 5, 1936. The caretaker, J. J. Roencker, gave tours on Memorial Day and worked with the UDC and the local Veterans of Foreign Wars and American Legion Post to organize the June 5 Confederate Memorial Day Ceremony. The elaborate program included music, a speech, military salute, and playing of "Taps."[63]

A 1948 plan of Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery shows the current stone tool shed.

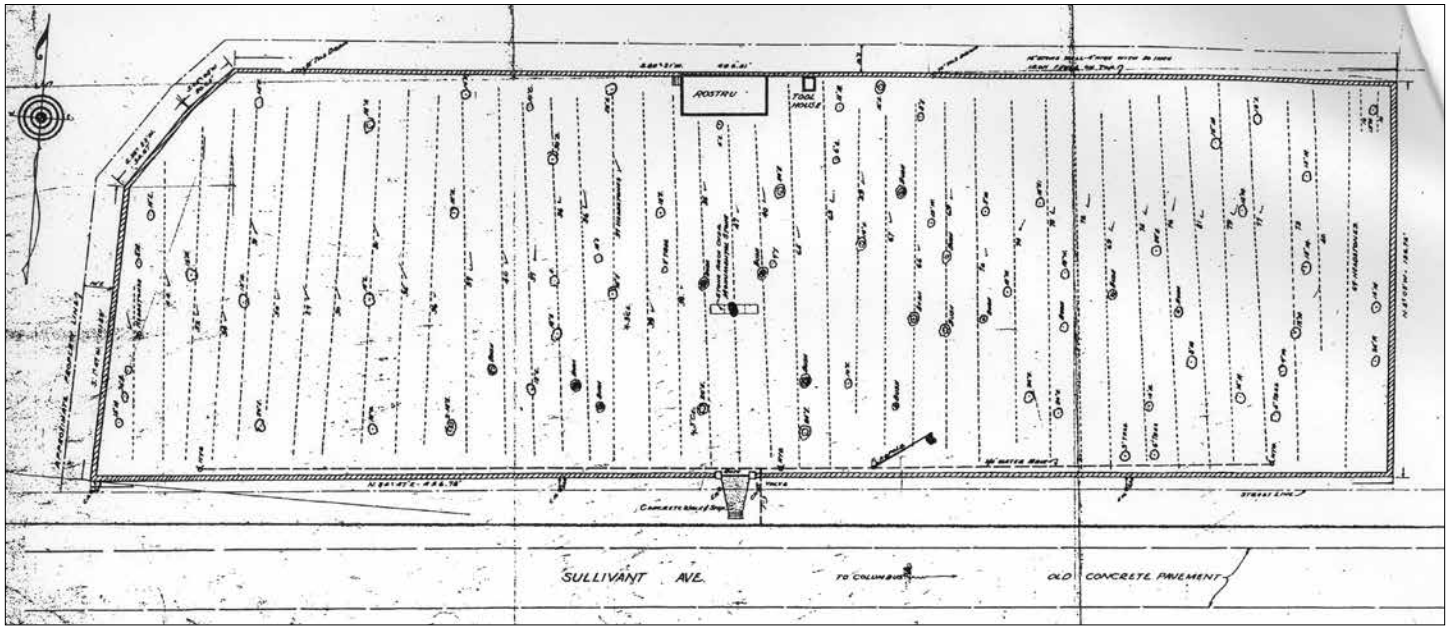


Figure 51. Layout plan of Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, 1934, with a tool shed and rostrum on the north wall. *National Cemetery Administration*.

The tool shed shown on the 1934 map is gone. The 1948 plan clearly highlights the difference between the more widely spaced graves in the western section and the more narrowly spaced graves in the eastern section of the cemetery described by L. Frank Nye in 1906. A newspaper item written in the 1940s confirms that the cemetery was only open to the public two days a year, though access to the cemetery could be arranged through the caretaker or the quartermaster at nearby Fort Hayes (fig. 52).[64]

The cemetery was first opened to the public year round starting in the 1980s. In 1990, a small block with a cannon ball fired at the Battle of Vicksburg, was placed against the inside wall east of the entrance. The donation was as gift of Lieutenant Colonel Herbert L. Snapp, U.S. Army, retired. Snapp worked with the UDC and the Dayton National Cemetery to secure permission to place this object in the cemetery (fig. 53).[65]

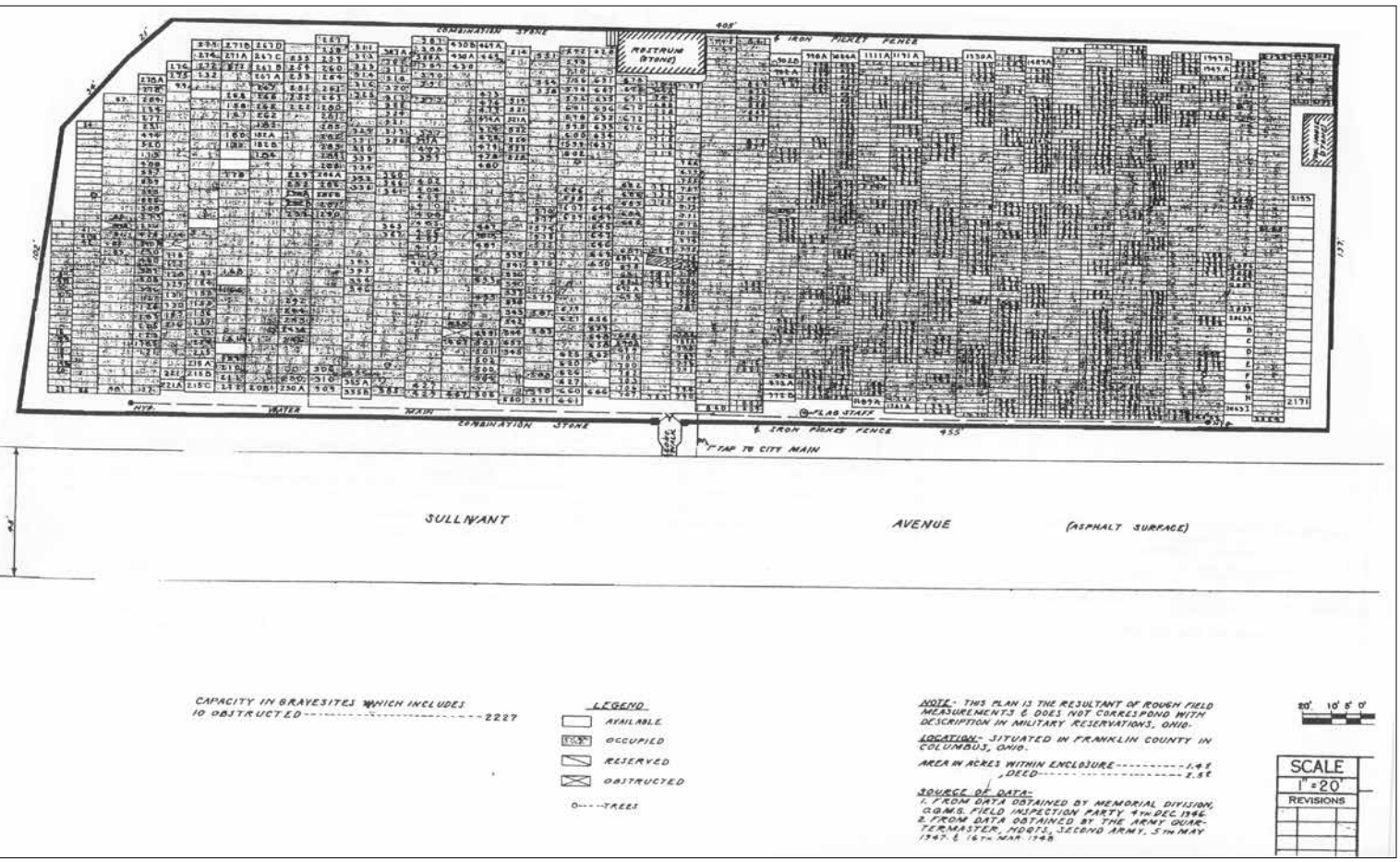


Figure 52. Layout plan of Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, 1948, with a new tool shed on the east wall. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Figure 53. Cannonball mounted inside the cemetery entrance.

Figure 54. Historically there have been irregular gaps among headstones, shown here just after being cleaned and raised as part of a turf renovation project.

The cemetery has changed little from the 1934 map. Some headstones appear to have been moved or pushed closer together to enable a lawn mower to maneuver from row to row, including one substantial large gap in the eastern section of the cemetery (fig. 56). There are large gaps within rows forty, twenty, twenty-two, twenty-three, and twenty-four. Grave numbers are out of sequence, but it appears that the numbers have always been that way. In some cases, headstones have been moved; in others, the spacing between the stones has been compressed (fig. 54). In spite of these adjustments, the cemetery retains much of its original appearance and feel.

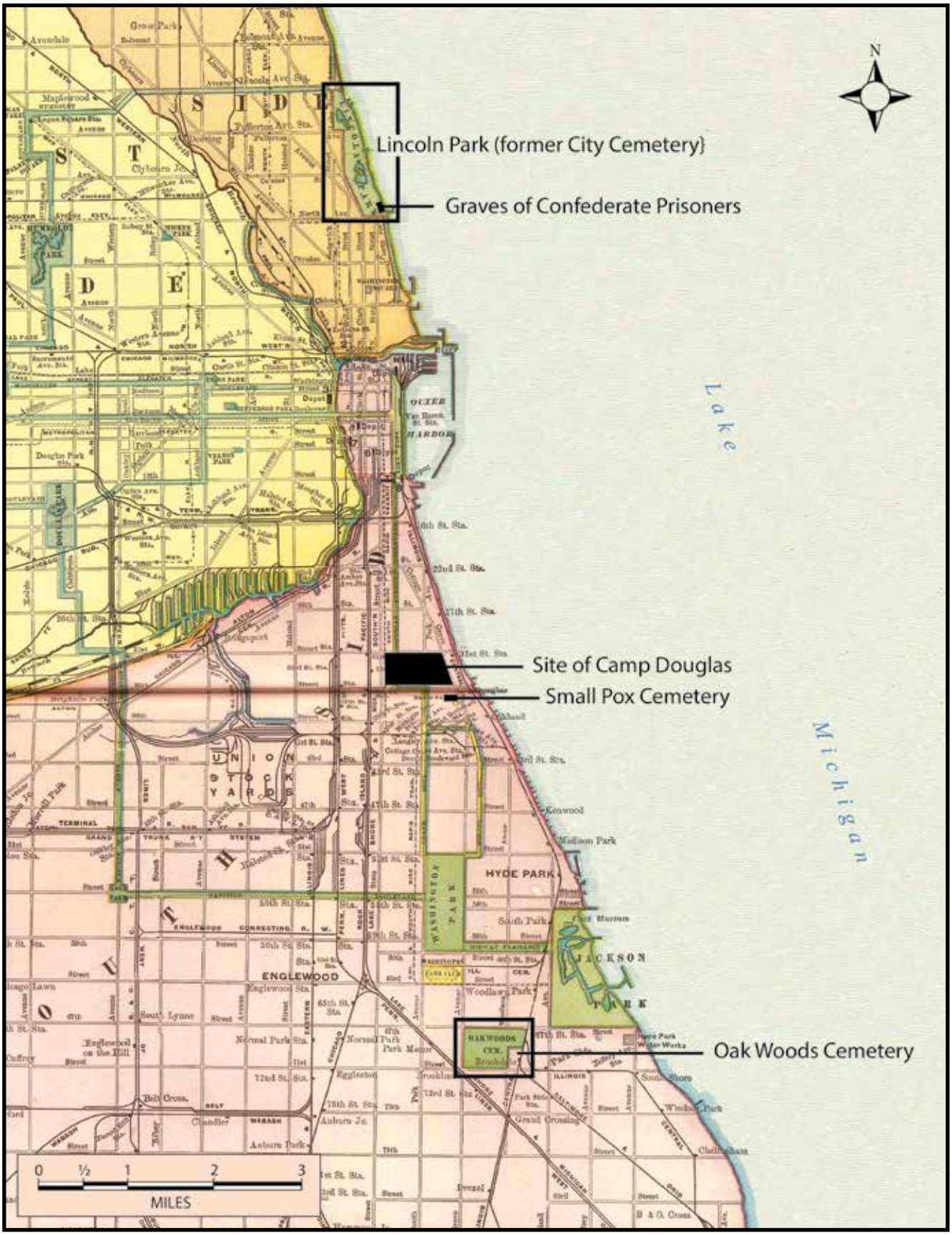


Figure 55. Map of Greater Chicago showing the locations of Camp Douglas, City Cemetery (now Lincoln Park), and Oak Woods Cemetery. *Based on a 1903 railroad terminal map*.

CONFEDERATE MOUND OAK WOODS CEMETERY

Chicago, Illinois

Camp Douglas

Camp Douglas began as a Union recruitment and instruction camp but the U.S. Army also used the compound as a camp for Union soldiers who were awaiting exchange. Located on the south side of Chicago, between present-day 21st and 33rd Streets and from Martin Luther King Drive on the west to Cottage Grove on the east; the camp was near the old University of Chicago, on part of the estate of Stephen A. Douglas, for whom the camp was named. After the fall of Fort Donelson in the winter of 1862, it was converted into a camp for Confederate prisoners of war (fig. 55). Wooden barracks were surrounded by a high wooden wall with guard towers. Hospital facilities and a 'pest house' were occupied by patients with communicable diseases like smallpox. During the Civil War, more than 26,000 Confederate prisoners passed through Camp Douglas and more than 4,000 died there (fig. 56).[66]

As was the case with many of the Union prisoner-of-war camps, 60-acre Camp Douglas evolved over the life of the facility. The army fenced off smaller areas for specific uses. Garrison square enclosed 20 acres and housed the garrison and camp headquarters. Buildings lined all four sides of the square, leaving an open parade ground in the middle. Two other squares of 10 acres each made up the rest of the enclosed camp compound. Hospital square housed the medical facilities, and prison square the camp prison. In early 1862, Union authorities housed Confederate prisoners in the prison square. There were sixty-four barracks each designed to hold ninety-five men each, but they often housed more than 180 (fig. 57).[67]

By 1864, Camp Douglas's facilities had been repurposed as a prisoner-of-war camp. The original log stockade was improved in 1863 using oak planks to encompass three miles of 14-foot-high board fence surrounding the compounds. Streets 50 feet wide separated the barracks. Each barrack was fitted with three-tiered bunks and a kitchen. A single barracks could house 125 to 150 men. The camp had quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance warehouses. There were three hospitals: a general hospital, smallpox hospital, and post hospital—each of which had four wings. Also located within the stockade were two guardhouses, a dispensary, wash house, bakery, court-martial hall, and post church. Prisoner labor was employed to build many of the camps' structures.[68]

Life for the Confederate prisoners was dismal. Overcrowding, lack of proper sanitation facilities, and inadequate heating for the barracks led to a mortality rate of approximately one death for every eight prisoners.[69]

The complex history of the Confederate dead now interred in Oak Woods Cemetery in Chicago is one of indifference and corruption. Estimates of the number of dead vary from 4,039, the figure listed on the memorial, up to 7,500. Lost records, lost bodies, the

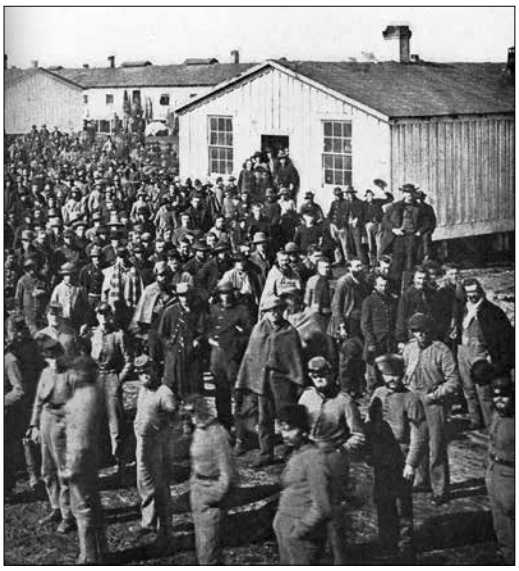


Figure 56. Prisoners at Camp Douglas, ca. 1864. Some are wearing blankets and what appear to be Union uniforms or top coats.. *From Francis Trevelyan Miller, Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume 7*.

1871 Chicago fire, contractor corruption, and incompetence contributed to the discrepancies. The men who died at Camp Douglas were buried at one of two places: City Cemetery, now Lincoln Park, and one of two smallpox cemeteries near the camp. In November 1865, the quartermaster at Chicago estimated that approximately 5,000 Confederate prisoners were buried in the city, and that those remains would have to be moved.[70]

Camp Douglas Cemeteries

From Chicago, Colonel J. J. Dana wrote to Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs in October 1865, about the cemeteries associated with Camp Douglas. Camp Douglas Chaplain E. B. Tuttle had voiced his concern that there was no fence around the smallpox hospital cemetery or the Confederate cemetery near the corner of Colfax and Crittenden avenues. Dana estimated that approximately 300 graves were in the smallpox hospital cemetery, Union soldiers who had been guards at the hospital, and the remainder as Confederate prisoners. Dana also estimated that 500 prisoners were buried in the Confederate cemetery.

When Dana looked into the matter it became apparent that fences were not the only issue. The land on which the smallpox hospital and cemetery were located had been leased from the University of Chicago, with the proviso that both would be removed when the war ended. Owners of the property at Colfax and Crittenden avenues, containing the Confederate cemetery, were adamantly opposed to ring fencing the cemetery. In fact, they wanted the cemetery to be moved in order for development plans to proceed; they also implied that the city would not support the idea of retaining the cemetery in city limits. After some consideration, Colonel Dana assigned Captain L. H. Peirce of the Quartermaster Department in Chicago to investigate further.[71]

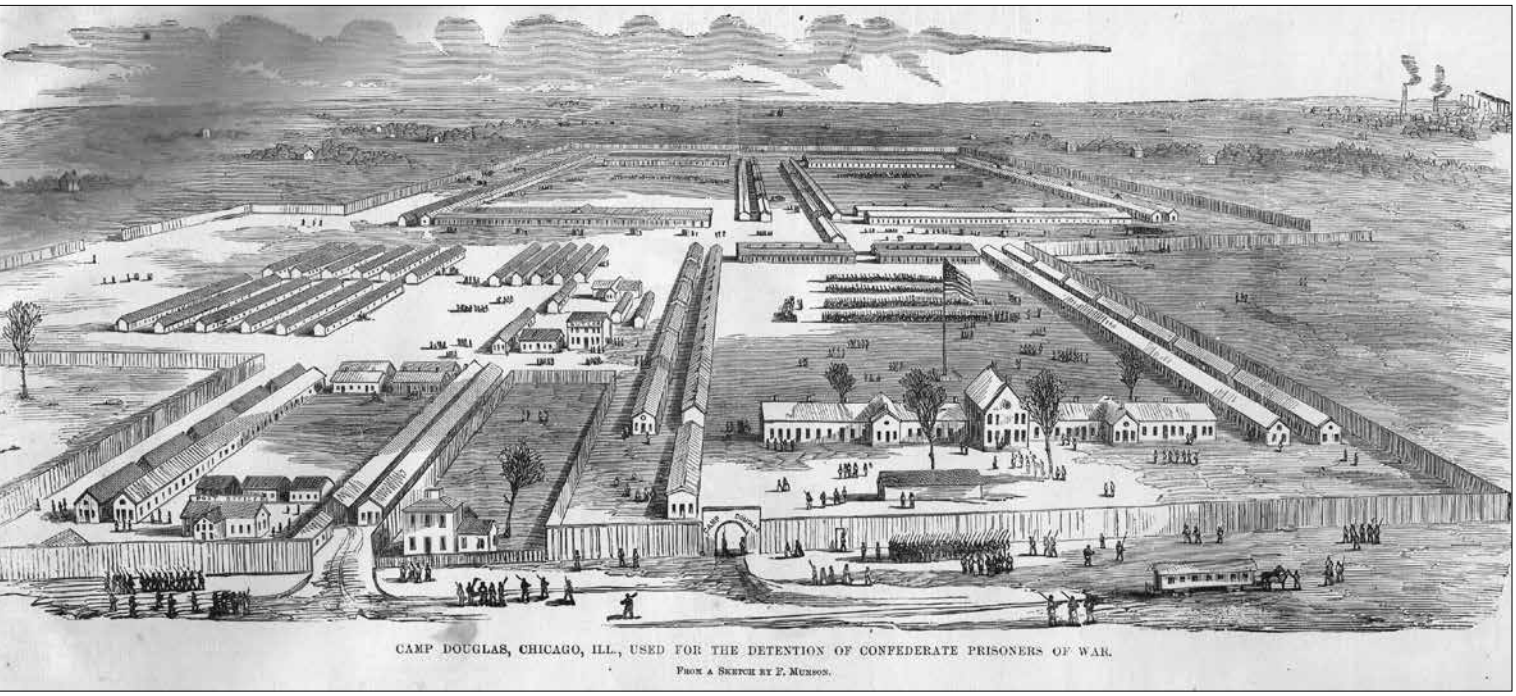


Figure 57. Illustration of Camp Douglas, ca. 1863, probably prior to major camp improvements in 1864. *The Soldier in Our Civil War, 1896*.

Within two weeks Captain Peirce communicated to Quartermaster Meigs that, "In the vicinity of Camp Douglas there are nearly 1,000 Confederate soldiers buried. And in the City Cemetery situated within the city limits there are buried some 4,000 Confederate soldiers. Those near Camp Douglas should be moved." Peirce recommended that a lot in Oak Woods Cemetery be purchased because, at $200 per acre, it was cheaper than land in the cemeteries north of the city. Peirce suggested that approximately one acre of land for every 300 men would be needed. Colonel Dana agreed with Captain Peirce and recommended that 5 acres be purchased at Oak Woods Cemetery.[72]

Toward the end of 1865, the remains of 655 Confederates were removed from both the smallpox cemetery and the cemetery at Colfax and Crittenden avenues and reinterred at Oak Woods. At least twelve, and probably twenty-four, Union dead were moved to Oak Woods as well. According to George Levy's *To Die In Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas 1862–65*, the only in-depth study of Camp Douglas prison undertaken to date, twenty-three Union soldiers and one sailor were buried in the smallpox hospital and now probably rest at the Confederate Mound site. Levy bases his figures on Camp Douglas hospital records that list twenty-four deaths of Union military personnel between January 1864 and January 1865.[73]

Most Confederate prisoners who died at Camp Douglas were, however, interred in the City Cemetery near Lake Michigan; today it is known as Lincoln Park. Prisoners were buried on low swampy ground adjacent to a slough that emptied into Lake Michigan and was vulnerable to flooding. In order to avoid these problems, the City of Chicago began to close the cemetery in 1866 and informed the federal government that all the bodies the government had interred there would have to be moved.[74]

In response, the government bought a 2-acre lot in Oak Woods Cemetery in the Woodlawn neighborhood. A spur line of the Illinois Central Railroad placed the cemetery within easy reach of all residents and visitors to the city.[75] The government moved the remains of the Confederate prisoners from the City Cemetery to Oak Woods Cemetery in 1867, but the precise number of bodies removed is uncertain. Government procedure at that time was to request proposals from contractors to disinter the remains, place them in new coffins, and transport them to the cemetery. Oak Woods personnel reinterred the remains in the government lot and copied names and grave numbers from the City Cemetery register into the Oak Woods Cemetery register. The contractor who submitted the lowest bid, $1.98 per body, was awarded the job. According to Department of the Army records, 3,384 bodies were moved from the City Cemetery to Oak Woods.[76]

Captain Peirce estimated in his 1865 letter that there were 5,000 Confederates buried in Chicago. In contrast, Marcus Wright, a former Confederate officer and an agent in the Department of War for the collection of Confederate records, determined that 6,229 Confederate prisoners had been interred in Chicago. Wright based his numbers on an estimated 1,500 missing names supposedly documented in registers that burned in 1871. Department of War records showed that 655 individuals were moved to Oak Woods in 1865 and 3,384 in 1867, for a total of 4,039. Eventually the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead placed 4,243 names on the bronze plaques on the Confederate monument in Oak Woods.[77]

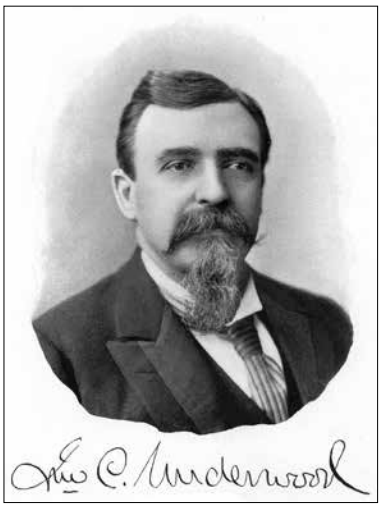


Figure 58. John C. Underwood, ca. 1895. *From John C. Underwood, Report of the Proceedings Incidental to the Erection and Dedication of the Confederate Monument*.

After moving the remains to Oak Woods, the U.S. government did very little else. The Oak Woods Cemetery Association cut the weeds at "Confederate Mound," as the lot became known, twice per year. No markers or memorial were placed on the lot.[78]

John C. Underwood and the Confederate Monument

In 1887, the Ex-Confederate Association of Chicago received permission from the quartermaster to erect a memorial in the Oak Woods Cemetery government lot. The Ex-Confederates Association monument was not to be a simple shaft over a large burial site, but rather was to be an oversized and elaborate obelisk. In 1892, John C. Underwood, who had been put in charge of fundraising for the memorial by the Chicago United Confederate Veterans (UCV) Camp No. 8, aggressively pushed ahead.[79]

Underwood, a former Confederate engineer, was born in Washington, D.C., and grew up in Kentucky (fig. 58). After the war he worked in Kentucky as a civil engineer and entered politics. During the 1870s he was elected mayor of Bowling Green then lieutenant governor of Kentucky. He moved to Chicago in 1890, where he joined the Ex-Confederate Association and was later appointed commander of the Provisional Department of the North, UCV. Underwood's position in the UCV made it possible for him to solicit funds nationally.[80]

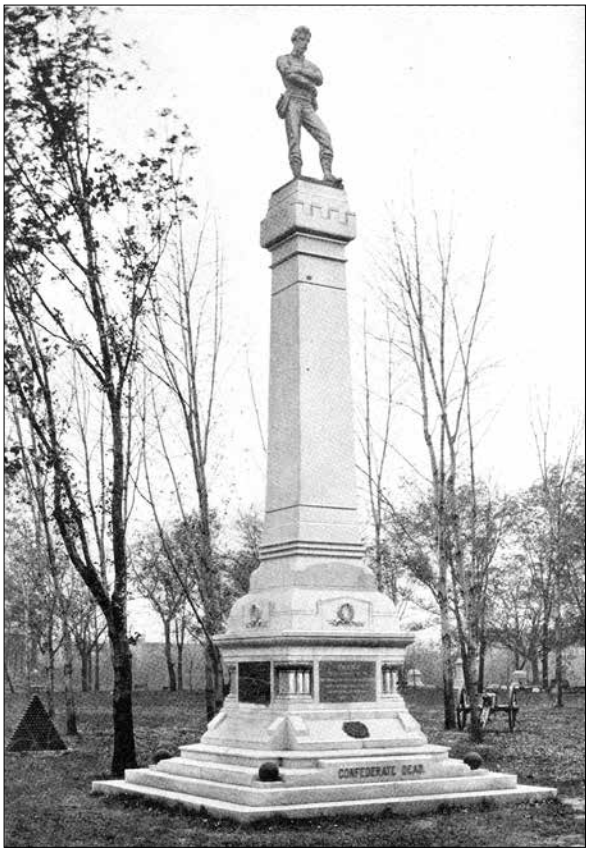


Figure 59. The monument in 1895 with a gun and cannonball in the background. *From Underwood, Dedication of the Confederate Monument*.

Underwood started with $1,600 raised from a lecture given by former Confederate General John B. Gordon; his goal was to raise $10,000. Underwood designed the monument and submitted it to the U.S. Quartermaster's office. As soon as it was approved, he requested bids from contractors. The Southern Granite Company of Georgia won the contract to build it based on the specifications of Underwood's design. Underwood also requested and received from the Department of War four 3-inch ordnance rifles and enough projectiles to create four pyramidal stacks to be placed around the monument. A pyramidal stack of 12-pounder cannonballs was installed at the two principal entrances to the lot.[81]

There is no known record of the time taken to construct the monument. Underwood began fundraising in 1892 and was granted permission to erect the monument in May 1893. Congress approved in January 1895 the four obsolete artillery pieces and the projectiles to be used in the project. The guns and ordnance arrived from the Rock Island Arsenal, along with plans for constructing the stone bases for the stacks of projectiles.[82] Underwood published a 285-page souvenir book on the monument project but it does not name the sculptor, nor the person or persons responsible for the bronze plaques.

The monument was dedicated on May 30, 1895. The Confederate Veteran was effusive in its praise of Underwood's achievement, proclaiming that he "deserves recognition and expressions of gratitude

from every Confederate organization in existence."[83] While the praise might seem extravagant, in fact it was not. The unveiling was a lavish spectacle.

The monument, a granite column more than 30 feet high, was topped with an 8-foot bronze of a Confederate soldier (fig. 59). Each of the three faces of the column was characterized by a bronze relief depicting a scene in a soldier's life. The fourth face was inscribed: *Erected to the Memory of the Six Thousand Soldiers Here Buried, Who Died in Camp Douglas Prison, 1862–5*. The four cannon stood several yards from each corner of the monument, each accompanied by a pyramid of shells. Underwood even obtained permission to erect a flagpole "from which to fly a United States flag" (fig. 60).[84]

Figure 60. Oak Woods Confederate Mound flagstaff for the U.S. flag.

The nearly three-hour dedication ceremony began with a parade of fifteen carriages, a platoon of city police, and the Chicago City Troops, a private military organization. While the procession was en route to the 12th Street Depot, a massive liberty bell rang thirteen times, followed by a forty-four-gun salute fired by Russell's Artillery Battery D of the Illinois National Guard (fig. 61). At the depot, the police and City Troop saluted the former Confederates as they boarded the train for 60th Street. Upon arriving at the 60th Street Depot, various dignitaries boarded carriages. As these carriages traveled toward Oak Woods, the procession was joined by hundreds of Confederate veterans as well as the Black Hussars, a modern cavalry unit of the Illinois National Guard.[85]

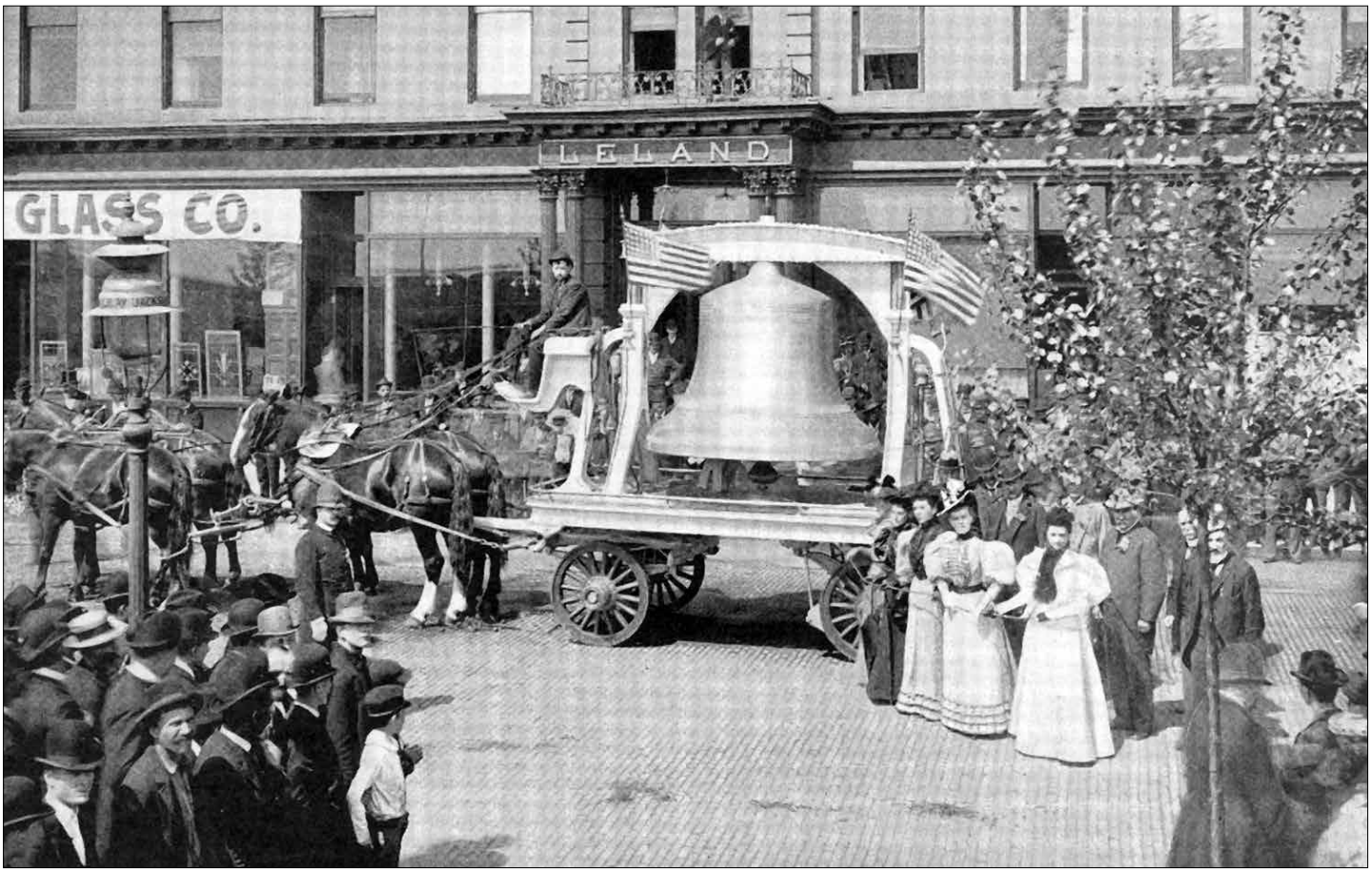


Figure 61. Dedication procession at the Leland Hotel on Michigan Avenue where the bell was rung on May 30, 1895. *From Underwood, Dedication of the Confederate Monument*.

Figure 62. Left: A huge crowd gathered at Oak Woods Cemetery for the monument dedication. *Library of Congress*.

Figure 63. Right: A poignant act in the dedication ceremony was the consecration of the guns, when four cannons were spiked. *From Underwood, Dedication of the Confederate Monument*.

A huge crowd that Underwood estimated at 100,000 was on hand to witness the ceremony at the cemetery (fig. 62). Reverend H. W. Bolton was honorary chairman and master of ceremonies. Bolton, a Methodist minister, had served as commander of a Grand Army of the Republic Post and was a former Union soldier. Underwood kicked off the proceedings with a speech, followed by an address by Bolton, and a prayer by the Reverend Joseph Desha Pickett, a former Confederate chaplain. Wade Hampton, formerly a Confederate general, presented the main address that was followed by a poem and the final address by the Right Reverend Samuel Fallows.[86]

The guns were consecrated after Fallows' speech (fig. 63). During the ceremony, the weapons of war were "spiked."[87] As this occurred, a young woman came forward and made a brief statement:[88]

> *Gen. Underwood: "Consecrate, the Guns!"*
>
> *At Cannon No. 1 – Col. [R. H.] Stewart, standing near the breech of the cannon said: "This gun having fired its last shot on the field of battle, will now be silenced forever. Spike, the Guns!"*
>
> *Thereupon the cannon was spiked, Lieut.-Col. [R. Lee] France placing the spike, and Comrade [Theodore] Noel driving it home.*
>
> *After this Col. Stewart assisted Miss Lucy Lee Hill on a pedestal, and the lady said;*
>
> *"This cannon, with its glorious record on the field of battle, having been silenced forever, I do consecrate to the memory of the valorous soldiery we now monument, as a military decoration for their bravery and honor unto death."*[89]

This ceremony was repeated at each gun with the only variation being the individuals involved and the last line that the young women spoke.

> *At Gun 2:*
>
> *"This cannon, with its glorious record on the field of battle, having been silenced forever, I do consecrate to the memory of the southern soldiers here buried, as a monument to their fortitude and endurance of the hardships of captive life."*
>
> *At Gun 3:*
>
> *"This cannon, with its glorious record on the field of battle, having been silenced forever, I do consecrate to the memory of the Confederates, whose soldierly remains lie beneath this sacred sod, in monumental token of their firmness and manhood on the field of battle and in prison."*
>
> *At Gun 4:*
>
> *"This cannon, with its glorious record on the field of battle, having been silenced forever, I do consecrate to the memory of those true men who gave their lives to the cause, and who, after three interments, are here sleeping, far from their loved southland."*[90]

After the four guns were consecrated, a regiment of the Illinois National Guard fired three volleys. Music and hymns accompanied each part of the ceremony, which was replete with military honors. A bugler played "Blare" and "Taps," and two wreaths were then laid at the foot of the monument. The ceremony ended with a benediction. That evening, a reception was held at the National Guard armory at 16th Street and Michigan Avenue, which also featured a promenade concert. As a souvenir, John Underwood had printed nearly 300 grandly illustrated hardbound volumes containing the entire text of the speeches and poems, as well as the menus of banquets held in Chicago and, on June 1, 1895, in Cincinnati, where the southern dignitaries were treated to a sumptuous banquet by the chamber of commerce. All in all, it was a remarkable event.[91]

A small cast-iron tablet depicting a brief history of the monument and the artillery was placed just east of the monument. Underwood does not mention this item, nor can it be seen in the photograph of the monument printed in the souvenir program. However, given the wording, it is likely the tablet was placed by Underwood's group (fig. 64).

After the dedication, neither the Ex-Confederate Association nor the federal government allocated funds to maintain the site. Within four years, in 1899, Confederate Mound was in poor condition. During this period, the marshy land surrounding it had been raised, thus leaving it on a "low and depressed piece of ground." The adopted solution was to build up the center of Confederate Mound—remove the trees, take the monument down, add 3 feet of fill, install plumbing and drainage, reerect the monument, and replant trees and grass. The proposed project was expected to take several years to complete. On May 20, 1902, Congress appropriated the funding necessary to complete the upgrades at Confederate Mound; the same bill also stipulated an annual appropriation, not to exceed $250, for care and maintenance of the lot. The funding for maintenance was the largest extent of the government's involvement at Oak Woods Cemetery until the commission was formed in 1906.[92]

Figure 64. A cast-iron plaque provides a brief history of the monument and site, located in cemetery Division 1, Section K.

The Commission

Several years later when the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead was established, Confederate Mound was not specifically excluded from the legislation. However, Representative James R. Mann of Illinois, who was instrumental in getting the legislation passed for the improvement and maintenance of Confederate Mound, suspected that there was an understanding that no action would be taken at the site. Mann worried that the site would be desecrated by putting "marks or an additional monument on Confederate Mound." On December 24, 1907, he wrote to Secretary of War William H. Taft, stating succinctly that, "It would in my judgment, be a desecration of one of the most beautiful burial spots in the country. The monument and the grounds, now constitute in the Confederate Mound, Oakwood Cemetery, a spot which is the pride of all exconfederates and other people both from the south and the north who view it."[93]

Mann's letter had been prompted by Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye's trip to Chicago in October 1907. The two men had gone to Chicago to determine how best to mark the graves of the Confederate dead at Oak Woods Cemetery. Nye wrote several pages of meeting notes and included pages from the Cook County Recorder's Office Deed Book. His detailed notes included a frank discussion with Oak Woods trustees regarding installation of headstones on Confederate Mound. The 1906 enabling legislation specified that individual headstones would be used to mark the graves of Confederate dead. In Chicago—as in Alton, Finn's Point, Point Lookout, and Indianapolis—it was becoming apparent that the implementation of the legislation, as written, was not practical or possible at all the sites where Confederate prisoners of war were interred. In his notes, Nye went so far as to list the Oak Woods trustees, and to indicate next to George Forrester's name, that he was the only trustee to favor headstones. However, he also recorded that, upon his suggestion to place names on metal tablets, the trustees "united very strongly."[94]

Later correspondence between the Oak Woods Cemetery Association and Elliott, and his successor Commissioner William C. Oates, ended, however, in an impasse. The association rejected Elliott's suggestion to place flush markers at the site, instead preferring that two small plaques be placed on the mound site to inform visitors about two volumes in the cemetery office containing the names of the interred Confederate soldiers. The commissioners, given their charge to mark the graves, sought a different solution.[95]

Although correspondence continued into 1908-1909, a change in the enabling legislation rendered the efforts moot. In February 1908, a joint resolution of congress extended the original act for marking the Confederate graves for another two years. However, the resolution specifically excluded Confederate Mound from the provisions of the act. It is very likely that Elliott's 1907 Chicago visit led directly to the change. Given the tone of Congressman James Mann's December 1907 letter, it is likely he had inserted the exclusion.[96]

In January 1910, the Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, Massachusetts, proposed a solution that was acceptable to all of the concerned parties. The company had abundant experience; it had constructed the single monuments at Finn's Point, Point Lookout, Alton, and Greenlawn Cemetery in Indianapolis, and had built large monuments and memorials at various places across the country. W. M. Van Amringe

met with the president of Oak Woods Cemetery Association, Fred Farwell, and discussed raising the monument, building a new base, and placing bronze plaques with the names on that base. Van Amringe addressed any concerns that Farwell voiced, and he left the meeting with the understanding that if the UCV and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) had no objections, the project could move ahead. Not only that, Farwell believed that he could convince Representative Mann to support the extension of the commission, which was then before Congress.[97]

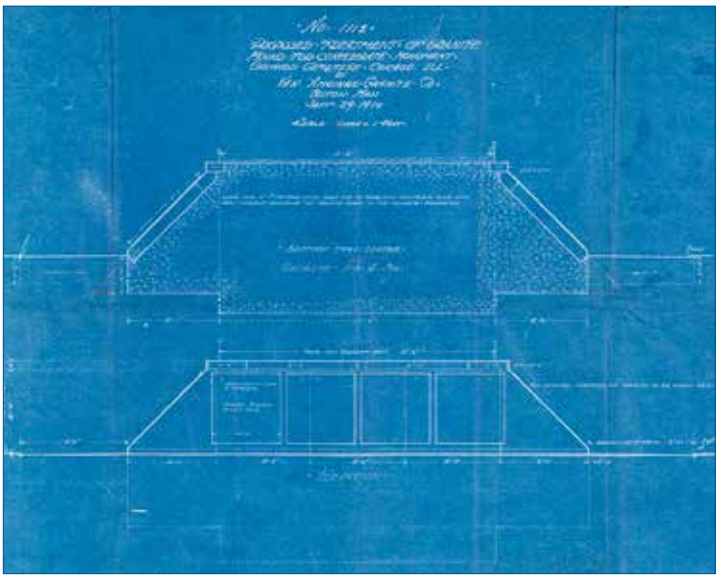
The commission was extended for another two years in February 1910. In March of that year the UCV, the Board of Trustees, and the supervisor of Oak Woods Cemetery withdrew their objections to the government altering the monument at Confederate Mound. As a result, Representative Mann amended the joint resolution that extended the commission; and on June 11, 1910, Confederate Mound came under the umbrella of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, thereby allowing the Chicago project to get underway.[98]

The compromise reached on changes to the monument had been based on Van Amringe's design; that compromise helped enable the passage of legislation placing the monument under the scope of the commission. Given these extenuating circumstances, it was believed that Van Amringe could be contracted to proceed with the alterations to Confederate Mound and the monument. Eventually, an opinion was sought from the adjutant general, who ruled that work on the monument had to be advertised for competitive bids. A circular was issued and bids were taken. The Van Amringe Granite Company was awarded the contract in 1910 for alterations and additions to the Confederate Mound Monument.[99]

The Van Amringe plan required them to raise the monument while a steel-reinforced poured-concrete foundation was installed. The foundation was faced with polished granite to which the bronze plaques bearing the names of the prisoners buried in the cemetery would be affixed. Van Amringe assured the cemetery, UDC, and UCV that no changes would be made to the original monument. The contract was let on October 5, 1910, and the final payment was authorized by the government in July 1911 (figs. 65-66).[100]

Figure 65. Left: Section and elevation drawing of proposed changes to the monument by Van Amringe Granite Company, 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 66. Right: Plan view of granite mound and concrete monument foundation, changes proposed by Van Amringe Granite Company, 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.



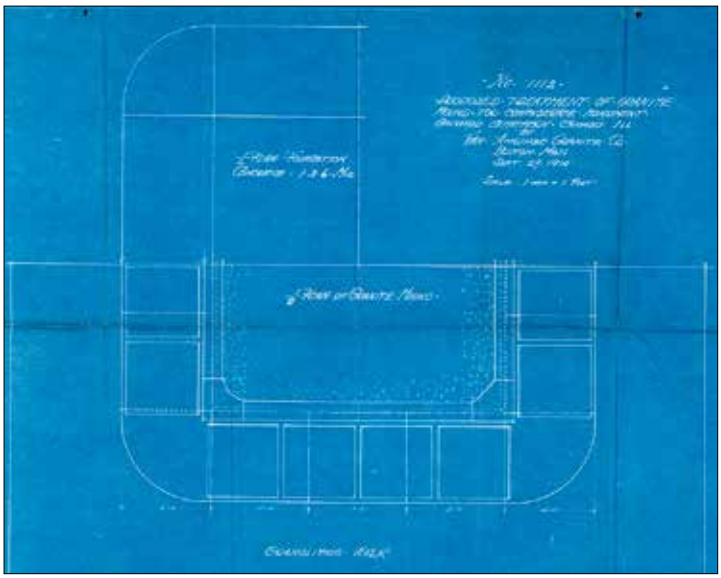


Figure 67. As the Commission could not identify all 6,000 soldiers reputedly buried in Oak Woods Cemetery, the monument's bronze plaques list only 4,275 names; this number is cited on the rededication plaque.

The extent of the physical components of the monument project was dwarfed by the efforts required to compile an accurate list of names and compose the dedication language. An inscription on the original monument states that 6,000 soldiers were buried in Chicago (fig. 67). All three commissioners tried to account for the names of 6,000 Confederate soldiers, but they were unable to do so. Underwood insisted there was an additional list of 1,500 names, "[O]wing to the destruction of the registers at the time of the great fire in 1871, cannot be traced further, except in numbers." Underwood's list was never found. Oates worked with former Confederates in Chicago but they failed to find the list. Commissioner Berry also tried to locate the list, going so far as to contact former Union Quartermaster Luther H. Peirce, again to no avail. In the end, the commission came up with the 4,275 names that are engraved on the plaques.[101]

The last piece of business was the recognition plaque. The wrangling over the proposed wording dragged on for two months and involved the secretary of war, Commissioner Berry, John Underwood, and the entire board of trustees of the Confederate monument. However, by the end of March 1911, the inscription was finally approved by all and sent to the manufacturer (fig. 68). Berry's language was to the point:

> *1911 / These Tablets / Were Placed Upon The Monument By / The United States / Giving the Names, Company And Regiment Of / 4275 Confederate Soldiers And Sailors, As Shown / By The Official Records, Who Died In The Prison / At Camp Douglas, Illinois, And Whose Bodies Are / Buried In This Cemetery*

Figure 68. The 1911 recognition plaque on the Confederate Mound Monument, Oak Woods Cemetery, 2009.

Later that year, at a cost of just more than $22,000, the changes to the Confederate Mound Monument were fulfilled.[102]

Five of the six stacks of shells placed at Confederate Mound in 1895 have since disappeared (fig. 69). In 2009, a few of the 3-inch ordnance shells were displayed in a case in the Oak Woods Cemetery office. When questioned, cemetery staff indicated that vandalism, coupled with rust, had destroyed the stacks. There is no indication of what became of the other ordnance. In 1953, on the 100th anniversary of Oak Woods Cemetery, Louisiana Governor Robert Kennon presented a magnolia tree to be planted at Confederate Mound, and Mississippi Governor Hugh White supplied a tree in soil from the Vicksburg battlefield.[103]

NCA records indicate that in 1991, the Commission on Chicago Landmarks sought city landmark status for the Confederate Mound Monument, but such designation was

never achieved. The Commission on Chicago Landmarks could provide no information on why the monument was not listed.[104]

The lot at Oak Woods Cemetery remains essentially as it was when the commission finished its work (fig. 70). When compared to an 1895 photograph, it appears that headstones for the twelve unknown Union soldiers have been moved closer to the north side of the monument. A single Confederate headstone for James W. Leak, Co. C, 1st Alabama Infantry, has been placed near the monument. A Jos. W. Leak of the same company and regiment is listed on the monument. According to L. Frank Nye's notes, a headstone for James W. Leak was on the property in 1907. The extant headstone is a replacement.

Just off the Confederate Mound property, near the road, is a larger stone inscribed "CENOTAPH." This memorial object to Southerners who opposed secession and remained loyal to the Union was probably erected about the time of the original monument (fig. 71).[105]

Figure 69. The only surviving cannonball pyramid at Confederate Mound.

Figure 70. Above: A tinted photograph, 1895, shows the Union headstones between two stacks of cannonballs and close to the monument. *From Underwood, Dedication of the Confederate Monument*.

Figure 71. The Cenotaph Monument, donated by prominent Chicagoan Thomas D. Lowther ca. 1890s, opposite Confederate Mound in Oak Woods Cemetery.

Figure 72. Johnson's Island and Sandusky Bay, Ohio. *Based on U.S. Engineers Chart of a Portion of Sandusky Bay, 1887*.

CONFEDERATE STOCKADE CEMETERY JOHNSON'S ISLAND

Sandusky, Ohio

Colonel William Hoffman chose Johnson's Island as the site for a Confederate prisoner-of-war camp after visiting several islands in Lake Erie. Hoffman settled on Johnson's Island because of its proximity to Sandusky, Ohio. Its location, just less than 3 miles from the city and a mile from the northern shore of Sandusky Bay was convenient. It allowed the delivery of supplies and offered protection of the facility from uprisings to have a large civilian population nearby that could be alerted in case of prisoner revolt; escaped prisoners could also be easily recaptured (fig. 72).[106]

Based on Hoffman's recommendation, on November 15, 1861, a lease for half of Johnson's Island was signed and construction of the prison facilities began. Johnson's Island is just more than a mile long and approximately 0.5-mile across; it had good railroad connections via Sandusky and access to abundant lumber and labor. Equally attractive was that half of the island could be rented for $500 annually, a lease that granted the U.S. government control of the entire island. The only way to reach the island was by boat. A wharf on the southeastern side, near what would become the cemetery, allowed boats to dock.[107]

Johnson's Island Prisoner-of-War Camp

A cleared area of about 15 acres on the southeast shore of the island was chosen for the prison facility. When completed, the prison included a 14-foot-tall board stockade, which enclosed thirteen 2-story barracks, one of which served as a hospital. Each barracks had two external kitchens. Outside of the prison wall were forty structures built for the prison staff comprised of barracks, officers' quarters, band room, limekiln, express office, post headquarters, stable, storehouses, barn, powder magazine, laundress quarters, and sutler's store. A redoubt with artillery surrounded the prison facility to ensure that no riot or insurrection occur (figs. 73-74).[108]

The army appointed former Sandusky mayor, William S. Pierson, as commandant with the rank of major. The first prisoners arrived on Johnson's Island in April 1862. Originally, the facility accepted all types of prisoners: officers, enlisted men, and political. However, in June 1862, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton ordered that all Confederate officers be confined there. From that point on, Johnson's Island became the official holding facility for Confederate officers, though not exclusively—officers continued to be held at other facilities.[109]

The exact number of prisoners held on Johnson's Island over the course of the war is not known, but it is estimated to be between 10,000 and 15,000 men. The prison population at Johnson's Island, like all the Union prison facilities, varied from month to month. In May 1863, while the exchange cartel was in effect, there were only seventy-three men,

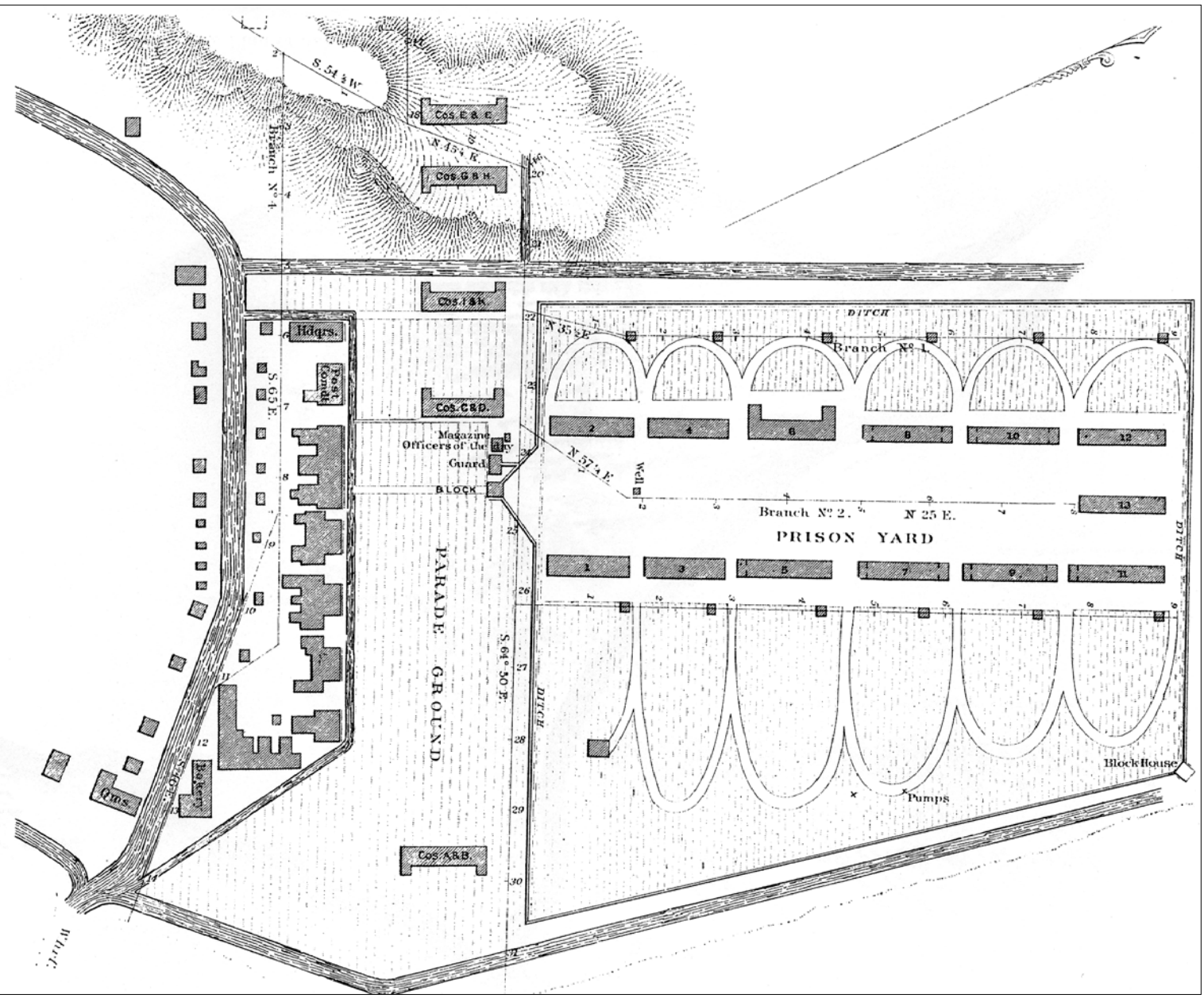


Figure 73. Map of Johnson's Island Confederate Prison, ca. 1863. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

the lowest monthly number recorded there. However, when the cartel failed later that year, a record was reached of more than 3,000 men in the facility.

All in all, conditions at Johnson's Island were better than at many Union prisons. Of the 12,000 or so individuals who had been confined here, only 239 died. The first recorded death was Pvt. David T. J. Wood, 20th Tennessee Infantry, who succumbed on May 6, 1862. The last was Lt. William Michael, 59th Virginia Infantry, who died in June 1865. All of the prisoners who died at Johnson's Island were buried in a cemetery on the island about 0.5 mile from the prison.[110]

Figure 74. Interior view of the fort overlooking the Johnson's Island prisoner-of-war camp. *From Francis Trevelyan Miller Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume 7*.

Prison Cemetery

Digging graves in the island's soft loam soil was not difficult. However, between 4 feet and 5 feet down was solid bedrock. It was officially reported that the graves were "dug as deep as the stone will admit; not as deep as desirable under the circumstances, but sufficient for all sanitary reasons." The graves were marked with wooden headboards. Sometime in 1863, the army erected a wooden fence around the cemetery. Either during the war or sometime after, friends or relatives removed more than twenty of the bodies.[111]

In the years after the Civil War few physical changes occurred at the prison cemetery. In 1878, Congress appropriated funds for the care and protection of the Confederate cemetery at Johnson's Island, but the funds came with the stipulation that no money was to be spent until the government had title to the land. The owner, L. B. Johnson, refused to donate the land without conditions, which turned out to be unacceptable. The appropriated funds could not be used for acquisitions. Consequently, little was done at the cemetery.[112]

On Decoration Day 1883, members and guests of the local Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) chapter, McMeens Post, took the steamboat Hayes to Johnson's Island to decorate

the graves of the Confederate prisoners.[113] The *Sandusky Register* reported, "The weather yesterday [May 30, 1883] was very unfavorable for the carrying out of the program arranged for the observance of Decoration Day, but despite the driving rain the occasion was observed in a fitting manner."[114] A decorated speakers' stand had been prepared for the occasion. A *Sandusky Register* article, dated May 31, 1883, reported that the speakers' stand was in "the usual place," indicating that this was not the first ceremony of its kind performed at the cemetery. One source noted that a mound was erected in honor of the unknown dead. Prayers were said and hymns sung, and then the assemblage decorated the graves of the dead, a few of which were marked with marble headstones. Wooden headboards still marked some of the other graves, but not all.[115]

Figure 75. A typical headstone placed at Johnson's Island in the 1880s.

Five years or so later, in late 1887 or 1888, a wire fence was erected around the cemetery. In fall 1889, a group from Georgia visited the cemetery. The Southerners, seeing the poor condition of the old headboards, took it upon themselves to provide permanent markers for the graves. Enough money was raised in Georgia and South Carolina to pay for 206 marble headstones (3 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 2 inches thick) (fig. 75). The Marietta Marble Company, Marietta, Georgia, produced the headstones, and the J. F. Thom & Company of Cleveland, Ohio, installed them. A plat showing the location of the graves and other information provided by Johnson aided the installation of the headstones.[116]

In 1899, W. H. H. Blackman, a reporter with the *Richmond (Virginia) Dispatch*, visited the cemetery on Johnson's Island. In a brief article appearing in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, he described the cemetery as a lonely spot covered by trees and undergrowth. He also made note of "a wrought iron" fence with a gate on the south end of the cemetery, which he and his companion walked through. Blackman mentioned the withered wreaths on the graves, remains of those placed by the GAR in the spring. He felt that the cemetery deserved more care than it was being given. It was overgrown and trees and underbrush needed to be removed. He believed that a large single memorial honoring all of the dead should be erected. He ended his piece by encouraging someone to take up the cause and raise funds to care for the cemetery. No one immediately heeded his call.[117]

On March 1, 1905, the Robert Patton Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) signed a memorandum of agreement with landowners James H. Emrich and Charles Dick to purchase two lots on Johnson's Island. The property, about 100 feet wide and 484 feet long, encompassed the cemetery and ran to the water's edge.[118]

The Commission and Mary Patton Hudson

For more than twenty years, the UDC would care for the Johnson Island Confederate cemetery. Mary Patton Hudson organized the Robert Patton Chapter, UDC, and worked with that organization until her death. When the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead was formed in 1906, Hudson took immediate action. In a letter to Commissioner William Elliott in March, she explained that because the government had failed to renew its lease and had failed to purchase the property, her UDC chapter had decided to step in. "We have paid for the graves by almost super human endeavor and have arrangement with Sir. Moses Ezekiel (one of Marse Robert's boys) to have a monument cast for the spot in Rome, Italy."[119] Hudson also informed Commissioner

Elliott that he should get in touch with her before contacting anyone else in Ohio. She dropped a few names and underlined significant names on her advisory board, all of whom were Confederate veterans. She even included a photograph of herself "so that you might see who was talkin' to you" (fig. 76).[120]

Figure 76. Mary Patton Hudson, ca. 1906. *National Archives and Records Administration.*

In fall 1906, the commission visited Johnson's Island with Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio. L. Frank Nye, clerk to the commission, gathered information on the graves that had been marked and the process by which the headstones were placed (fig. 77). Nye obtained a copy of the pamphlet "Confederate Dead" published by John T. Mack, which included a list of the dead and a plat of the cemetery, as well as a report written by Chaplain D. W. Tolford for the governor of Ohio in 1866. In addition, Nye interviewed Captain Henry C. Strong, who came to Johnson's Island from Camp Chase. As part of his duties, Strong catalogued the first roster of prisoners. Later he was detailed to the office of the post adjutant and finally to the Quartermaster Department. Strong provided Nye with interesting information, but unfortunately his duties did not involve burial or the recording of prison burials. He recalled that the first men to die were sent to border states and, he thought, from there to their states of residence. Strong told Nye that, as far as he could remember, the first burial on the island took place in fall1862. Strong's recollection was off by only a few months. The most up-to-date documentation states that the first burials of prisoners took place in July 1862.[121]

Initially, Strong said, Johnson's Island prison was told to report to the commissary of prisoners and he, Strong, was under the direct orders of the Secretary of War, William Howard Taft; but the prison was later placed under the Quartermaster Department. Strong told Nye that a detail of prisoners, generally accompanied by a Union officer, were tasked with burying the dead. The burial detail took the headboards with them in order to mark the graves.[122]

Commissioner Elliott gave the burial records obtained in Ohio to the secretary of war and the War Records Department for verification. In March 1907, Elliott wrote John Mack, saying that he had found 100 additional names as well as mistakes and duplications on the headstones erected in the 1880s. Elliott believed that some of the unknowns could now be identified and should be marked by headstones inscribed with their names. However, Elliot did not believe that the headstones erected in the 1880s should be replaced.[123] "Shall the present headstones be replaced . . . by the new ones provided by law? Considering the interesting circumstances that brought about their erection, I should say not."[124]

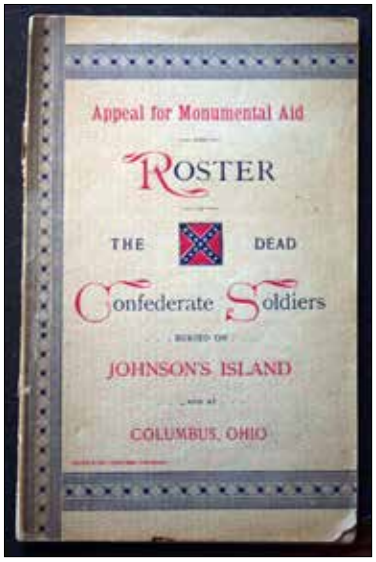


Figure 77. One of the books L. Frank Nye used to research Johnson's Island burials. *National Archives and Records Administration.*

Spring 1907 proved to be volatile, setting the commission and Mary Patton Hudson on a collision course. Commissioner Elliott finally decided that the government would not pay for improvements at Johnson's Island, specifically a fence and landscaping, until the UDC Robert Patton Chapter transferred the cemetery to federal ownership. The judge advocate general ruled on April 10, 1907, that the law did not prevent the commission from using government funds to erect a fence at the privately-owned Johnson's Island cemetery.[125]

In spite of the ruling, Commissioner Elliott decided that the commission would not spend any money at Johnson's Island until the property was transferred. Elliott's decision may well have been influenced by the volume and the tone of correspondence with which Hudson bombarded his office. Elliott, it seems, had determined that

condemnation was the only course of action. He gathered evidence to support his conclusion and sent a five-page report to Secretary of War Taft.[126]

Elliott's "Exhibit A" was a letter from Stephen Dill Lee, commanding general of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). Elliot had written to Lee to get his opinion on Hudson and spending money on property that the government did not own. Lee replied, "It is very evident to me that unless the general government cares for the cemeteries at the North, where Confederate soldiers died in prison or in hospitals, the cemeteries will soon come into ruin and destruction." Lee went on to say that numerous UCV and UDC chapters had failed and that he believed that the Robert Patton Chapter would be dissolved after Hudson's death.[127]

Elliott wrote again to Hudson, asking that she reconsider. The Robert Patton Chapter replied, "It is the unanimous opinion of this organization, that we have no wish to part with this sacred holding."[128]

In July 1907, Hudson fired off a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt. She wrote that Commissioner Elliott was trying to condemn Johnson's Island so that the government could assume ownership, a move that she called "little less than piratical." Once again she pointed out that the chapter had bought the cemetery after the government had failed to act, and that condemnation would be "unpopular and unwise." Hudson claimed the support not only of her board of "distinguished Southern men," but also "the entire Southern People."[129]

Commissioner Elliott sent two letters to Secretary of War Taft on August 10, 1907. The first, marked "personal," requested information on the condemnation procedure. He also cautioned the secretary to be careful in what he told Hudson and suggested only giving her the "main points of the matter." The second was a refutation of the letter Hudson had written to President Roosevelt that July. Elliott pointed out that her claim of having the Southern people on her side was a fallacy; that it was Southern veterans who had helped to create the legislation under which he now operated. He went on to say that the Robert Patton Chapter was raising money across the South to carry out its plan, work that could be done with the appropriations for his commission. Finally, Elliott pointed out that the Robert Patton Chapter was not officially associated with the UDC; the parent organization had ceased to recognize the chapter in 1906.[130]

Commissioner Elliott's final communication on the subject of a fence for Johnson's Island was short and to the point: if the government did not own the property, no funds would be spent. Finally, he said, "The property is already inclosed (sic) by a substantial fence which serves all purposes of protection" (fig. 78). Elliott's death in December 1907 ended their correspondence but not Hudson's feud with the commission.[131]

Less than two weeks after Elliott's death, Hudson wrote to the new commissioner, William Oates. She urged Oates, "I hope you will feel more enthusiastic interest in the work being done in Ohio than Colonel Elliott did." She referred to several Ohio politicians, including Senator Foraker, whom Hudson suggested would "tell you that I was no small help to him toward getting the bill (under which you now hold commission) passed." She claimed that her letters to the Kentucky congressional delegation had helped to dispel any southern opposition to the bill. Hudson wanted a fence for the cemetery, which Elliott had stoutly refused to do. She hoped that by

Figure 78. Confederate cemetery at Johnson's Island, ca. 1910, surrounded by a utilitarian wire fence. *Archives of Sandusky Library-Follett House Museum, Sandusky, Ohio*.

sending this letter, in which she named names, Oates might see fit to fund her fence. "This letter is written with the intention of getting your opinion—if you will kindly give it—regarding the fence," she wrote, "The form of legislation we will ask for will depend upon the position you maintain regarding this matter. I have facts in my possession that may be valuable to you regarding graves of our dead in Northern soil." This letter-writing campaign did not engender William Oates's goodwill.[132]

Undaunted, Hudson pressed on. She wrote to Marcus J. Wright, an agent in the Department of War charged with collecting and compiling official Confederate army records, urging him to order Oates to build a fence, although Wright had no power to do so. When that failed, she wrote again to Oates, this time with a proposal. The Robert Patton Chapter, she said, would deed 6 feet around the cemetery to the U.S. government, onto which the commission could build a fence. "Do try to see a way clear to help secure the cemetery from destruction by means of a fence, for we cannot sell [it] to you," she closed.[133]

William Oates accepted her proposal. He wrote Secretary of War Taft suggesting that Hudson's land offer be accepted and a fence erected. The letter dated April 29, 1909, included two notations from War Department personnel. The first, from the judge advocate general, agreed with Oates and recommended accepting the land and building the fence. The second, from Acting Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver, declined. Oliver felt that the only way to protect the graves was to own the cemetery. He wrote, "The only condition upon which this improvement will be undertaken is the transfer of a fee simple title to the cemetery in its entirety."[134]

Figure 79. A crowd at the dedication of the "Lookout" monument at Confederate Stockade, 1910. *Archives of Sandusky Library—Follett House Museum, Sandusky, Ohio*.

Hudson wrote more letters. After speaking with Secretary of War Taft, Marcus Wright urged her to give the property to the government. She refused. The Robert Patton Chapter kept the property and forged ahead with plans to erect a monument. In December 1909, a site at the southeastern end of the cemetery was chosen and work on the monument, for which the chapter had solicited funds, began.[135]

In spring 1910, plans were made for the Confederate Memorial's unveiling. The base, created by W. J. Dingle of Sandusky, was made of granite from South Carolina. The bronze figure, the "Lookout," was executed by Virginia-born sculptor Sir Ezekiel Moses and cast in Rome, Italy. The base was finished in April and the 19-foot-tall figure arrived in May. The monument was to be unveiled on June 8, 1910. There was a slight flap over a proposed parade when the local GAR chapter refused to march behind a Confederate flag. In the end there was no parade and the ceremonies only included the U.S. flag, but the unveiling was a grand affair (fig. 79).[136] The Cedar Point Resort Company arranged for the steamer *R. B. Hayes* to provide roundtrip service to the island for a fare of 25 cents beginning at 8 a.m. A twenty-five-piece band played music. Hudson, George W. Gordon, Julius Carr of the UCV, and the sculptor each spoke. The graves were decorated and a wreath placed at the foot of the memorial, which was positioned so the figure looked outward from the cemetery toward Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie. After the ceremony, the crowd returned to Sandusky where many former Confederates toured the Ohio Soldiers and Sailors Home.[137]

During summer 1912, L. Frank Nye returned to Johnson's Island to assess the condition of the cemetery for the commission's final report to Congress. While in Sandusky, he

spoke with *Sandusky Register* editor John T. Mack, who said the monument had been soiled by people climbing onto it, specifically marks made by shoes. He again mentioned the necessity for a fence.[138]

Figure 80. Cemetery entrance facing the bay and fence erected by the Robert Patton Chapter UDC in 1912, framing the "Lookout" Monument in 2009.

Finally in autumn 1912, the Robert Patton Chapter contracted with Mack Iron & Wire of Sandusky to erect a fence around the cemetery. The enclosure was 4 feet tall with ornamental posts and an ornamental arched gate at the south end by the water. It is thought that the cemetery fence extant today is the same one erected in 1912; the words on the arch read, "Confederate Soldiers 1861–1912" (fig. 80).[139]

Mary Patton Hudson died in 1920 but her UDC chapter honored her wishes and kept the property. For more than a decade the chapter maintained the cemetery. Finally in 1932, the last surviving member of the Robert Patton Chapter transferred the deed for the cemetery to the Ohio Division of the UDC, which in turn donated it to the federal government.[140]

On June 7, 1932, in a large ceremony that was broadcast on the local NBC radio affiliate, the deed was signed and handed over to the federal government. Mrs. G. R. Runner acted on behalf of the UDC, and Lieutenant Lee N. Murlin, assistant U.S. District Attorney, and Captain T. J. McGrath of the Erie Proving Ground, represented the Department of War. The U.S. flag was raised over the cemetery—finally the property of the Department of War.[141]

The first use of "Stockade Cemetery" appears to be in the program for the 1910 dedication of the "Lookout," which states, "Dedication of Bronze Monument to Confederate Soldier in Johnson's Island, Ohio, Stockade Cemetery."[142] Whereas, the 1932 warranty deed between the UDC Robert Patton Chapter and the Department of War, refers to the property as "Confederate Stockade Cemetery"—as does the metes-and-bounds description prepared in 1939. Earlier correspondence refers to the cemetery as the "Confederate Cemetery at Johnson's Island" or "Johnson's Island Confederate Cemetery."[143]

The two small plaques located south of the "Lookout" monument were dedicated in 1935. One honors Mary Patton Hudson as responsible for preservation of the cemetery, and erection of the memorial and fence. The second plaque honors Alice Davenport Mack and Elizabeth Morrison Houk, who are credited with assembling the only authentic list of the dead buried on the island. The plaques were dedicated during the annual Decoration Day ceremonies, which continue to this day (fig. 81).[144]

Figure 81. One of two monuments erected in 1935 to honor Alice Davenport Mack, Elizabeth Morrison Houk, and Mary Patton Hudson.

In 1990 the cemetery was included in the National Historic Landmark nomination for *Johnson's Island Civil War Prison*. The historic landmark property is now classified as "threatened" by the National Park Service due to residential development on the island. Starting in 1989, David R. Bush, Center for Historic and Military Archaeology at Heidelberg University in Tiffin, Ohio, began carrying out archaeological investigations of the prison camp. All subsurface investigations were limited to the prison area; however, Bush conducted a non-invasive ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey of

the cemetery. Today, a toll causeway allows access to the island and the cemetery. The Johnson's Island Preservation Society, housed in the Ohio Veterans Home in Sandusky, erected the interpretive wayside sign outside of the cemetery fence. The other nonprofit affiliate of the cemetery is the Friends and Descendants of Johnson's Island Civil War Prison; this organization has purchased property on the island associated with the prison in order to ensure its preservation. Both organizations have undertaken research in collaboration with Heidelberg University.

Few physical changes have been made to the cemetery since the 1930s. The fence has suffered some damage inflicted by falling trees. Most of the headstones are original, placed in the cemetery in the 1880s, along with a few older examples and newer replacement government-issued headstones.

Figure 82. One of two monuments erected in 2003 by the Johnson's Island Committee.

Two large interpretive granite markers were placed at the cemetery in 2003, funded by the Johnson's Island Committee composed of the Ohio Division of the UDC and the Lieutenant James Longstreet Camp 1658 Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) (fig. 82). According to the inscriptions, 267 burials within and outside of the cemetery enclosure have been located using GPR. In a report about this work at the cemetery, "The Union rolls and other records have confirmed at least 239 deaths at Johnson's Island." The report lists the names on the 154 known graves in the cemetery and indicates there are fifty-two graves marked "unknown," for a total of 206 graves. He also lists the names of eighty-eight men determined to have died at Johnson's Island but whose "graves are not marked by a tombstone, or their body was taken South to be buried." Eighteen names on the list are referenced as "reported as body sent South," leaving seventy men he believes to be interred at Johnson's Island in either graves with "unknown" markers or graves with no marker.[145]

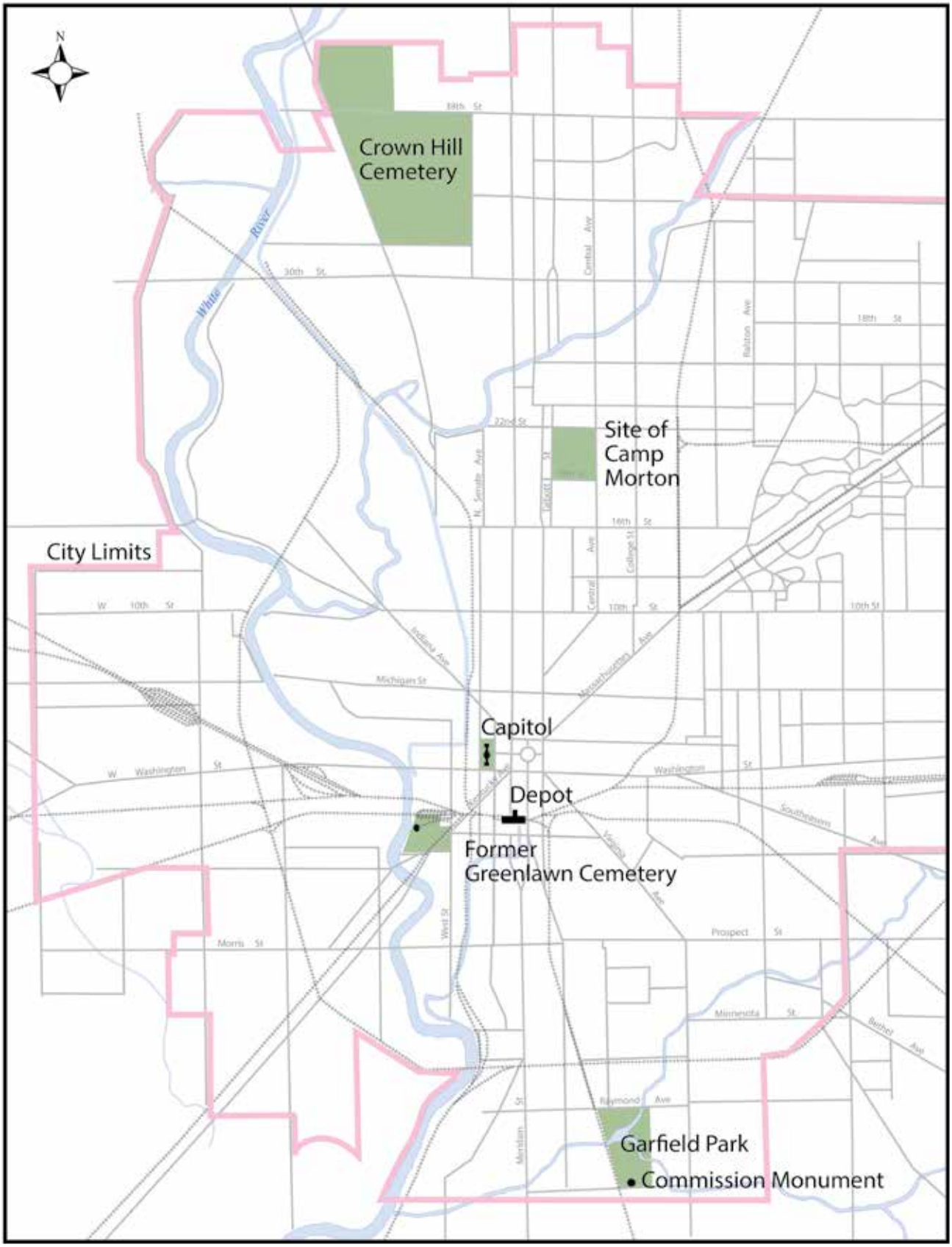


Figure 83. Map of Indianapolis showing Greenlawn and Crown Hill cemeteries, and other sites related to Camp Morton and Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead work. *Based on 1908 G. W. Baist Index Map and Basken-Foster 1876 Map of Indianapolis*.

CROWN HILL CONFEDERATE CEMETERY

Indianapolis, Indiana

The Confederate prisoners interred at Crown Hill Cemetery died in Camp Morton Prison Camp in Indianapolis, Indiana. They were originally buried in Greenlawn Cemetery and eventually moved to Crown Hill Cemetery. How those men came to be at Crown Hill is the story of a flourishing city and of burials forgotten, remembered, moved, and remembered again (fig. 83).

Camp Morton

Camp Morton was situated on a 36-acre tract—the former Samuel Henderson farm—bounded by present-day 19th Street, Talbott Avenue, 22nd Street, and Central Avenue. It was created when Indiana answered President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion. Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton wired Lincoln and offered 10,000 men for service. Hoosiers across the state answered the call for volunteers and thousands of men poured into Indianapolis. The new city fairgrounds became a training camp. At least six regiments were filled at the camp by the end of 1861.[146]

Change came quickly to Camp Morton. In February 1862, the Confederate strongholds at Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee surrendered to Union forces. Suddenly 12,000 prisoners needed to be housed and fed. General Henry Halleck wired Governor Morton to ask how many prisoners Indiana could handle. Morton replied that Indiana would take 3,000. That day, Camp Morton assumed the new role of prison camp.[147]

General Halleck sent 3,700 men to Indianapolis. As with every other place where prisoners were sent, Camp Morton was unprepared for the influx. The fairgrounds-turned-training camp was at best a makeshift prison. Prior to the arrival of the prisoners, Union soldiers built a wall around the old buildings that were used to house trainees. They constructed stout gates and dug latrines.[148]

The prisoners were housed in a 5-acre enclosure that had been the fairgrounds and, on occasion, hosted Methodist camp meetings. The early prison facilities consisted of five wood-frame buildings. One served as camp hospital; the other four served as barracks that could accommodate 1,000 men. The best buildings were originally fairground exhibition halls with open floor plans. Others were former stables equipped with stalls. All had dirt floors. The plank siding on the buildings had warped and sagged with age. The prisoners suffered from the cold, and some patients in the hospital used their only blanket to cover gaps in the walls to block the frigid air. An open trench near the middle of the compound served as the latrine. When it was full, a new trench was dug elsewhere in the camp. This cycle continued, with latrines dug out in various locations, but the camp quickly became a highly unhealthy place (fig. 84).[149]

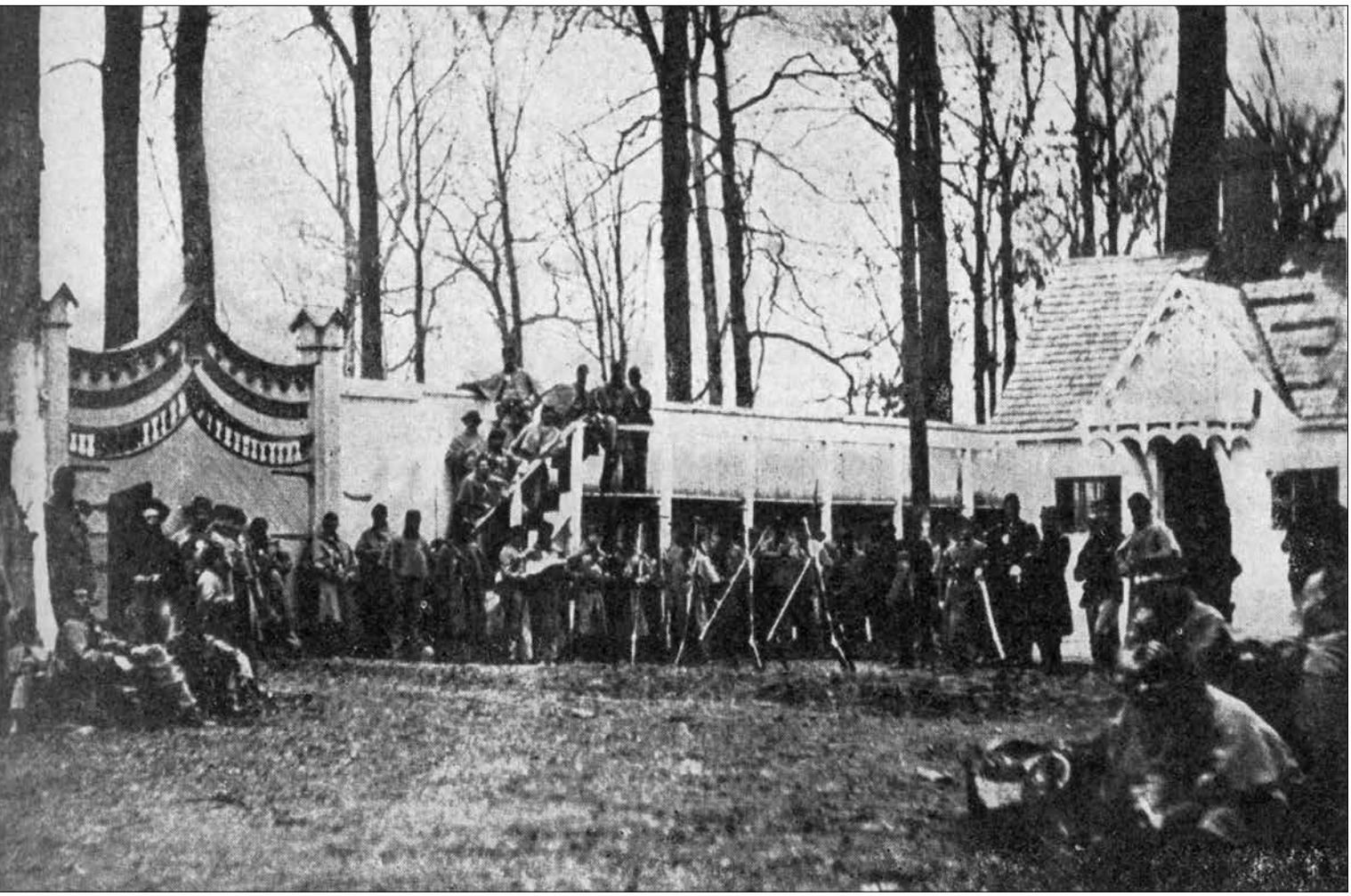


Figure 84. The elaborate gate and house with "gingerbread" trim were part of the old fairgrounds complex; the house, right, served as the prison guard house. *From Francis Trevelyan Miller, Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume 7.*

Colonel Richard Owen was put in command of the prison. Although he did his utmost to operate the prison, the fledgling Commissary Department in Indianapolis already had difficulty acquiring food for its Union trainees—so feeding the prisoners would be a problem, too (fig. 85).[150] Supplies were also scarce. Prisoners arrived in Indiana without blankets or proper winter clothing, and the Ladies' Patriotic Societies and the U.S. Sanitary Commission provided them. Another 1,000 prisoners, men captured at the Battle of Shiloh, arrived in April 1862. Colonel David G. Rose soon took over from Owen as commandant. Early in Rose's tenure, a riot broke out when a group of prisoners threw stones and other missiles at several hundred Tennessee prisoners who were standing outside the stockade to take the oath of allegiance. When one prisoner refused to climb down from the wall, a guard fired, wounding him and killing another prisoner. Rose's tenured ended in August when a prisoner exchange temporarily emptied the prison.[151]

The prisoner exchange began in late August 1862. On August 23, Camp Morton prisoners were placed on railroad cars and sent to Cairo, Illinois, where they boarded steamboats for Vicksburg, Mississippi. It took over one week just to move the men to Cairo. The trains ran once a day out of Indianapolis, carrying between 333 and 1,238 men each trip. The exchange finally took place at Vicksburg in early September.[152]

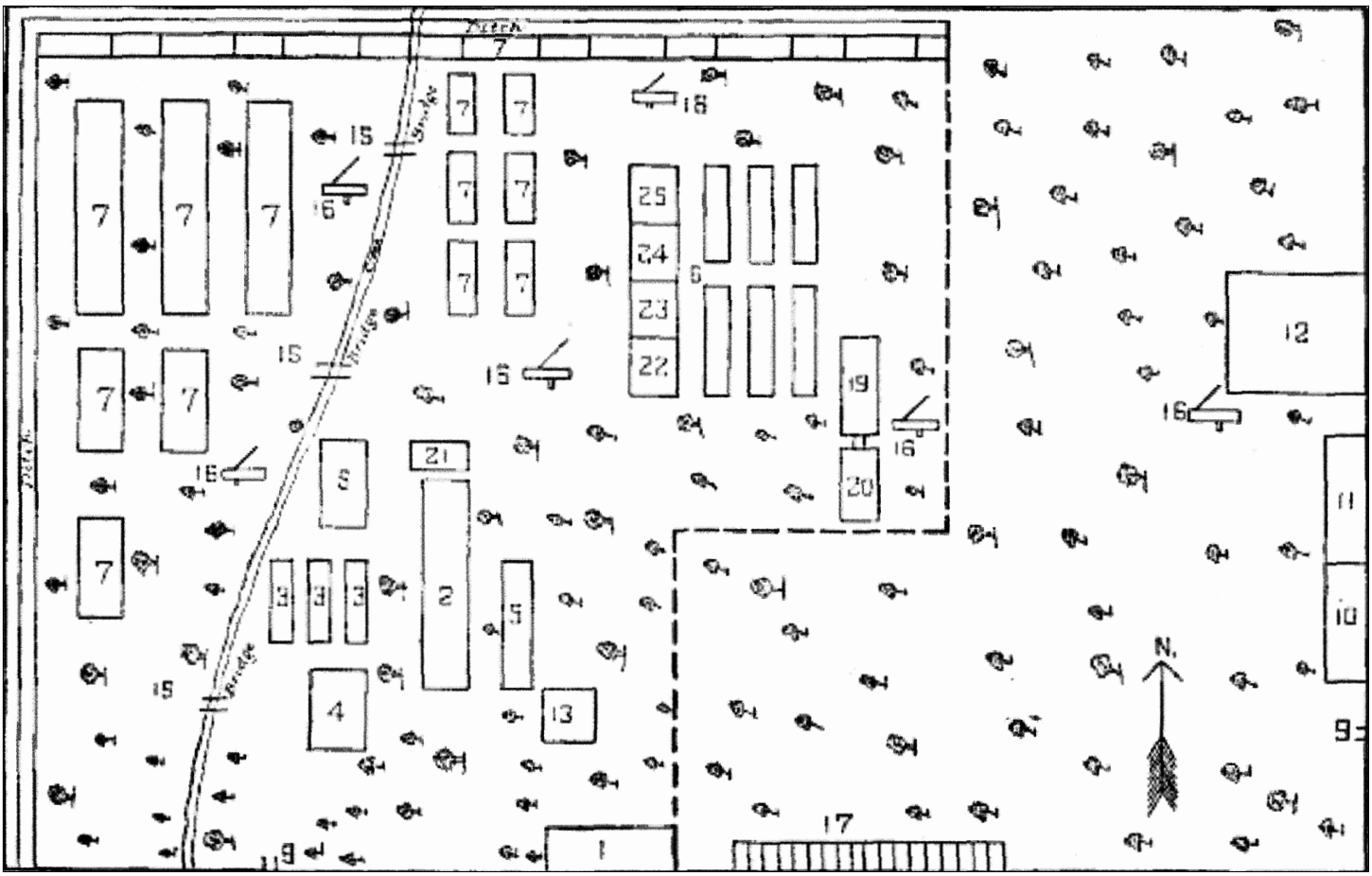


Figure 85. Plan of Camp Morton, 1865. 1. Headquarters; 2. Old hospital; 3. Hospital tents; 4. Sutler; 5. Hospitals-built 1863; 6. New hospitals-built 1864; 7. Barracks; 9. Gates; 10. Quartermaster; 11. Commissary; 12. Bakery; 13. Baseball grounds; 15. Bridges; 16. Pumps; 17. Sheds; 19. Dining room; 20. Kitchen; 21. Dining room; 22. Consulting room; 23. Reception room; 24. Engineer; 25. Prescription, supplies. Dashed line (———) indicates the guard line.

The mortality rate during the prison operation at Camp Morton was fairly low. There were no epidemics and, over the seven-month period, 800 or so men were treated in the city's hospitals. No records of deaths were found to have occurred between February and June 1862. The extant records indicate that fifty Confederates died at Camp Morton between July and September 1862.[153]

Reactivation of the Prisoner-of-War Camp

Despite that Camp Morton was emptied of prisoners in summer 1862, Union officials deemed it necessary to reactivate the prison facility in February 1863. A January inspection confirmed that the camp needed more barracks space. Captain H. W. Freedley recommended moving three buildings from Camp Carrington in the north part of the city, to Camp Morton:[154]

> *The barracks I have recommended to be removed from Camp Carrington are barracks that have been erected for the temporary accommodation of troops organizing here and can be removed at but little expense. They are temporary frame barracks, 16 by 100 feet, divided into four rooms and capable of accommodating 100 troops each.*[155]

The prison population remained fairly low in the early months of 1863, at around 650, but by October the number more than tripled to in excess of 2,000, to include Confederate soldiers, officers, and civilian political prisoners.[156]

Figure 86. Camp Morton prison camp at Indianapolis, winter 1864. The ditch (foreground) was an unnamed creek the prisoners called the "Potomac." *Library of Congress*.

Surgeon A. M. Clark wrote a scathing inspection report on October 22, 1863, that began, "[T]his camp is a disgrace to the name of a military prison." His condemnation was universal:

> *Drainage—bad from want of attention; ditches and drains choked with rubbish. Discipline in camp—lax. Sinks, construction—exceedingly faulty, two excavations about twenty feet long, five feet wide, two feet deep, entirely open. Sinks, condition and position—very foul. Cleanliness of men and clothing—foul; bathing and laundry facilities entirely insufficient. Blankets and bedding—insufficient both in hospital and camp; no satisfactory reason given therefore. Condition of men—in barracks, exceedingly foul; in hospital, miserable. Mortality from diseases—during the month of September 23 out of 183 patients died, being over 12.45 per cent.*[157]

He criticized the buildings, hospital care in general, and hospital staff in particular. He recommended firing the surgeon in charge. There was plenty of food and the water was good. Other than that, he could find very little positive to report on Camp Morton.[158]

Colonel Ambrose A. Stevens assumed command of Camp Morton on October 22, the same day surgeon Clark wrote up his inspection findings. Stevens, a former infantry colonel who was wounded at Perryville, Kentucky, had resigned and thereafter been appointed colonel of an Invalid Corps regiment. Stevens worked to improve conditions

at Camp Morton, but he had an uphill fight against the elements and the bureaucracy of the Union prison system.[159]

Orders forbade Stevens to issue new clothing to prisoners unless they were practically naked. Only "members of his immediate family, and only when they are in absolute want," were allowed to give prisoners clothing. In December 1863, space was also diminishing quickly, as 3,300 prisoners were crowded into the prison. The winter of 1863-1864 was bitterly cold, aggravating the prisoners' suffering from drafty barracks and insufficient clothing. Stevens went ahead and issued clothing, blankets, straw, and extra fuel. These measures helped, but during a single thirty-day period of sub-zero temperatures, 263 prisoners died (fig. 86).[160]

As the weather grew warmer in May 1864, the war was going badly for the Confederacy. The prisoner-exchange agreement was mired over the Confederate's refusal to treat U.S. Colored Troops as prisoners of war; throughout most of 1864 without any exchanges, hope sagged for the men in Camp Morton. In summer 1864, malaria and other illnesses struck, fueled by the heat, insects, vermin, and unsanitary conditions. By the time Camp Morton closed in June 1865, approximately 1,763 prisoners had died.[161]

Confederate Dead and Greenlawn Cemetery

Initially known as City Cemetery, and the first cemetery in Indianapolis, Greenlawn Cemetery dates to the 1820s. It is situated on the southern edge of the city, seven blocks south of the circle between Kentucky Avenue and the White River. Many of the first citizens of Indianapolis are buried there.

The State of Indiana purchased five lots in Greenlawn Cemetery in order to bury the Confederate dead from Camp Morton. A contract was let to Weaver and Williams, undertakers, to supply plain wooden coffins at the price of $3.50 each. The dead were interred by details of prisoners who put the bodies in the coffins, dug grave trenches that measured 20 feet long, and covered the coffins. Coffins were placed side by side in a trench until it was filled. A wooden headboard with a number marked the location of each set of remains.

Some Confederate dead were removed from the cemetery and the remains taken south by friends or relatives for reburial; exactly how many remains, and when this allegedly occurred, was not included. The Confederate dead that did remain, however, were largely forgotten. An industrial complex grew up around the cemetery, gradually diminishing the attractiveness of the old burial grounds. Brevet Major General Lorenzo Thomas wrote in an 1868 cemetery inspection report that 1,556 Confederate prisoners were buried at Greenlawn Cemetery, but by the end of the decade it was no longer used or cared for.[162] Greenlawn declined into a pauper's cemetery. In the meantime, Crown Hill Cemetery, established in 1863 at the north end of the city limits, was growing into Indianapolis's principal cemetery.

In 1870, the Terre Haute, Vandalia, and St. Louis Railroad "exchanged some property on the west side of the [Greenlawn] cemetery for the ground covered by two tiers of graves on the north."[163] The area of Greenlawn Cemetery that was acquired in 1862 for the purpose of reburying the remains of Confederate prisoners was known as the Price

tract. In 1870, the railroad acquired the Price tract to allow for the railroad's widening operations. At or around the same time, the railroad purchased a second half-acre tract, far from the tracks in the west end of Greenlawn Cemetery, in order to accommodate the Confederate remains removed from the Price tract.[164] The Confederate remains were exhumed, "placed in boxes 5 feet long, 16 to 18 inches wide, and about 8 inches deep. They were laid close together in a trench, but not on top of each other."[165] The removal of the remains, funded by the Terre Haute, Vandalia, and St. Louis Railroad, was handled neither sensitively nor professionally. There was no attempt to maintain the reinterred remains in the same order as they had been interred originally, or were headboards installed on the new graves. After the remains were moved, the tract in which the Confederates had been reinterred was sold to the U.S. government for one dollar.[166]

The 1874 cemetery inspection repeated that fact 1,556 Confederate prisoners were buried in Greenlawn Cemetery, but it does not mention the exhumation and reinterment of the remains. However, the inspector offered a prophetic observation about encroaching business and industrial interests: "The land in this vicinity is so valuable that this cemetery will be removed before many years, I think."[167]

The Common Council of Indianapolis passed an ordinance in 1892 to convert Greenlawn Cemetery into a public park. In doing so, the city was obligated to contact the families of persons buried in the cemetery to obtain permission to move remains to a new lot in the popular Crown Hill Cemetery. By the end of 1892, when Greenlawn was more or less abandoned, most citizens of Indianapolis were choosing burial in Crown Hill. This stylish "rural" cemetery, designed by John Chislett, incorporated natural features and landscape into the plan. The city did not move the Confederate dead nor did it contact the federal government about moving them. The Union soldiers buried in Greenlawn were, however, moved to what became Crown Hill National Cemetery in the late 1860s. An 1880s newspaper article, as well as an early city history, both erroneously state that the Confederate burials were moved to Crown Hill sometime after 1870.[168]

The Commission

The graves of the Confederate prisoners buried in Greenlawn Cemetery were eligible for the provisions of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead. Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye visited Indianapolis in November 1906 to assess the burials of the Confederate prisoners from Camp Morton. Elliott and Nye spent nearly two weeks in Indianapolis trying to sort out what had happened to the graves. It had been forty-one years since Camp Morton closed, and thirty-five years since the railroad bought the property; personal accounts and much information had since been lost.

In an effort to discover where the graves were located Nye visited several Indianapolis repositories, including the land office and Indiana State Library. His findings were both useful and confusing. At the library he found "a Confederate Mortuary List" with the names of prisoners who died at the camp, compiled by Charles A. Williams, the government undertaker for Camp Morton. He also located a city history and a newspaper article stating that the Confederate burials had been moved to Crown Hill Cemetery.[169] The latter caused Nye and the commissioner to visit the Crown Hill Cemetery offices. "I expected to find these [graves] in Crown Hill Cemetery, and went

there yesterday afternoon for that purpose," Nye wrote. "At the cemetery I was informed that not a single one of the Confederate dead has ever been buried there. The situation here is surely unusual and difficult to solve."[170]

The commission finally determined that the Confederate dead had not been moved to Crown Hill, but were still interred at Greenlawn; it turned out that some remains had been moved from one lot to another in the same cemetery. Nye and Elliott spent the remainder of their stay in Indianapolis trying to discover exactly where the bodies were moved, some of it interviewing individuals who had, or thought they had, relevant information. Nye and Elliott interviewed twenty-six individuals—in homes, at the hotel where they stayed, and at the cemetery. Several individuals were interviewed more than once, and a few accompanied Nye and Elliott on multiple visits to Greenlawn (fig. 22).[171]

After a couple of days in Indianapolis, Commissioner Elliott expressed his frustration. "It's a difficult task. There are scores of persons who are ready to give information, but the facts are strangely conflicting."[172] Two *Indianapolis Star* articles published November 20 and 21, 1906, featured interviews with people who claimed to know about the Confederate burials, but the accounts were riddled with contradictions. It complicated matters that by 1906 the old Greenlawn Cemetery was in name a city park, but in reality functioned as a buffer between the railroad complex and the growing industrial center of Indianapolis.[173]

Elliott and Nye left Indianapolis at the end of November 1906. By then they had determined that a portion of the Confederate dead had been moved to another location in Greenlawn Cemetery in 1870. After combing through old records they pieced together what had happened. According to the judge advocate general's office, the Terre Haute, Vandalia, and St. Louis Railroad purchased an undetermined number of lots in Greenlawn Cemetery, 134 of which were in Sections A and K. The railroad needed the lots in Sections A and K to expand its operations, but lots 172 to 190 in Section A, and lots 125 to 239 in Section K contained the remains of Confederate prisoners. The railroad moved the remains to the lots it purchased in Sections D and F, and then transferred the deed for those lots to the government for one dollar (fig. 87).[174]

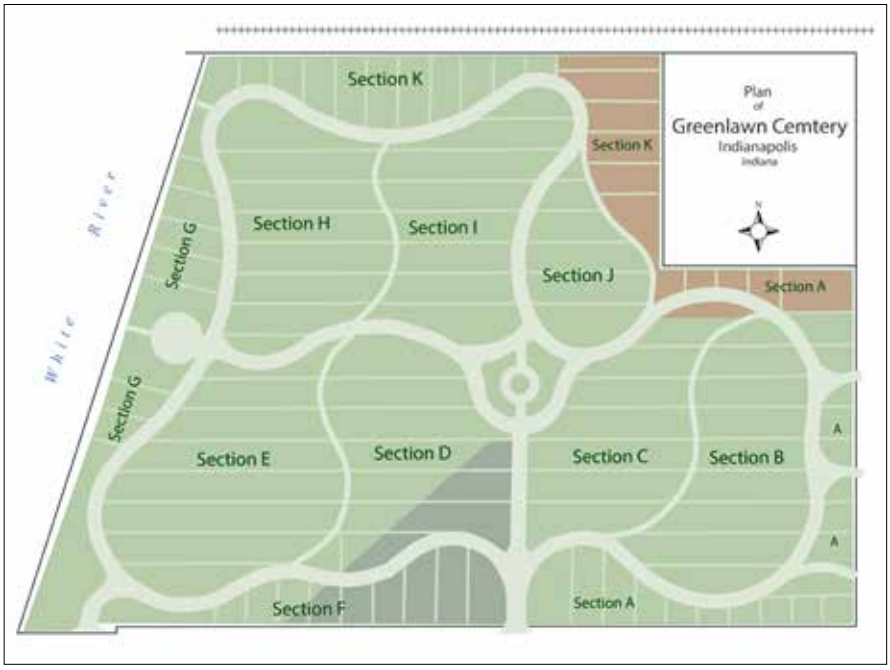


Figure 87. Map of Greenlawn Cemetery showing areas from which Confederate remains were removed (brown) to where they were interred (gray).

If Commissioner Elliott had decided to place headstones over the reinterred remains in Indianapolis, his position was never shared, as his paper trail ends in 1906. It was 1908, nearly two years after Elliott's Indiana visit, when Commissioner William C. Oates decided he could not mark individual graves there. "It's a hopeless task. The graves are all there—there is no doubt about that; but it would be impossible to mark each grave and give the name to the right man who lies there. Who is going to be able to tell which grave is that of William Jones and which grave is that of James Smith. It is impossible

to do this."[175] Seeking a resolution to the problem, he wrote Secretary of War Luke E. Wright asking for permission to erect a single monument at the site of the burials with the names of the men inscribed upon it.[176]

Secretary of War Wright referred the query to George B. Davis, the judge advocate general. Davis replied:

> *In the exercise of the discretion so vested, it is the opinion of this office that it is the duty of the Department, where the grave of a deceased Confederate prisoner-of-war has been located, to erect a headstone of the standard type. Where the burial place of a number has been discovered, and the names of the dead are known but the location of the individual graves is unknown, it is the duty of the Secretary of War to see that the most complete execution possible shall be given the statute. As, in such a case, individual stones cannot be erected, it is the opinion of this office that a suitable monument may be erected upon which shall be inscribed the names of the deceased prisoners of war who are buried within the enclosure, and that the erection of such a monument will be a reasonable execution of the requirements of the Act of March 9, 1906.*[177]

In a second memorandum issued the following day, Davis addressed the matter of an inscription. He cited the legislation of March 3, 1893, which stated that a tablet could "have a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure." He also pointed out that the word "valorous" was stricken from a Union monument at Gettysburg. In summation, he wrote:

> *In view of the legislation in that regard, it is suggested that no more be attempted in the inscription upon the monument at Indianapolis than to set forth the fact that it is erected with a view to properly mark the resting place of the officers and men of the Confederate Army and Navy who died as prisoners of war at Camp Morton, Indiana, between 1862 and 1865.*[178]

Figure 88. Monument and fence at Greenlawn Cemetery, surrounded by industrial buildings in 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration.*

In February 1909, the government let bids for the monument. Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, Massachusetts, was awarded the contract and completed the monument in late 1909. The dedication inscription read: "Erected by the United States to mark the burial place of 1,616 Confederate soldiers and sailors who died here while prisoners of war and whose graves cannot now be identified." The names were inscribed on six bronze plaques attached to the base of the monument. By summer 1910, 500 feet of iron fence had been installed around the government lot (fig. 88). The monument and fence were situated in the middle of an area that was rapidly turning into an industrial complex. The Southern Club of Indianapolis and the United Daughters of the Confederacy petitioned to have the monument moved from Greenlawn to Garfield Park.

On May 15, 1928, Congress appropriated $3,000 for this purpose in response to the petition (fig. 89).[179]

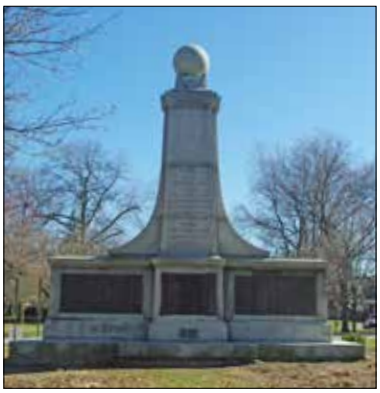


Figure 89. The original Confederate Monument at Garfield Park in 2009.

The monument was moved, but the Confederate dead remained in the all-but-abandoned Greenlawn Cemetery. When the remains were moved three years later, it was not to Garfield Park where the monument now stood, but to Crown Hill Cemetery (fig. 90). In October 1931, twenty-five boxes of human remains were removed from the old burial ground at Greenlawn for reburial at Crown Hill. In an elaborate military ceremony, one set of remains were placed in a coffin, which was then draped with a Confederate flag. The coffin was carried from the chapel at Crown Hill to Section 32—not far from Crown Hill National Cemetery where the Union dead already lay—to be interred for the third and last time (fig. 91). Six members of the Southern Club of Indianapolis served as pallbearers. An infantry detachment from Fort Benjamin Harrison in nearby Lawrence, Indiana, fired a salute as the body was buried (fig. 92).

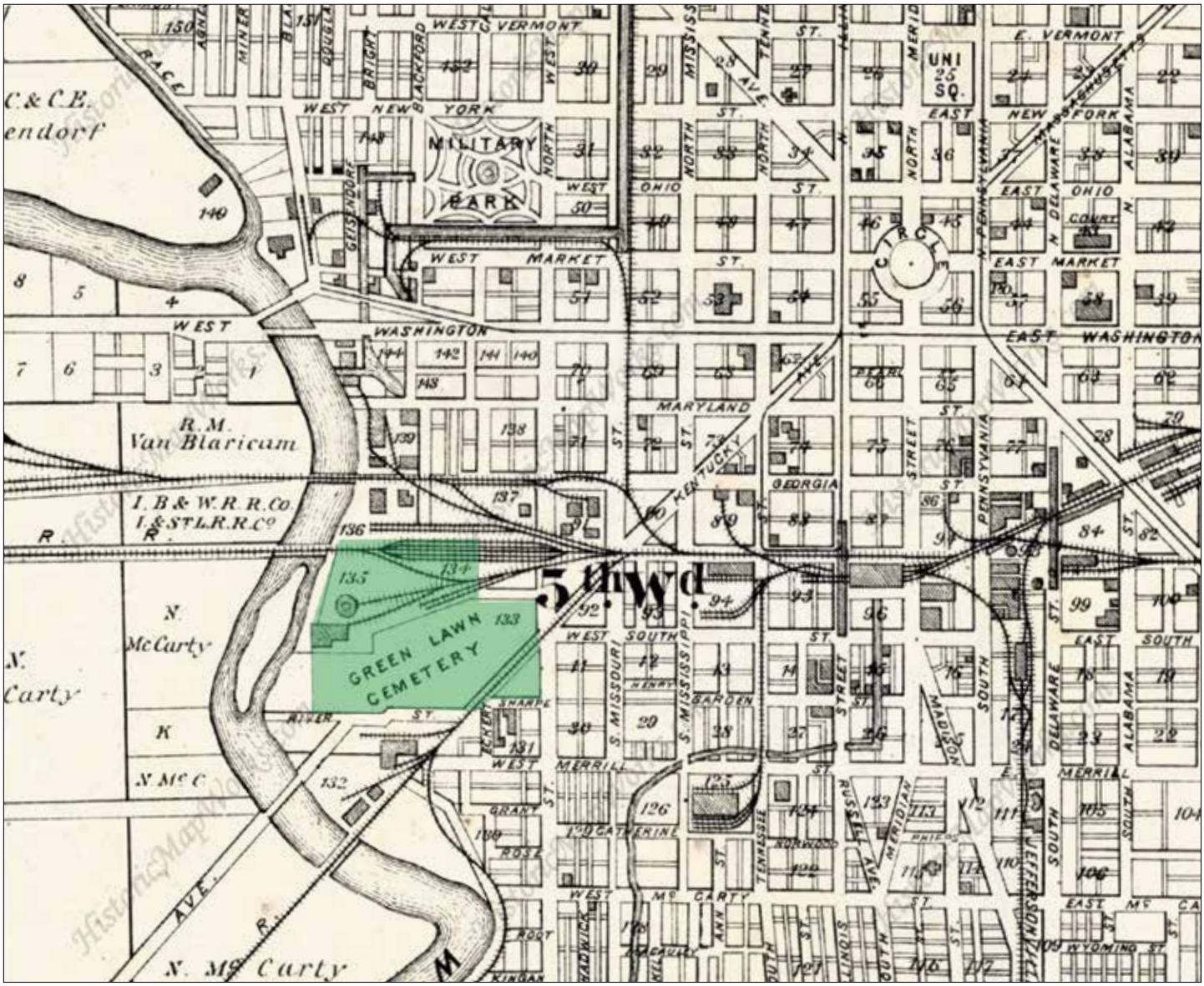


Figure 90. Greenlawn Cemetery, ca. 1876, indicates that the area was already becoming industrialized. *From the "Illustrated Historical Atlas of Indiana," 1876. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*.

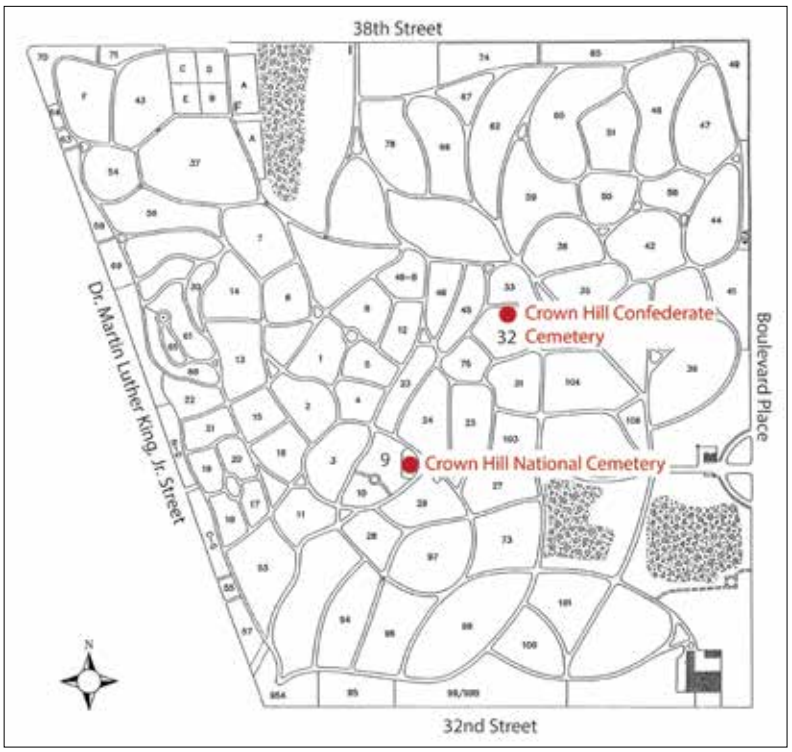


Figure 91. Map of Crown Hill Cemetery showing national cemetery and Confederate plot.

The federal government erected a new granite monument, approximately 7 feet tall, at the site with the inscription: *Remains of / 1616 Unknown / Confederate / Soldiers / Who Died At / Indianapolis / While / Prisoners / of War.*[180]

In 1989, Indianapolis policeman Stephen Staletovich undertook a project to correct what he and others felt was an egregious wrong. The 1931 monument marking the remains of the Confederate dead at Crown Hill stated that the 1,616 men were unknown.

In fact, the men were not unknown. After conducting research for a number of years, Staletovich and others eventually identified the names of 1,745 men who died at Camp Morton. The names were inscribed on ten bronze plaques that were installed on the grave site, virtually filling the small lot. A bronze plaque was also placed over the inscription on the 1931 monument (fig. 93). Crown Hill Confederate Cemetery was rededicated on October 3, 1993; the new plaque on the monument reads:[181]

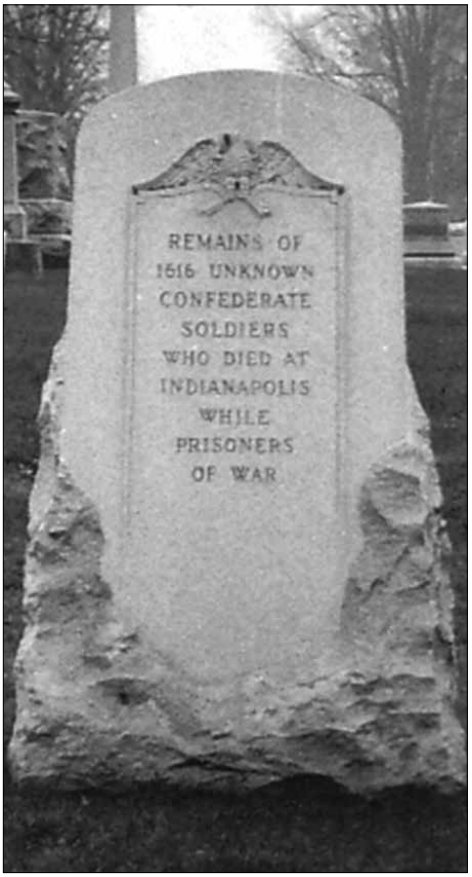


Figure 92. Left: The Confederate monument placed by the federal government in 1931. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 93. Right: The 1931 monument with revised inscription added in 1993.

> *Confederate Mound / These Confederate / Soldiers And Sailors Died / At Indianapolis While / Prisoners Of War. / They were Transferred / Here From Greenlawn / Cemetery In 1933 [sic] / To rest Eternal. / A large Monument To / These Dead Now Stands In / Garfield Park / Indianapolis, Indiana. / PAX.*

The historic appearance of Confederate Mound at Crown Hill Cemetery was considerably altered in 1993 when the eleven bronze plaques were introduced to the site (fig. 94).

Figure 94. Confederate soldiers' lot in Section 32, Crown Hill Cemetery, ca. 2009.

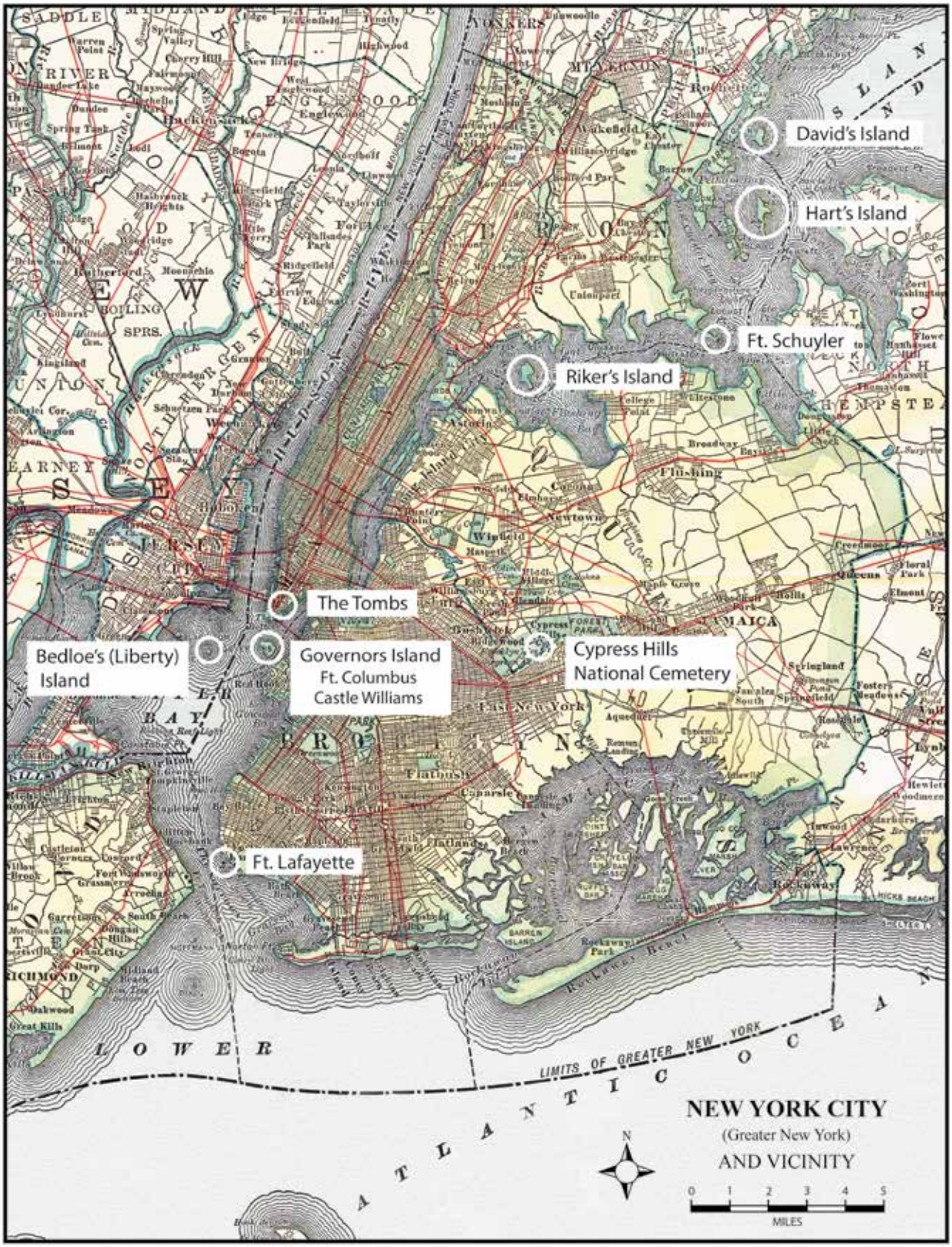


Figure 95. Greater New York City area map showing prison and hospital facilities associated with Confederate burials at Union Grounds, Cypress Hills Cemetery. *Based on New York City map, ca.1915*.

CYPRESS HILLS NATIONAL CEMETERY

Brooklyn, New York

Although no Civil War battles were fought in New York State, many Union soldiers nevertheless passed through New York City. Before the war ended, thousands of Confederate prisoners did too, as they were held in city prisons or treated in city hospitals. Some of these men died and many were buried in Cypress Hills Cemetery in Brooklyn (fig. 95).

Civil War Prisons and Hospitals in New York City

The "Tombs," Fort Lafayette, Governors Island, Bedloe's (Liberty) Island, Fort Schuyler, Rikers Island, and Hart's Island all served as Confederate prisons. The Tombs, completed in 1838, was in the city and served as the New York City Hall of Justice and jail. The Egyptian Revival structure designed by John Haviland was old and overcrowded by the time the Civil War started. Fort Schuyler was on Throgs Neck, between the East River and Long Island Sound. The remainder of the prisons were located on islands. The first prisoners of war to arrive in New York were thirteen sailors from the Confederate privateer Savannah, captured by the Union navy in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, in June 1861. The prisoners were briefly confined in the Tombs, the New York City prison, before being transferred to the island of Fort Lafayette. They were the first and last military prisoners incarcerated at the Tombs (fig. 96).[182]

Built in 1822, Fort Lafayette was an octagonal structure with 30-foot-high walls. Prisoners were kept in six casemates (fortified gun emplacements) that tended to be dank and dark. When the fort was converted for use as a prison in 1861, it was intended to hold fifty prisoners, but often held one hundred or more. At one point, 134 men were crowded into the old brick fort. Fort Lafayette was in nearly constant use throughout the war and for several months after the war ended. Five Confederate prisoners were being held there as late as October 31, 1865 (fig. 97).[183]

Fort Columbus and Castle Williams on Governors Island also housed prisoners (figs. 98–99). Fort Columbus, the oldest of the forts, was built in 1794. The old officers' quarters inside the fort confined Confederate officers. Castle Williams, a round structure locally known as "the cheese box," housed as many as 713 Confederate enlisted men. As Fort Lafayette, Fort Columbus and Castle Williams came into use early in the war. When conditions on Governors Island reached breaking point, some of the men were transferred to Fort Wood on Bedloe's Island. By the end of October 1861, Confederate prisoners in the forts had been moved to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor.[184]

Between 1862 and the end of the war, the collective prisoner population in New York facilities fluctuated but remained relatively low, never reaching 1,000 men. The

Figure 96. The Tombs, ca. 1870; the building was razed in 1902. *Appletons' Journal, "New York Illustrated. No. 1" Art Supplement," April 24, 1869*.

Figure 97. Fort Lafayette was a coastal fortification that housed Confederate prisoners, ca. 1904. *Library of Congress*.

Figure 98. Barracks at Fort Columbus on Governors Island in New York harbor housed Confederate officers. *Historic American Buildings Survey photograph, ca. 1934, Library of Congress*.

Figure 99. Castle Williams on Governors Island housed Confederate enlisted men, photograph ca. 1912. *Library of Congress.*

population spiked in summer and fall 1863 after the Battle of Gettysburg; and again in fall 1864 during the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley Campaign. From July 1862 until March 1865 the only facilities listed in *Abstract from monthly returns of the principal U.S. military prisons* were Fort Columbus, Fort Lafayette, and Fort Woods.[185]

A new facility that opened on Hart's Island toward the end of the war became the largest prison in the New York City area. A former Tennessee soldier recalled his arrival there in April 1865:

> *At Newbern they put us on a ship and sent us to Hart's Island, about eighteen miles above New York City, where we arrived on the 12th of April, 1865. I was very sick when we landed. Captain Horn, who had charge of the prisoners, told me while we waited at the entrance that the war was over, that Lee had surrendered, and if I would take the oath, he would take me home with him and care for me until I got well, that if I went into the prison I would have to become acclimated and would not likely come out alive. I did not believe that Lee had surrendered, but I thanked him and told him that I had fought the thing through and would not go home until I could do so honorably. About that time the gates were thrown open and we marched through. I did come very near dying.*[186]

The Hart's Island facility was authorized in late 1864 but no prisoners arrived until April 1865 with 3,400 men, mostly captured in the last battles in Virginia and North Carolina. From that time until the Hart's Island prison closed in July 1865, its population exceeded 3,000; 234 Confederate prisoners died there.[187]

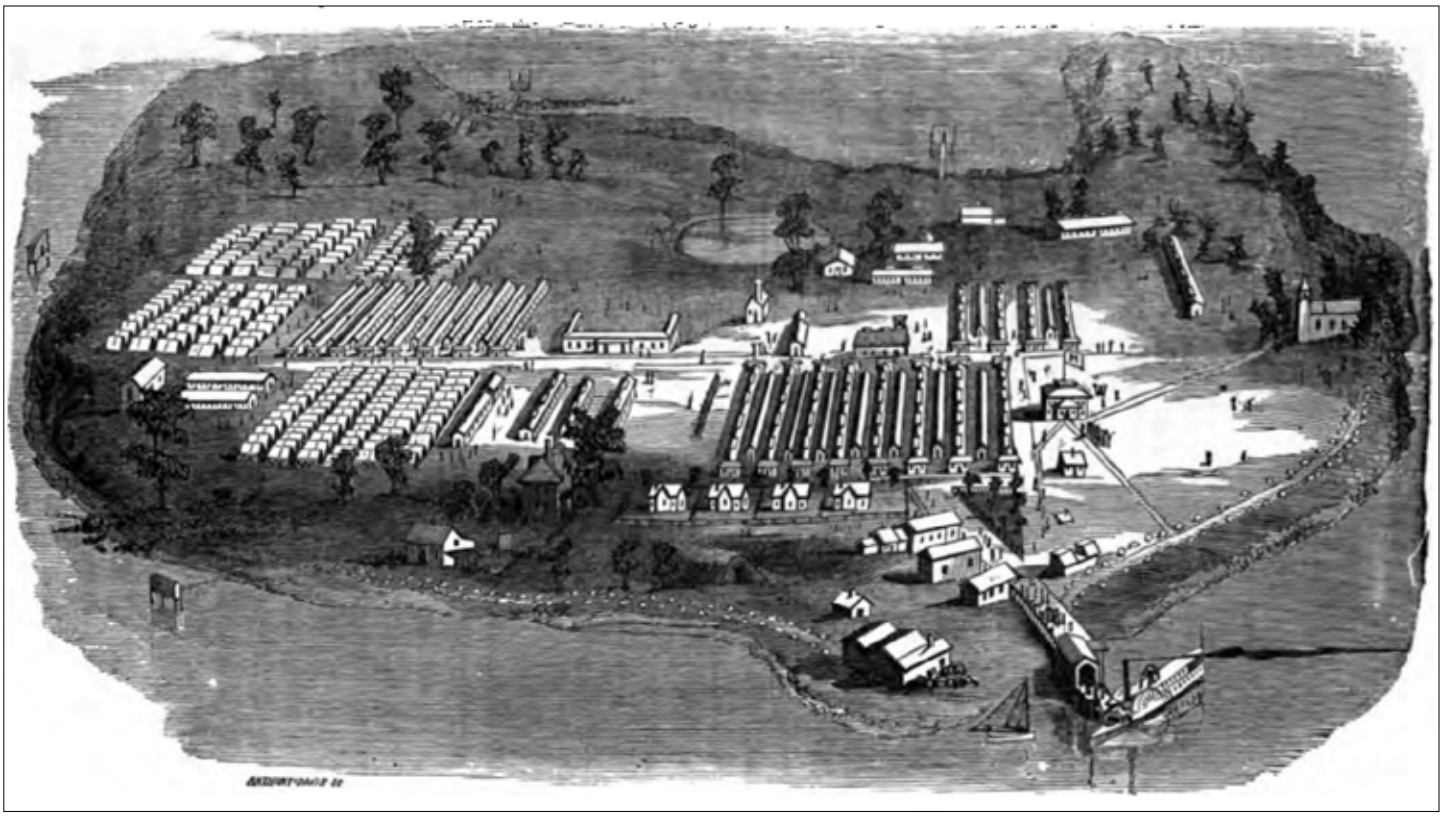


Figure 100. De Camp General Hospital on Davids' Island as it appeared in 1863. *From U.S. Army Regulations for the De Camp General Hospital, 1864*.

De Camp General Hospital on Davids' Island was not a prison, but notwithstanding, approximately 2,500 Confederate officers and enlisted men were retained there after the Battle of Gettysburg. The report by Provost Marshall General M. R. Patrick does not mention if all were hospitalized or were simply confined on the island. Nevertheless, this location held the most prisoners in the New York area until 1865, when the Hart's Island prison opened. More than 150 Confederates were reported to have died at De Camp General Hospital (fig. 100).[188] One Confederate soldier captured at Gettysburg later wrote of his experience here in the war:

> *When we arrived at David's* (sic) *Island, we found there a first class hospital in every respect. It was called "De Camp General Hospital." It consisted of a number of long pavilions and other buildings delightfully and comfortably arranged and furnished with every appliance needed to relieve the wounded and sick. It had been previously occupied by the Federal sick and wounded. It was quite a relief for us to get there.*[189]

Union Grounds at Cypress Hills Cemetery

Cypress Hills National Cemetery, created to serve as a burial ground for Union soldiers who died in New York City hospitals, was established in 1862. The tract is located within Cypress Hills Cemetery, a private cemetery established in 1847 that is still in use (fig. 101).[190]

Unlike other national cemeteries where Confederates are buried, those at Cypress Hills are not now nor have they ever been segregated from Union burials. James L. Farley, assistant adjutant general of the New York Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), described this in a letter he wrote to N. P. Clubman, GAR adjutant general in Washington, D.C., on June 16, 1868:

> *In Cypress Hills Cem. in this city (Brooklyn) is a plot belonging to the U.S. in which 5,000 graves 4,500 Union and 500 Rebs (about) mixed up promiscuously – they having been buried by contract – A few of these graves are of men whose bodies have brought from Portsmouth Grove, R. I. and have wooden headboards.*[191]

Some of the Confederates were buried in Cypress Hills National Cemetery immediately after they died; others were moved from Hart's Island and Davids' Island and, as Farley indicated, a few were moved from Rhode Island (see fig. 95).[192]

The 1869 army inspection report is very complimentary, noting that a lodge had been built, graves were well-sodded and most were marked. About seventy graves were marked with private headstones. The graves of 298 soldiers brought from Rhode Island were unmarked but the remaining graves were marked with headboards. The cemetery was not fenced, but as it was inside an existing cemetery, enclosure was not necessary.[193]

The next cemetery inspection, in September 1870, made note of a few small changes. The graves were in "concentric rows" following the curve of Cypress Avenue. A flagstaff

Figure 101. Map showing Union Grounds within Cypress Hills Cemetery and Cypress Hills Cemetery on Jamaica Avenue.

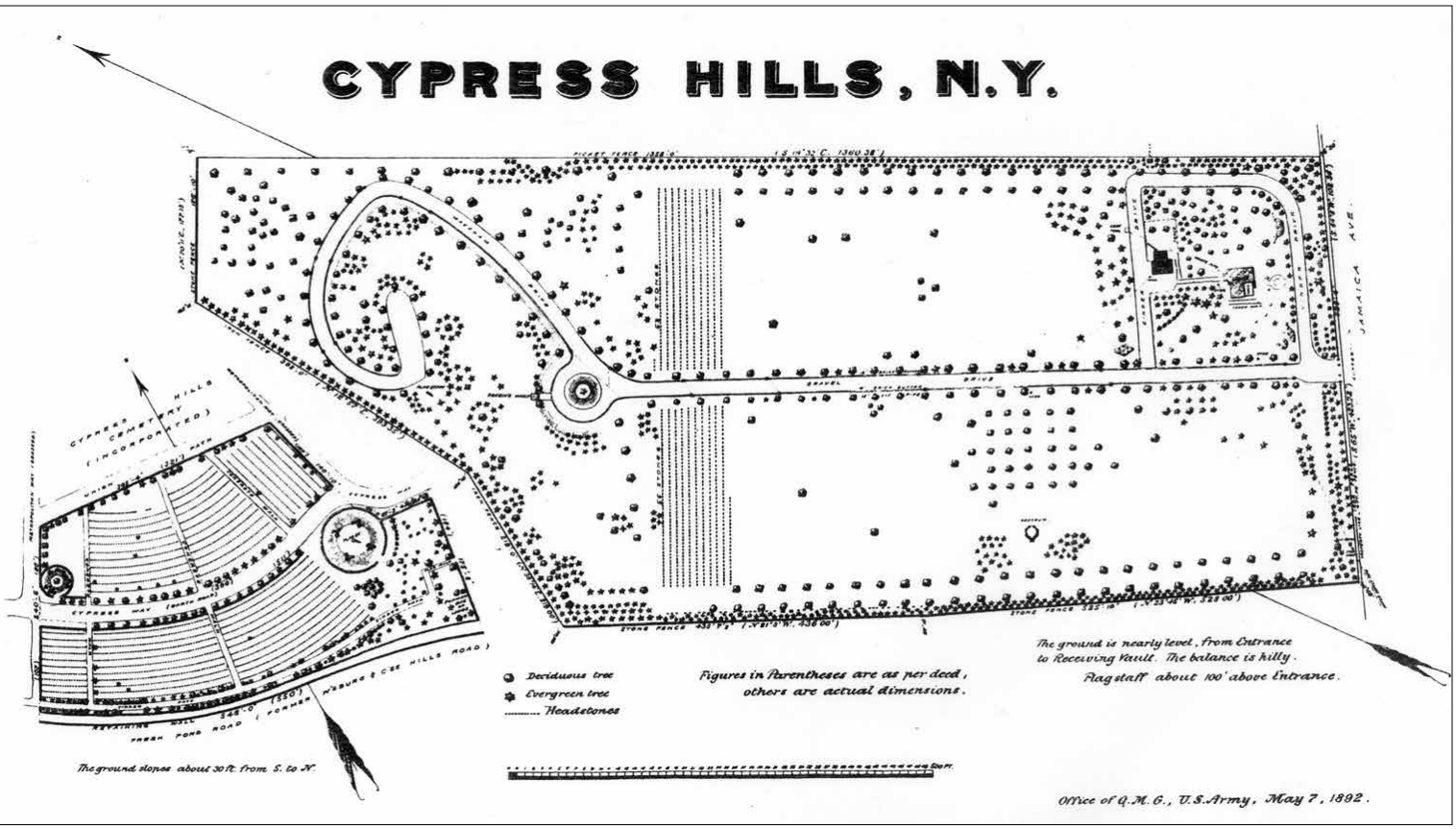


Figure 102. By the time the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department issued this 1892 map, Cypress Hills National Cemetery was composed of two discontiguous tracts; the older Union Grounds is on left. *National Archives and Records Administration.*

and four gun monuments had been installed. This report also mentions that the rows of graves are marked with small marble slabs.[194]

> *Most of the graves are marked by having a small marble slab placed at the first grave in each row, with the numbers cut on it, indicating the number of graves in a row, as 1 to 65; 66 to 130; and so on.*[195]

The 1869 report stated that the graves of the Rhode Island soldiers were not marked with headboards; whereas, the 1870 report said they were marked with original headboards that were in very poor condition. Both reports gave the number of Confederates buried in the cemetery as 461.

Additional burials took place at Cypress Hills National Cemetery following the passage of An Act to authorize the Interment of Honorably Discharged Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the National Cemeteries of the United States on March 3, 1873. The act allowed all honorably discharged Union veterans to be buried in national cemeteries free of cost, a benefit to offset economic hardships the men faced. About this time, the frame lodge was replaced by a more substantial brick building and a hedge was planted to separate the national cemetery from the balance of Cypress Hills Cemetery.[196]

Headstones were placed on Union graves at Cypress Hills in 1876 as authorized by an act passed on June 8, 1873, that read in part, "The Secretary of War shall cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone, with the name of the soldier and the name of the State inscribed thereon, when the same are known."[197] A *New York Sun* article published

April 3, 1876, took issue with the quality of marble used at Cypress Hills, suggesting that not one in ten headstones were white; it went on to describe the cemetery:[198]

> *The stones are planted as close together as the soldiers stood when shoulder to shoulder in the ranks. Irregular gaps here and there in the rows indicate that Confederate dead lie beneath in unmarked graves. Thus between 67 and 69 is the first blank space; from 144 to 149 a long gap shows the burial place of four Confederates and so on. There are 521 of these blanks in all.*[199]

In 1884, to accommodate the growing need for grave space, the government purchased an additional 15 acres less than a mile west of the Union Grounds at Cypress Hills Cemetery. An 1892 U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of the cemetery verifies that the basic configuration of the cemetery remained intact (fig. 102). Then, as now, the burials were bisected north-south by a concrete walk and east-west by Cypress Way; a flagstaff is located on a rise to the east. The lodge that was located in the southwestern quadrant adjacent to Cypress Hills Road is the only landmark that is not extant.[200]

The Commission

The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead left few records regarding its work at Cypress Hills National Cemetery. In 1909, then-Commissioner William C. Oates contacted the adjutants general's office requesting information on four Confederate prisoners mentioned in the official records as having died on Governors Island. Oates wrote, "This information is desired in connection with correcting the inscriptions on a number of headstones in the Cypress Hills National Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY, marking the graves of Confederate prisoners of war whose remains were brought there from Governors Island."[201]

In June of the following year, Oates issued a circular requesting bids to haul fourteen Confederate headstones from the East New York station freight depot in Brooklyn to Cypress Hills National Cemetery, and to set them in place.[202] In the final report for the commission issued in 1912, Commissioner James Berry states:

> *Substantial headstones were found in the national cemetery, and by adding the requisite inscriptions they were deemed satisfactory markers. Several of the headstones were broken, however, and these were replaced with new ones.*[203]

The April 1876 *New York Sun* article described, "Irregular gaps here and there in the rows indicate that Confederate dead lie beneath in unmarked graves." In Berry's 1912 report, he highlighted that substantial headstones marked the Confederate graves but needed only inscriptions. Oates's 1909 letter to the adjutant general discussed correcting inscriptions. We may therefore surmise that sometime between 1876 and 1909, headstones were set on the Confederate graves at Cypress Hills—but the responsible party or agency is unknown. The fourteen headstones referred to in the June 1910 circular may actually be headstones ordered to replace the broken ones mentioned in Berry's report.

Figure 103. Union Grounds, Section 1F: Round-top Union and pointed-top Confederate headstones are intermingled (foreground), and three short rows of upright headstones mark the graves of World War I veterans (back).

In Appendix A of the 1912 commission report, 515 dead are listed for Cypress Hills. This number is based on burial registers. In the Cypress Hills section of the report, Berry gives specifics:

> *The register for this cemetery shows 510 known and 5 unknown, as follows: Cypress Hills National Cemetery, 482 soldiers, 1 citizen, and 8 removed; in addition to which 24 were not located, but were reported as having died at the following places: Harts Island, 8; Davids Island, 1; Fort Lafayette, 2; Fort Columbus, 12; and Willetts Point, 1.*[204]

The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead expired in 1912 but was reactivated in 1914 with new legislation. A diary kept by Commissioner Samuel Lewis between January and August 1915 noted that 475 old headstones were corrected and fourteen new headstones were placed at Cypress Hills. Later diary notations record 456 Confederate stones, for a total of 451 known and five unknown burials. These numbers are credited to a report from the office of the quartermaster general dated June 30, 1914, but they do not correspond with the 515 interments noted in the 1912 Commission report.[205]

The general configuration of what is now known as Union Grounds, Cypress Hills Cemetery, has not changed since the plan was drawn in 1892. The most significant change is the addition of burials from the Spanish-American War and World War I. The

order of the grave numbers on the stones indicates that these interments were placed at the ends of the old rows, filling in open paths between groups of burials. Spanish-American War and World War I graves are also located in the area near the flagstaff, which was originally vacant (fig. 103).

The Confederate headstones appear to have been replaced after 1930. The headstone design includes the Confederate Cross of Honor, which was not used on headstones placed by the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead.

Figure 104. Map showing the Delaware River with Fort Delaware and Finn's Point National Cemetery. *Based on George H. Cook and C. C. Vermeule's U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map, 1887.*

FINN'S POINT NATIONAL CEMETERY

Salem, New Jersey

Finn's Point National Cemetery, New Jersey, is the final resting place of the Confederate prisoners of war held at Fort Delaware, situated on the south end of Pea Patch Island. The island, which lies in the Delaware River about one mile east of Delaware City, Delaware, and one mile west of Finn's Point, New Jersey, is approximately one mile long and one-half mile wide. Constructed in 1825, Fort Delaware was part of the early republic's coastal defenses. Then Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, who later becomes president of the Confederate States, requested funding to update the brick structure in the 1850s. The modernization was completed in 1859. On the eve of the Civil War, Fort Delaware was part of the defenses of Philadelphia and considered to be the best fort in the U.S. coastal defense system (fig. 104).[206]

When the war began, Fort Delaware's garrison numbered twenty men, but by 1862 the garrison had grown to more than 300 personnel. However, by then it was clear that the Confederate navy posed no threat to Philadelphia. No longer needed for defense, the government transformed Fort Delaware into a prison. After Union forces defeated General "Stonewall" Jackson at the Battle of Kernstown, Virginia, on March 23, 1862, the army sent 248 Confederate prisoners to Pea Patch Island. They were the first of more than 30,000 Confederate soldiers and officers eventually imprisoned at Fort Delaware.[207]

Fort Delaware Prisoner-of-War Camp

When the first Confederate prisoners arrived on Pea Patch Island, facilities were not yet prepared to house the men or to bury them. The quartermaster sent Colonel George H. Crosman to erect accommodations; Crosman designed barracks with three-tiered bunks along the walls, separated by a wide central hallway. Pot-bellied stoves were installed to heat the barracks. A system of gutters carried rain water to troughs inside the structures.[208]

Crosman built the barracks outside of the fort's walls in an 8-acre pen located approximately 500 yards northwest of the fort. As was standard procedure, the prison was surrounded by a high plank fence with walkways for the guards. The enclosure contained two pens: a small pen for officers and a large one for enlisted men.[209]

The prison contained a hospital composed of twelve barracks and a number of tents, located at the upper end of the island. A smallpox hospital, segregated from the general hospital complex, treated victims of smallpox and other contagious disease.[210]

Confederate Captain Lewis Holloway, 27th Virginia Infantry, arrived at Fort Delaware with the first group of prisoners. Ill when he arrived, Holloway developed pneumonia

and died on April 9, 1862. Holloway was a Mason, as was Captain A. A. Gibson, the fort's commanding officer. Gibson had Holloway's remains transported to Christ Church Cemetery in Delaware City, where he had arranged for the burial to include a graveside Masonic ceremony.[211]

Fort Delaware became one of the largest facilities in the Union prisoner-of-war system, holding both civilian and Confederate prisoners. As with most Union camps, Fort Delaware's population increased during summer 1863. In July, following the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 10,000 Confederate prisoners arrived on Pea Patch Island. Of that number a relatively small percentage, 180, died within one month.[212] Confederate surgeons attending prisoners reported:

> *In justice to the officer commanding this post we would beg leave to state that everything in his power to add to the comfort of these prisoners is being done. The sick are cared for as well as possible and new hospitals [are being] built for the accommodation of more. They are not compelled to drink water from the ditches, as reported; but water sufficient to supply the island is brought here by the boat twice daily from a distance, besides the supply of rain water constantly on hand.*[213]

Confederate officers were held at Fort Delaware into 1865. On February 4, 1865, there were 1,260 officers, and 6,420 noncommissioned officers and enlisted men on Pea Patch Island. The last officer to die at Fort Delaware was Lieutenant J. M. Gollehon, 23rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry. The last enlisted man to die on the island was Thomas Jowers, 1st South Carolina. Jowers died two days after orders arrived to release all able-bodied Confederates.[214]

Prison Cemeteries

Initially, most Confederate prisoners who died at Fort Delaware were buried on the island, as were most Union soldiers and civilians. The Confederate burial ground was located northeast of the hospital barracks and west of the Union burial plot. A few Confederate dead were interred elsewhere; at least five men, in addition to Captain Holloway, were buried at Christ Church Cemetery in Delaware City.[215]

As the prison population increased so did the number of dead, and the island cemetery filled quickly. Due to the high water table, Pea Patch Island was a particularly undesirable location for a cemetery. Thus the army decided to establish a cemetery on Finn's Point, a mainland area a mile east of Fort Delaware in Salem County, New Jersey. The federal government purchased Finn's Point in 1837, and from it created the Finn's Point Battery for the defense of Philadelphia. The cemetery at Finn's Point opened on July 20, 1863. Burials continued on the island after that date, but only in cases when the weather would not allow boats to reach Finn's Point.[216]

Two former prisoners recalled similar practices for burying Confederates at Finn's Point. The first wrote:

> *I, with others, was detailed to go over to the Jersey shore and bury them. We went over on sailboats, and the dead were placed in pine boxes and*

> *sent in steamboats. Holes were dug, about six feet square, and into these we placed as many as possible, usually about twelve. Whenever we found names we would mark the spot in some way. It was an awful task, getting the coffins from the steamboat to rowboats, in which they were taken ashore.*[217]

According to the second account:

> *The manner of burial was to dig a ditch six feet wide and six feet deep, put in three boxes containing corpses one on top of the other, then extend the ditch, using the dirt to cover the boxes.*[218]

The prison closed on January 1, 1866. Church records show that Confederates originally interred in Christ Church Cemetery were moved in 1870, but there was no record of who moved them or where they went. Five years later, in May 1875, Virginia Governor James L. Kemper wrote the secretary of war inquiring about the possibility of enclosing the graves of Confederate prisoners at Fort Delaware. The secretary of war dispatched Colonel Oscar A. Mack to inspect the condition of the cemetery. Perhaps as a result of the investigation instigated by the Virginia governor, the War Department designated the Finn's Point burial ground as a national cemetery in October 1875.[219]

After Mack's inspection, the quartermaster sent a civil engineer to Fort Delaware to determine the logistics and cost of moving the island remains to Finn's Point.

> *The bodies referred to are buried in terraces or mounds raised about three (3) feet above the natural surface of the island, and there is nothing to mark the graves, except in the lower lot where there are four headboards standing and one marble slab.*[220]

Engineer G. D. Chenoweth determined that the best approach was simply to hire men to construct boxes as coffins, exhume and contain the remains, and take them by boat to Finn's Point (fig. 105). He requested a man with carpentry skill to head up a crew of six. Two men would be at Finn's Point digging new trenches and the other four would be exhuming and boxing the remains from the two cemeteries on the island. Chenoweth believed the whole operation could be completed in eighteen days for less than $350.[221]

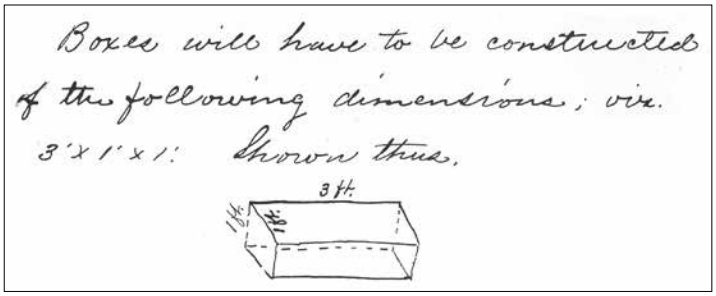


Figure 105. G. D. Chenoweth's sketch of the boxes used to hold the remains of Pea Patch Island prisoners, provided to the Quartermaster Department. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Oliver Cox, who supervised the work at Fort Delaware, reported:

> *On opening the trenches & graves it was found that there had been interred 135 Union and 209 Confederate; of these, 22 coffins, though well preserved, were found to contain nothing. It is thought these remains may have been removed by friends.*[222]

As the remains were disinterred, "each was numbered according to its range and section." The remains were placed in new boxes and taken across the river to New Jersey where they were buried in separate graves. The Confederate and Union dead moreover were buried in separate sections of the cemetery. Headboards numbered "to correspond

Figure 106. The federal government placed this monument in Finn's Point National Cemetery in 1879 to identify Union soldiers buried there; the neoclassical shelter was added in 1936.

with the original interment, so that should the burial record be subsequently found, each grave can be identified" were placed over each grave.[223] Cox also described the arrangement of the Confederate burial ground at Finn's Point:

> *The Confederates are interred in the Northern part. Those interred during the war are in 4 rows of pits 7 trenches all parallel and extending across the cemetery from east to west. They are buried 3 or 4 deep in the trenches and suppose to number 2300 bodies.*[224]

Finn's Point National Cemetery

Frederick Schmidt was the first superintendent appointed at the 4.5-acre Finn's Point National Cemetery, in 1875. Upon arrival, he reported that the cemetery was in need of repairs. It lacked trees, drives, and drainage, and the fence and headboards were in poor shape. By the time the Second Empire–style stone lodge was constructed two years later, Schmidt had overseen substantial other improvements to the cemetery: trees had been planted, grass sown, and a wall constructed around it. In 1879, the federal government erected an obelisk approximately 7 feet high to honor 105 Union dead whose individual graves could not be identified. The soldiers' names were carved on the four faces of the white marble monument. In 1885, seven cast-iron tablets bearing quatrains of the poem *Bivouac of the Dead* were installed on the grounds (figs. 106–108).[225]

Enhancements to the cemetery continued. An inspection report dated August 3, 1888, mentions "a double drive and one walk gate of iron at the main entrance and a walk gate near the outbuilding. Japanese ivy covered the front wall, and Osage hedge had been planted close to rear and side walls." Careful tree plantings screened the lodge from the rest of the cemetery.[226] An 1892 U.S. Army Quartermaster Department site plan shows the hedge and a flagstaff in the southwest section of the cemetery near the Union monument. In addition, two gates are shown, one near the lodge and one in the east wall. A grass drive leads from the east gate to the flagstaff. Nine burial trenches are indicated; six of them are in the Confederate section. Only one headstone is shown (fig. 109).[227]

Figure 107. The Finn's Point Second Empire-style lodge in 1933. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

In 1896 the cemetery was incorporated into Finn's Point Military Reservation. On December 16, 1897, the name of the installation was changed to Fort Mott. Several soldiers who had died while serving at Fort Mott are also buried in the cemetery.[228]

The Commission

In August 1906, Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead visited Finn's Point National Cemetery to obtain the information necessary to mark the graves of Confederate prisoners buried there. They spent two days in New Jersey. On August 7 they met with Superintendent John F.

Figure 108. *Bivouac of the Dead* plaques were installed at national cemeteries in the early 1880s; at Finn's Point they have been relocated close to the lodge.

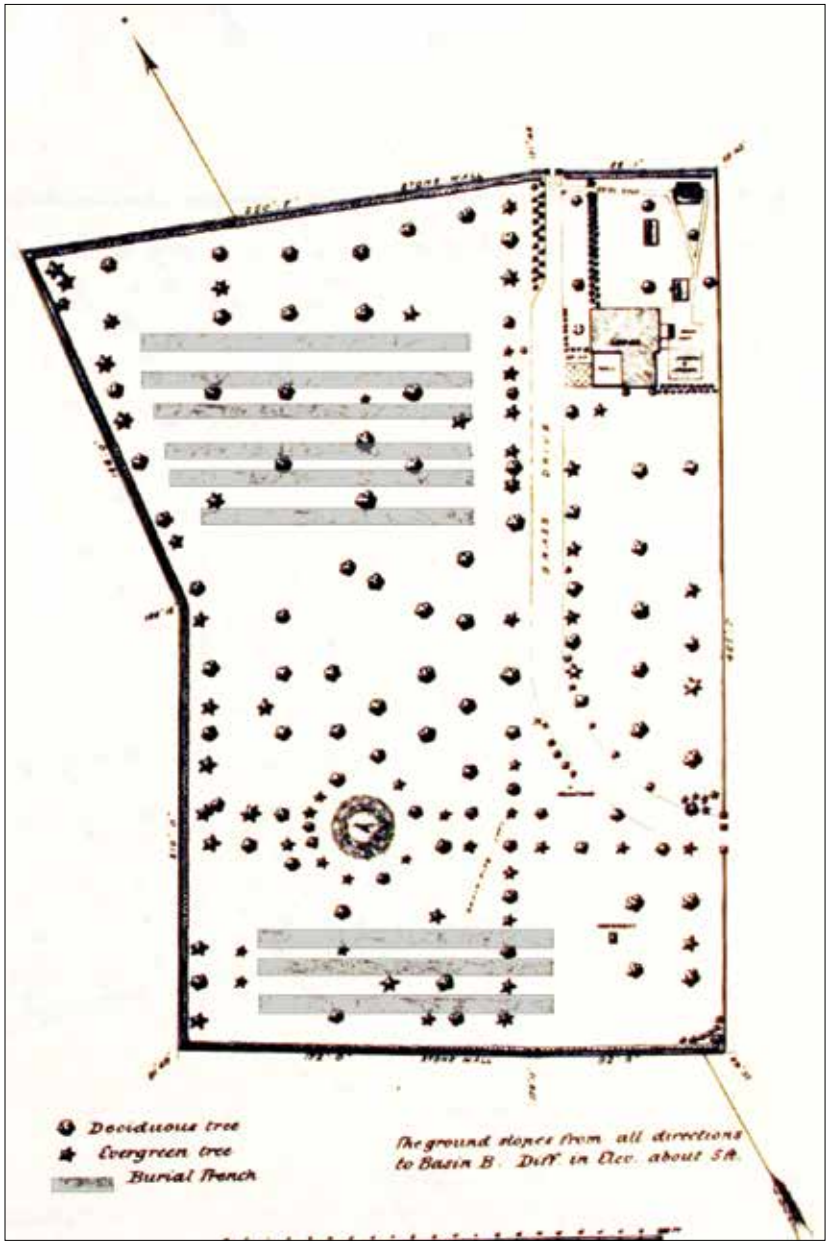


Figure 109. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department site plan of Finn's Point National Cemetery, 1892; locations of the trench burials (gray) have been digitally enhanced. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Tomlin who explained that there were 113 known Union burials and 2,539 unknown burials (30 Union, 2,509 Confederate) at the cemetery.[229]

Nye asked Tomlin if he had any information regarding how the Confederates were buried. Tomlin told Nye what he had been told:

> *[T]he Confederates were originally buried 7 deep in 6 trenches, and which were heaped up on top and afterwards, in 1874, when they had commenced to fall in, the ground was all leveled off and trees planted.*[230]

Filling in the graves and planting trees destroyed any surface indication of the burial trenches, which made grave identification difficult at best. Nye also doubted Tomlin's information, writing, "The statement that they were buried 7 deep is incorrect, and it is plainly impossible."[231]

The next day, August 8, Elliott and Nye met with G. G. Gibbon of Pennsville, New Jersey.[232] Gibbon's father owned the land adjacent to the cemetery. As a boy, Gibbon had observed the reinterment of the Confederates, and later helped to remove the remains from Fort Delaware. Gibbon's recollection of the methods used to bury Confederate dead at Finn's Point differed substantially from Tomlin's information:

> *That the first burial was made in a single grave in the northwest corner of the cemetery, and that it was Sergeant Pratt, from Virginia. There were only a few single graves, afterward they buried in holes large enough to hold four bodies, and they were laid in three deep, or 12 to a hole; not four deep. Never were more than three deep. After a while they found that even burying in this manner would crowd them, so they started to dig trenches across the plot, and commenced at the northwest corner; toward Newcastle, and continued down the river, each trench starting at the river. All Confederate remains are buried above the flag-staff, while Union remains are all buried to the south of the flag-staff.*[233]

Gibbon further explained that the Confederates prisoners dug the graves and buried individual remains, three deep in each grave. A detail made up of Union soldiers accompanied each burial. The coffins contained a piece of paper with the individual's name, which was protected by a piece of leather. A headboard was placed on each grave with the name, company, and regiment of each of the three individuals. Unfortunately, the headboards had long since rotted or been destroyed.[234]

In spring 1907, Commissioner Elliott wrote to the quartermaster in an attempt to clear up the inconsistencies he and Nye had found at Finn's Point. Elliott's principal concern was the discrepancies between the 1892 army site plan and a map thought to have been drawn about 1868, the latter which Elliott had examined at the quartermaster general's office in Washington.

> *There seem to be variations in course and distance between these two plats, and there are most important difference as to the number and location of the trenches in which the Confederates were buried, the older plat giving thirteen (13) such trenches, some of them not continuous, located in the northern half of the cemetery, while the plan of 1892 gives only six (6) such trenches (somewhat differently located), and none of them broken. There seems also to be a decided difference as to the location of the northernmost such trench, and differences also between the distances apart of the trenches.*[235]

Elliott believed that the older map was drawn when the trenches were still visible. He believed that if he could obtain information showing the relationship between the features shown on the 1868 map and the stone enclosure wall, he might be able to mark the graves with headstones. By this time, Elliott had already visited Indianapolis and Point Lookout and was he beginning to understand the complexity of marking individual graves at cemeteries that had remained unmarked for forty years.[236]

The quartermaster made inquiries but the answers must have disappointed Elliott. John Tomlin, with whom Elliott had spoken the year before, wrote that the construction of the wall and the lodge in 1877 destroyed any traces of the "landmarks of 1868." He also mentioned that when the graves were leveled, any remains above the "level of the

ground" had been moved and reinterred in the northwest corner of the cemetery. The quartermaster in Philadelphia, who was responsible for Finn's Point, checked his records as well. He could find no additional information regarding the two plat maps, at least nothing that helped Commissioner Elliott.[237]

William Elliott died before the situation at Finn's Point was resolved. In 1908 his successor, William Oates, proposed a solution. In locations where individual graves could not be identified, that in lieu of individual headstones, the government should erect one large monument bearing the names of individuals interred in the cemetery. In November of that year, the judge advocate general ruled that erecting a single monument was within the spirit of the law. This ruling authorized work to proceed not only at Finn's Point, but also at North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Alton, Illinois; Point Lookout, Maryland; and Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana.[238]

The circular and poster requesting bids for the construction of a monument at Finn's Point National Cemetery was released in May 1909. In August 1909, the Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, Massachusetts, was awarded the contract. Work began that fall. Some minor issues with tree removal were worked out to everyone's satisfaction. The 85-foot 6-inch-tall Pennsylvania blue marble obelisk was completed in spring 1910 (figs. 110–111). A Quartermaster Department engineer inspected and approved the work in May that year (fig. 112).[239]

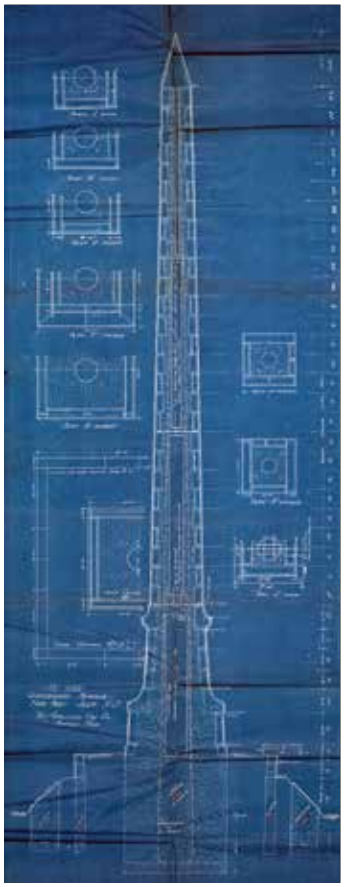


Figure 110. Left: Elevation drawing of Confederate monumentat Finn's Point by Van Amringe Granite Company, 1909. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 111. Center: Section and course plan drawing of Confederate monument at Finn's Point by Van Amringe Granite Company, 1909. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 112. Right: Finn's Point monument, 1910. The east face includes four bronze plaques, the dedication (shaft) and three containing the names of Confederate dead.

Figure 113. Finn's Point Confederate monument dedication plaque, whose inscription omits any eulogy or words of bereavement.

The secretary of war approved the monument's inscription. The simple text was without praise or eulogy: *Erected by the United States to mark the burial place of 2436 Confederate soldiers who died at Fort Delaware while prisoners of war and whose graves cannot now be individually identified*. Twelve additional bronze plaques—three on each face of the mound on which the obelisk was erected—bore the names of the 2,436 Confederate prisoners buried in the cemetery (fig. 113).[240]

A couple of years after the monument was completed, Sam Cunningham, editor of *Confederate Veteran*, wrote the superintendent at Finn's Point to request a copy of the list of prisoners buried there, so that he could publish the list. The superintendent checked with the proper authorities—the quartermaster general and the secretary of war—and neither had any objection to Cunningham publishing the list. The request then went to Commissioner Berry, who sent the list to Cunningham.[241]

There are two outbuildings on the property: a wood-frame stable built between 1877 and 1892 is located in the northeast corner of the cemetery behind the lodge. A smaller board-and-batten shed, construction date unknown, sits north of the garage. The stable was converted in 1936 to a garage/storage building as a part of a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project. The same year, the army erected a circular neoclassical-style shelter with a cast-concrete dome supported by six Doric columns to protect the 1879 Union monument (figs. 114–115). When Finn's Point National Cemetery was enlarged in 1941 several changes were made. The old east wall was removed and a new wall was constructed to enclose 4.59 acres, increasing the size of the cemetery by 1.09 acres. In addition, a 75-foot-tall flagstaff was installed (fig. 116).[242]

During World War II, thirteen prisoners of war who died at Fort Dix, New Jersey, and other area camps were buried near the Confederate memorial. Three of the men—Russians serving in the German army—committed suicide when they learned that they were to be sent back to Russia (fig. 117).[243]

Finn's Point National Cemetery contains more than 3,000 burials; the vast majority are Confederate prisoners. The property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is included in the New Jersey Coastal Heritage Trail.

Figure 114. The new cast-concrete neoclassical portico built over the 1879 Union monument and the *Bivouac of the Dead* plaques in their original location (background), photograph 1936. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 115. The old stable at Finn's Point prior to renovation in 1936. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

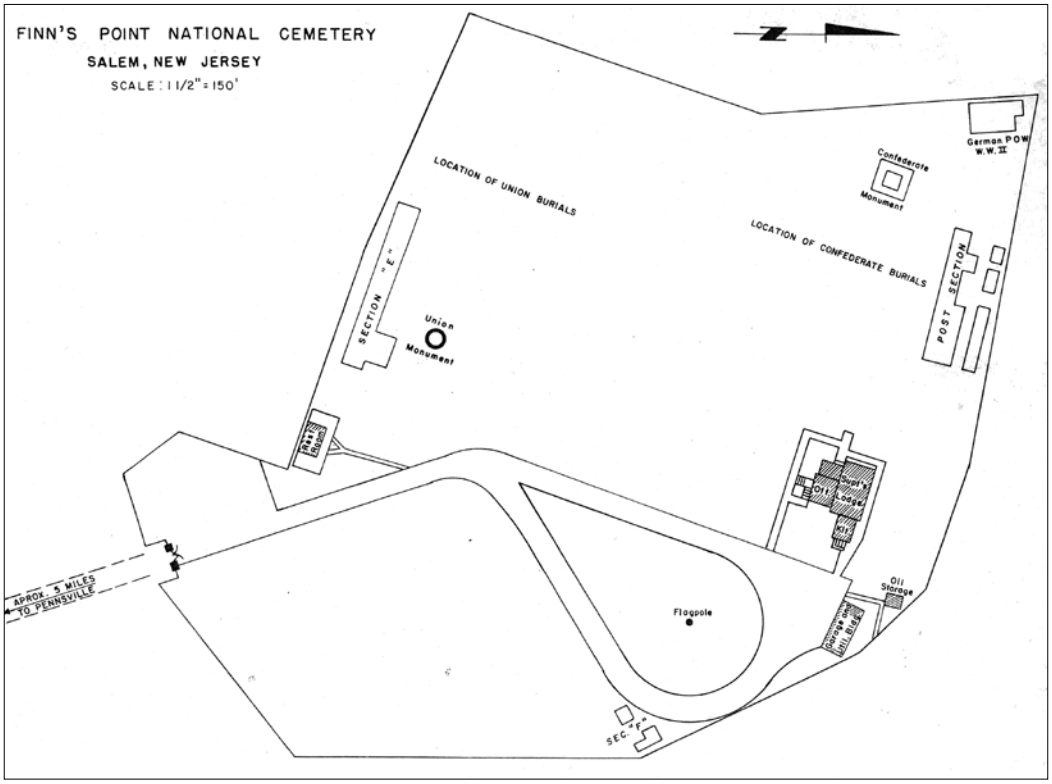


Figure 116. Layout of Finn's Point National Cemetery ca. 1950, after expansion and renovations during the 1940s were complete. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 117. World War II prisoners of war were buried at Finn's Point National Cemetery near the Confederate monument.

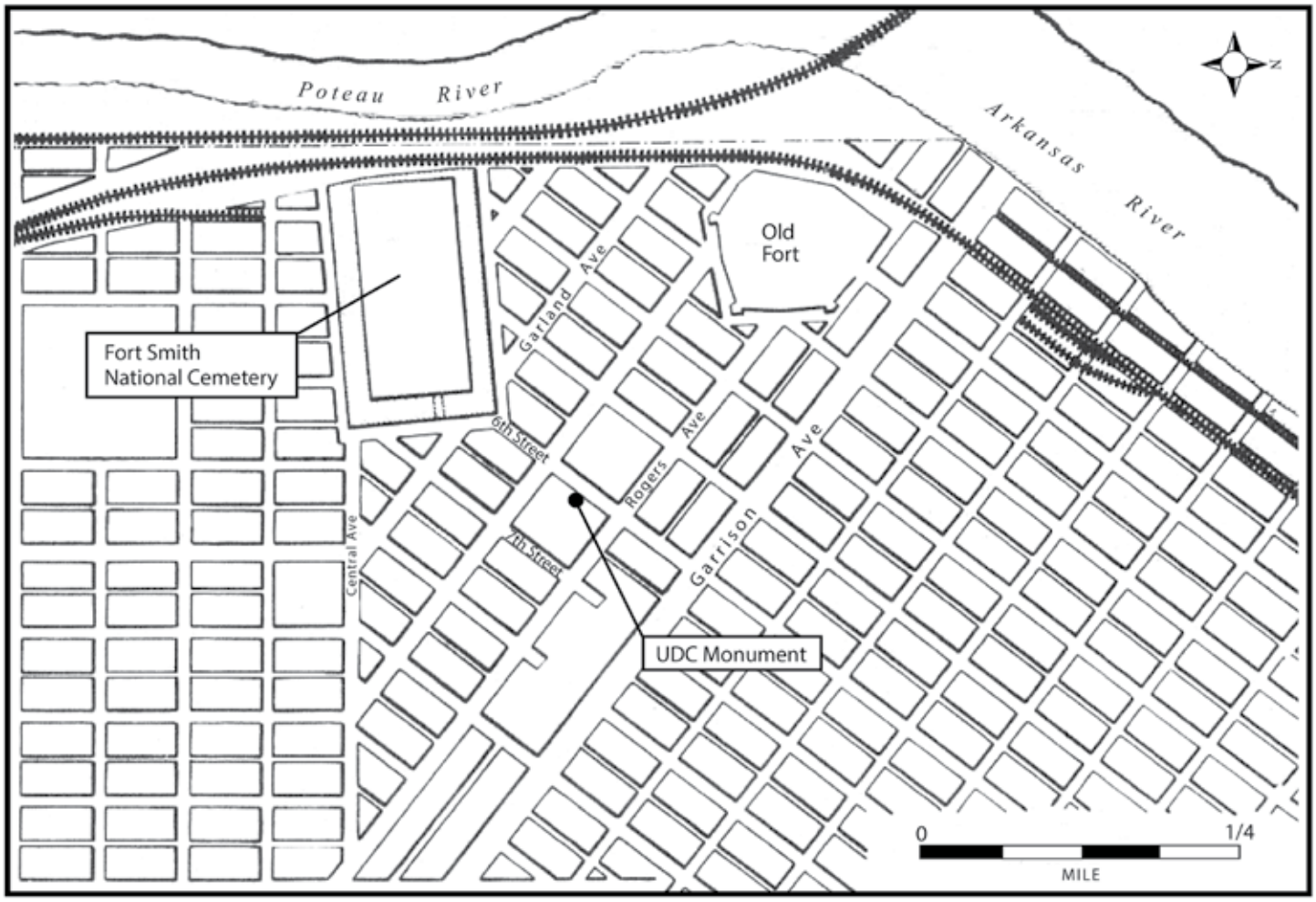


Figure 118. Map showing Fort Smith National Cemetery, the old fort, and vicinity. *Based on the "Map of the City of Fort Smith, Arkansas" by James B. Gass, 1894.*

FORT SMITH NATIONAL CEMETERY

Fort Smith, Arkansas

Fort Smith was established in 1817 after Acting Secretary of War Richard Graham directed General Andrew Jackson to establish a post, "where the Osage [tribal] boundary crossed the Arkansas River." Jackson forwarded Graham's orders to General Thomas A. Smith, the army commander near St. Louis, with instructions to select a suitable commander, as well as engineers and the men necessary for the expedition. After much delay due to sickness and bad weather, the party arrived at Belle Point on Christmas Day 1817, in what is today Sebastian County, Arkansas. The commander of the expedition, Major William Bradford, named the fort for his commanding officer, General Thomas A. Smith. The first person buried in the post cemetery was surgeon Thomas Russell, who died on August 24, 1819.[244]

The federal government abandoned and reoccupied Fort Smith several times throughout the early nineteenth century. During periods of occupancy, soldiers who died at the post were buried in the small plot where surgeon Russell had been interred. The plot was cleaned up, enlarged, and when the fort was reoccupied in 1842 it became the official post cemetery (fig. 118).[245]

The Confederacy occupied Fort Smith from April 23, 1861, until August 31, 1863. As Confederate base of operations on the edge of the Indian Territory, Fort Smith also served as a quartermaster and commissary depot, and as hospital. Fort Smith's hospital staff cared for both the sick and battle casualties. At least one smallpox epidemic was reported in the vicinity. When Union troops took possession of Fort Smith on September 1, 1863, they found 1,500 hospital patients in wretched condition. The men who died during the Confederate occupation of Fort Smith were buried in the same post cemetery (fig. 119).[246]

Fort Smith National Cemetery

The post cemetery was designated as Fort Smith National Cemetery in 1867. An 1869 U.S. Army inspection report described the national cemetery as "about 5 acres" and "a lodge on a stone foundation [that] was in course of construction." The cemetery was bordered by a graveled avenue 12 feet wide and enclosed with a picket fence. It was divided into six large and three small sections separated by 10-foot-wide graveled walks. It contained 1,776 individuals of which approximately 200 graves were marked with headboards, and the remainder with numbered stakes. The inspection made no mention of Confederate burials.[247]

A report made a year later, noted that the three-room stone lodge had been completed, but it was outside of the cemetery wall. Two 24-pounder iron guns (cannons) had been

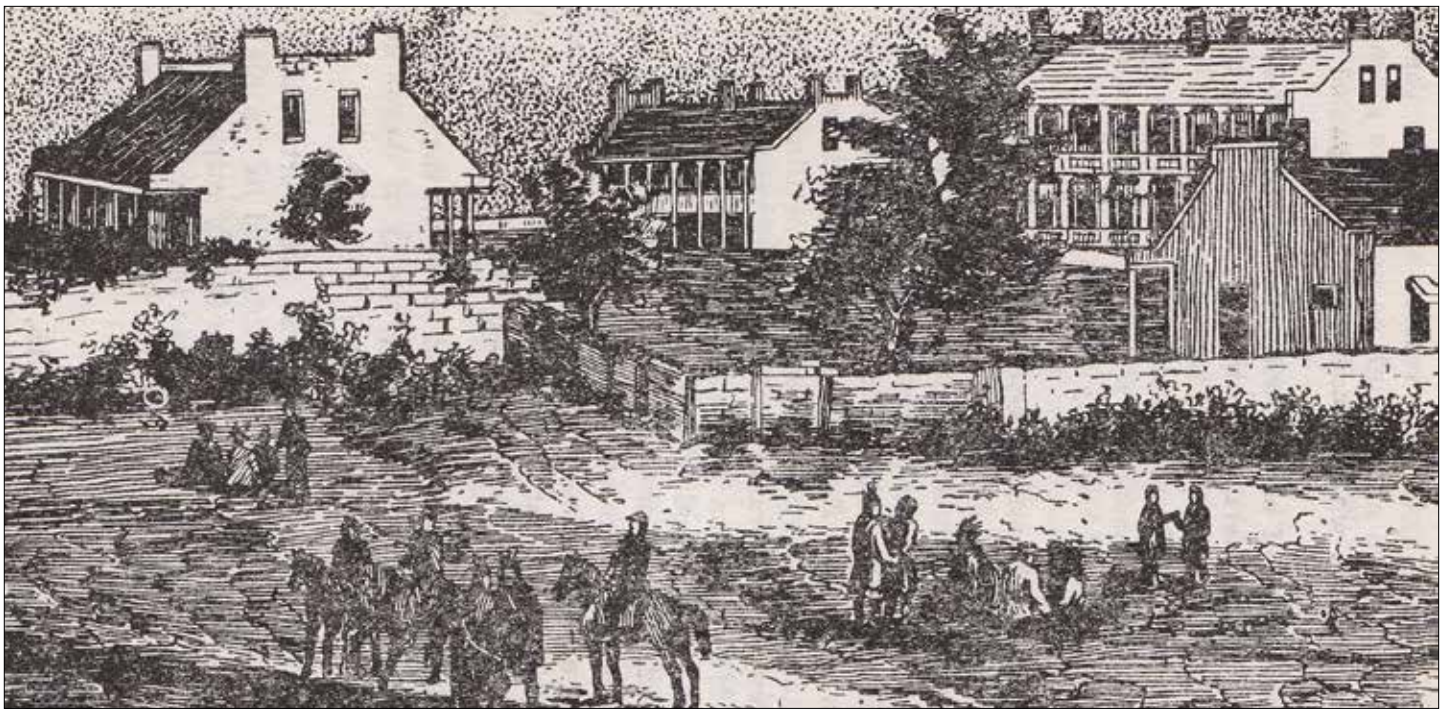


Figure 119. Fort Smith, ca. 1860. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 7, 1865*.

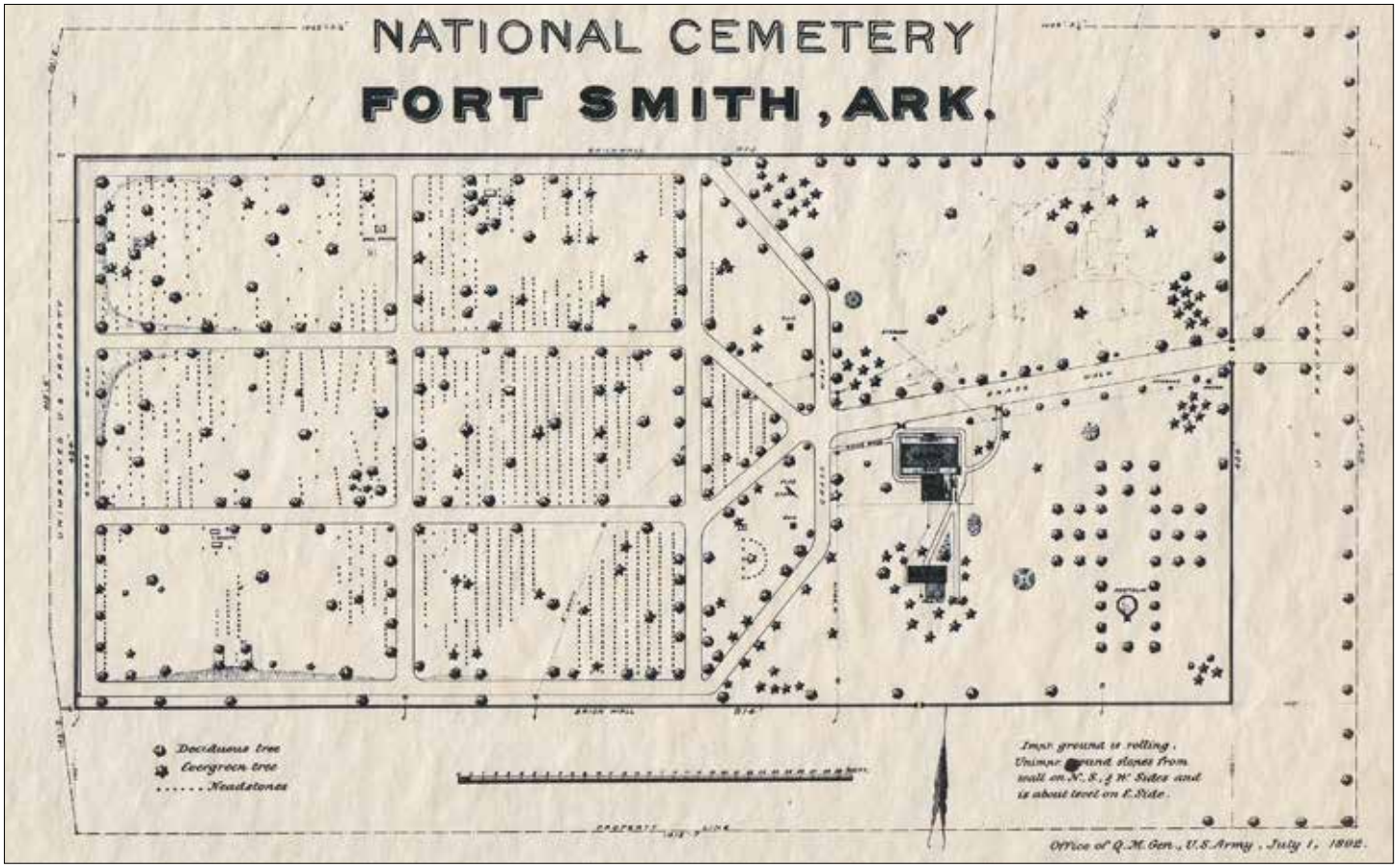


Figure 120. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map, 1892, shows the cemetery changed little during its first two decades. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

"planted as monuments" on either side of the entrance gate set into the wooden picket fence that surrounded the cemetery. An Osage orange hedge had been planted inside the fence enclosing the 5.5-acre cemetery. In addition to the hedge, the inspector noted that large trees were "growing spontaneously" in the cemetery, in addition to small trees and shrubs that had recently been planted. The cemetery did not yet have a flagstaff; the report suggested that the post flagstaff could be moved south of the main entrance if it was suitable. If not, another flagstaff should be obtained. The 1868 report stated that the remains of 125 Confederate soldiers, 17 identified, were buried within the confines of the cemetery.[248]

Figure 121. The UDC planned this 1903 Confederate monument for Fort Smith National Cemetery, but the War Department rejected it; it stands on the Sebastian County Courthouse lawn.

In February 1871, the army abandoned Fort Smith for the last time, and the land delineated by the military reservation was turned over to the Department of the Interior. In May 1871, by executive order of President Ulysses S. Grant, the land containing the national cemetery was excluded from the transfer and returned to the Department of War. Grant excluded the cemetery from the transfer because the old post cemetery had become a national cemetery in 1867. He ordered the War Department to reactivate the cemetery for use for military burials.[249]

By 1875, the cemetery had expanded to 10 acres. A brick wall enclosed the cemetery, which measured roughly 425 feet wide (north to south) and 1,024 feet long (east to west). The main gate was centered on the east wall, with a smaller gate on the south side near the lodge. The cemetery was laid out to reserve areas for specific burial, transportation, and ornamental purposes:

> *From the main entrance a wide avenue has been opened to the former entrance to the cemetery proper. From the latter point a drive extends around the original lot. Two other drives diverge from this point also, a little way to the right and left, and then extend to the west end of the lot, at equal distances from each other and from the drives along the north and south sides. These, with two cross drives, divide this part of the grounds into nine sections, six of which are equal size and similar in form, and are used for burial purposes. The other three sections are small, and are used for ornamental purposes. The flag-staff and two gun-monuments are located in them.*[250]

The report said that trees had been planted in the new acreage, the lodge had flower and vegetable gardens, and the area in front of the lodge was to be converted into a lawn. The graves were sodded and the grass had been cut (fig. 120).[251]

Figure 122. The federal government installed this replacement Confederate monument at Fort Smith by 1904.

Union veteran William Dillon spent most of his 36-year career as a superintendent at Fort Smith National Cemetery, from 1876 to 1884, and again from 1902 until his death in 1930. Among the many changes Dillon oversaw—from the beginning of the National Cemetery System, through the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and World War I—were planting trees, some of which remain in the cemetery.[252]

About a decade after the Civil War ended, former Confederate General James F. Fagan and Dr. Elias Duval, a Confederate veteran from Sebastian County, began to raise money for a memorial to be placed in Fort Smith National Cemetery in honor of the Confederate dead and Generals Alexander Steen and James McIntosh. The women of Fort Smith rallied for this cause and raised most of the funds. As a result, sometime before 1898, "a modest, yet appropriate shaft" was erected in Section 2 on what the

Figure 123. The lodge at Fort Smith National Cemetery in 1941. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Confederate Veteran called "Confederate Mound." This memorial was destroyed by a tornado on January 11, 1898; the damage also leveled the superintendent's lodge, a portion of the brick wall, and many trees in the cemetery.[253]

In the wake of the tornado, the Ben T. Duval Camp of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) began work to restore the Confederate memorial. In 1899, the Varina Jefferson Davis Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) joined the UCV in its efforts. The members donated money and the women held events to raise additional funds. Sometime around 1901, the UDC chapter submitted the design for a new memorial to the Department of War for approval. Secretary of War Elihu Root rejected it; his objection was based on the inscription, "Lest We Forget," and the statue of a Confederate soldier atop the shaft (fig. 121). Undaunted, the UDC chapter put its monument on the Sebastian County Courthouse lawn. By 1904, however, the federal government had replaced the damaged one in the cemetery with the 5-foot-tall monument that now stands in the Confederate section (fig. 122). It is not known whether the present memorial is identical to the original.[254]

Figure 124. The formal main gates at Fort Smith were replaced in 1942 when the entrance was moved from South Sixth Street to Garland Street; they are inside the cemetery today. Undated photograph. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

The 1904 army inspection, while much less detailed than earlier reports, provides meaningful information about the evolution of the cemetery. Among the cemetery structures at that time, was a much larger, two-story, seven-room lodge constructed of brick and containing a water closet (fig. 123). The original brick wall had been replaced by a brick and stone wall enclosing 9 acres. The number of interments had increased to 2,335 (fig. 124).[255]

Marking the Confederate Graves

In 1906, during Dillon's second tenure as superintendent, federal legislation was enacted for the appropriate marking of the graves of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate army and navy who had had died in Northern prisons and were buried near those prisons. As passed in 1906, this act did not affect Fort Smith National Cemetery. Arkansas was not a Northern state and Confederates buried there were not prisoners of war. Not until 1914 was the law was amended to allow the graves of Confederate soldiers interred in all national cemeteries to be marked.[256]

Figure 125. Headstones at Fort Smith feature the Confederate Cross of Honor, an emblem authorized in the 1930s.

In late 1914 the office of the quartermaster general wrote Superintendent Dillon seeking clarification of the information he had provided earlier regarding the Confederate graves in Fort Smith National Cemetery. Dillon reported to the quartermaster's office that 127 Confederate soldiers were interred in the national cemetery. Colonel John L. Clem, office of quartermaster general, responded, "According to your report of January 14, 1919, the ten known have private headstones, 18 are marked with government slabs, grave 588 has 30 in trench, grave 598 has 20 in trench, grave 599 has 15 in trench and are unmarked, *leaving thirty-four totally unknown*." Clem thought that the thirty-four graves should be marked with government headstones if they could be located (fig. 125).[257]

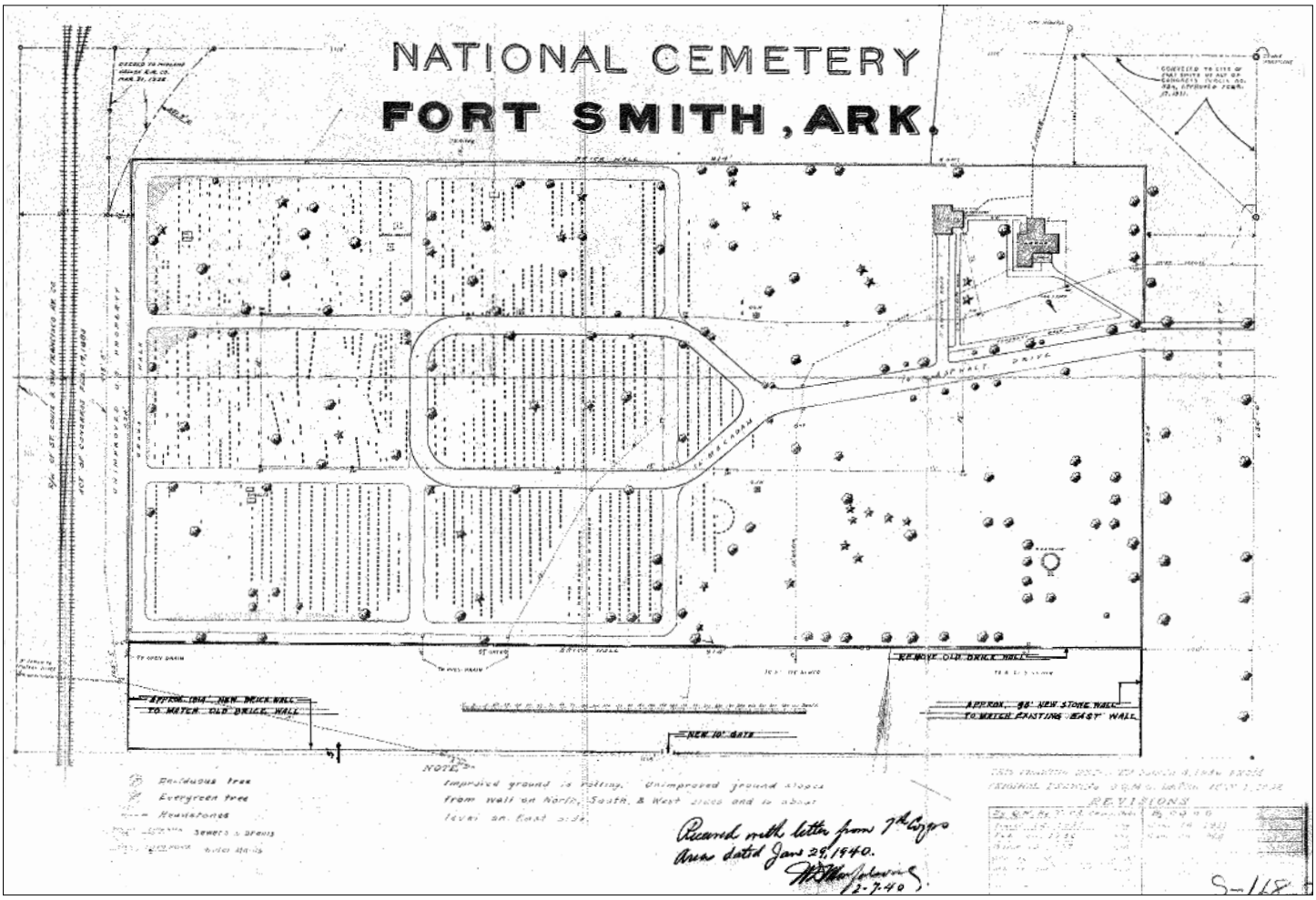


Figure 126. Fort Smith site map showing proposed cemetery updates, 1940s, but not the circle drive and flagstaff added in 1942. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Figure 127. Photograph of the new entrance to the cemetery,1940s, with a wider driveway and substantial limestone gateposts. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Dillon concurred. He replied, indicating that he and Henry C. Norton had perused the records and found the missing Confederate interments. Some of them had been marked with unknown Union blocks. He believed that the numbers he and Norton had arrived at were accurate, and wrote that he could mark the Confederate graves appropriately if the government would provide the headstones.[258] What might have happened next to mark the thirty-four graves has not been determined. However, the Confederate headstones extant at Fort Smith are not a form that was available in 1914. All the Confederate headstones observed in 2009 feature the Confederate Cross of Honor, an emblem that was not authorized until the 1930s, which indicates that the commission-era headstones had been replaced.

Figure 128. A grave marker for multiple unknown Confederate dead next to a 2006 interment.

In the 1940s the main cemetery entrance, intersecting with Garland Avenue in downtown Fort Smith, was constructed and fitted with decorative wrought-iron gates; and a new a stone wall was built to enclose more than 21 acres (figs. 126–127). A history of the cemetery written at that time reported 474 unknown Confederate interments.[259]

Fort Smith National Cemetery, now slightly larger, contains more than a thousand dead. Interments made in the Confederate section during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have significantly changed the visual character of the area where Confederates were buried in the nineteenth century. While large numbers of their pointed marble headstones are easily seen in Section 3—the largest concentration of Confederate graves in the cemetery—numerous contemporary interments have filled the spaces among the nineteenth-century graves. Confederate interments are also scattered in Sections 1, 2, 4, and 8. One recent burial is located adjacent to a Confederate grave that is identified as containing fifteen unknown remains (fig. 128).

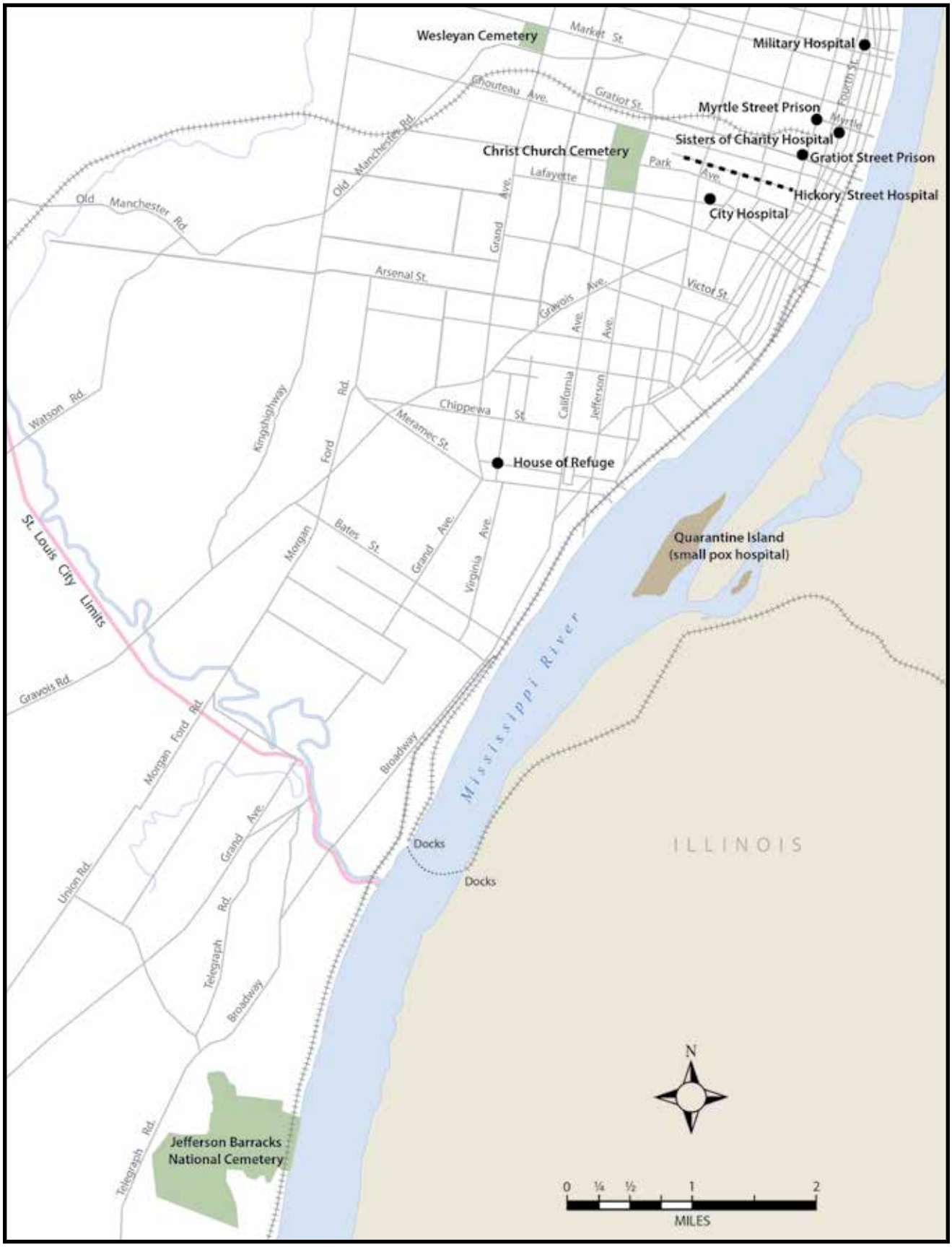


Figure 129. Greater St. Louis map showing the locations of hospitals and prisons, ca. 1870, and Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery.

JEFFERSON BARRACKS NATIONAL CEMETERY

St. Louis, Missouri

The history of Jefferson Barracks begins on March 4, 1826, when Major General Jacob J. Brown, commanding General of the Army, ordered the commander of the Western Department of the Army "to select some position near the mouth of the Missouri . . . for the establishment of an infantry school of instruction."[260] A deed was signed on July 8, 1826, for a parcel of land approximately 10 miles south of St. Louis, and troops occupied the site two days later (fig 129). On October 23, 1826, several months after the death of President Thomas Jefferson, the new post was named "The Jefferson Barracks," a name deemed especially suitable because Jefferson had brought the Louisiana Territory into the Union. In the years immediately following its founding, Jefferson Barracks became a staging point from which troops could be quickly moved to trouble spots in the West, a position it played throughout the nineteenth century.[261]

With the onset of the Civil War, Jefferson Barracks became a recruitment center. Thousands of men flocked to the post to enlist in the Union army. By May 8, 1861, four regiments had been sworn into service. In August 1861, troops from Jefferson Barracks and the St. Louis Arsenal were among those that engaged Confederate forces at the Battle of Wilson's Creek near Springfield, Missouri. In September 1864, Confederate forces attempted to take St. Louis. The campaign ended at Westport near Kansas City, Missouri, when troops deployed from Jefferson Barracks defeated the Confederates in a seven-hour battle, forcing their retreat.[262]

Civil War battles produced an enormous number of casualties. The U.S. Army was in dire need of medical facilities and Jefferson Barracks, in part because of its excellent rail and water access, became a major federal hospital center (fig 130). In 1862, the existing post hospital was totally renovated and new facilities were built. When complete, the huge complex would accommodate 3,000 patients. By the end of 1862, more than 5,000 sick and wounded had been admitted to Jefferson Barracks General Hospital, which was staffed by the Western Sanitation Commission. During the second half of 1864, more than 5,000 were admitted. Those who died were interred in what had begun as a frontier post cemetery.[263]

Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery

The first recorded burial at Jefferson Barracks took place in 1827. Eliza Ann Lash, the infant daughter of a garrison officer, died on August 5 and was buried atop a hill near the fort. In time, a crude wooden fence was built to keep animals out of the roughly 1-acre post cemetery, which was maintained by men on fatigue duty. The soldiers cut weeds, dug graves, and erected headstones and markers.[264]

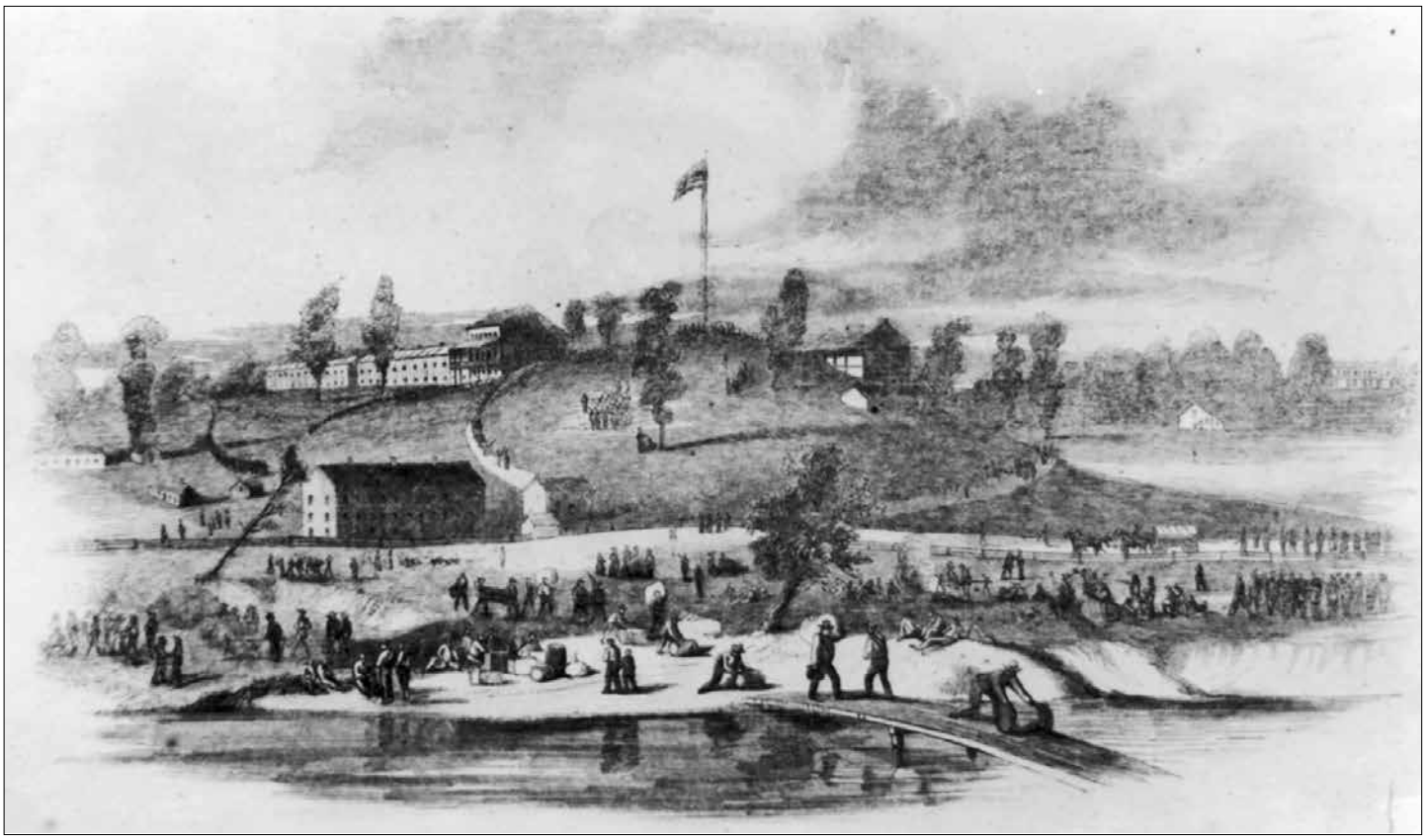


Figure 130. View of Jefferson Barracks, ca. 1861. *Library of Congress*.

Congress passed the act authorizing President Lincoln to purchase cemetery grounds to be used as national cemeteries on July 17, 1862. Jefferson Barracks was an appropriate location for a national cemetery because it was not only a location where large numbers of troops were concentrated, but it was also boasted a major army hospital. Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery was inaugurated in 1863. The property encompassed an expansion of the old post cemetery, which contained military and civilian dead alike.[265]

Gratiot Street and Myrtle Street Prisons

Although St. Louis was a major Civil War staging area, no large prison compound existed in the city—certainly nothing comparable to the facility at Alton, just across the Mississippi River in Illinois. Throughout the war, prisoners were housed in two St. Louis buildings that the federal government confiscated from Confederate sympathizers.[266]

The first was McDowell Medical College at the corner of Eighth and Gratiot streets, which became Gratiot Street Prison (fig. 131). Dr. Joseph N. McDowell moved to St. Louis from Tennessee in 1840 to teach medicine. By the end of the decade, he had established the college that bore his name. McDowell was outspoken in his pro-slavery views. In May 1861, after the assault on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the college was searched for weapons. None were found, but the physician and his sons thereafter departed St. Louis to support the Confederacy. Federal authorities confiscated the college building to use as a barracks; in December 1861, it was converted into a prison.[267]

The army installed bunks and cook stoves in the former classrooms and turned the dissecting room into a mess hall. It took fifty men approximately two weeks to transform

the building from a college to a prison. The local press praised the work and the new facility, boasting that it could hold 2,000 inmates—but that figure was much exaggerated. Gratiot Street Prison could comfortably hold 500, though it often exceeded that number. The first prisoners arrived on Christmas Eve 1861.[268]

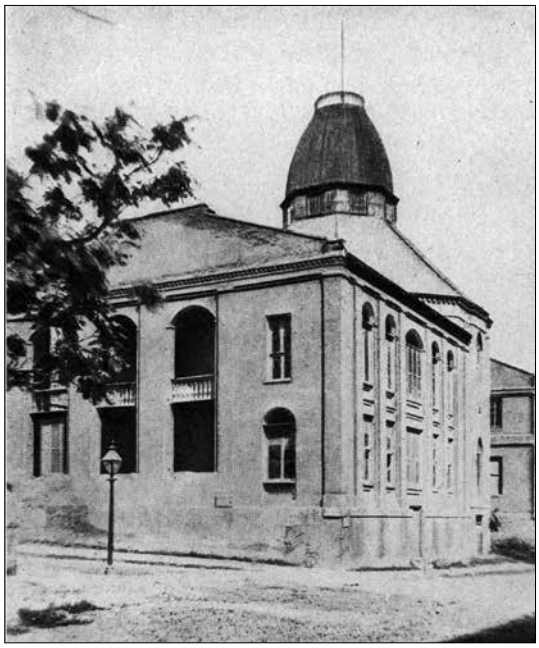


Figure 131. McDowell Medical College in St. Louis; this building became Gratiot Street Prison. *From Holland Thomason, editor, Photographic History of the Civil War: Volume 4, Prisons and Hospitals, 1910.*

The second seized property was Myrtle Street Prison, known as "Lynch's Slave Pen" prior to the Civil War. Bernard M. Lynch held slaves in the two-and-a-half-story brick building before he sold them. In early 1861, Lynch fled south and the army confiscated his building. Situated at the corner of Broadway and Clark Avenues (then Fifth and Myrtle streets), the building featured barred windows and doors fitted with strong locks. It needed little alteration to serve as a prison. In September 1861, twenty-seven prisoners were being held in there, including Dr. McDowell's son, Max, who had returned to St. Louis to recruit for the Confederacy.[269]

After the prison at Alton opened in February 1862, Gratiot Street Prison and Myrtle Street Prison became holding facilities for Confederate prisoners on their way to Alton and other larger prisons. These facilities also held political prisoners, Union deserters, and Union soldiers awaiting trial for crimes. Women, and on occasion children, were also retained briefly at both prisons. Eventually a section of Gratiot Street Prison was designated as the female prison; women were held there throughout most of its existence. Female inmates were segregated from the men in prison and were treated in a separate hospital facility. Individuals at the two prisons generally did not spend much time there before being transferred to another facility, exiled from the state or executed.[270]

Toward the end of February 1862, boats carrying 1,300 Confederates captured at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, arrived in St. Louis. Most of the Confederates were distributed between the two prisons; 250 sick and wounded men were sent to city hospitals. The hospital where prisoners were treated was located near Gratiot Street Prison. They also went to City Hospital, House of Refuge, Sisters of Charity hospitals, and military hospitals on Fourth Street, Hickory Street, and Jefferson Barracks. Some prisoners with smallpox were treated at a facility on Quarantine Island; six of these men died and were buried at Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery.[271]

Myrtle Street Prison was closed in May 1862, and the inmates were moved to Gratiot. However, by fall 1862, overcrowding at Gratiot necessitated the reopening of the Myrtle Street facility. The death toll rose at these overcrowded prisons. Both reported a high number of ailing prisoners—more than 100 at Gratiot and thirty-five at Myrtle Street. Eventually a large number of prisoners were sent to Alton; this eased overcrowding in St. Louis, but essentially moved the problem across the river.[272]

Colonel William Hoffman recommended that the St. Louis prisons be used for "casual prisoners and for such as have their cases under investigation. All military prisoners should be sent to Alton."[273] His recommendation was never carried out. A year later, Gratiot Street reported a population of 382 Confederate prisoners and 114 civilians. Conditions at the prisons varied depending on the number of inmates and who was reported on the conditions. Confederate prisoners found the conditions appalling. Government inspectors often reported problems yet determined that the facilities were

suitable. Both prisons remained in operation throughout the war and finally closed in summer 1865.[274]

Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, 1865–1906

Confederate prisoners who died in St. Louis prisons or hospitals were initially buried in the city's Christ Church and Wesleyan cemeteries. Interments at Wesleyan Cemetery were conducted by John A. Smithers & Brother. The Confederate and civilian prisoners initially buried in St. Louis were moved to Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in or around 1867. The remains relocated to Jefferson Barracks also included six burials removed from Quarantine Island and those of a prisoner removed from Cape Girardeau.[275]

John B. Howard, the quartermaster at Jefferson Barracks, in 1867 wrote to his superior in St. Louis requesting permission to remove the stone wall that had been erected around the old post cemetery many years before. "The old wall should unquestionably be removed, it disfigures the Cemetery, is of no possible good standing," he wrote, "While if taken down, the stone can be used for macadamizing the walks." His superiors in St. Louis and Washington agreed, so Howard demolished the wall and reused the stone.

Today, the old post cemetery encompasses Sections OPS 1–3 in the east portion of the national cemetery, between Old Post West Drive and Old Post East Drive. But during the Civil War, the post cemetery had been enlarged through the addition of about 8 acres. Union officers, black and white Union soldiers, and prisoners of war including Confederates originally buried in St. Louis were reinterred in the new section. Howard's simple act of removing the old cemetery wall, however, would later complicate L. Frank Nye's task of locating the Confederate dead at Jefferson Barracks.[276]

An 1868 army inspection reported that Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery was a little larger than 8 acres. The grounds were enclosed with a whitewashed picket fence but a gate had not been constructed.[277]

> *It [the cemetery] is divided by avenues sixteen feet wide, and walks ten feet wide, into narrow parallelograms for burial purposes. In the center is a mound, thirty feet in diameter, for a flag-staff, which had not been erected, and which is unnecessary, as the flag at the engineer barracks is sufficient. The old graveyard remains as originally laid out, the graves not being interfered with. In the grounds are two natural ponds.*[278]

The report indicated that burial sections had stone curbing and stone gutters that successfully drained them. Many of the graves had been sodded and all were furnished with headboards. "The headboards of those who died during the war are not painted, but lettered black in stencil. All others are of the new pattern, painted white, and lettered in black." There were more than 10,000 burials in the cemetery at the time; of this number, 1,010 Confederate prisoners of war included officers, enlisted men, and eighty-three civilians.[279]

The subsequent inspection of Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in 1871 documented expansions and improvements. "The lot is a quadrangle about 1,200 feet

long and 734 feet wide, and contains a little over twenty acres." The army had spent $142,287.46 on the cemetery up to that point, enclosing it with a whitewashed picket fence, installing a flagstaff in the center lot, erecting eight gun monuments, and building a three-room brick lodge (fig. 132). The inspector reported that headboards were in poor condition and the road between the cemetery and the post was "both circuitous and in bad condition." His recommendations included a more direct road into the cemetery and a stone wall to replace the picket fence. The stone, he noted, could be obtained locally.[280]

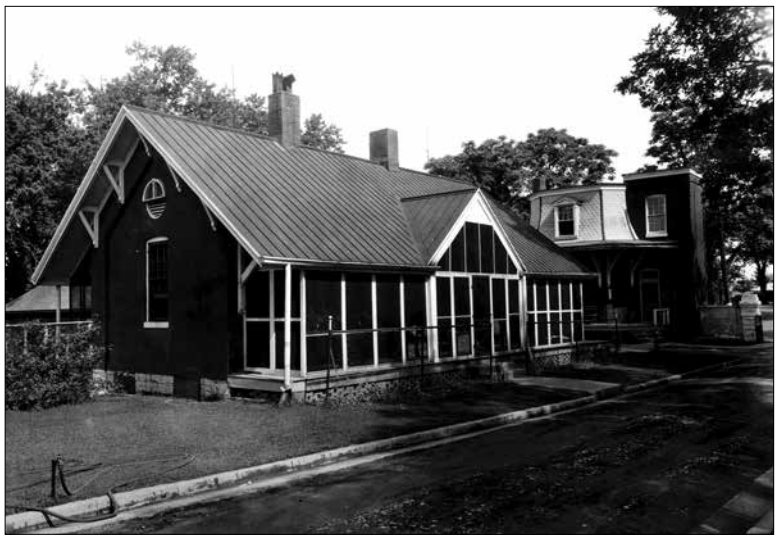


Figure 132. Superintendent's lodge, 1872, at Jefferson Barracks with gatehouse (background), photograph 1933. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Three years later a stone wall with cut-sandstone coping was completed. The cemetery entrance centered on the north wall featured an ornate iron double gate hung on large limestone piers. The words "National Cemetery" spanned the gate on an arch. The inspector who visited the cemetery in August 1874 praised the work of the superintendent. He reported that graves were level, covered in turf with the grass cut, and they were marked "with headboards and stakes." Describing it as "one of the finest national cemeteries in the country," he was especially impressed by trees and plantings that were arranged "in an artistic manner."

> *The foliage in this cemetery is rich and ample at this season. In early summer the bloom must be very rich and beautiful. Excellent taste has been displayed in selecting and massing the shrubbery here.*[281]

Access was still a bad problem, the inspector indicated, which marred an otherwise exceptional cemetery; "in a special report" he recommended a new road. The army had already spent more than $160,000 on the cemetery but the inspector believed that it was money well spent.

Among the growing number of interments, in 1874 those of "Rebel prisoners of war" grew to 1,106 from the 1,010 reported two years earlier.[282] A "Classified Statement of Interments" completed by Superintendent Martin Burke in June 1875, also included 1,106 "Rebel Soldiers and Sailors." The form, which he "prepared with great care and accuracy," broke down the total into 1,090 known and 16 unknown Confederates. The total number of dead in the cemetery was 10,984, with fewer than 2,500 unknown.[283]

Burke reported to the St. Louis quartermaster that the headboards marking civilian graves and the stakes marking the graves of Confederate prisoners were in need of repair. He listed what he needed to correct the problem in a letter: "386 new [headboards] are now required, to be of yellow pine, 3 ft. long 10 inch broad & 1 ¼ in. thick. For Prisoner graves, 125 cedar stakes 2 [feet] 6 inches long 4 inch broad & 1 1/8 inch thick."[284] Burke's request was approved but he was not to spend more than $148.63 in doing so.[285]

Figure 133. Jefferson Barracks brick rostrum, 1872, was renovated by the WPA in 1936, and later removed. Photograph 1939. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

A map generated by the Office of the Quartermaster General in 1893 shows many of the improvements carried out at Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in the preceding two decades. The road was rerouted and lined with trees, and trees planted along the enclosure wall. A rectangular brick rostrum was built outside of the wall, east of the

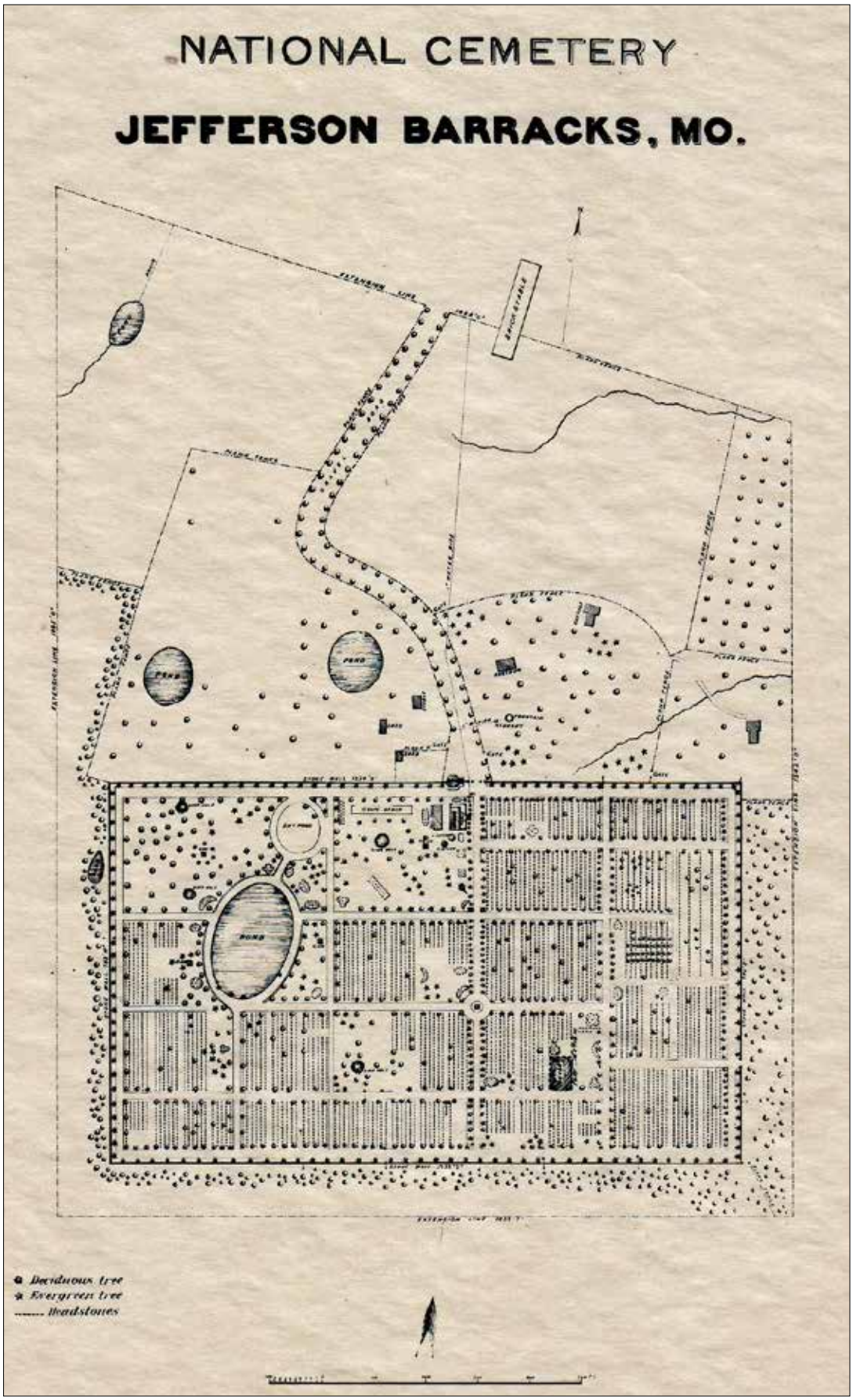


Figure 134. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in 1893; this area encompasses burial Sections 1–69 today. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

main gate (fig. 133); the superintendent's lodge was inside the wall, west of the main gate. The main road passed the lodge on the way to the flagstaff; it divided the cemetery into two unequal parts, with the larger area situated west of the road. Secondary roads intersected the main road at right angles, providing access to other parts of the cemetery. The map shows numerous evergreen and deciduous trees, and two ponds (fig. 134).[286]

Burke, who became superintendent in 1870, died on April 12, 1900. His replacement, Edward Best, was in charge of the cemetery when the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead began its work in 1906. He oversaw the replacement of wooden headboards with permanent headstones at Jefferson Barracks.[287]

The Commission

In May 1907, L. Frank Nye, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, began checking the documentation for Confederate prisoners buried at Jefferson Barracks. He possessed three lists of names of Confederate prisoners interred in the national cemetery, but the numbers on the lists did not agree. A document provided by the quartermaster general counted 616 prisoners. The location of burial for some was given as Christ Church Cemetery, Wesleyan Cemetery, and Jefferson Barracks; for others it was missing. The second source, made in 1896 at Jefferson Barracks, listed 1,149 unmarked burials, "many of which refer to others than Confederate soldiers." The third, the report of the Commissary General of Prisoners, indicated a total of 681 burials, some of which were buried at Jefferson Barracks.[288]

In November 1907, Nye traveled to St. Louis to visit the cemetery and conduct research. At Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery he found ledgers containing names, including the burial register, "which list is dated Feb. 17, 1896, and is a list of graves at the Jefferson Barracks, Mo., National Cemetery without permanent headstones, covering sections, 19, 20, 21, 22½, 31, 32, 66 and 67."[289] The burial register did not indicate the "class"—soldier, civilian, or prisoner—associated with many names on the list.

Two other untitled books provided burial information. The first, which listed individuals buried at Wesleyan Cemetery or Christ Church Cemetery, covered the period from "the latter part of 1861 to April 1, 1863." The entries include the name of the deceased, death date, grave number, company, regiment, hospital, and cause of death. The second provided the same information for the period from April 1, 1863, to "the middle of 1865." The names in both books were organized in alphabetical order, and all classes of burials were entered together.[290]

Nye pored over all the paperwork in the superintendent's office and managed to piece together what had happened to the prisoners and how they came to be buried at Jefferson Barracks:

> *There is also a bunch of old papers on file which show the rearranging of the cemetery and the assigning of the new numbering. They also show such as the following: On the Engineer blue print of the cemetery, dated 1868, reference is made to the removal of 300 bodies originally buried along the south wall, in Sections 19, etc. The "with out permanent headstones"*

> *list starts with No. 25 as the first grave in Section 19. In this pile of old papers is an original list for Section 19 which starts with No. 1, but Nos. 1 to 24, inclusive, are bracketed and shown to have been reinterred in Section 22½ as being originally buried in Jefferson Barracks, while the balance in this section were originally buried in Wesleyan and Christ Church Cemeteries, with the exception of "H. W. Powers, No. 33, Grave No. 5234, whose body was removed from Cape Girardeau, Mo." On Page 145, Record Sheet of Disinterments, the following explanation is made for this removal. "H. W. Powers, Prisoner-of-war. Removed from Cape Girardeau, 1042. Date of Death, Unknown. Inscribed on headboard; 'H. W. Powers, Prisoner-of-war.'*[291]

The large number of civilians interred in the same area of the cemetery as Confederate prisoners of war became an issue as the commission proceeded with its work. The Department of War wanted the commission to furnish headstones for the graves of civilians in the same design as that used for Confederate graves. Commissioner William Oates pointed out that the legislation under which he operated did not authorize marking civilian graves. He noted that there were similar graves at Elmira, Camp Chase, Camp Butler, and Rock Island, where his commission had already marked the graves of Confederate soldier prisoners.[292]

Eventually the issue was resolved, at least for Jefferson Barracks. The judge advocate general determined that since the Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery was originally a post cemetery, it was covered under Headstones for Graves of Soldiers, 1910 and 1911, under the Sundry Civil Act, June 25, 1910, which included marking the graves of civilians buried at post cemeteries. The quartermaster general would provide a list of the civilian graves to be marked. The order would be submitted with the order for the Confederate headstones, and the commission would order the headstones and mark the graves. The civilian headstones would be identical in size and shape to the Confederate headstones. The stone would bear the name of the deceased and the word "CIVILIAN" (fig. 135). The Department of War would reimburse the commission for the headstones.[293]

Figure 135. Civilian headstones are intermingled with those of prisoners, placed by the commission in 1909.

After the legal and financial hurdles were cleared, the Department of War sent the commission a list of thirty-nine civilian prisoner dead needing headstones. The number was far short of the 164 civilian prisoners that the quartermaster general originally cited in the letter sent to Oates on June 8, 1909. Eventually, the graves of 162 civilian dead buried in the Confederate section at Jefferson Barracks were marked, including two women: Jane N. Foster (Section 20, Grave 4613) and Nancy J. Vaughn (Section 20, Grave 4815).[294]

Between 1921 and 1959, Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery was expanded to 331 acres. During that period, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) made improvements there. In 1937 and 1938, the WPA removed the old, degraded stone wall and added nearly 3,000 feet of new stone wall. In 1941, the WPA completely rehabilitated the original 1872 rostrum.[295] Today, the Confederate and most other Civil War burials are located in Sections 1–69, in the northwest corner of Jefferson Barracks, in what was the old cemetery. In the late 1980s, the Jefferson Barracks Civil War Historical Association, Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Missouri Society of the Military Order of the Stars & Bars

commissioned a monument to the Confederate dead, which was placed in Section 66 (fig. 136). Dedicated on May 1, 1988, the memorial reads:

Figure 136. The Confederate Dead Monument, erected 1988.

> *To The Confederate Dead 1861–1865*
> *Who Knows But It May Be Given To Us,*
> *After This Life, To Meet Again In The*
> *Old Quarters, To Play Chess And*
> *Draughts, To Get Up Soon To Answer*
> *The Morning Roll Call, To Fall In At*
> *The Tap Of The Drum For Drill And*
> *Dress Parade And Again To Hastily Don*
> *Our War Gear While The Monotonous*
> *Patter Of The Long Roll Summons To*
> *Battle? Who Knows But Again The Old*
> *Flags, Ragged And Torn, Snapping In*
> *The Wind, May Face Each Other And*
> *Flutter, Pursuing And Pursued, While*
> *The Cries Of Victory Fill A Summer*
> *Day? And After The Battle, Then The*
> *Slain And Wounded Will Arise, And*
> *All Will Meet Together Under The*
> *Two Flags, All Sound And Well, And*
> *There Will Be Talking And Laughter*
> *And Cheers, And All Will Say: Did It*
> *Not Seem Real? Was It Not As In*
> *The Old Days.*[296]

Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery has grown significantly since the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead placed headstones on the graves of Confederate prisoners of war in the early twentieth century. The cemetery now contains more than 175,000 interments, making it one of the country's largest national cemeteries (fig. 137).

Figure 137. At Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Section 66, modern headstones mark five graves on the perimeter of a Confederate section in what was open space.

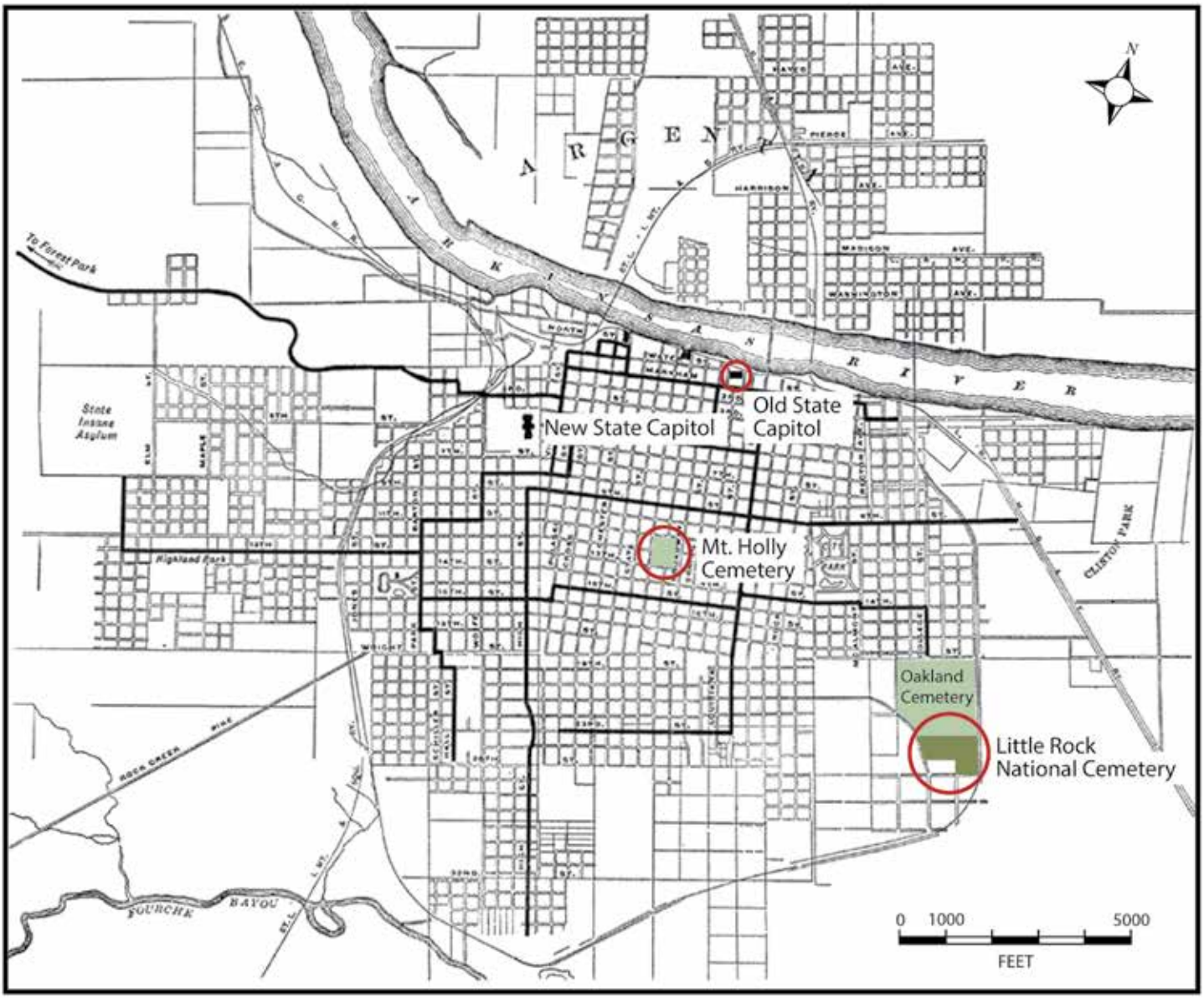


Figure 138. Little Rock map showing Mount Holly Cemetery and Little Rock National Cemetery. *Based on Little Rock Railway and Electric Company map, 1913.*

LITTLE ROCK NATIONAL CEMETERY

Little Rock, Arkansas

Union General Frederick Steele occupied Little Rock on September 9, 1863, after a forty-day campaign. The U.S. Army remained in the Arkansas capital until the end of the Civil War. During the occupation, a military burial ground was created at the new Little Rock City Cemetery, now Oakland-Fraternal Cemetery. In 1868, Little Rock National Cemetery was established on 12 or so acres situated south of and adjacent to Little Rock City Cemetery. The Union dead buried at Duvall's Bluff, Pine Bluff, and other places within 100 miles of Little Rock were exhumed and reinterred in the new national cemetery (fig. 138).[297]

Little Rock National Cemetery

Construction of the lodge was begun in 1868, and the cemetery was partially enclosed by a 5-foot-high stone wall. By the end of 1868, there were 5,409 Union dead in the cemetery. The 1871 army inspection lists 5,439 interments, including thirty officers buried in the small circular section near the flagpole in the northwest section of the cemetery. By 1871, the three-room brick lodge "with projecting roof and a piazza all around"—the first of three buildings with this function built there—and the wall were completed. The main entrance, on the east side, was secured with a double iron gate.[298]

> *From the entrance a drive extends around the lot just inside the wall. Another drive leading directly toward the center, branches into several, and winds around in various directions. These drives, with connecting paths, divide the grounds into twelve sections; eleven of which are used for burial purposes; and one, near the main entrance, contains the lodge, outbuildings and gardens. This section is separated from the rest of the cemetery by a light picket fence.*[299]

The property suffered from some drainage problems, especially in Section 7 just west of the lodge where grounds were wet and graves shallow. The report highlighted that only a few inches of soil covered the coffins here. The section contained 568 graves, and the report recommended that the wooden drainage system should be replaced with a tiled system, and the graves mounded over with earth and sodded. Cemetery staff in 1871 included a superintendent, and one full-time and one part-time groundskeeper.[300] Little Rock's Confederate dead were buried in Mount Holly Cemetery and Oakland-Fraternal Cemetery, immediately adjacent to Little Rock National Cemetery. A May 11, 1869, newspaper article described the decoration of Confederate graves in Mount Holly. A group of young women placed wreaths and flowers on the individual graves of Arkansas's Confederate soldiers and those from Southern states who were also buried there. Afterward, a smaller group of women traveled to Oakland-Fraternal Cemetery to decorate graves there, but the story does not mention where the graves were located in Oakland. The author called for the formation of a memorial society to care for the graves

Figure 139. Little Rock's octagonal rostrum was built after 1875 and removed in 1942, photograph ca. 1930. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

of the Confederate dead. As far as can be determined from the article, in 1869 no single location in the city of Little Rock was known as the "Confederate cemetery."[301]

By 1875, Little Rock National Cemetery contained 5,843 burials. Improvements included a pyracantha hedge planted between the wall and the drive encircling the cemetery. The main drive leading from the entrance and circling the flagstaff had been graveled and partially flanked by brick-lined gutters. The cemetery drainage, while improved, still needed work. Four ornamental gun monuments had been installed, but the inspector noted that they were buried nearly to the trunnions (the mounting posts that extend horizontally from the sides of the cannon barrel), which he felt was unattractive.[302]

The federal government had spent more than $53,000 on the cemetery in Little Rock by the time of the 1875 U.S. Army inspection. Drainage problems remained, weeds were an issue, and a drought killed some evergreen trees, but the inspector reported favorably on the condition of the cemetery and work accomplished.[303]

Sometime after 1875, an octagonal brick-and-iron rostrum was erected in the southwest corner of the cemetery and the pyracantha hedge may have been removed (fig. 139). An 1892 U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map simply notes a "grass buffer" between the wall and the grass walk. The only graveled surface was the lane connecting the entrance to and around the flagstaff circle; the balance of the paths were grass (fig. 140).[304]

Confederate Cemetery

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, members of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) took an interest in the Confederate burials next to Little Rock National Cemetery. The Confederate cemetery, though adjacent to the national cemetery, was not yet part of it (fig. 141). In 1883 or early 1884, the GAR cleared the grounds of unsightly undergrowth and placed small headstones on the Confederate graves.[305]

In 1884, as part of a major cemetery initiative, the trustees of Mount Holly Cemetery oversaw the removal of remains of 640 Confederate soldiers to the "Confederate Burying Ground" just south of Little Rock National Cemetery. The Mount Holly trustees planned a semicircular plot approximately 15 feet across in which to reinter these remains and erected a monument at the center. The inscriptions on the monument read:

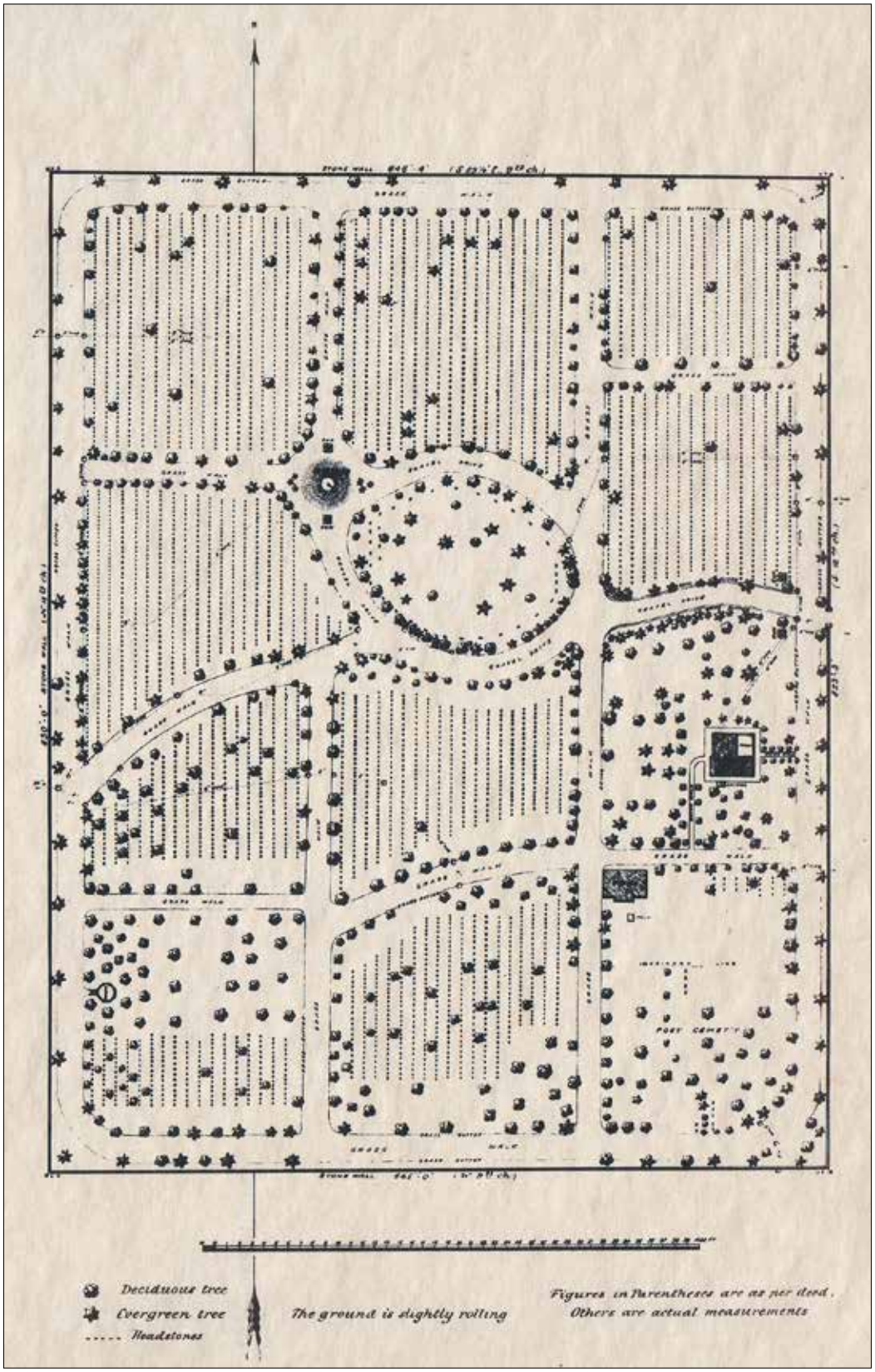


Figure 140. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Little Rock National Cemetery, 1892; the Confederate cemetery was located immediately west of the national cemetery. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 141. Confederate cemetery in Little Rock, ca. 1911, with monument and headstones (foreground); the headstones and 640 remains came from Mount Holly Cemetery in 1884. *From Program for UCV Reunion, Little Rock, Arkansas, May 1911.*

Here lies the remains of / 640 / Confederate soldiers / from / Arkansas, Missouri, / Texas & Louisiana, / Who died in the years / 1861, 62 & 1863. / They were buried in Mount Holly / Cemetery, and were removed / To this spot / in the year / 1884.

Erected / by / P. O. Hooper, / John D. Adams, / James A. Henry, / R. W. Worthen, / Claibourne Watkins, / Trustees of Mt. Holly Cemetery. / 1884.

The few headstones associated with these Mount Holly Cemetery burials were installed in a row in front of the monument. Although the remains were moved in 1884, newspapers did not report that the monument had been erected until March 1885 (fig. 142).

On June 4, 1889, a ladies' memorial association was formed in Little Rock. The organization's mission was "preserving the graves of the Confederate soldiers now buried near Little Rock and of securing a suitable and permanent cemetery for the collection and interment of the remains of any Confederate soldiers and sailors who were killed or died from any cause during or since the close of the War between the States."[306]

Figure 142. The Confederate Monument encircled by headstones, 2009; this configuration dates from ca. 1948.

Soon after the association's incorporation, the City of Little Rock donated to the ladies' memorial association 11 acres that included the Confederate remains moved from Mount Holly, thus beginning the group's tenure as caretakers of the cemetery.[307]

The improvements undertaken by the Ladies' Memorial Association included an entryway. "The entrance is spanned by an iron arch, the pillars of which are of granite. Over the center of the arch is a shield with stacked muskets; at each end are sheathed swords crossed and the word 'Confederate' the length in gilt letters."[308] In 1896, the Ladies' Memorial Association merged with the United Daughters of the Confederacy

(UDC) to form Memorial Chapter No. 48, UDC. The UDC worked closely with the Arkansas Confederate Home, a facility for aged Confederate army veterans. They raised money to support the home, paid for residents' funerals and interment in the Confederate cemetery, which they also enclosed with a stone wall.[309]

While grading a street in Little Rock in 1904, a road crew discovered the remains of seventeen Confederate soldiers and six headstones. The men died while being treated in a hospital that once stood nearby. The remains were moved to the Confederate cemetery. However, while the ambiguous article implied that about fifty men were originally interred near this hospital, but it did not indicate where in Little Rock the road work occurred or which hospital was associated with the men.[310]

In 1907 the UDC erected a memorial rostrum at the Confederate cemetery at a cost of $608. The original plaque mounted on the rostrum reads: *Stoop, Angels Hither From The Skies! / There Is No Holier Spot Of Ground / Than Where Defeated Valor Lies, / By Mourning Beauty Crowned*! A second plaque indicates the rostrum was erected by the Memorial Chapter of the UDC (figs. 143–144).[311]

Figure 143. Left: UDC rostrum at Little Rock, photograph ca. 1940. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 144. Right: UDC rostrum at Little Rock in 2009.

The 11-acre Confederate cemetery was maintained by the UDC until 1913 when it became part of Little Rock National Cemetery. A similar transfer had been made by the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) in Springfield, Missouri. There, a Confederate cemetery adjacent to Springfield National Cemetery was transferred to the federal government in 1911 in order to provide a more permanent solution to the perpetual care of the Confederate graves. On February 7, 1913, the Confederate cemetery property was deeded to the secretary of war by the City of Little Rock, which had retained ownership. The deed included a restriction stating that only Confederate veterans could be buried in this parcel of land. The act, enabling the federal government to accept the donation, incorporated the deed restriction. It also required that a "suitable gate or entryway" be cut through the wall that separated the two cemeteries to allow unrestricted access from one to the other. Eventually the wall separating the old Confederate and the national cemetery was removed completely. The law made it unequivocal that the Confederate cemetery was to be treated with the same care as the national cemetery.[312] The legislation also included a clause allowing the UDC and the UCV to continue to use the cemetery:

> *That organized bodies of ex-Confederates or individuals shall have free and unrestricted entry to said cemetery for the purposes of burying worthy ex-Confederates, for decorating the graves, and for all other purposes which they have heretofore enjoyed, all under proper and reasonable regulations and restrictions made by the Secretary of War.*[313]

The Commission

Little Rock National Cemetery did not fall under the provisions of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead. Even the legislation that reactivated the commission from 1914 through 1916 addressed only Confederate prisoners of war interred in national cemeteries. However, a separate line item under the War Department authorization act provided funding for headstones on Confederate graves everywhere:

> *For continuing the work of furnishing headstones of durable stone or other durable material for unmarked graves of Union and Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national, post, city, town, and village cemeteries, naval cemeteries at navy yards and stations of the United States.*[314]

This legislation was not restricted to prisoners, so it is possible that after the act passed, that the simple square blocks the GAR placed in the Confederate cemetery by later were replaced with government headstones. Today, all Confederate graves in Little Rock National Cemetery are marked with pointed-top headstones—with and without the Southern Cross of Honor (fig. 145).

Figure 145. Most headstones in Little Rock National Cemetery reflect the commission's design (right); the headstone with the Southern Cross of Honor (left) was added after 1930.

Over the years, a great many changes have taken place at Little Rock National Cemetery. The original lodge was replaced in 1908. The second lodge was updated twice and replaced in 1949. The last lodge was razed in the mid-1990s and replaced by a brick administration building. The cannon or gun monuments were removed at some point, as well.[315]

The size of the property has increased. The first addition was the 11-acre Confederate cemetery (fig. 146). In 1949 the City of Little Rock deeded a 1.79-acre parcel to the U.S. government, and in 1989 the National Cemetery Expansion Corporation donated 5.8 acres to establish Sections 19–24. The present-day Little Rock National Cemetery encompasses 31.7 acres containing 25,471 interments.[316]

The restrictions on the Confederate cemetery property, limiting it to burials of Confederate veterans, were lifted through congressional action in 1938. This act contained the same clause as the 1913 legislation, allowing access to the cemetery by "ex-Confederates or individuals," using the exact wording. There was also a caveat to that legislation: requiring that sufficient space be set aside for the purpose of future burials of Confederate veterans and their descendants. This restriction was removed in the late 1980s, in essence freeing unused burial areas within the Confederate section to be used as the National Cemetery Administration saw fit, in accordance with current laws.[317]

Late twentieth-century graves have been added along the edge of the Confederate section, and the space between this section and the cemetery wall has been filled with modern burials. The interior of the Confederate Section, however, retains its historic integrity as modern interments have not been introduced to the original area set aside for Confederate veterans and their descendants.

Figure 146. Map of Little Rock National Cemetery: the Confederate section is shaded red, the original national cemetery acreage is shaded purple.

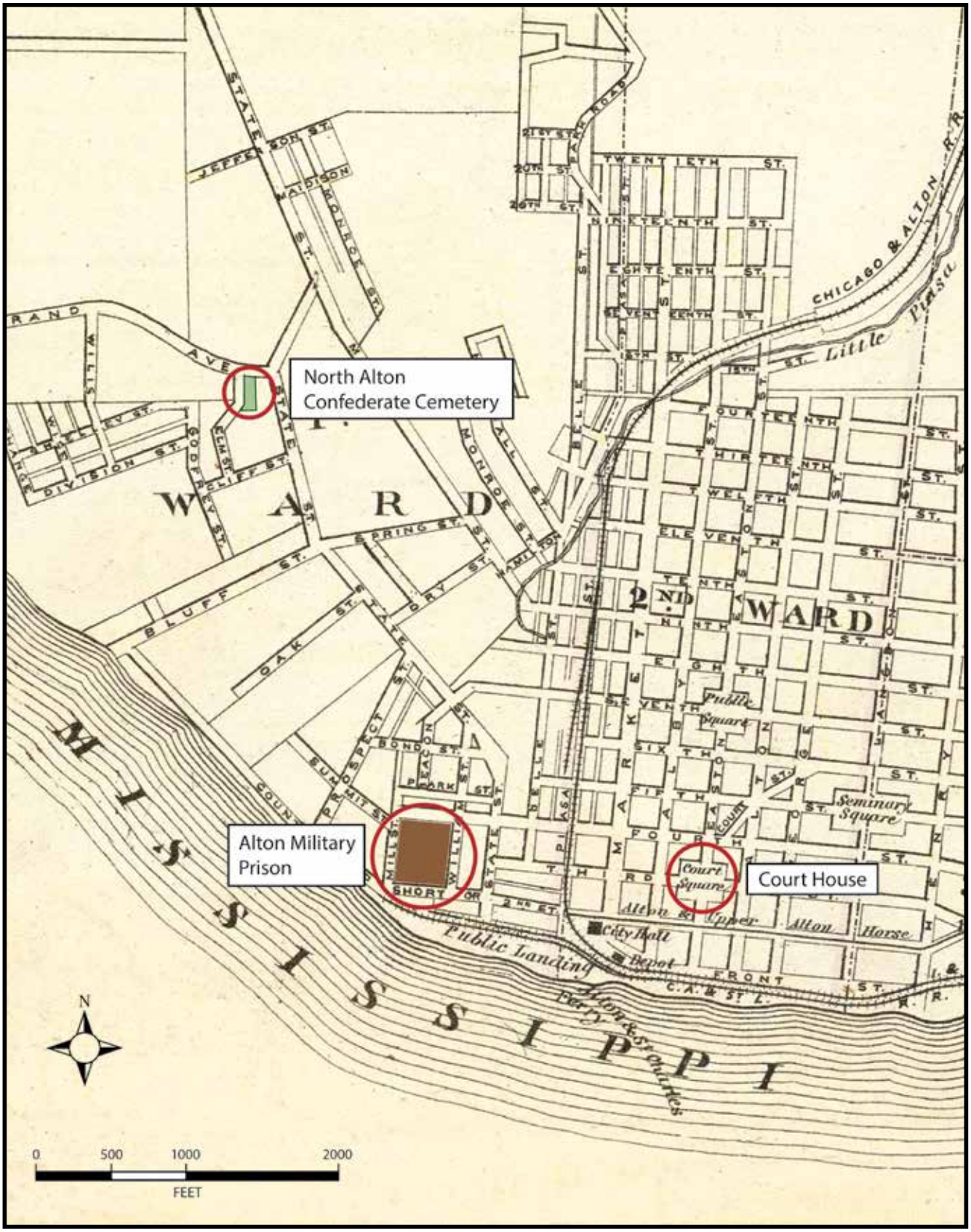


Figure 147. Historic map of Alton, Illinois, showing the military prison and North Alton Confederate Cemetery. *Based on Map of Bond County, Union Atlas Co., 1876. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.*

NORTH ALTON CONFEDERATE CEMETERY

Alton, Illinois

The Illinois State Penitentiary in Alton, Illinois, opened in 1833 and by 1857 it had grown from thirty-three cells to 256 cells. An 1846 expansion of the prison facilities included a hospital, warden's house, and an upgraded sewage system. The improvements did not offset challenges inherent to the prison's location, which was a hillside above the Mississippi River and extending down to the river (fig. 147). Conditions fluctuated between uncomfortable in normal circumstances, to unsanitary during the rainy season. In 1857 the penitentiary at Alton was purchased by the contractor who had constructed the new, larger state prison at Joliet, Illinois. By July 1860 the last of the prisoners had been transferred to Joliet.[318]

On Christmas Day 1861, General Henry Halleck wrote to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, asking him if he thought Union General-in-Chief George B. McClellan would approve the use of the Alton state penitentiary as a military prison. Upon receiving McClellan's permission, Halleck ordered Lieutenant Colonel Sidney Burbank to Alton. It was estimated that the facility could house up to 1,750 prisoners once certain improvements were made.[319]

On February 4, 1862, Lieutenant Colonel Burbank assumed command of the military prison at Alton. He received specific instructions regarding the proper care of the prisoners, including their burials: "Those who may die will be decently interred and a proper mark affixed to their place of burial, which will be within the usual grounds set apart for that purpose in the city of Alton." The first 1,640 prisoners arrived five days later.[320]

Alton Prisoner-of-War Facility

The U.S. Army transported the prisoners to Alton by boats on the Mississippi River. Local residents gathered to watch the Confederates—most had been captured at Fort Donelson—march through the gates of the old penitentiary. Within only a few months the specter of smallpox shrouded the prison and the city. Reportedly there were twenty cases of smallpox at the prison in May 1862.[321]

More soldiers died of disease than any other cause during the Civil War. It is not surprising that disease was the primary cause of death for prisoners. For about a year, medical staff tried to treat smallpox cases within the confines of the prison. Finally, in 1863, smallpox patients were moved to Tow Head Island in the Mississippi River, opposite Alton. A second hospital was constructed in 1864 on nearby and larger Ellis Island, immediately south of Tow Head Island. However, it appears that all men who died of smallpox after the move to the islands were buried on Tow Head Island. Before

the epidemic ended, some 240 Confederate prisoners were buried on Tow Head Island along with an unknown number of Union soldiers.[322]

Life at Alton Military Prison was no better or worse than at other Union prison facilities. The frigid winter of 1864–1865 proved deadly. The medical staff had to rent additional space in town in order to treat the volume of ailing prisoners.[323]

Over the course of the war, 11,760 Confederate prisoners passed through Alton. According to the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, 1,354 soldiers and civilians died there, or just more than 11 percent; this compared to the average mortality rate of 12 percent at all federal prisons (fig. 148).[324]

Confederate Cemetery

The Confederate dead were buried at the old state penitentiary burial ground 2 miles north of Alton. They were buried in coffins placed in trenches and each grave was marked with a numbered stake. The property where the prisoners were buried was transferred to the federal government in 1867.[325]

Figure 148. A small section of wall (left) near the Mississippi River in downtown Alton is all that remains of the old Illinois State Penitentiary.

The Confederate cemetery was not inspected as part of the 1868–1869 report to the secretary of war. However, it was described. The cemetery, identified in the report as the "Prisoners' Cemetery," was enclosed with a picket fence. The only information found on the state prison cemetery indicates that about thirty convicts were buried there. The graves were reported to have headboards. According to the report, 1,304 Confederate prisoners were buried in the cemetery, 670 known and 634 unknown. Subsequent 1870–1871 and 1874–1875 reports on the cemetery were even shorter, merely stating how far it was from town, and that 1,304 Confederates were buried within. Very few changes occurred at the Alton cemetery for years.[326]

In 1876, Alton residents petitioned the government to improve the Confederate cemetery, which had fallen into disrepair. In response, the army sent an agent to accompany an officer from the St. Louis-based Quartermaster Department to Alton to assess the cemetery's needs. The inspector found the cemetery in poor shape. The fence erected by the government after the war was dilapidated, and cattle and hogs were grazing and rooting on the property. Graves had sunk, in some cases as much as 2 feet. About half the headboards were missing and the other half were in serious need of repair. The sloping property was washing away in places and was overgrown with brush and weeds.[327]

The inspector reported that the picket fence could be repaired inexpensively. But, he said, unless someone was hired to make periodic repairs and improvements, it would fail again within a year. He suggested constructing a brick or stone wall and obtained estimates, which came to more than $4,000. This figure did not include the cost of cleaning the grounds, sodding graves, or planting grass—all of which was needed to get

the cemetery into "first class" condition. That, he reported, is what the citizens of Alton sought.

Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs strongly recommended against any repairs or improvements to the cemetery. He cited the laws that established national cemeteries, which he pointed out, were for cemeteries containing soldiers of the United States. He felt that the prisoners had received a proper burial and that the government, or at least the army, was not obligated to do more.

> *The other prisoners' cemeteries at Camp Chase, Rock Island, etc., are left uncared for, and this seems the proper course for the department to pursue in the absence of any express legislation on the subject.*[328]

If Congress were to make a special appropriation to fund the care of the prison cemeteries, the army would use the funding as ordered. Until such time, Meigs believed that benign neglect was the proper course of action.[329]

Ten years later, a former Confederate soldier who had been imprisoned at Alton, then living in Illinois, wrote to his congressman, James M. Burns. He asked if funds were available to enclose and repair the Confederate cemetery. Congressman Burns forwarded the request to Quartermaster General S. B. Holabird, who replied that no such funds were available.[330]

The *Alton Evening Telegraph* ran a brief article in 1893 reporting that the Confederate cemetery was fenced with barbed wire and was being used as a pasture. The editor doubted that there was a local government representative authorized to rent the property, and he felt that it was simply wrong to be using a cemetery as a pasture. The following spring, a group of Confederate veterans traveled to Alton to "take charge of the improvements to be made" at the cemetery. However, before they could act, they first had to obtain permission from the government; it is not known if permission was granted, but it seems unlikely, given later reports.[331]

The government did nothing to the Confederate cemetery until 1899, when the army sent Quartermaster Clerk Henry Nichols to Alton to report on the "present status" of the cemetery. Nichols reported that the cemetery was fenced and the fences were in good condition. He went on to say:

> *The burial ground is used as a pasture by the neighboring farmers; it is thickly grown up with Canadian thistles and weeds; it is a hilly piece of land and there are no indications of its ever having been used as a burial lot, except for slight depressions in the ground where rows of graves once stood.*[332]

Nichols interviewed W. H. Hart, who had buried most of the Confederates and kept a record of the interments and their locations. Nichols determined that, even with Hart's record book, it would be "utterly impossible to identify the graves of those buried there." He also met with members of the Confederate Improvement Association, an organization seeking government funds to mark, memorialize, and improve the cemetery.[333]

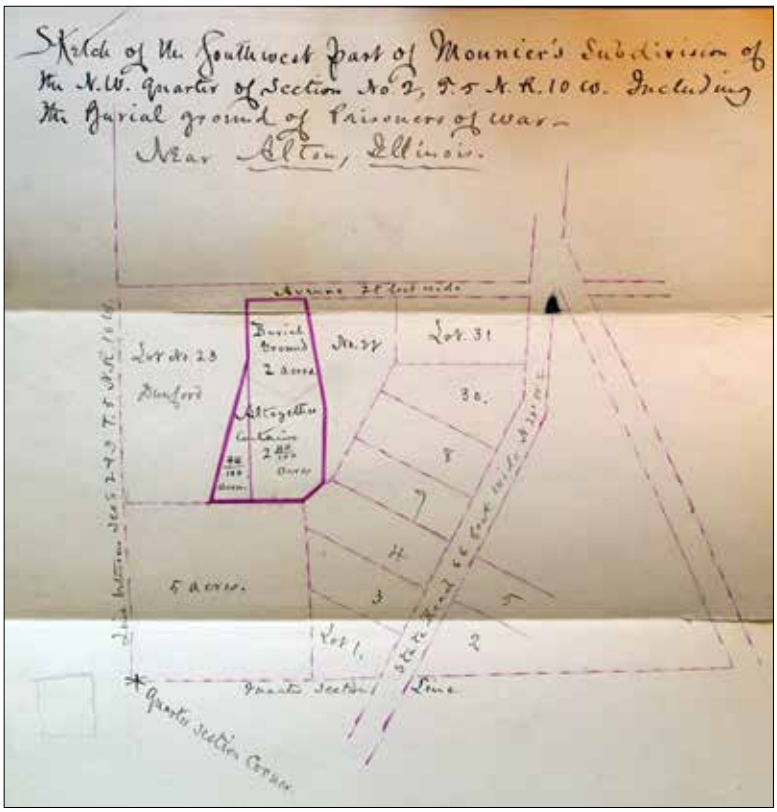


Figure 149. Undated property sketch of North Alton Confederate Cemetery (outlined in dark purple). The federal government enclosed the triangular 0.44-acre parcel (left) with chain-link fence. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

William Armstrong of the Confederate Improvement Association wrote to the Department of War asking if the government did, in fact, own the Confederate cemetery. In September, the Department of War answered in the affirmative. Perhaps more important, Armstrong learned that Major Charles A. Booth of the St. Louis Army Depot had estimated the cost to improve the cemetery grounds, and that the secretary of war had authorized the funds and ordered the work be done (fig. 149).[334]

If members of the Confederate Improvement Association had hoped for a major change at the cemetery, they were likely disappointed. The government paid $134.80 to erect a barbed-wire fence around the property—the full extent of the improvement. However, the army did allocate $30 per year to pay someone to maintain the grounds. Paying a caretaker to maintain a Confederate cemetery may not have been an unprecedented action, but it was outside of the scope of the national cemetery legislation.[335]

The Confederate Improvement Association began to advance its cause within the community. In early 1890, it began planning a Decoration Day ceremony at Alton. A man from Granbury, Texas, contacted the association to offer two boxes of magnolia and jasmine flowers to spread on the Confederate graves. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and the Woman's Relief Corps (WRC), the ladies auxiliary of the GAR, were invited. The newspaper promoted the event and the public was urged to attend in order "to make the observance as elaborate as possible."[336]

Three years after that first Decoration Day ceremony, a United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) chapter in St. Louis had raised $1,000 for cemetery improvements. They asked for and received endorsement letters for the project from the local GAR and WRC posts. H. J. Bowman of the Confederate Improvement Association and members of the UDC wrote to senators and congressmen seeking the necessary approval, without which they could not improve government property.[337]

The UDC eventually received permission to spend the money on the cemetery. This action, coupled with growing local interest in the cemetery, spurred the establishment of the UDC Sam Davis Chapter in Alton. Formed in 1904, the chapter had twenty members. The UDC in Alton hosted Decoration Day activities at the Confederate cemetery on June 3, 1905. The day corresponded with Jefferson Davis's birthday. The elaborate ceremony included UDC and United Confederate Veterans camps from the area, speakers, music, and a military salute. Once again, flowers sent from southern states were used to decorate the grounds.[338]

In autumn 1905, the UDC formally obtained responsibility for maintenance of the Alton Confederate cemetery. The Quartermaster Department provided UDC with an annual appropriation that it could use to hire a custodian. The government was of the opinion

that the UDC would take better care of the cemetery than the man they had hired earlier. The UDC formed a cemetery committee that would be responsible for overseeing cemetery care using the funds allocated by the government.[339]

The Commission

Upon hearing of the March 1906 legislation that created the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Mary H. Gregory, secretary of the Sam Davis Chapter, UDC, wrote directly to Commissioner William Elliott. She told Commissioner Elliott that the cemetery had been neglected for thirty-five years and that individual graves could not be identified. She stated that the UDC was hoping to put up a good wall and to mark the graves collectively. Then she asked, "Now will you write us and tell us what portion of this appropriation will be allotted to this cemetery, and how is it to be spent?"[340]

Commissioner Elliott replied, explaining that the commission was authorized to erect a marble headstone on each grave. He regretted to inform her that if circumstances were as she had stated regarding identification, the matter would have to be turned over to the secretary of war. Elliott expressed his regrets that he could not, at this time, say how much money would be spent at Alton. These letters marked the beginning of a lively communication between Elliott and his successors and the Sam Davis Chapter of the UDC.[341]

It was nearly a year before the commission began to make specific inquiries about Alton. In April 1907 Commissioner Elliott wrote to the "Superintendent National Cemetery, Alton, Illinois," to inquire if there was "a plat, or other paper, in your office whereby the graves of the Confederate prisoners buried in your cemetery may be so identified."[342] The commissioner's letter was forwarded to the UDC. This set off a mild firestorm that the commissioner weathered with grace. The UDC had not improved the cemetery; they wished the commissioner to see it as it was, in the condition for which they were being criticized. They also informed the commissioner that they did not have a list of the dead. Elliott explained that he had a list of the dead, and what he was looking for was a map. If he could find the first grave, then they should be able to follow the pattern of burials to identify each grave. Elliott, ever the gentleman, wrote, "The idea of criticizing ladies for not executing an act of Congress! Please put all the responsibility on my shoulders, which are still broad enough to bear it."[343]

Commissioner Elliott and L. Frank Nye arrived at Alton in June 1907. The two men conducted a number of interviews in an attempt to determine where individual graves were and how best to find them. For nearly a week, Elliott and Nye sought to untangle the various stories regarding the burials. They visited the cemetery and compared their list with a partial list in possession of the UDC. They went so far as to read back issues of the *Alton Event Telegraph*. By July 9, 1907, they had determined to put 1,111 stakes in the ground to mark individual graves.[344]

At the end of July, Commissioner Elliott and L. Pfeiffenberger & Son, licensed architects and general superintendents in Alton, Illinois, began corresponding about the improvements needed at the cemetery before headstones could be set. Their discussion included fencing, grading, and working with the UDC. Nothing was ever resolved, nor

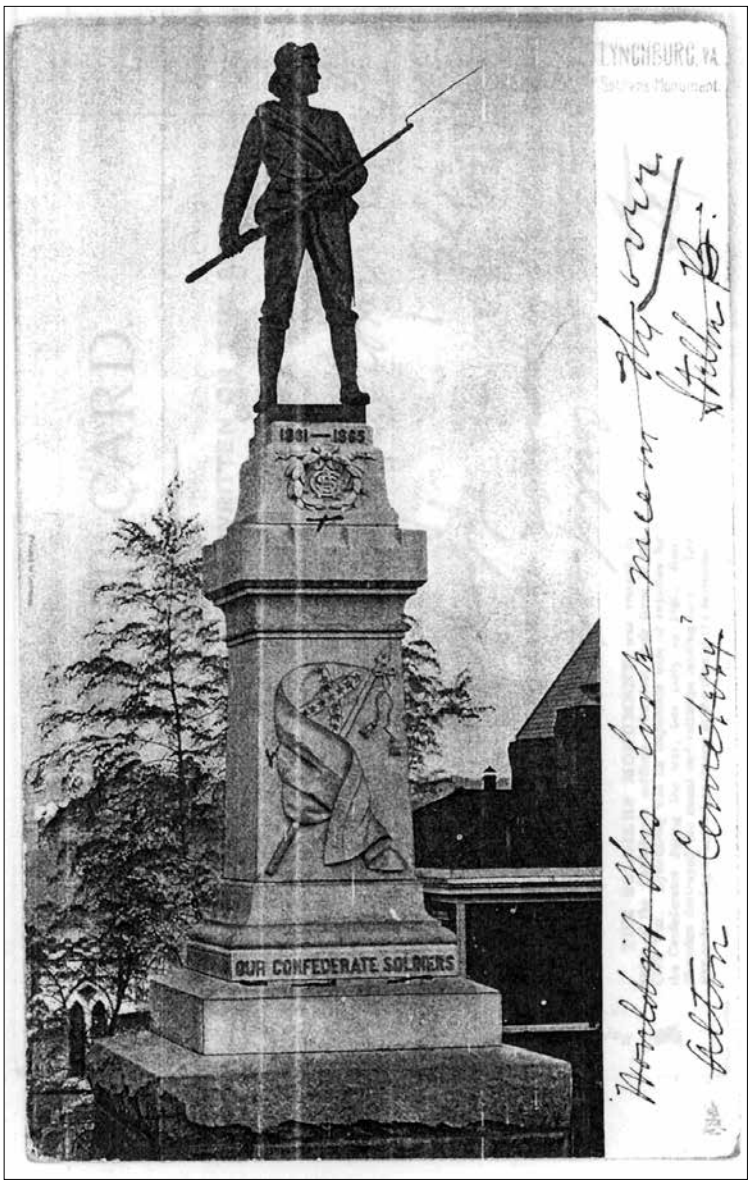


Figure 150. The UDC gave this postcard of the Confederate monument in Lynchburg, Virginia, to Commissioner Oates to illustrate its vision for North Alton Confederate Cemetery. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

does it seem any work was accomplished. By the end of 1907 Commissioner Elliott had died.[345]

One year later, the concept of individually marking graves at Alton had been abandoned and bids were sought, instead, to erect one large monument. William C. Oates, the new commissioner, made the decision after he visited Alton in 1908. The commission had determined that 1,353 soldiers were buried in Alton, and on January 6, 1909, it released a circular soliciting for bids to construct the monument. On January 11, 1909, the UDC wrote to Commissioner Oates with suggestions for the design. The ladies had read the call for bids in the newspaper and were "aggrieved." They wanted a figure of Sam Davis, "the Nathan Hale of the Confederacy," as part of the monument, and they felt that the word "Confederate" might also be included. The ladies enclosed a photograph of a Sam Davis statue that they thought was most becoming. "Is it possible for you to recall the bids advertised for by you and readvertise for new bids according to the foregoing?"[346] It was, of course, not possible, but this did not deter the ladies of the Sam Davis Chapter.

After one month, the Sam Davis Chapter sent a few more suggestions. They did not want a tall monument, they had broad and massive in mind. Also, the monument should not be made of white granite; it should be gray. They wanted "C. S. A." on the face of the monument. The membership also thought that a bronze figure of a Confederate soldier was in order. Enclosed in the letter were several picture postcards of what they felt were acceptable memorials (fig. 150).[347]

In February 1909, Commissioner Oates selected a different design: A rough granite-block obelisk with bronze tablets affixed to the broad base that would bear the names of deceased prisoners. It was the design submitted by the Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, Massachusetts. Several issues arose from this choice. Commissioner Oates wanted a taller monument than the 20- to 30-foot-tall monument he had requested in the circular. Van Amringe agreed to build a taller monument for the same price if some modification in materials was accepted. Oates agreed; however, the secretary of war expressed concerns that accepting a modified design "would in effect be a purchase not based on competitive bids."[348]

L. Frank Nye drafted a letter for the commission to release, explaining that the request for bids for a monument for Greenlawn Cemetery in Indianapolis went out about a week before the request for bids for Alton, and that the former was used as a template for the latter. When the bids arrived, Oates ignored the bid documents and simply chose the design he liked best. In fact, three bidders submitted designs that exceeded the 30-foot stipulation and another bid was for a monument less than 20 feet tall. Nye went on to

say that Van Amringe dropped by the office to inquire about the monument and Nye mentioned the communication from the secretary of war. Van Amringe then visited, off the record, the judge advocate general and assistant secretary of war, whom he apparently knew. Both felt that the government was getting more than they asked for so it was not construed as illegal or inappropriate.[349]

An official response was issued by Judge Advocate General George B. Davis. Davis cited the bid documents that included the clause, "the height thereof to be from 20 to 30 feet" and noted that bids were received from ten firms. He noted that several bidders exceeded the height requirement in the bid documents. Davis wrote:

> *In the opinion of this office the clause above cited is advisory merely, and was not intended to operate as a restriction or limitation, and a bid to construct a monument over 30 feet in height may lawfully be accepted and made an appropriate contractual undertaking.*[350]

The commission awarded the contract to Van Amringe for its Design No. 1031 in February 1909. It would be late summer before construction would begin (fig. 151).

Thereafter, in May 1909, the commission issued a solicitation to supply an iron fence to enclose the cemetery. In August, the Champion Iron Company of Kenton, Ohio, was awarded a contract to erect 1,460 linear feet of wrought-iron picket fence. The design featured large cast-iron gateposts and double gates.[351]

Van Amringe began building the North Alton Confederate Monument in August 1909. The construction materials were sent from Boston and it was anticipated that it would take approximately thirty days to complete the structure. The concrete foundation was some 13 square feet and the monument would be 57 feet tall. An internal iron pipe would connect top to bottom, the engineer explained, to add stability to the monument, thus allowing it to vibrate in windstorms and to compensate for expansion and contraction with temperature fluctuation (fig. 152).[352]

Monuments of similar design would later be erected at Finn's Point, New Jersey, and Point Lookout, Maryland. Oates did offer to include a medallion of Sam Davis on the face of the monument. He also asked the UDC chapter to work with the engineer and the granite company to choose the location for the monument, which he thought should be on top of the hill. Oates felt that he had done well by all in the matter. "Feeling that I have done my duty to the Government, to the resting place of my dead Comrades, and last but not least, to the Ladies composing your Chapter."[353]

Though not what they originally wanted, the UDC membership expressed pleasure at the commissioner's design and were most happy about the medallion of Sam Davis. However, they expressed doubts about a Boston company executing the design. They also noted that the commissioner failed to mention using the letters "C. S. A." on the monument, which, they said, they knew was just an oversight. They told Oates that the image of Sam Davis he had requested had been sent for and would be forwarded as soon as it arrived.[354]

The Sam Davis medallion proposed for the monument was apparently rejected by the Department of War, whose policy required an abstinence of praise or eulogy. In the end,

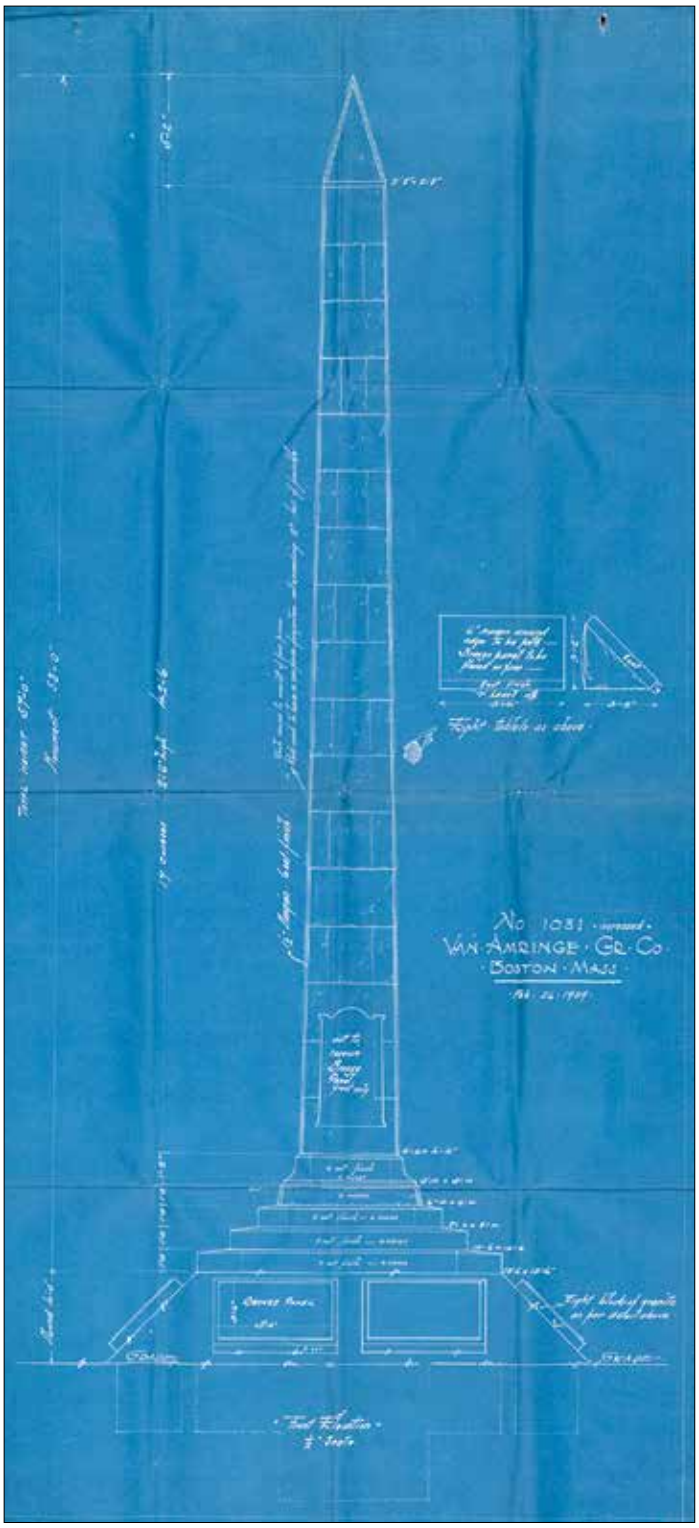


Figure 151. Elevation drawing of North Alton monument, submitted by Van Amringe Granite Company in February 1909. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

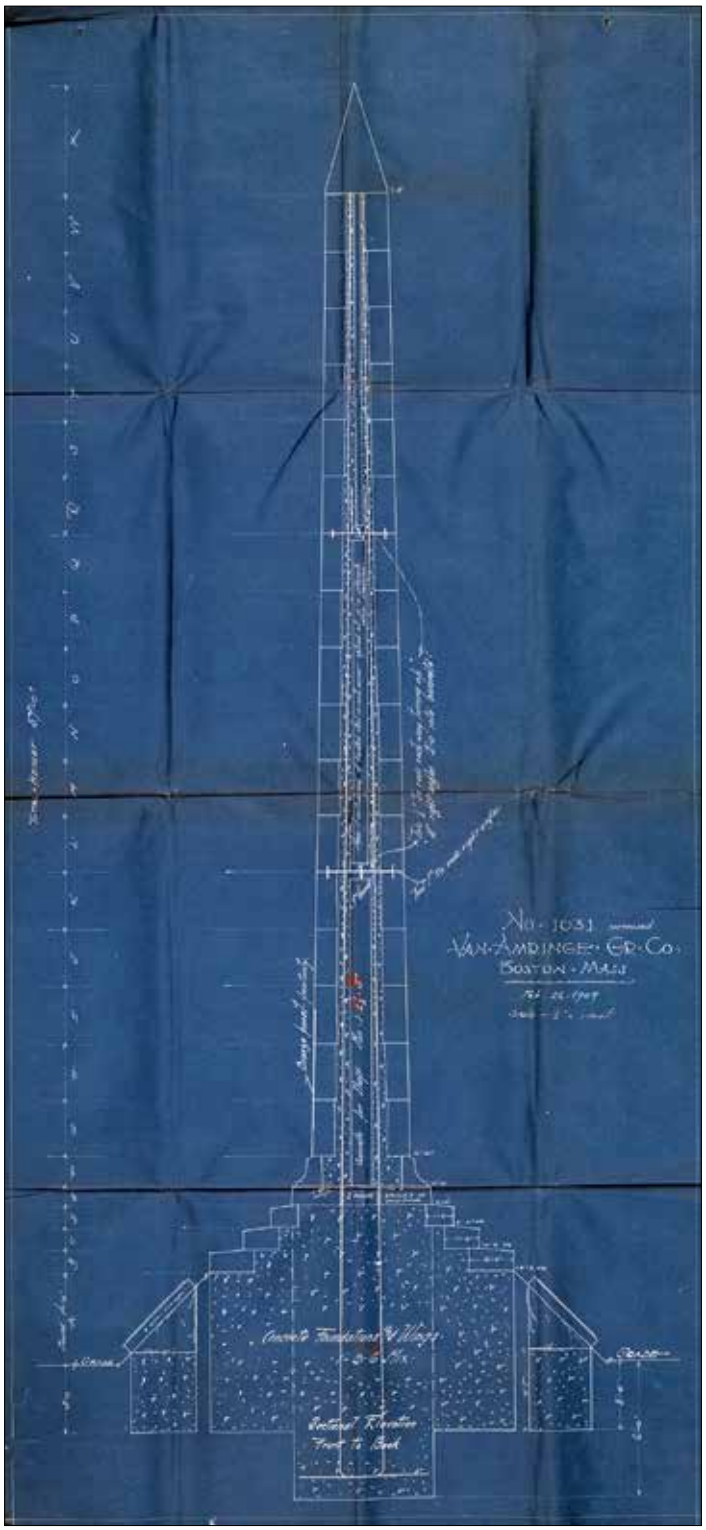


Figure 152. Sectional drawing of North Alton monument, showing concrete foundation and steel rods connecting the upper base and obelisk apex, submitted by Van Amringe Granite Company in February 1909. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

the secretary of war allowed only bronze plaques with the names of the deceased soldier prisoners and a dedication inscription. The names of civilian prisoners buried at the cemetery were not included on the bronze plaques. The final wording of the dedication plaque sent to the commissioner for approval was (fig. 153):

> *Erected / by the / United States / to mark the burial place / of / 1354 Confederate soldiers who died here / and at the / smallpox hospital / on the adjacent island / while prisoners of war / and whose graves / cannot now be identified.*[355]

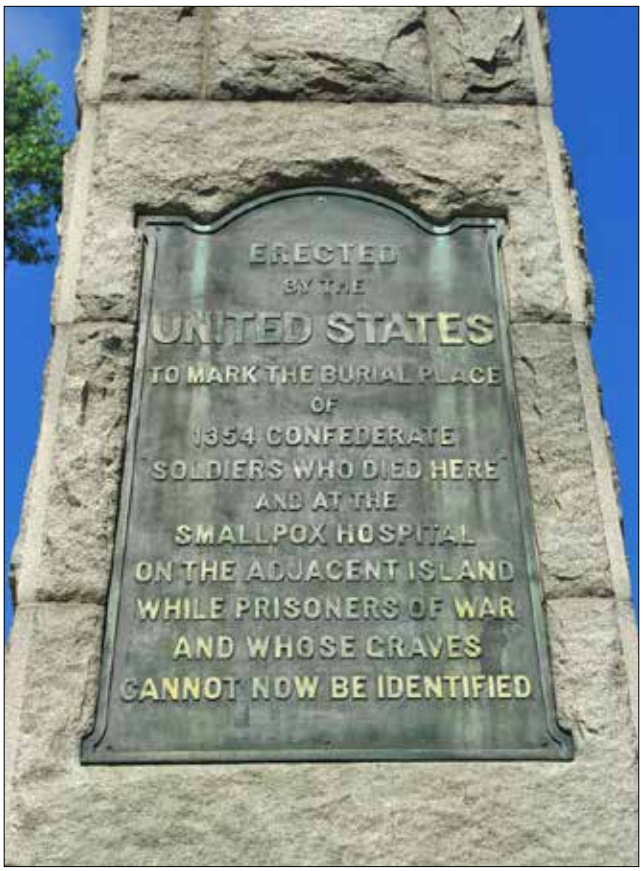


Figure 153. The North Alton Confederate Monument dedication plaque reflects the War Department's 1893 directive which limited inscriptions to "a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and censure."

A. E. Amedon of Van Amringe supervised construction of the Alton monument. On the first day, the bodies of two Confederate soldiers were unearthed. The remains were taken by the UDC, who prepared them for reinterment. According to the *Alton Evening Telegraph*: "Today the Daughters of the Confederacy had the bones of the two soldiers put in a walnut case and interred in the foundation of the monument together with some material of historical interest and some relics."[356]

The *Alton Evening Telegraph* reported on September 17, 1909, that the monument was completed except for some finishing touches. The bronze tablets were affixed that December, the last of the work. B. B. Stakemiller inspected the monument on behalf of the army, and recommended on January 24, 1910, that Van Amringe be paid in full. While the monument may have been finished, the overall cemetery project was not (fig. 154).[357]

Improvements dragged on for two more years, into 1911. The UDC wished to pay for memorial gates at the entrance to North Alton Confederate Cemetery. The commissioner approved the gate design and the work proceeded (figs. 33, 155). The UDC wanted to include an inscription on the gateposts, and submitted several lines of proposed verse and dedication text. The commissioner chose one stanza of the verse, from Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, and slightly revised the dedication text before sending it to the secretary of war.[358] The approved inscription read:

> *Soldier Rest! Thy warfare O'er*
> *Sleep the rest that knows not breaking.*
> *Dream of battled fields no more.*
> *Days of danger, nights of waking."*
> *Erected to the memory of the*
> *Confederate soldiers who*
> *Died in Alton prison 1862–1865*
> *By the U. D. C. through the*
> *Effort of the Sam Davis*
> *Chapter of Alton, Illinois,*
> *In the year 1910.*

Figure 154. North Alton Confederate Monument was completed in 1910; its original earthen base was covered in concrete, probably by WPA labor repairing the foundation in the 1930s.

Figure 155. The Sam Davis Chapter, UDC, paid for North Alton's memorial entrance gates.

Commissioner Oates died before even the fence and associated grading could be accomplished. Completing work at Alton fell to Commissioner James Berry, who received a letter from the Alton UDC in spring 1911. The UDC was eager to get grass planted and complete the work at the cemetery in time for the annual Decoration Day ceremony. They reported that no work had been done that year, and they were hoping he could tell them when they might expect to see it completed. Whether it was the ladies' prompting or a desire to complete the project, but for whatever reason, Commissioner Berry sent L. Frank Nye back to Alton.[359]

Nye arrived on July 9, 1911. He inspected the cemetery and found the fence and the monument in good shape; however, installation of the underground drainage system, and leveling and filling the grounds were not finished. Nye met with several contactors to ascertain why none had bid on the second request. The two Nye seemed willing to contract were Mr. Stakemiller and Mr. Elfgin. Stakemiller's first bid was too high; Elfgin was highly recommended locally but he had not submitted a second bid, because he had heard the government was "unduly rigid in its inspection of materials." The firm ultimately awarded the contract is not known, but the work was eventually completed (fig. 156).[360]

Figure 156. Army plat of the North Alton Confederate Cemetery, 1957. *National Cemetery Administration*.

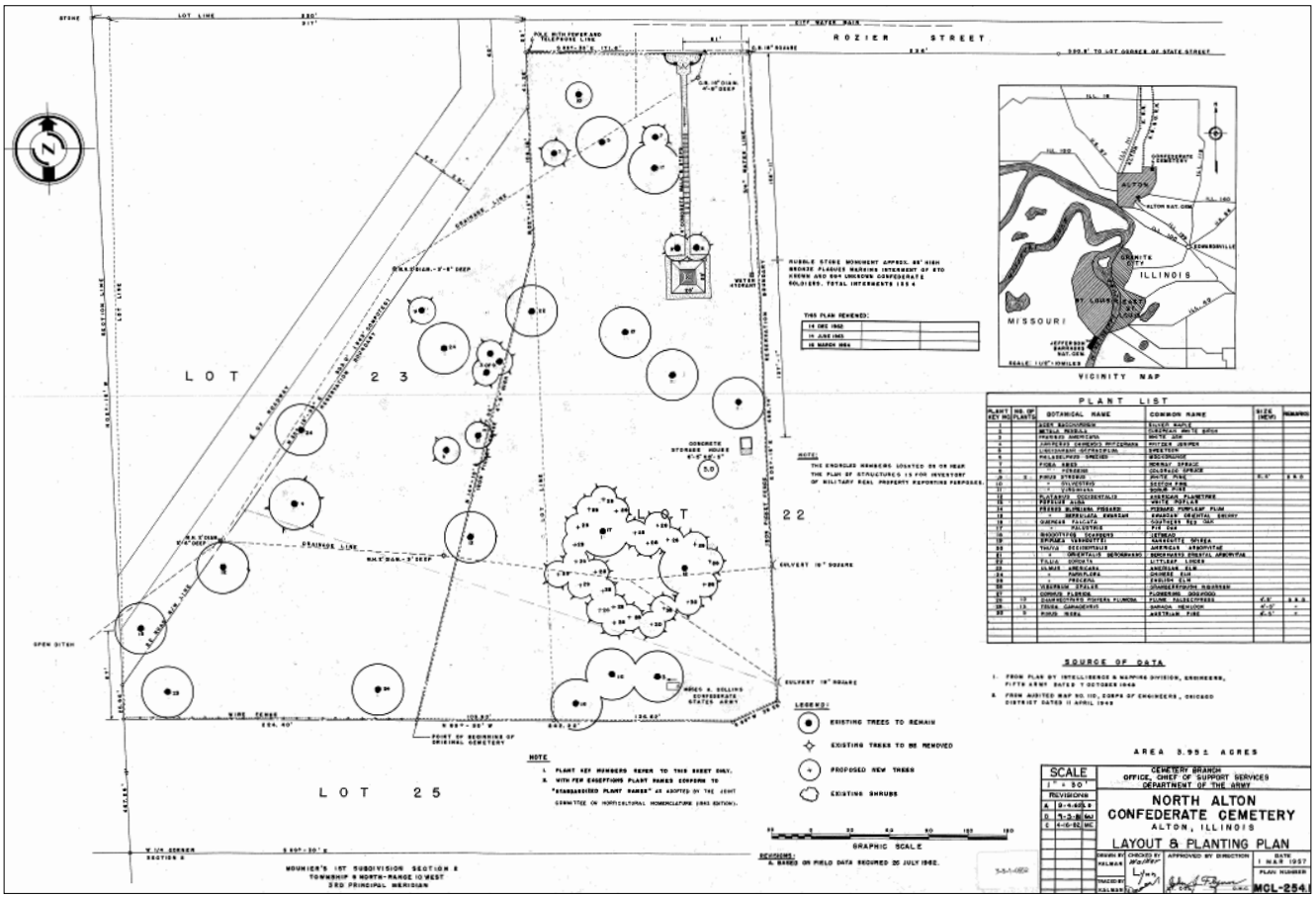


Figure 157. Steps lead up a steep hill to the North Alton monument in 1936; the fading gatepost inscriptions are visible. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Years later, in 1936, men employed under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) repaired the foundation of the North Alton Confederate Monument, the fence and gate, as well as constructing new sidewalks and steps and graded the grounds (fig. 157). The WPA report does not mention a small poured-concrete structure located south of the monument; it is recorded as a storage shed on a 1957 plat, and the form appears to date from the late 1930s or early 1940s (fig. 158).[361]

Figure 158. The concrete storage shed at North Alton in 2009.

One of the last improvements the federal government made to North Alton Confederate Cemetery occurred in 1993, when new steps and a concrete switch-back handicap-accessible ramp was installed to link the entrance to the monument base.[362] A contemporary black chain-link fence now abuts the original iron fence on the south and west sides of the cemetery property (fig. 159). It encloses an irregular parcel of U.S. property that was not enclosed by the original fence, which forms a rectangle around the monument.

In the rear portion of the cemetery tract, a single government-issued "In Memory of" marker was installed for Sergeant Joseph P. Julian, who died in 1863 at the prison according to military-service records. His name is not among those inscribed on the monument, but records could not be found that justified installation of the lone marker in the cemetery circa 1988. Today the North Alton Confederate Cemetery monument, memorial gate, and fence are extant; however, notable changes to the historic character of the landscape were introduced by the base and walkway made of concrete, and chain-link fence.

Figure 159. The cemetery property includes decorative iron fence (foreground), and chain-link fence (left) around the 0.44-acre parcel.

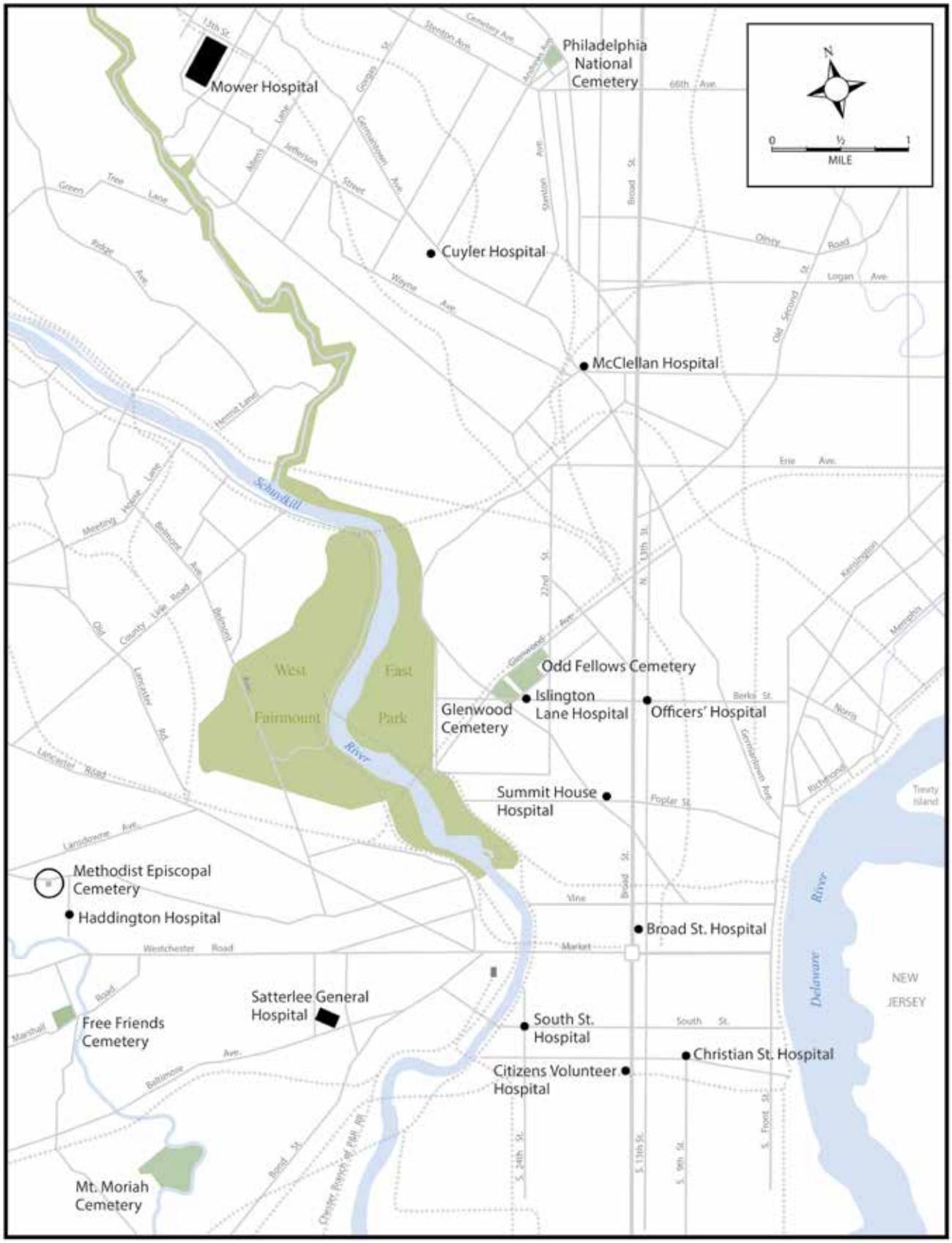


Figure 160. City of Philadelphia map showing the locations of hospitals where Confederate prisoners were treated and died, and the many cemeteries where they were buried before being consolidated in Philadelphia National Cemetery.

PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL CEMETERY

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

All of the Confederate prisoners buried in Philadelphia National Cemetery died at one of the hospitals in or near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. All were originally interred in a cemetery near the hospital where they died and later moved to the federal cemetery (figs. 160–161). Wounded Confederate soldiers received treatment at a number of military and private hospitals in Philadelphia including: Cuyler, Christian Street, South Street, Citizens Volunteer, McClellan, Turner's Lane, Islington Lane, Officers Hospital, Summit House, Haddington, and Broad Street. Among the largest hospitals were Mower General Hospital, which could house 4,000 patients, and Satterlee General Hospital, which could accommodate 3,000.[363]

Crozer Theological Seminary, located just south of the city in Chester, was used by the army as a hospital and could hold nearly 1,000 patients. Generally referred to simply as "Chester," it was one of three hospitals where Confederates wounded during the July 1–3, 1863, Battle of Gettysburg were officially sent; others were Davids' Island and Point Lookout.[364]

Confederate Interments In and Near Philadelphia

Confederate prisoners are known to have been buried at several cemeteries in and around Philadelphia. Glenwood City Cemetery had nine individual burials, all known. Odd Fellows Cemetery had fourteen burials, the names of which were known. Six Confederate prisoners originally buried at Free Friends and the Methodist Episcopal cemeteries were reinterred at Mount Moriah Cemetery. It is not clear how many were buried at each cemetery, if their identities were known, or when they were moved to Mount Moriah. The largest number of Confederate dead, 169 prisoners, were buried at Rural Cemetery in Chester. These remains were moved from Potter's Field and Powell Cemetery. The number of individuals moved from each cemetery and the date of the removal was not stated. Altogether, there were 198 Confederate prisoners buried in the four cemeteries.[365]

Most of these Confederates were interspersed among the Union dead. The exception was Rural Cemetery in Chester where they were segregated into a separate Confederate section. An 1870s army report specifically mentions two lots in Chester, with the larger containing Confederate burials that were marked with headboards. At the time, the government soldiers' lots in Philadelphia-area cemeteries were well marked and burials were in good condition.[366]

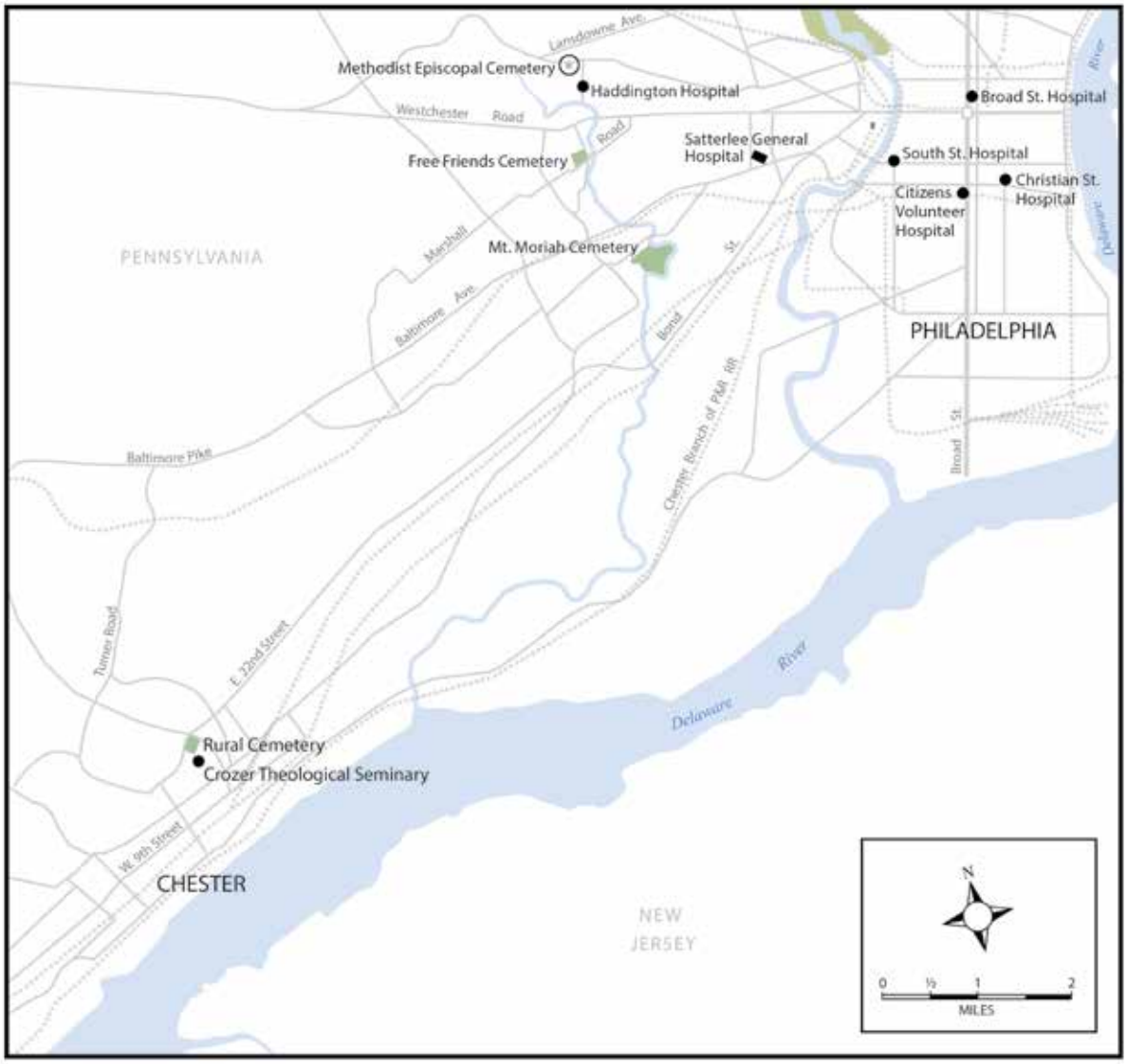


Figure 161. Greater Philadelphia map showing the location of Rural Cemetery and Crozer Theological Institute in Chester, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia National Cemetery

Philadelphia National Cemetery was established on March 4, 1885. The site was 2 miles west of Germantown in the 22nd Ward, at the corner of Haines Street and Lime Kiln Pike. Between 1885 and 1896, remains were removed from several area burial grounds to the new national cemetery, including those named above. By 1889, a 5-foot-high stone wall enclosed the 13-acre cemetery. An existing three-story stone dwelling, with twelve rooms and a bathroom, had been converted into a lodge. There were three outbuildings: a stable, wagon shed, and tool shed. A flagstaff stood approximately 100 feet east of the lodge.[367]

None of the Confederate graves were marked; although they were listed as unknown on an 1889 "schedule of information," most were, in fact, identified. A report sent by the Philadelphia Quartermaster Department to the U.S. Quartermaster General in Washington listed 165 unknown Confederates: 160 from Chester and the remainder from Glenwood. In addition, Joel Odore, Ed. J. Kelly, G. A. Wise, G. B. Grider, Michael

Evans, and Andrew Smoke—all of the 25th South Carolina—were interred in the Odd Fellows lot. William M. C. Thompson, 5th North Carolina; Thomas A. Royat, 1st North Carolina; and John Hann, described listed only as 'Confederate,' were interred at the Mount Moriah lot, for a total of 174 Confederates associated with four soldiers' lots in or near Philadelphia in 1891.[368]

An 1892 U.S. Army Quartermaster plan of the cemetery shows the entrance in the southeast corner, where it is today. An internal perimeter road connected the entrance with cemetery burial sections and structures. Burials were arranged in three sections separated by lines of trees (present-day Sections D, E, and F). The graves in largest section are laid out east-west and are shown as marked with headstones. Nearby, small monuments were likely ornamental cannon, and the original octagonal rostrum was located near the perimeter.[369]

Across the road and west of Sections D-F, three sections contain Civil War graves. Two (present-day Sections A and B) contain Union remains, the third contains Confederate dead and is labeled on the plan as "REBELS." The graves are arranged north-south, and are shown as marked with headstones (fig. 162).[370]

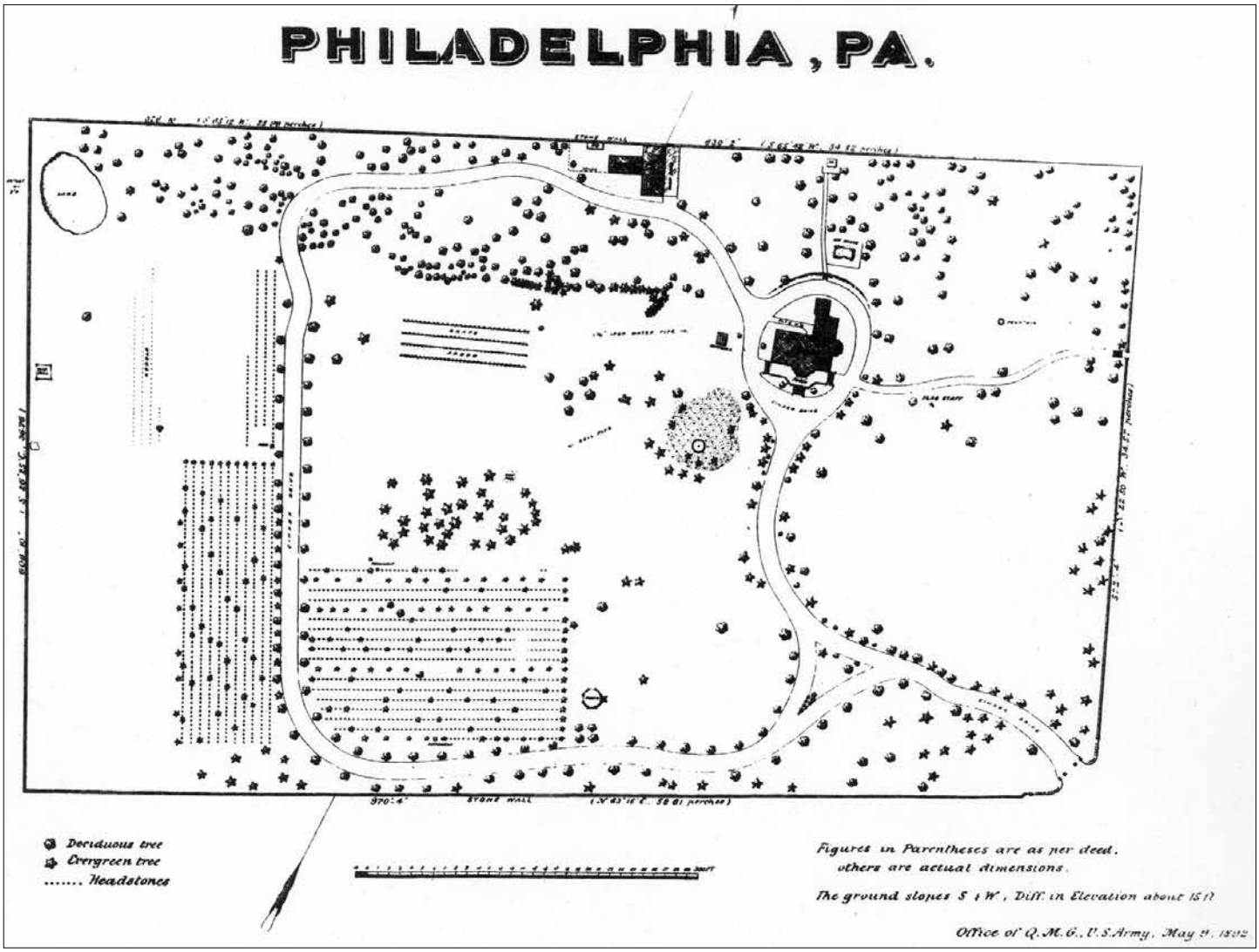


Figure 162. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Philadelphia National Cemetery, 1892. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

In 1897, a Confederate memorial organization in Philadelphia approached the national cemetery superintendent about placing a monument on the graves of the Confederate dead. They were told they would have to obtain permission from the quartermaster general in Washington. By May 1900, the organization had raised $95.05 from thirty chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and United Confederate Veterans, with the intention of erecting an obelisk in Philadelphia National Cemetery. When members of Ellis Post No. 6, Grand Army of the Republic, based in Germantown, Pennsylvania, heard of the proposal, they lodged a protest.[371]

> *Memorial Day is our day, and we do not want any desecration of it, by Confederates, nor do we think that a National Cemetery in a loyal City of the North, should be disgraced by a monument to would be destroyers of our Union.*[372]

Figure 163. UDC plaque installed in Philadelphia National Cemetery, ca. 1900; the number '224' has never been explained.

Perhaps in response to the complaint, the memorial was scaled back from an obelisk to a modest 2-foot by 6-foot slab set flush with the ground. It is not clear if permission was actually granted, but circa 1900 the General Dabney H. Maury Chapter, UDC, of Philadelphia placed the flush memorial in the Confederate Section (fig. 163). It reads: *Two Hundred and Twenty Four / Unknown Confederate Dead / 1861–1865 / Erected by the General Dabney H. Maury Chapter U. D. C.*[373]

The Commission

L. Frank Nye, clerk for the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, arrived in Philadelphia toward the end of July 1906 to examine the cemetery in preparation for erecting headstones on the graves of Confederate prisoners of war interred there. Nye described the Confederate Section:

> *The section is shown on the plat as being three and a fraction trenches, the uncompleted one being on the east, and starting on the south. Dots are shown on the blue-print in this section, but these number only 123.*[374]

Nye spoke with Gertrude Agnes Byers of the General Dabney H. Maury Chapter about the monument, specifically the number of unknown burials inscribed on it. Byers did not know the source of the number, 224, and promised to have the chapter's lawyer contact Nye. In the superintendent's office in Philadelphia, Nye located facts regarding the burials brought to the cemetery from Glenwood, Odd Fellows, Mechanics, Lafayette, Lebanon, and Fort Mifflin cemeteries. However, the information concerning Rural Cemetery, the cemetery with the greatest number of Confederate burials, was still in Chester, Pennsylvania.[375]

In August Nye traveled to Chester to try to obtain information from the Rural Cemetery Association. He found that ten bodies were removed to Charleston, South Carolina, on April 27, 1871. Another individual was sent to Griffin, Georgia. Nye also located a permit authorizing fifty-five Union and 160 Confederate soldiers to be moved from the Rural Cemetery to Philadelphia National Cemetery on October 28, 1891. Among Nye's notes was a copy of the December 1891 Monthly Report of the Philadelphia National Cemetery, which shed more light on these remains: "In removing the bodies of the Confederates at the Chester Rural [Cemetery,] only 128 bodies could be found it was supposed that 160 were buried there this will reduce the total number of unknown to 184, instead of 216 as previously reported."[376] The report said that nineteen years earlier, remains were removed to South Carolina and Virginia; however, Nye found no record of that later.[377]

The commission made little headway toward compiling a list of the Philadelphia burials in 1906. The new commissioner, William Oates, reopened the investigation in 1910 in an attempt to reconcile the number of national cemetery burials with the number of Confederate prisoners reported to have died in the Chester hospital, 200. The commissioner and Nye made inquiries but failed to get the information necessary to reconcile the different numbers.[378]

Over the course of the investigation, Nye learned that the memorial obelisk the UDC had originally proposed to install in Philadelphia National Cemetery had been paid for and received. Because they could not donate it to the national cemetery, the UDC placed it in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. The 8-foot-tall obelisk was erected in 1902 and the inscription cited 224 unknown Confederate soldiers buried in Philadelphia National Cemetery. Nearby the UDC placed a sign that read:

Figure 164. Left: Confederate Monument, completed 1912, at Philadelphia National Cemetery.

Figure 165. Above: The Confederate monument's dedication plaque omits both praise and censure.

> *Died in captivity and denied a monument in Philadelphia where they lie buried, this stone to their everlasting honor in the heart of the Confederacy by the General Dabney H. Maury Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*[379]

Commissioner Oates died before the issue of the Confederate monument in Philadelphia was resolved. That task fell to his successor. In March 1911 Commissioner James Berry issued a circular requesting bids to design and build a single monument to be erected in Philadelphia National Cemetery. John Maxwell's Sons of Philadelphia was awarded the contract. They began work in summer 1911 and completed the monument in the autumn.[380]

The finished granite die, base, and cap monument was 9 feet 6 inches tall. An engraving of crossed swords adorned the south face (fig. 164). The commission determined that 184 Confederate prisoners were buried in the cemetery. The men's names were listed on three plaques affixed to the monument. The commission added a fourth dedication plaque (fig. 165):

> *Erected by the / United States / to mark the burial place of / 184 Confederate soldiers / and sailors. / As shown by the records, who, while / prisoners of war, died either at / Chester, Pa., and were there buried, / or at Philadelphia and were buried / in Glenwood Cemetery, and whose / remains were subsequently re- / moved to this Cemetery, where the / individual graves cannot now be / identified.*

Figure 166. Left: Philadelphia National Cemetery has changed little from this 1961 photograph. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 167. Above: One of four corner markers that delineate the Confederate Section, Philadelphia National Cemetery.

Figure 168. Though modest in size, the Confederate monument is a prominent feature in Philadelphia National Cemetery.

The Philadelphia Chapter of the UDC voluntarily took charge of the dedication ceremony, held on October 12, 1912—the anniversary of the death of General Robert E. Lee. The impressive program featured music, hymns, prayers, poetry, and an oration by John Shepherd Beard. It ended with a thirty-gun salute and the playing of "Taps." According to the local press, approximately 1,000 people attended the unveiling.[381] When the monument was installed, the Confederate Section was situated in an underutilized, rear area of the cemetery; it remains in an open area (fig. 166). The Confederate Section is designated by four small cornerstone markers inscribed with a "C" (fig. 167), and today it is surrounded by more recent burials (fig. 168).

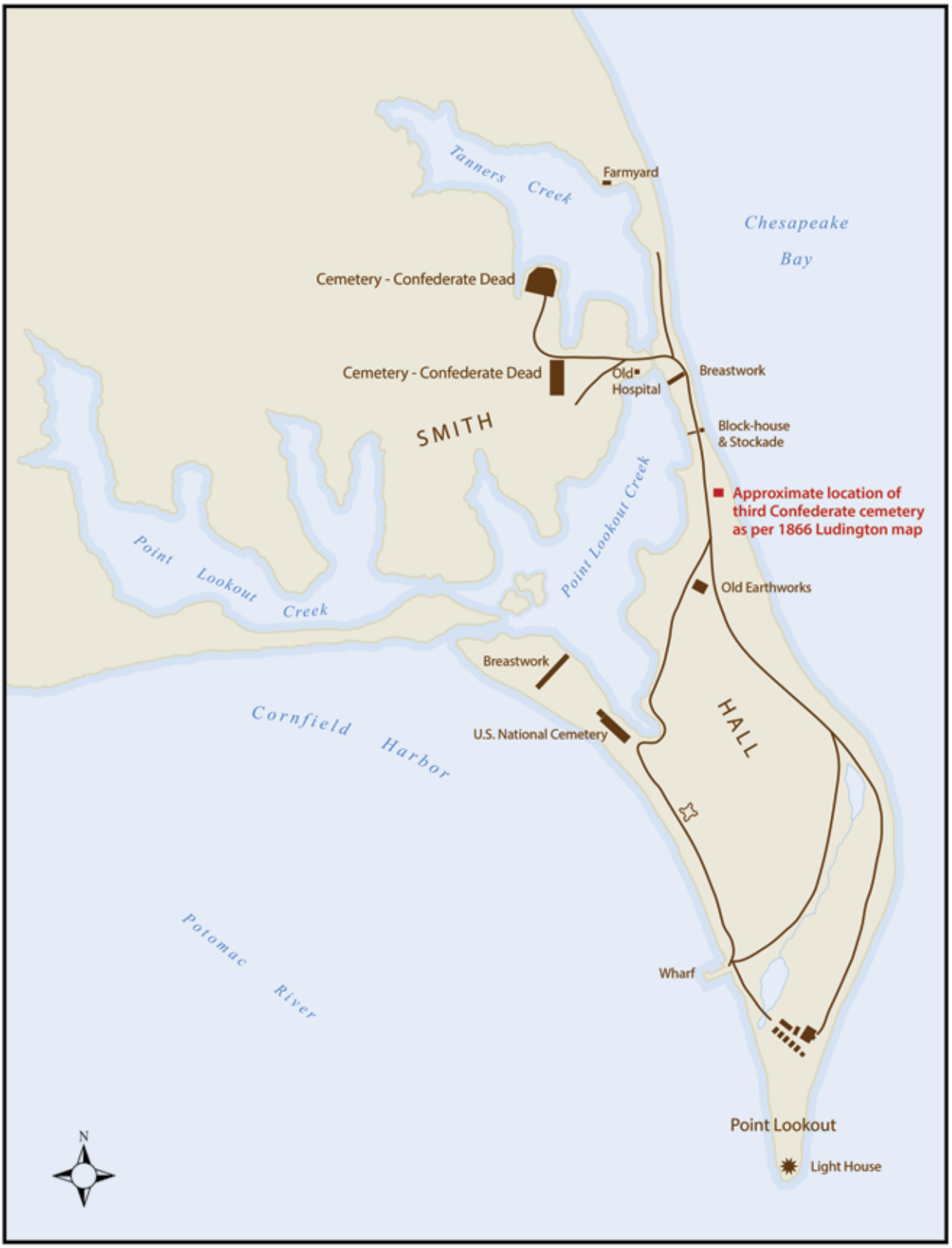


Figure 169. Map showing the cemeteries at Point Lookout, ca. 1870. *Based on sources in RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, National Archives and Records Administration.*

POINT LOOKOUT CONFEDERATE CEMETERY

St. Mary's County, Maryland

Point Lookout is located in the extreme southern end of Maryland's western shore where the Potomac River flows into the Chesapeake Bay. Developer William C. Johnson saw potential in the beautiful location (fig 169). In 1857 he bought 400 acres and built a hotel and a number of cottages, which he leased to subscribers for twenty years with rights of renewal if desired. The resort was doing well until the Civil War began. Johnson fell into financial difficulties and mortgaged the property to William H. Allen of Baltimore, who offered the property to the government for use as a military hospital. The government inspection was favorable and, in July 1862, the government repurposed some of the resort buildings and began construction of an elaborate hospital complex. The medical complex, known as Hammond Hospital, opened in August (fig. 170).[382]

The Confederate prison at Point Lookout opened in 1863 on a 40-acre site about one-half mile north of the hospital. General Gilman Marston was ordered to Maryland to take command, oversee construction, and organize the camp (fig. 171). The prison compound was surrounded by a 15-foot-tall plank fence. A gallery at the top of the fence accommodated sentries. The prison was divided into two areas: a larger area for enlisted men and a smaller area for officers.[383]

Confederates who were captured at the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were sent to Maryland in late July 1863 to help construct the prison facility. At the end of August there were 1,700 prisoners at Point Lookout, and by year's end, the population had swollen to 9,000, housed in 980 tents, including the sick. The tents were a motley collection of every type of tent the army issued—bells, Sibleys, walls, wedges, even small shelter tents—all of them old.[384]

Camp Hoffman Prisoner-of-War Camp

The completed prison was officially called Camp Hoffman, in honor of Commissary General of Prisoners William H. Hoffman, though it was seldom referred to by that name. The prison was overcrowded and the men were poorly fed. Two reports issued in November and December 1863 severely criticized camp conditions. The report made by the U.S. Sanitary Commission in November noted that there were no stoves in the hospital tents and that the Confederate prisoners were filthy. Dr. A. M. Clark's report in December criticized the prison conditions, citing lack of clothing and blankets for prisoners and noting diarrhea as the most common illness.[385] Clark went so far as to give a statistical breakdown for November 1863: "Report for November shows aggregate number of prisoners sick and wounded in hospital, 1,037; aggregate of deaths, 145; percentage of deaths, 13.98; aggregate number of Federal sick and wounded in hospital, 505; aggregate number of deaths, 1; percentage of deaths, .019."[386]

Figure 170. Bird's-eye view view of Point Lookout, Maryland, ca. 1864. *Library of Congress*.

Figure 171. General Gilman Marston, first commander of Point Lookout, ca. 1863. *Library of Congress*.

Hoffman and Camp Commandant Marston recommended that wooden barracks be built but Secretary of War Edwin Stanton refused to authorize their construction. Those confined at Point Lookout would have to make do with tents. By summer 1864, Point Lookout was the Union's largest prisoner-of-war facility, holding some 15,550 prisoners. The warm months did not lessen the mortality rate. More than 740 men died between June and October, most commonly of diarrhea, scurvy, typhoid fever, and smallpox (fig. 172).[387]

The Prison Cemeteries

Point Lookout was shut down at the end of the war and the remaining prisoners sent home. Captain H. E. Goodwin traveled to Point Lookout in December 1865 to survey the cemeteries located at the prison camp and found three cemeteries for Confederate prisoners. His letter is confusing but it seems that one cemetery was located on property owned by James Hall about a mile from the lighthouse on the east side of the Chesapeake Road. The other two were situated on the property of Logan Smith. Goodwin reported that the cemeteries on Smith's property covered "several acres" and that Smith wanted $1,000 for the land. Goodwin recommended purchasing the land, but felt that $400 was a more realistic price.[388]

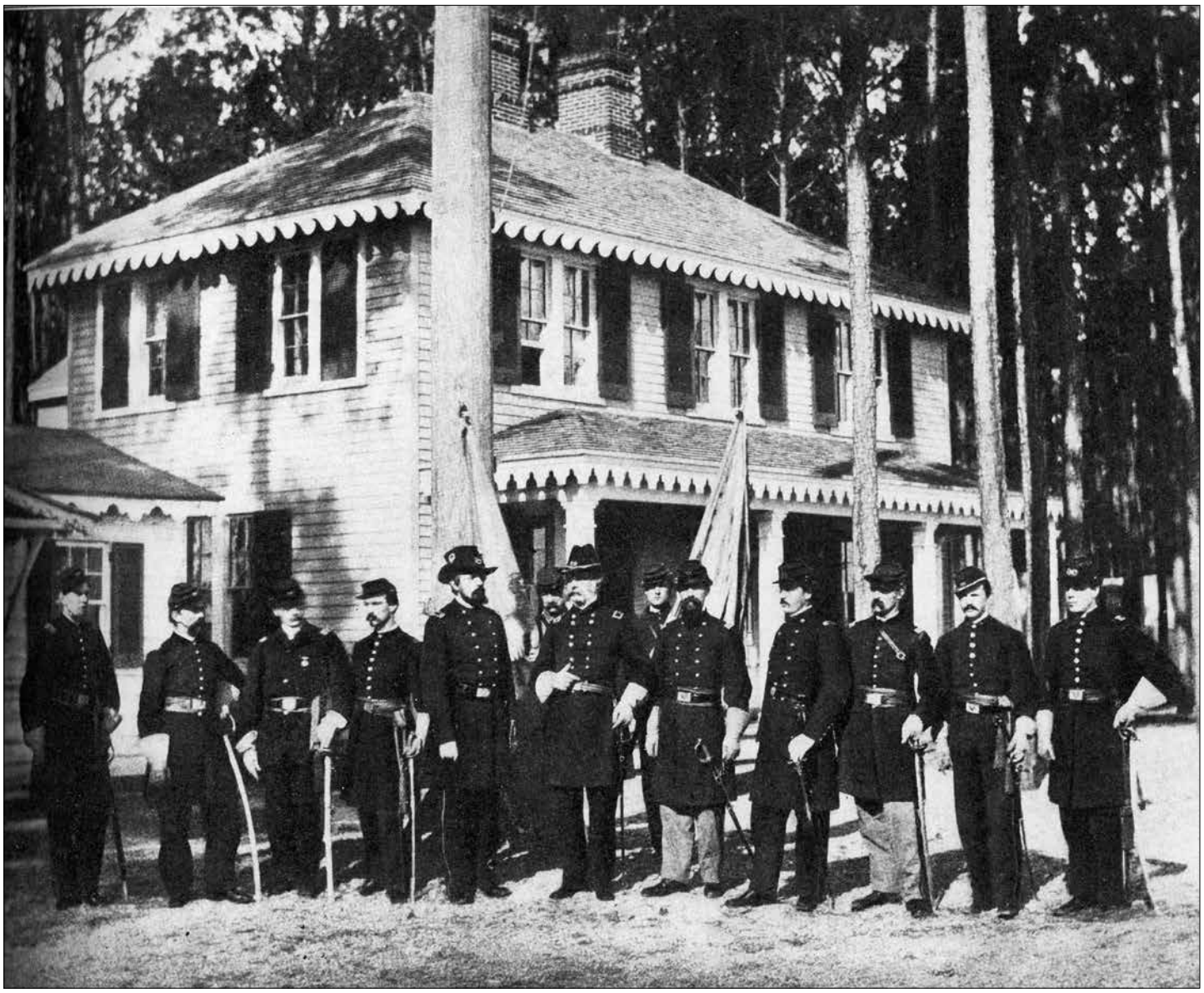


Figure 172. The commander and officers of Point Lookout, ca. 1864. Excluding two men holding flags in background (left to right): Dr. A. Heger, Captain C. H. Drew, Captain J. W. Goodwin, Lieutenant H. C. Strong, General James Barnes, Major A. G. Brady, Dr. T. H. Thompson, Captain J. W. Welch, Lieutenant Wilson, and Lieutenant J. T. Cantwell. *From Francis Trevelyan Miller, Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume 7*.

Lost in the shuttle of correspondence between inspectors and the quartermaster general is the small Confederate cemetery located on Chesapeake Road about one-half mile north of the lighthouse. In 1866 Colonel M. I. Ludington, chief of the Quartermaster Department of Washington, included a crude map of Point Lookout in his correspondence that indicated three Confederate cemeteries: the two on the Smith property with 1,500 graves each and a smaller one with 100 graves on the Hall property. Ludington reported the existence of all three cemeteries to Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs in a June 12, 1866, letter (fig. 173).[389] Also noted on the map was a Union cemetery containing 250 bodies.

The Quartermaster Department in Washington, D.C., dispatched E. Edward Gilbert to Point Lookout sometime in 1866 in preparation for establishing a national cemetery. He reported several cemeteries at Point Lookout, including two Union burial grounds (one for white soldiers, one for black soldiers) that together contained 726 interments, 175 of which were unknown. He reported three Confederate cemeteries containing 2,767 burials, 70 of which were unknown. Although Gilbert did not state explicitly, it seems

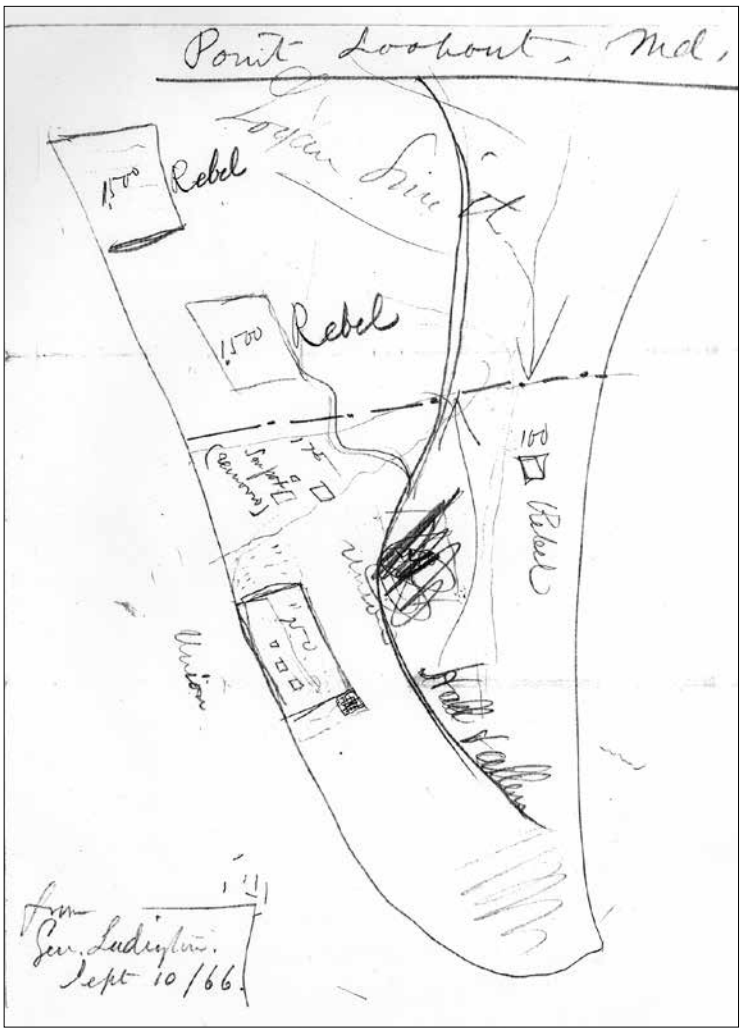


Figure 173. Map of Point Lookout, 1866, by Colonel M. I. Ludington, Quartermaster Department of Washington, D.C. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

that the graves counted as 'known' had headboards. Gilbert mentioned that the higher number of unknowns among the Union dead was due to the proximity of the cemetery to the beach, specifically stating that drifting sand had covered many headboards in that area. This was the first of several counts made of prisoners' graves and their Union keepers who had died at Point Lookout. The only map found showing all of the cemeteries mentioned above is the crude one drawn by Ludington in September 1866.[390]

That same year, the Department of War issued a ruling that no bodies could be removed from the Confederate cemeteries without a Department of War permit. Supposedly people were removing bodies, either with permits from other departments or with no permits at all. They left grave shafts open and trespassed on Smith's property, which he found objectionable. In fact, a group of entrepreneurs had established a business building coffins and removing remains. They claimed to have "exclusive rights" to remove bodies and that anyone wishing a body removed must use their services at a cost of $30, an outrageous fee in 1866. The government shut down the grave-removal business but in the attached correspondence there was no mention of how many bodies had been removed from the Point Lookout Confederate cemeteries. The order regulating grave removal from national cemeteries and battlefields applied nationwide.[391]

In February 1867, the U.S. government purchased seven acres containing the Union cemetery and the three Confederate cemeteries on the Smith property for $1,100. The Quartermaster Department spent most of 1867 trying to decide what to do with the men buried at Point Lookout. Eventually the Union soldiers were removed to Arlington National Cemetery. The Confederates, however, would remain at Point Lookout until another assessment of the cemeteries was made. The two Confederate cemeteries on Smith's property, designated Cemeteries No. 1 and No. 2 by the quartermaster, were 2.21 and 3.82 acres, respectively. A July 27, 1867, report suggested that the graves in Cemetery No. 1 be exhumed and moved to Cemetery No. 2, which was on higher ground. The final recommendation of the quartermaster general was to leave the Confederates where they were and to erect new headboards.[392]

State-Established Cemetery

An 1870–1871 U.S. Army report to Congress on the conditions of national cemeteries and other burial grounds listed 2,159 Confederates buried at Point Lookout. In the spring of 1871, W. L. Thomas of the St. Mary's Board of Trustees requested permission from the secretary of war to remove and rebury the Confederate dead at Point Lookout.

The secretary of war granted permission and put the seven acres of the land purchased in 1867 up for sale.[393]

Figure 174. Maryland Confederate Monument, photograph ca. 1908, showing wood-plank fence (right). *National Archives and Records Administration*.

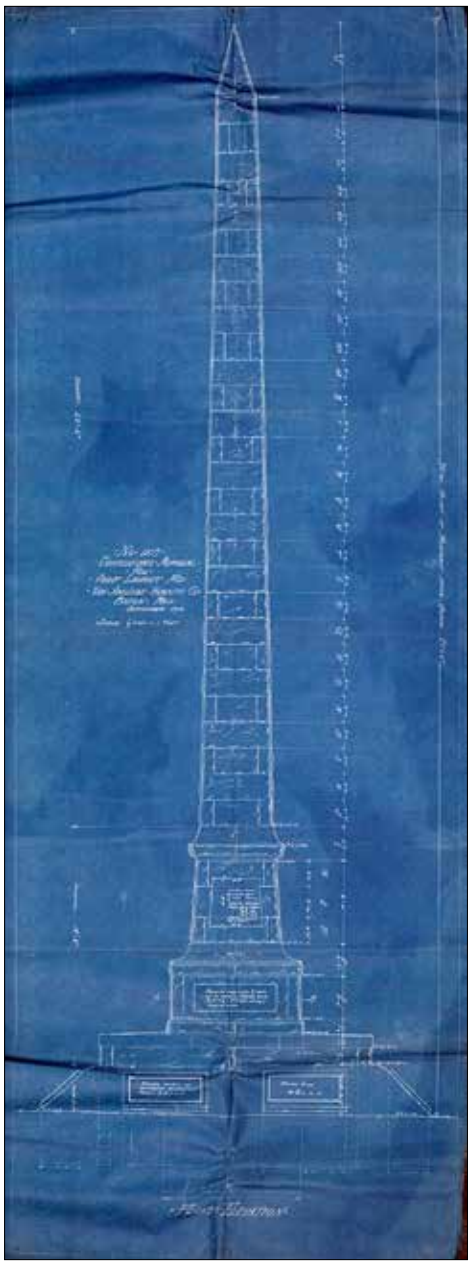
The General Assembly of Maryland passed a law in 1870 appropriating funds to purchase a plot of ground at or near the prisoner-of-war camp at Point Lookout. The act also provided for the Confederate dead to be moved from the cemeteries owned by the U.S. government to the parcel purchased by Maryland. The new burial plot was then to be enclosed with an iron fence. The 1870–1871 report purportedly found 2,159 Confederates buried at Point Lookout, but when the St. Mary's County Board of Trustees completed the work of exhuming the burials, they reported moving the remains of 3,404 individuals. The cost of moving and reinterring the bodies and building the fence used up most of the appropriated money, therefore in 1874, the Maryland General Assembly appropriated additional funds to erect a monument, thereby completing the cemetery (fig. 174).[394]

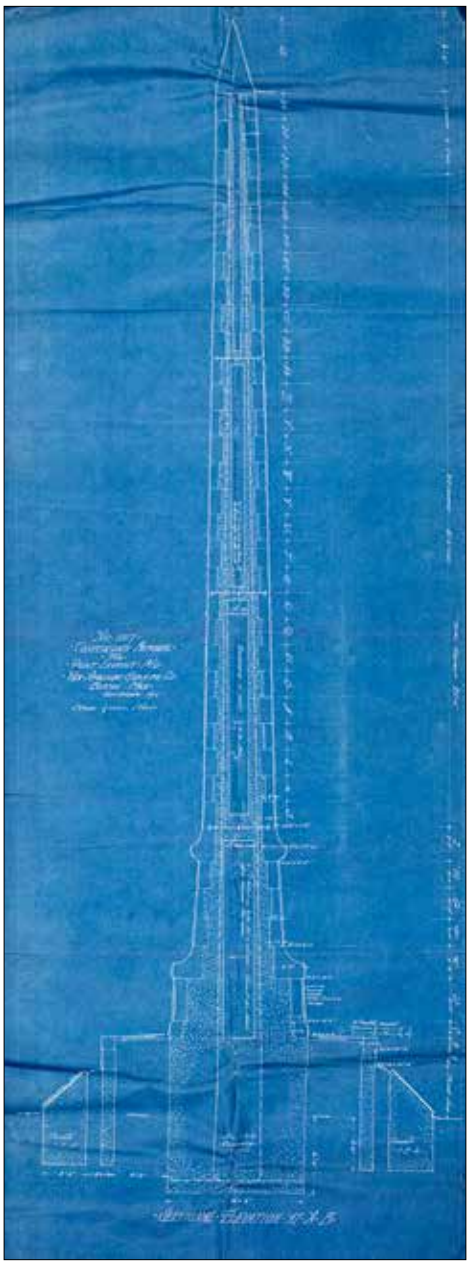
By 1876 the Maryland Confederate Monument was finished. Even though the St. Mary's County Board of Trustees reported moving the remains of 3,404 individuals, the inscription on the monument states that 3,004 men are buried at the site. The reason for the discrepancy is unknown. According to 1907 correspondence written by Millard F. Minnick, a local minister, the cemetery had an iron fence in the front; the sides and rear were fenced with wood. In the same letter Minnick wrote: "I am quite sure it would be impossible to identify the individual graves as I am informed ten or more were placed in the same box." He also said that many bodies had been removed to the South in 1866–1867. Therefore, in 1906, in order to carry out its mission to set headstones as per the legislation, the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead began to investigate the various burial places at Point Lookout.[395]

The Commission

On May 26, 1906, Commissioner William Elliott contacted John T. Callaghan, president of the United Confederate Veterans camp in Washington, D.C. Two days later Callaghan replied to Elliott that he and his wife had visited Point Lookout in 1870 in an attempt to find his wife's brother's remains. They found the cemetery overgrown with blackberry and other underbrush. While on site, Callaghan spoke with Logan Smith, who told him that some years earlier a fire had swept across the area, burning the cemetery headboards. Callaghan recommended that Elliott contact other local residents who, he thought, might have more information.[396]

Commissioner Elliott died in 1907, with research on Point Lookout incomplete. New commissioner William Oates immediately set out to visit cemeteries and assess their condition. After visiting Greenlawn Cemetery in Indianapolis, he wrote to Secretary of War Luke E. Wright, suggesting that a single memorial be erected at cemeteries where individual graves could not be identified. In December 1909, after a ruling by the judge advocate general, Oates was given permission to employ the single-memorial alternative wherever it was deemed necessary.[397]





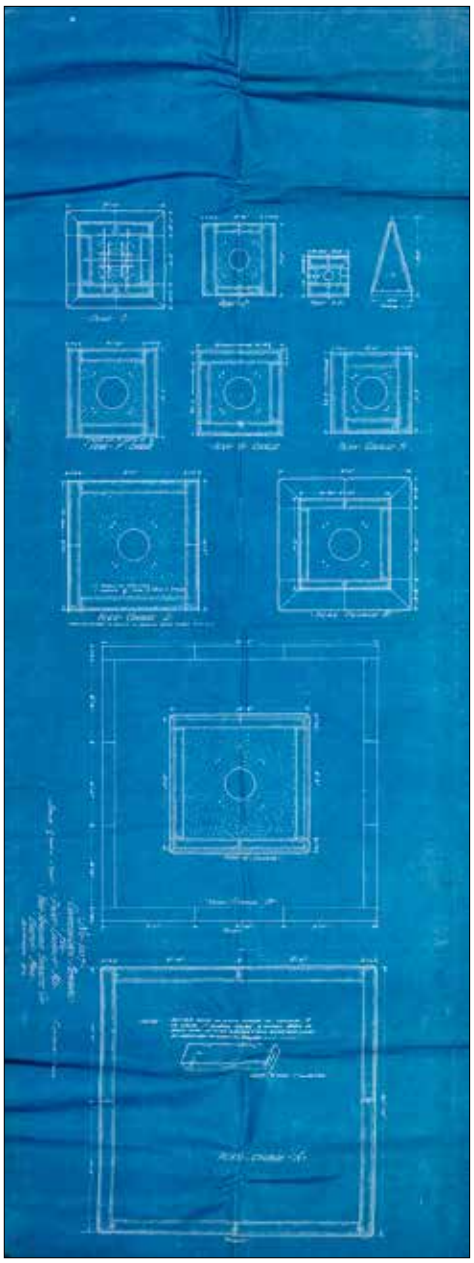


Figure 175. Left: Elevation drawing of Point Lookout Confederate Monument by Van Amringe Granite Company, September 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 176. Center: Section elevation drawing of Point Lookout Confederate Monument by Van Amringe Granite Company, September 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 177. Right: Course plans for Point Lookout Confederate Monument by Van Amringe Granite Company, September 1910. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

While Oates was busy exploring the use of a single monument for sites where individual graves could not be identified, a three-man committee, James Hall, Francis King, and W. A. Fenwick, representing the Board of Trustees of the Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, met with representatives of Van Amringe Granite Company in Leonardtown, Maryland. The committee saw and approved the design of the monument proposed by Van Amringe, which was similar to the design the commission had chosen earlier that year for the North Alton Confederate Cemetery in Alton, Illinois.

A month later, in January 1910, the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act transferring ownership of the Confederate cemetery to the United States. The governor signed the bill in April. A second parcel was purchased from James and Natalie Hall, which "will vest in the United States a good title to the cemetery lot."[398]

In June, the commission issued a circular and poster requesting bids to erect a memorial at Point Lookout.[399]

Figure 178. Point Lookout Confederate Monument, ca. 1911. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Nothing was ever straightforward or easy for the commissioners. On July 18, 1910, the monument committee from the Board of Trustees of the Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery visited the acting secretary of war and L. Frank Nye in Washington, where they were allowed to see the other designs submitted for the monument. The committee were steadfast about the Van Amringe design, even after reviewing the other designs, and thereafter sent a letter urging Commissioner Oates to award Van Amringe the contract (figs.175–177).[400]

One of the committee members, W. A. Fenwick, followed up the letter to Oates with a second five-page letter explaining the actions of the committee and circumstances that led to their endorsing the Van Amringe design. The Maryland United Confederate Veterans and Point Lookout survivors were divided. The minority were against handing over the cemetery to the federal government. However, they were appeased by the Van Amringe monument design, which the Board of Trustees promised that the government would fund. W. A. Fenwick's fear was that if another design were to be chosen, the trustees would be discredited, not only in St. Mary's County, but statewide. Fenwick implored Oates to choose the Van Amringe design, which he did.[401]

The day after he chose the design, Commissioner Oates died, leaving the work of completing the monument to the new commissioner, James H. Berry. Like his predecessors, Berry found the Point Lookout project difficult. The trustees tried to micro-manage the project. There was dissent over the material for the monument: the trustees wanted North Carolina granite, whereas Oates had recommended "white granite," which is marble, and more costly. Ultimately, granite was used as the construction material, with the base of the monument surrounded by an earthen mound covered with grass. When the Point Lookout Confederate Monument was completed in 1911, eight bronze plaques listing the names of the dead were placed on the mound (fig. 178).[402]

The contract with Van Amringe obligated the company to move the old state monument to a place specified by the trustees, but misinformation created a controversy that raged for five months, resulting in a mountain of paperwork involving lawyers and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The trustees wanted the Maryland Confederate Monument to be moved to the old Confederate burying ground on the former Hall property. Hall claimed that he still owned the property and did not want the monument moved there, chiefly because he believed that the trustees would not take care of it after it was moved. He said that the monument had not been cared for in the past, and he was convinced that nothing would change.[403]

Hall finally conceded that the government did in fact own the land. A surveyor hired by the trustees went to the property and put a stake in the ground, to mark for the Van Amringe Company exactly where the monument should be placed. Finally, the

Figure 180. Former utility shed behind the Point Lookout monument.

Maryland Confederate Monument was transferred. The iron fence that had been installed at the site where the new monument was being constructed was salvaged and placed at the site where the old monument was moved.[404]

Less than a year after the Maryland Confederate Monument was moved, Commissioner Berry fired off a letter to Francis King, secretary of the board of trustees of the Point Lookout Confederate Monument:

> *I regret to state . . . that an inspection was made of this monument, as well as the new monument erected under this office, and it was found that no attention seems to have been paid to this old monument since its re-erection.*[405]

The final cost of the work at Point Lookout carried out by the commission was $22,104.06. This sum included building the 85-foot-tall Point Lookout Confederate Monument, erecting the ornamental iron fence around the new monument, grading, planting grass, and correcting drainage on the site; also included was the relocation of the 1876 Maryland Confederate Monument and the original iron fence to the new location. There is no record of a dedication ceremony for the new Point Lookout Confederate Monument. The *Confederate Veteran* ran an article announcing it would be built, but there was no follow-up article regarding a dedication ceremony, nor was anything found in the records at the National Archives (fig. 179).[406]

Figure 181. Southeast corner of the cemetery and replacement fence post.

For several decades the 1876 Maryland Confederate Monument remained on a separate site about a mile away from the cemetery. In 1932, the Department of War declared the site, and one other where Confederate prisoners were originally buried, to be surplus property. The two pieces of property were sold in 1938 and the Maryland Confederate Monument was returned to its original location.[407]

At some point in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, two buildings were constructed on the west edge of the government property. A frame shed with an end-gable roof in the northwest corner still remains. It was constructed on a concrete pad and is sided with asbestos shingles (fig. 180). Only a concrete pad remains in the southwest corner where the other building stood. The ornamental iron fence still stands, though a fence post in the southeast corner has been replaced and some of the fence is damaged (fig. 181). When the site was visited in 2009, an Army of Northern Virginia-pattern Confederate battle flag was flying from a metal post erected on private property immediately behind the rear fence, almost directly behind the large obelisk (fig. 182).

There is no single history of Point Lookout. Edwin Beitzell's 1972 *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates* offers some analytical history but is mostly contemporary accounts from men who were inmates of the prison, documents from the National Archives, and excerpts from *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, which present the Union side of the story. By his own admission his book "details the pro-South sentiments of the people of St. Mary's County during the War Between the States and describes the cruel sufferings of the Confederate prisoners of war who were imprisoned at Point Lookout."[408] The book is hardly unbiased but Beitzell did examine the records in an attempt to determine how many men died at Point Lookout and he attempted to compare the names on the monument to other lists. Beitzell believed the count of the dead would exceed 4,000. He blamed the omission of

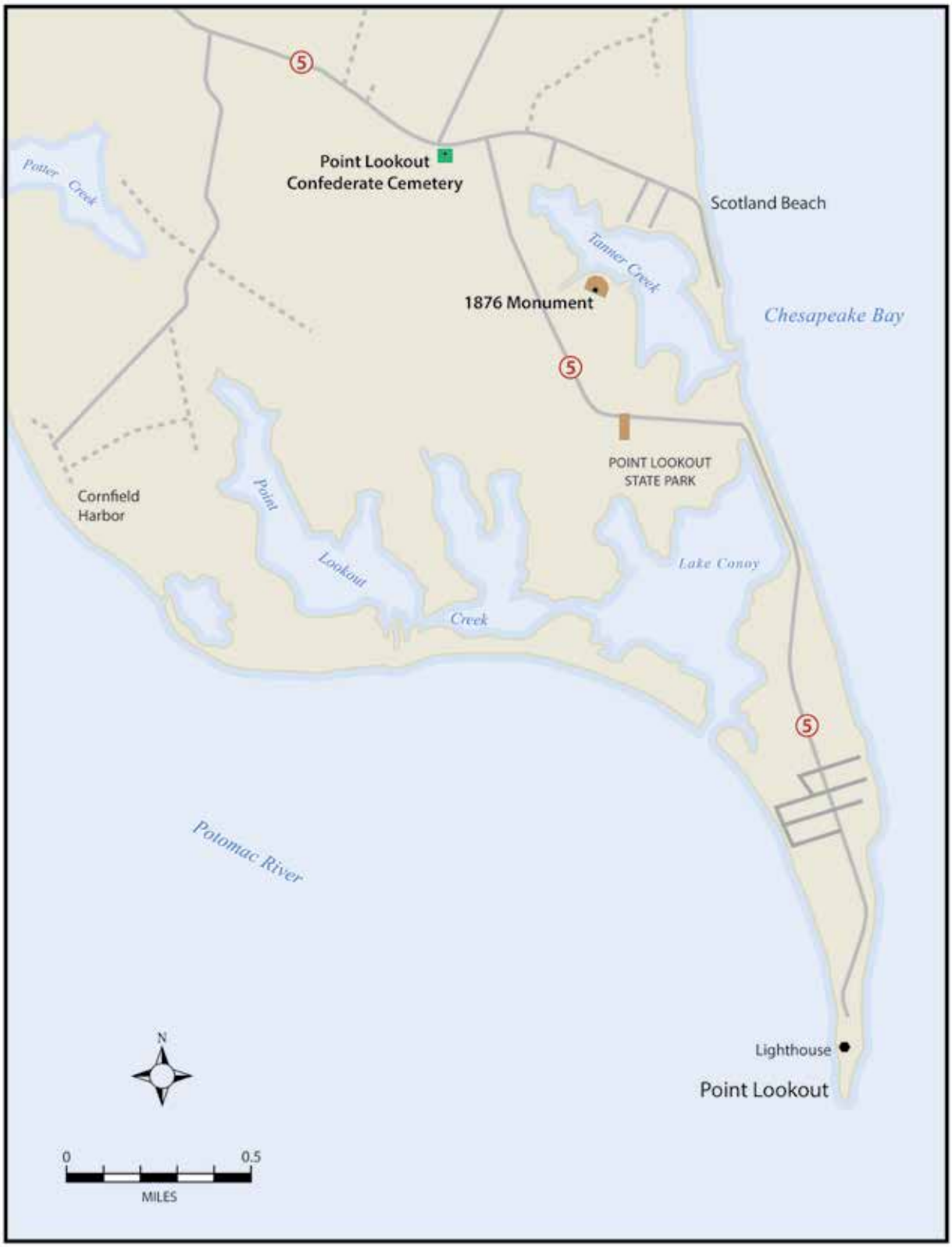


Figure 179. Map showing locations of the two monuments before the Maryland Confederate Monument was moved in 1938. *Based on Point Lookout, MD, USGS topographic quad, 1942.*

names from the monument on two factors: "(1) incomplete records during the early days of the camp and (2) a poor research job at the time the names of the dead were compiled to be placed on the monument."[409]

The exact number of men who died at Point Lookout and the number of men buried there remains a question. There have been many counts but few complete answers. The first count, made by E. Edward Gilbert of the quartermaster general's office in 1866, listed three Confederate cemeteries with 2,767 burials, 70 of which were unknown. Colonel Ludington's 1866 map shows three cemeteries, two with 1,500 burials each and one with 100, which would total 3,100 interments. Unfortunately, Ludington does not explain how he arrived at those numbers. A national cemetery report by the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department for 1870–1871 lists 2,159 Confederate burials, which differs from both prior federal government counts. The report does not distinguish between known and unknown. An official report by the St. Mary's County commissioners when the bodies were exhumed in the 1870s listed 3,404 bodies moved, yet the monument erected by the State of Maryland gives the number buried at the site as 3,004. Commissioner Oates never reconciled the numbers. The list compiled by Commissioner Berry—3,385 known soldiers, 1 unknown soldier, and 44 civilians—for a total of 3,430, are the numbers in the final report issued by the commission in October 1912 (fig. 183).[410]

Figure 182. The Army of Northern Virginia-pattern Confederate battle flag, flown on private property immediately behind the cemetery fence, 2009.

Figure 183. Point Lookout Confederate Monument in 2009.

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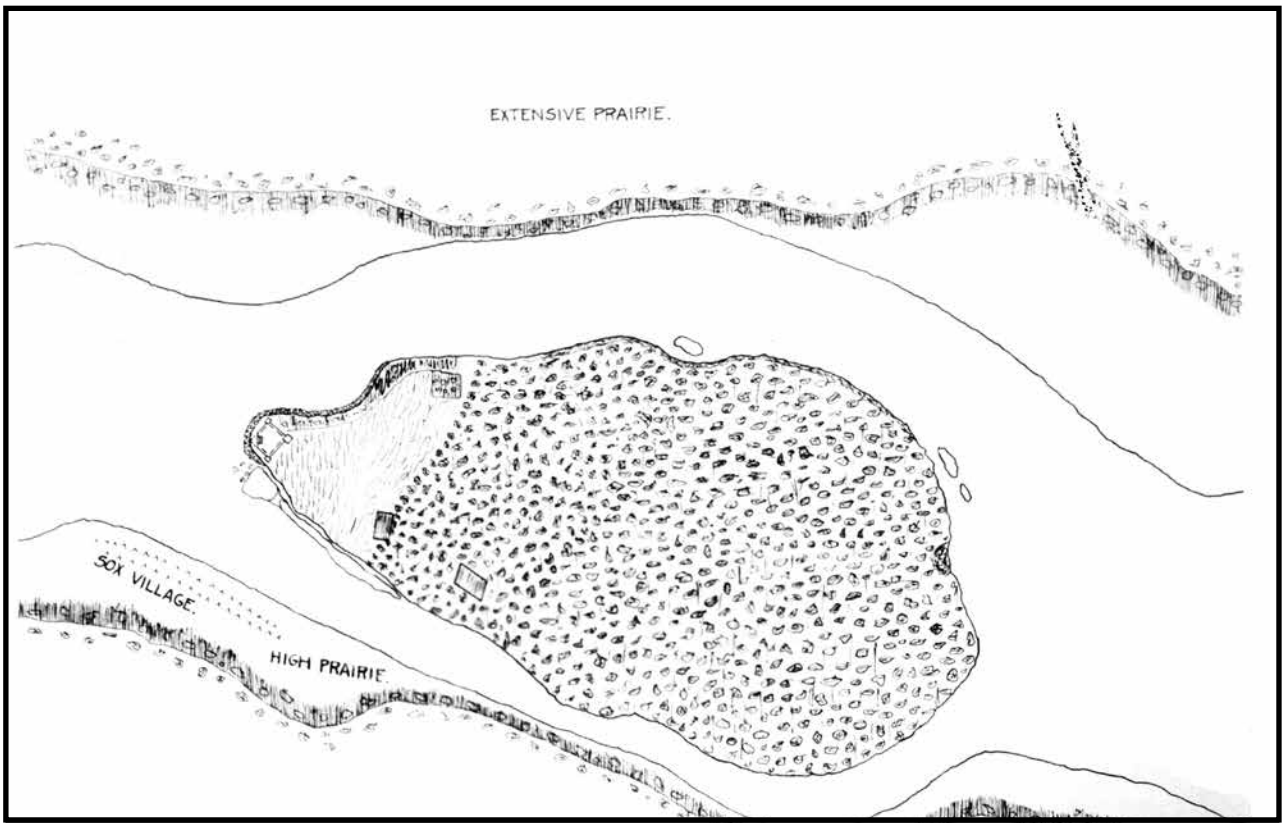

Figure 184. Map of Rock Island, 1819, with Fort Armstrong on the west (left) end of the island. *Library of Congress*.

Figure 185. Bird's-eye view of Rock Island Prison Barracks, ca. 1864. *Library of Congress*.

ROCK ISLAND CONFEDERATE CEMETERY

Rock Island, Illinois

Rock Island Arsenal

Rock Island is in the Mississippi River between Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa. In 1804, the federal government acquired the island, which is less than a mile wide and three miles long. Twelve years later, the U.S. Army constructed Fort Armstrong (fig. 184), which served as a rendezvous point for soldiers serving in the Black Hawk War. The army garrisoned Fort Armstrong until 1836. They abandoned the fort but the army maintained a presence on Rock Island.[411]

By the mid-1830s, Fort Armstrong had become a depot for arms and in 1839 an initiative was undertaken to establish an arsenal on Rock Island. The Department of War surveyed the island and determined the location acceptable. However, a lack of congressional funding left the island minimally staffed, and its role as a "Western Arsenal" unfulfilled. Finally, on July 11, 1862, well into the second year of the Civil War, Congress appropriated $100,000 for the arsenal and armory on Rock Island. That same month, the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department authorized the construction of a new prisoner-of-war camp on Rock Island.[412]

Major Charles P. Kingsbury, the first commandant of Rock Island Arsenal, arrived in August 1863. Work had commenced on a prison facility and a bridge from Rock Island, Illinois, to the island, but Kingsbury would not break ground on the arsenal until September. The arsenal and the military prison co-existed on the island, though not always happily, as the prison was under the command of the Quartermaster Department and the arsenal under the Ordnance Bureau.[413]

The government authorized the build of Rock Island prison barracks in July 1863 and construction began soon afterward. The choice of Rock Island for a prison proved to be an easy one. The government owned most of the 946-acre island, which was accessible by river, rail, and road. There was plenty of timber and coal available locally, which would make fuel and building costs inexpensive. By October the prison buildings were mostly complete. The guards arrived in November and the first prisoners in December. A ditch and a 12-foot-tall plank fence surrounded the 12-acre compound. Guard towers punctuated the fence every 100 feet and more guards walked the fence's elevated walkway. The compound contained fourteen rows of buildings with six buildings in each row. The barracks were one-story frame structures, 100 feet long and 20 feet wide. Each was designed to house 120 people; and the entire compound could hold 10,080 prisoners.[414]

Rock Island Prisoner-of-War Camp

Summer 1863 brought disaster for the Confederacy and an influx of prisoners to Union facilities in the North. The steady stream of prisoners, in conjunction with the breakdown of the prisoner-exchange system known as the cartel between the Union and Confederate military, landed Federal Commissary General of Prisons William Hoffman in a huge quandary. Rock Island Prison Barracks therefore helped to alleviate the increased burden on the overtaxed prison system (fig. 185).[415]

The first 466 prisoners arrived by train, reaching the Rock Island prison on December 3, 1863. Upon arrival, the weather was unseasonably warm but it soon turned cold and stayed that way. Ninety-four men died that month, another 232 succumbed in January 1864 and 346 in February. The barracks were built with green wood that shrank as it aged and the wind literally howled through the walls. Smallpox broke out shortly after the prison opened and there was no hospital on the site.[416]

Nearly one-third of all the prisoners who died at Rock Island did so in the first three months of the prison's operation. The facility was ill-prepared and several barracks were hastily converted to hospitals. Work began on a new hospital complex and on improvements to the prison sanitation system, particularly drainage. The March death toll, 283, proved that the smallpox epidemic was not yet under control. By April many of the new buildings were complete—six buildings to segregate contagious prisoners, a laundry, guardhouse, dispensary, dead house, and store room. The improvements seem to have been effective; 141 men died in April, which was a significant decrease from the preceding three months.[417]

A number of regiments were assigned to guard the prisoners, including the 108th U.S. Colored Infantry. Tension between prisoners and guards escalated while the 108th was in charge. Some of the men in the prison had once owned some of the men now guarding them. Violence and abuse resulted.[418]

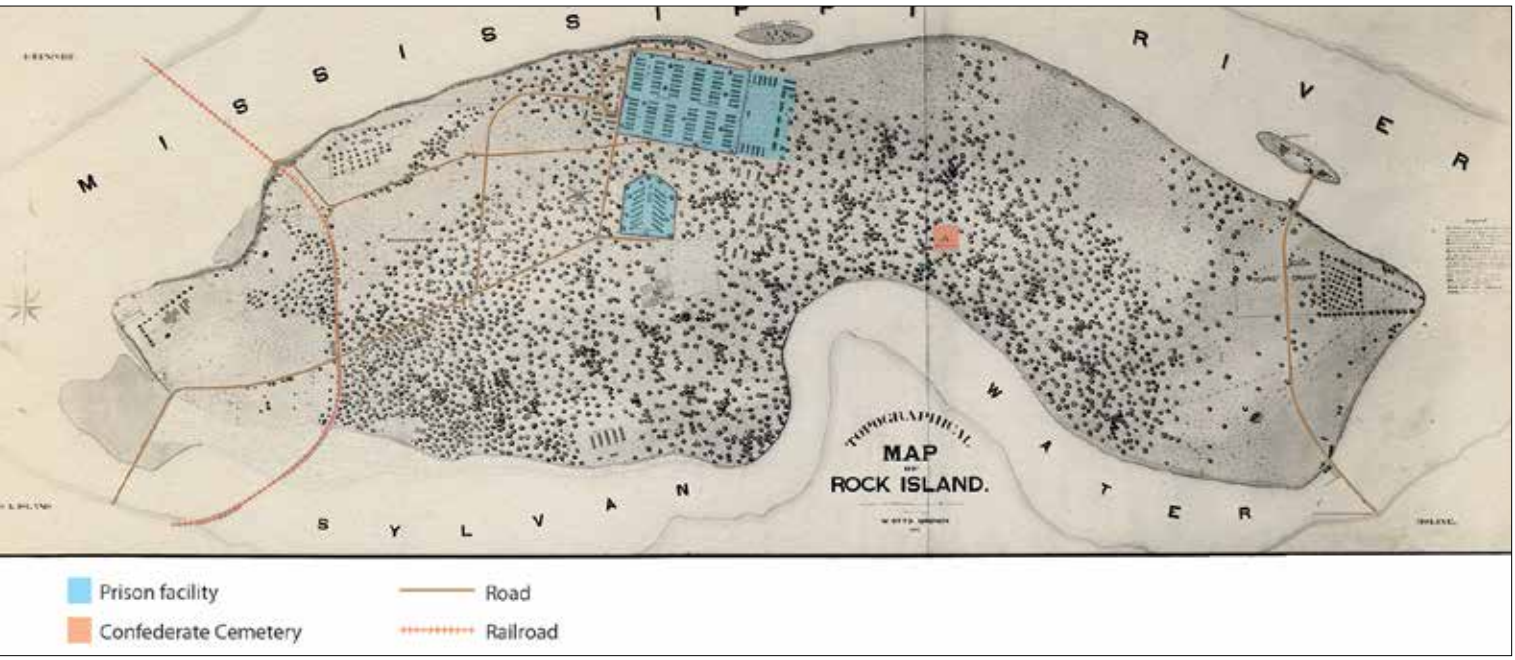

Figure 186. Map of Rock Island by W. Otto Gronen, 1870, which depicts the island about 1867, before arsenal manufacturing buildings were constructed along the high ground in the middle of the island. The prison, cemetery, roads, and railroad are highlighted in red and blue. *Library of Congress*.

Civil War prison camps were miserable places. Rock Island, while one of the newer facilities, was no better than the rest, in part because of the prison system. Union authorities retaliated against their charges when something real or perceived happened to Union prisoners in the South. The prison commandant was pressured to stay within budget. Corruption and graft were rampant. The men in charge were not the best types of officers. The conditions in both Confederate and Union prison systems were barbaric by modern standards.[419]

Over the course of Rock Island prison's existence, from December 1863 to July 1865, more than 12,000 prisoners passed through the main gate. Many of those men never left the island: 539 died of smallpox; 456 of diarrhea and dysentery; and 439 of tuberculosis, pneumonia, and bronchitis. Approximately 2,000 men died in total, 16 percent of those held in the compound, a much higher percentage than the average of 12 percent of deaths in Union prisons (fig. 186).[420]

The Prison Cemetery

The Confederate dead were buried by contract, although according to one postwar account, prisoners were detailed to load bodies from the pest house into wagons each morning. Charles Knox, a Massachusetts cabinet maker who migrated to Rock Island in 1841, made the coffins and his son, Frank Knox, prepared the bodies for burial. J. de Harpart hauled the coffins and dug the graves. The bodies were placed in individual coffins, the coffins were placed in trenches, and the graves were marked with wooden stakes. The first ninety-four prisoners to die were buried in a plot of ground 400 yards south of the prison. However, prison surgeon A. M. Clark thought the cemetery was too close to the prison. A second location on the south side of the island was examined, but the soil was too shallow. Eventually a site 1,000 yards southeast of the prison was selected: this is the site of the current Rock Island Confederate Cemetery. The remains of 671 individuals who had been buried elsewhere were moved to this cemetery by the end of March 1864. The remaining 1,300 or so were buried there at the time of their deaths.[421]

By the end of July 1865 the prisoners were gone and the facility was shut down. The old prison buildings became the property of the Ordnance Department and after the war they housed captured Confederate weapons and supplies. The last of the prison buildings was razed in 1907. The area where the prison once stood is now a golf course. Nothing remains of the prison camp except the Confederate cemetery.[422]

Following the Civil War, under the command of General Thomas J. Rodman, Rock Island Arsenal became an important part of the U.S. Army's military complex. By 1886, ten stone shop buildings—three stories high, 60 feet wide, and 200 feet long—formed the core of the arsenal. These shops, along with storehouses, boilers, officers' quarters, and barracks covered some 30 acres. By the twentieth century the government assumed maintenance of the three pedestrian bridges and the railroad bridge connecting the island to the adjacent cities (fig. 187).[423]

When the cemeteries on Rock Island were inspected in 1868, the agent recommended that the Union dead be moved to another part of the island. He described the

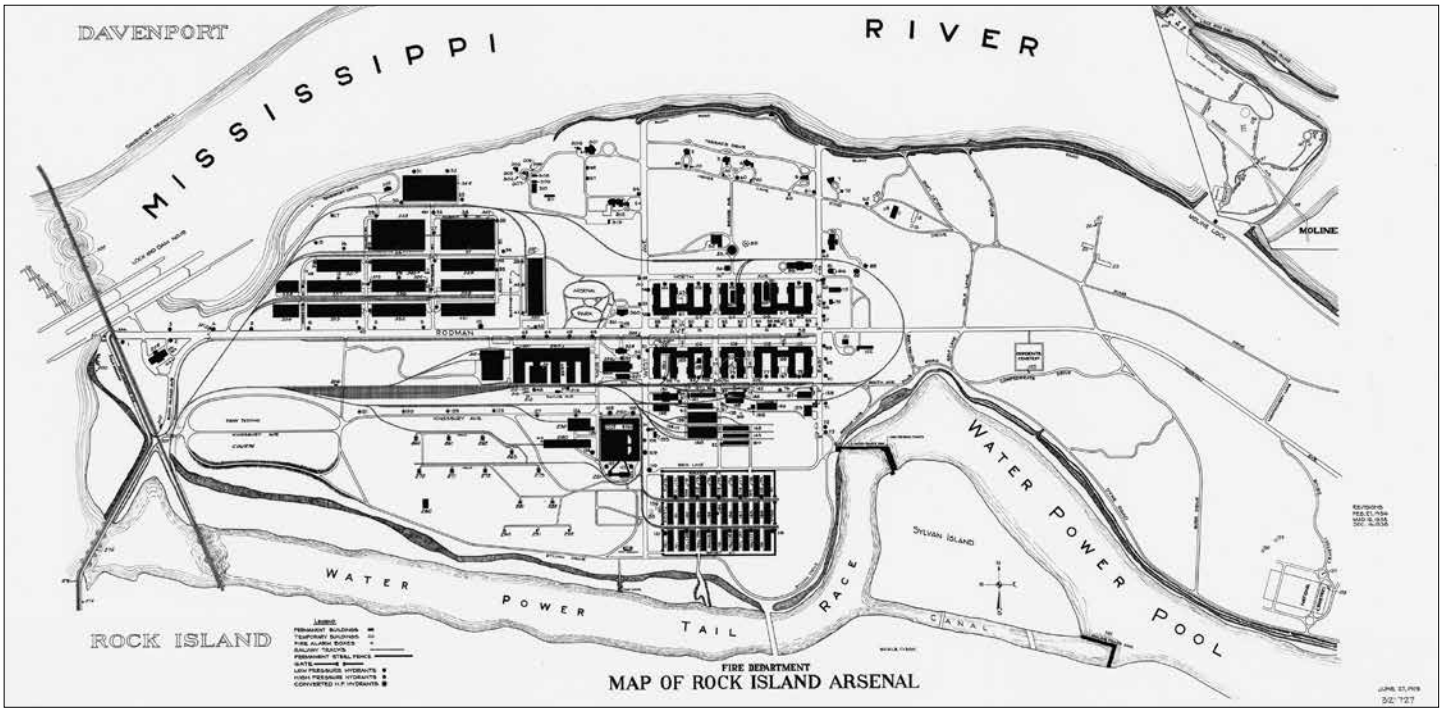

Figure 187. Map of Rock Island Arsenal, 1919. *Library of Congress*.

Confederate cemetery as "one and seven-eighths of an acre, enclosed with a four-bar fence." His report gave the number buried there as 1,928.[424]

In spring 1871 Lieutenant M. L. Poland wrote to his commanding officer at Rock Island requesting permission to improve the "Rebel Grave-Yard." Poland reported that the cemetery was in bad shape. Part of the fence had been damaged in a storm and what remained was not worth repairing. In addition, the graves had sunk, many of the stakes were rotten, and some had fallen down.[425]

Poland proposed the placement of four Confederate artillery pieces at four points in the cemetery. Using the guns as a datum, he would map the cemetery and devise a plan that could be used in the future to identify the graves. He would entrust the plan to the post quartermaster for safe keeping.[426] Poland's request was forwarded to the secretary of war, who approved the action. The work was carried out later that spring.

> *I had the ground nicely graded, seeded and sodded by my enlisted men. I then planted a Confederate cannon at each of the four corners of the plot of ground and by ordinates measured each grave, made a plat of the same, numbered each grave on the plat, and prepared five lists of the dead, giving the same numbers on these lists that are given on the plat, so that by obtaining the names of any of the dead, by corresponding number, the exact location of each man's grave can be determined upon the plot. I then laid out a walk around the plot and made the fence running an iron chain on each side between the guns and supporting it by iron posts placed twelve feet apart, leaving the chain drooping between the posts. I also planted two rows of trees around the plot, one on each side of the walk, and laid out a drive, by which visitors could reach it and pass along one side of the cemetery.*[427]

Fourteen years later in 1895, General D. W. Flagler wrote a letter to John Underwood of the United Confederate Veterans stating that he had been in command when the upgrades were made to the Confederate cemetery in 1871 (fig. 188). He added that once the improvements were completed, he saw to it that the cemetery was maintained, and that he understood the maintenance was continued after he left. Flagler also wrote that 1,960 men were buried in the Confederate cemetery.[428]

Figure 188. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery, photograph after 1890, with few headstones and an inverted cannon (buried from mouth to trunnions) used as a fence post. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

The Commission

The Rock Island Confederate Cemetery clearly fell under the guidelines of the legislation creating the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead. Commissioner William Elliott and his assistant L. Frank Nye visited Rock Island in November 1907 (fig. 189). After inspecting the cemetery, which they found to be in "fairly good shape" except for poor drainage due in part to the sunken graves, the commissioner determined that the best course of action was to turn the soil and to bring in more dirt to build up the ground before the headstones were set. When the ground was turned, "the trenches were clearly outlined."[429]

While they were at Rock Island, Nye compared the *Register of Deaths of Prisoners of War at Rock Island Barracks, 1863 and 1864,* and *Record Book of Rebel Cemetery at Rock Island, Illinois* against a list of dead provided by the quartermaster general. Nye's notes reveal that six privately provided headstones were the only ones in place at the cemetery and all had grave numbers. Below are Nye's notes. The italics are notes made when the cemetery was visited in July 2009:

395—Dick, Son of Moses & M. L. Bennett Died (date buried in the ground). *This headstone is still present; the date is still buried in the ground* (fig. 190).

846—Milton Lowe, Died Mar. 16, 1864. Aged 34 yrs. Dearest husband. *This headstone has been replaced with a government headstone.*

1148—W. W. Jackson, Co. A, 38th Ala. Died May 15 A. D. 1 rough native stone. *This headstone has been replaced with a government headstone* (fig. 191).

1707—Abram T., Son of Fielding and Lucinda McDaniel. Died Dec. 26, 1864 Aged 22 yrs., 1 Mo. 6 Ds. *This headstone is still in place but the inscription is barely legible*.

1930—James H., Son of Fielding and Lucinda McDaniel. Died Mar. 21, 1865 Aged 23 yrs., 9 Mos. 2 Ds. *This headstone has been replaced with a government headstone.*

1955—John W., Son of Fielding and Lucinda McDaniel. Died May 7, 1865 Aged 19 yrs., 11 Mos. 29 Ds. *This stone has been replaced with a government stone.*

Nye also noted that ten graves (Nos. 564, 869, 1061, 1086, 1092, 1157, 1330, 1423, 1480, and 1956) had been removed. Subsequent research yielded a notation saying that the remains of one other individual were removed in 1955, most likely from grave No. 647. The commission set 1,945 headstones at the cemetery. The count in 2009 was 1,950, which includes private headstones.[430]

Figure 190. Headstone on grave 395 (left) in 2009, one of six placed in Rock Island Confederate Cemetery prior to the work of the commission.

Figure 189. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery on May 4, 1904; it must have looked very much like this when Nye and Elliott visited in 1907. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

Included in the documentation found for Rock Island was a brief note dated May 31, 1907. This note, probably written by Nye, mentions the discrepancies between the list of dead from the quartermaster general dated 1866 and the list of the commanding general of prisoners. There was some variation between the grave numbers on the two lists. A handwritten notation on the document, dated July 5, 1907, reads, "Comg. Genl. Of Pris. shall prevail." This document and Nye's notes indicate that the commission was careful in trying to determine who was buried where.[431]

Figure 191. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery, pre-1908 photograph. The headstone of W. W. Jackson, Co. A, 38th Alabama (foreground), was replaced by a government-issue Confederate headstone. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

The headstones set at Rock Island were produced by the Blue Ridge Marble Company of Nelson, Georgia, and set by the Schricker Marble & Granite Company of Davenport, Iowa. The 1908 contract was for setting 1,935 "more or less" headstones; in 1910, ten more headstones were set in the cemetery. The document did not indicate if the headstones were replacements or additions, did not specify if they were for known or unknown graves, and did not specify a row or section where the headstones were set; it only stated that they were set. If they were additions, it would have brought the total number of stones to 1,945. The six private stones would bring the total to 1,951.[432]

In 1912 Commissioner James Berry received a letter from a J. H. Schenck, a blacksmith living in Moline, Illinois, which suggested the headstones were probably not placed over the graves, as they were marked using "a chart preserved in Washington." Schenck proposed that a single monument with the deceased's names on it would be more appropriate. Berry received two copies of the letter, one from the Department of War and a second from the local congressman. Berry replied that Commissioner Elliott had marked the graves with individual headstones, "the location of each being readily ascertainable by the means of a plat on file in the office of the Commanding Officer of the Rock Island Arsenal."[433] He went on to emphasize that the plat was made in 1871, before the headboards were destroyed. Berry was quite confident that the headstones and their relative positions were accurate. Schenck had also written that the cemetery was marked with a sign labeled: "Rebel Cemetery." Berry responded that if this were the case, which the post commander vehemently denied, that the sign should be changed to: "Confederate Cemetery."[434]

Figure 192. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery with commission headstones, ca. 1908. The gap in the front row is an empty gravesite; friends or family had the body removed after the Civil War. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

A circa 1908 photograph shows that the headstones were indeed set, and that earth was mounded on the sunken graves and grass planted on them. It clearly shows the inverted cannon and the chain fence (fig. 192). This image may well have been taken shortly after the commission completed its work, and may be the photograph referred to by Commissioner Berry in his September 1912 letter to the Department of War.[435]

Figure 193. Entrance to the Confederate cemetery, 1919. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

A photograph taken by Rock Island Arsenal staff in 1919 shows a much improved cemetery (fig. 193). It documents the formal entrance into the cemetery off of Rodman Avenue, formerly Main Avenue. The entryway is flanked by two pillars with brass plaques reading: *Confederate Cemetery / Let us cross the river and rest in the shade of the trees—Gen. T. J. Jackson, CSA*. A cannon sits in front of each pillar, each flanked by a pyramid of cannonballs. The hedge around the perimeter of the cemetery can be clearly seen. A 1953 photograph also shows the hedge, as well as the U.S. flag (fig. 194).[436]

Sometime in the 1960s, perhaps as a part of the Civil War Centennial commemoration, the cemetery entrance was changed to its current appearance (fig. 195). The post-and-chain fence is extant, as is the hedge. A flagpole has been erected at the back of the cemetery, directly in line with the cemetery entrance. By 1963, there were two flagstaffs, one 55 feet tall and the other 26 feet tall.

A monument was erected in 2003 at Rock Island Confederate Cemetery by the Seven Confederate Knights Chapter 2625 United Daughters of the Confederacy (fig. 196). The granite memorial is just less than 9 feet tall and was placed at the end of the entryway, with the inscription facing the road:

> *In memory of the Confederate / veterans who died at the / Rock Island Confederate / Prison Camp. May they never / be forgotten. Let no man / asperse the memory of / our sacred dead. They were / men who died for a cause / they believed was worth / fighting for and made the / ultimate sacrifice.*

Figure 194. Rock Island Confederate Cemetery on May 30, 1953, with small Confederate battle flags placed in front of headstones. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

Figure 195. Entrance to Confederate cemetery on November 8, 1963. *Rock Island Arsenal Museum*.

Figure 196. The UDC monument erected in 2003, photograph 2009.

The monument was dedicated in November 2003 in a brief ceremony that featured Confederate reenactors firing a salute.[437]

Commemorating the Confederate Dead

The earliest indication of any ceremony or commemoration at Rock Island Confederate Cemetery is an 1895 article in the *Confederate Veteran*. The magazine reported that a Miss Belle Richardson of Davenport, Iowa decorated the graves of the Confederate dead. The brief item stated that on Decoration Day, when graves at the national cemetery on Rock Island were being decorated, Miss Richardson placed flowers on the graves in the Confederate cemetery.[438]

Photographs taken about 1895 (fig. 188) and 1904 (fig. 189) show the cemetery with a scattering of headstones and what appear to be small U.S. flags, which may have been left over from a Decoration Day ceremony. Both photographs depict the chain fence, and one clearly shows one of the cannon corner posts mentioned in the 1871 correspondence. Another photograph taken about the same time clearly shows grave No. 1148, W. W. Jackson. The photographs demonstrate that the cemetery was taken care of and was even decorated prior to any work done by the commission.

Three newspaper articles describe later Memorial Day ceremonies at the Confederate cemetery. In each, the Confederate battle flag was raised on the 26-foot-tall pole and the U.S. flag on the 55-foot-tall pole. Both flags were raised to half-staff at sunrise, full staff at noon, and were lowered at sunset. The ceremonies featured a twenty-one-gun salute and "Taps." Two stories mention that for the first time small flags would be placed on each grave and that these, too, would be removed at sunset.

Two undated clippings from the *Moline Dispatch* and the *Rock Island Argus,* and a third from the *Sunday Democrat-Times* of Moline, Illinois, dated May 26, 1957, state that tiny flags will be placed at each grave. It should also be noted that in the undated clippings, the reporter comments that "As in past years, the Stars and Bars will be raised in the Confederate cemetery along with the Stars and Stripes." These stories indicate that while 1953 may have been the first year that small flags were placed on the graves, it was not the first year that the Confederate battle flag was flown.[439]

The Confederate flags placed on the graves for the Memorial Day ceremony in 1975 were replaced with small U.S. flags because the Confederate flags had become "soiled and torn and were no longer suitable for use." Apparently, the national office of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) was asked to supply new flags, but had told Arsenal staff that they could not afford to replace them. According to a newspaper article, the Confederate flag was flown on the main flagstaff and a few smaller flags were placed around the flagpole.[440]

In 2000 the Memorial Day service at the Confederate cemetery was conducted by Navy Chaplain Ron Pettigrew, an African American. Chaplain Pettigrew was hesitant to conduct the ceremony but on reflection he agreed: "I, as an American have to accept, love and hate fully what America has been. We need to take a more complete perspective of history, including the good, the bad and the ugly." On the day of the ceremony, small

Confederate flags were placed in front of each headstone. There was no mention of a larger Confederate flag being flown.[441]

A 1963 photograph shows the new entrance to the Confederate cemetery, which remains unchanged to the present day. There have, however, been some minor alterations to the cemetery since that time. The hedges have been removed, as has the post-and-chain fence, a portion of which is now along the road frontage. Daylilies planted on either side of the entrance to the cemetery mimic the old hedge. And last, the 2003 memorial stands at the end of the sidewalk leading into the cemetery from the road (fig. 197).

Figure 197. Entrance to Confederate cemetery in 2009.

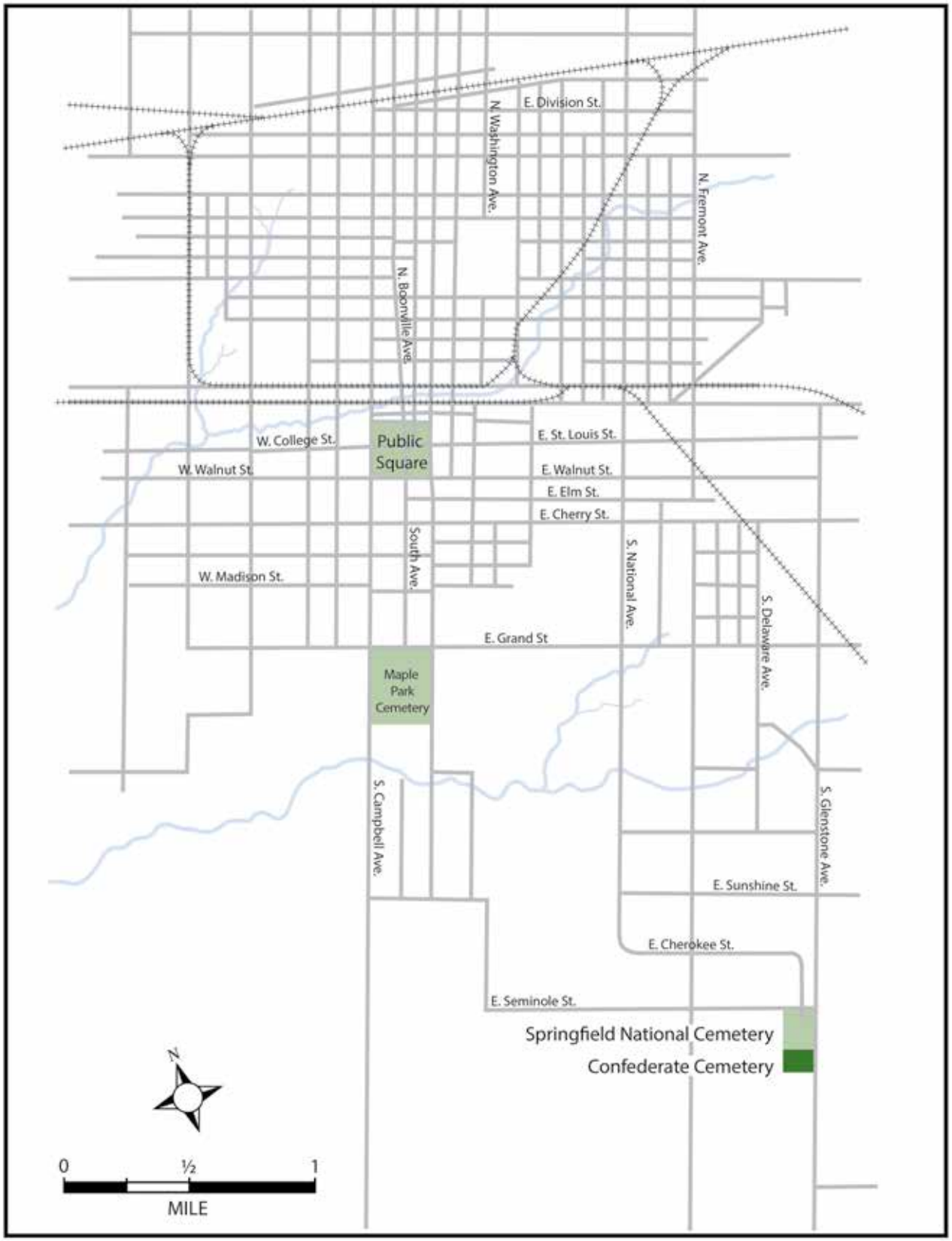

Figure 198. Map of Springfield showing the location of Springfield National Cemetery and the Confederate cemetery.

SPRINGFIELD NATIONAL CEMETERY

Springfield, Missouri

The federal government established Springfield National Cemetery in 1867 to consolidate the remains of Union soldiers buried at Wilson's Creek, Lebanon, Springfield, Newtonia, and other scattered locations in Missouri. The cemetery was designated on 5 acres of a much larger tract 3 miles west of Springfield that was acquired by the city for use as a cemetery (fig. 198).[442]

A U.S. Army report of August 1868 listed 1,514 burials in the new cemetery of which approximately half were unknown. Wooden headboards marked graves per regulations. A carriageway encircled the cemetery, connecting several avenues that ran through the grounds. A superintendent, Alexander McAlpine, had been appointed, but no lodge had been built and the cemetery had not been fenced.[443]

The May 1871 inspection report described a number of improvements. A three-room frame lodge had been built near the entrance. A picket fence with a two-wing wooden entrance gate in the center of the north side now enclosed the cemetery. An Osage orange hedge grew just inside of the fence. A flagstaff stood on a mound in the center of the cemetery and walks radiated from the flagstaff to all areas of the cemetery. The cemetery was divided into four quadrants, each with a circular mound in its center echoing the central mound. Walks radiating from the mounds further divided each quadrant into eight sections. The old section of the cemetery retains this general layout to the present day.[444]

Dr. Thomas Jefferson Bailey, a resident of Springfield, former slave owner, and staunch Unionist, died in 1869. Among his bequests were funds to be used to erect a monument to honor the Union soldiers killed at the 1863 Battle of Springfield. The 25-foot-tall Union monument, also known as the Bailey Monument, was erected in the Springfield National Cemetery and dedicated on May 30, 1873 (fig. 199). The dedication ceremony featured a parade originating in the City of Springfield that wended its way along a 3-mile-long route to the cemetery, where a large crowd gathered to hear speeches and witness the unveiling.[445]

Figure 199. The Bailey/Union Monument, erected 1873 in burial Section 23, Springfield National Cemetery.

By 1874, the cemetery had a new Second Empire–style brick lodge, a story-and-a-half building with three rooms on the main floor, three chambers upstairs, and two cellars (fig. 200). Both a cistern and a well supplied the lodge with water. There was also a frame tool shed, a wood shed, and a privy under a single roof.[446] The Osage orange hedge had been removed to allow for construction of a stone wall with limestone coping that now enclosed the cemetery. An iron entrance gate in the wall bore the words "National Cemetery." Reconfigured carriage drives now extended only from the entrance to and around the flagstaff and grass paths for strictly pedestrian access replaced the old drives. Six gun monuments were erected, two on either side of the carriage drive near

Figure 200. The French Second-Empire–style lodge, ca. 1930. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

the entrance and four around the flagstaff. One of the monuments near the entrance featured a bronze plaque (fig. 201).

The City of Springfield donated approximately 2 acres of land separating the national cemetery from the adjacent Confederate cemetery to the government in the late 1880s (fig. 202). Sometime after the donation, it was suggested that a gateway be constructed in the south wall to allow direct access to the Confederate cemetery from the national cemetery. However, the local posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union veterans' organization, strongly opposed such a decision and the matter was dropped. It was also during this period that the cenotaph honoring Union General Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, was moved from the square in Springfield to the national cemetery. Lyon is buried in Connecticut.[447]

An 1892 U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map shows a nearly square cemetery surrounded by a rock wall (fig. 203). The lodge and associated outbuildings are located in the northwest corner of the cemetery, the rear of the lodge and outbuildings obscured by a hedge. The focal point of the cemetery is the flagstaff on a three-tiered circular mound in the center of the property at the end of the graveled drive. Eight evenly spaced grass paths radiate from the flagstaff mound. A gun monument is shown on the paths running northwest, northeast, west, and east of the flagstaff mound. An octagonal rostrum sits east of the flagstaff mound near the stone wall. The Bailey/Union Monument stands in the northeast quadrant of the cemetery.[448]

Confederate Cemetery

Figure 201. Original bronze identification plaque on a gun monument. All Civil War-era national cemeteries contained one of these plaques, inscribed with the number of known and unknown dead buried there, and typically affixed to gun monuments.

After the Civil War, women across the South formed memorial associations with the mission to recover the remains of Confederate soldiers buried in scattered locations and to reinter them in cemeteries where they could be cared for in perpetuity. In 1866 a group of Springfield women formed the Confederate Cemetery Association (CCA); in 1869 the organization appealed for aid, and within months raised $3,000 to purchase 3 acres near Springfield National Cemetery, which they enclosed with a picket fence. Confederate remains from Wilson's Creek, Hartsville, and Springfield were reinterred in the new cemetery and marked with cedar headboards. The identities of only a few of the 504 burials were known at that time.[449]

In 1872 the CCA changed its name and its mission. The renamed Springfield Monument Association was dedicated to raising funds for a monument to the memory of the Confederate dead. Its first Decoration Day event was in 1872, but thereafter, in its own words, the association "rested a while" for want of funds.[450]

Ten years later, the Springfield Monument Association deeded the Confederate cemetery to the Confederate Veterans Association of Missouri, the statewide United Confederate Veterans (UCV) organization. The UCV officially accepted the cemetery at a meeting held in September 1882 in Sedalia. In a resolution passed at that meeting, the UCV renamed the cemetery the Missouri State Cemetery for Ex-Confederates.[451]

The first project undertaken by the new owners was a stone wall to surround the Confederate cemetery. The UCV began collecting donations and asked and received permission from the federal government to abut their wall to the south wall of the

national cemetery (fig. 204). The UCV spent $6,000 to enclose the Confederate cemetery. After the wall was completed, the local chapters of the UCV and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) started to raise funds to erect the large memorial they had envisioned as the centerpiece of the Confederate cemetery.[452]

The Springfield Monument Association, which was again actively seeking funds to erect a monument, approached the Missouri UDC for help: the UDC pledged $5,000 toward the monument's construction. Furthermore, the UCV Campbell Camp No. 488 in Springfield, assisted by the statewide UCV organization, began to solicit funds with a target of $10,000. By February 1900, the various organizations had raised $6,000 and the UCV declared the monument a certainty.[453]

Construction began in June 1901. The monument's granite base proved to be too heavy for the railroad's traction engine to haul from the freight depot to the cemetery. W. F. Knueppel, who was in charge of constructing the pedestal, borrowed the city's willipus-wallipus machine, a steam-powered tractor used for road building. The willipus-wallipus,

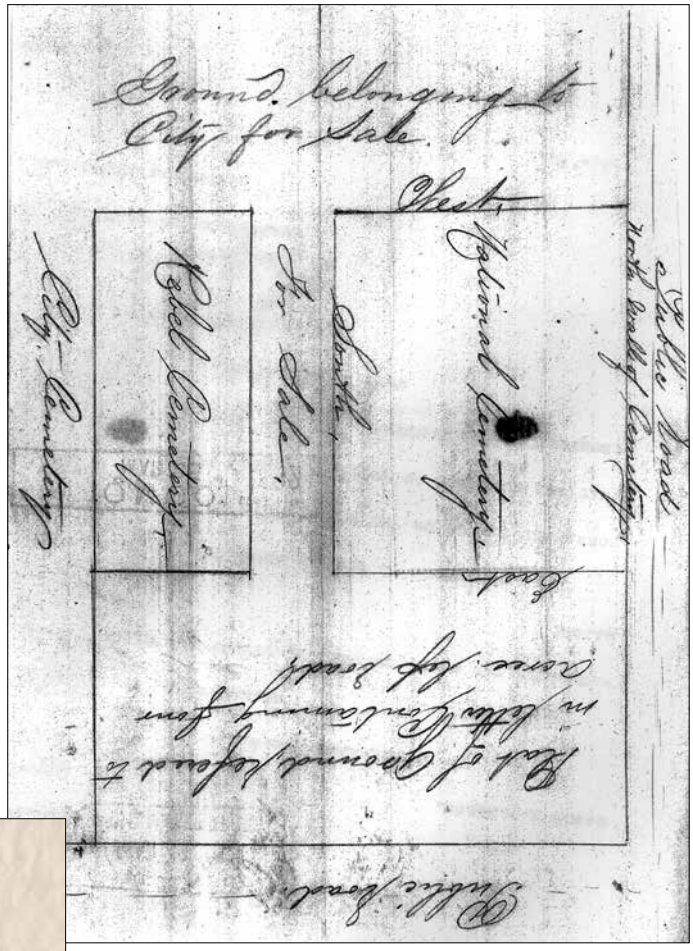

Figure 202. Sketch map showing the location of Springfield National Cemetery and the Confederate cemetery in Springfield, 1880s. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

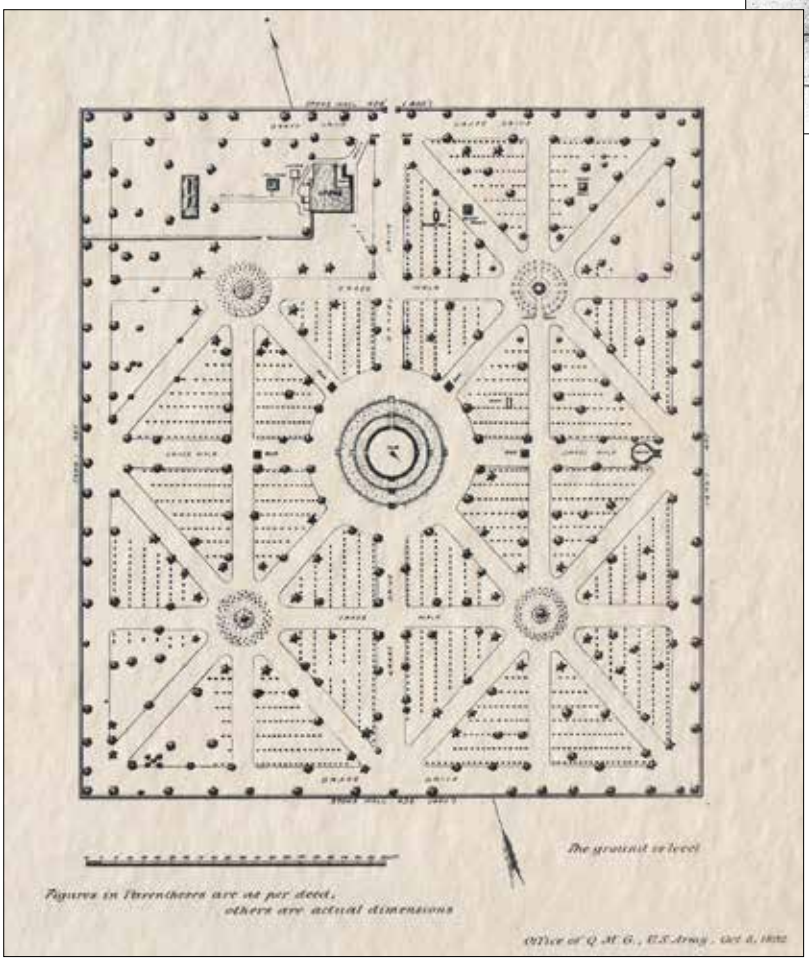

Figure 203. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Springfield National Cemetery, 1892, before the Confederate burial ground was incorporated. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 204. The intersection of the original Springfield National Cemetery wall with its simple coping (right), and more ornate Confederate cemetery wall (left); utilizing the national cemetery wall saved the UCV several thousand dollars.

along with its coal wagon, easily hauled the 35,000-pound piece of granite to the Confederate cemetery.[454]

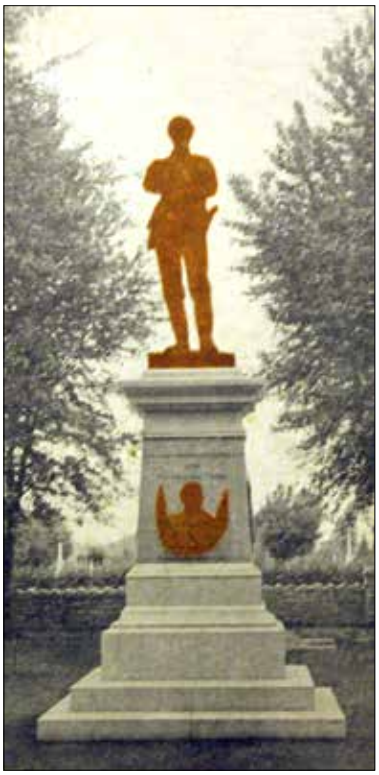

Figure 205. Hand-tinted photograph of the Confederate monument and cemetery wall (background) that appeared on the cover of the monument dedication booklet. *Photograph from Missouri UCV, United Confederate Veterans' Reunion souvenir booklet, 1901, Springfield, Missouri.*

The completed monument stood on an 8-foot-deep, 14-foot-square concrete foundation. Its base was some 16 feet tall. A bronze Confederate soldier, 12 feet 7 inches tall, topped the pedestal (fig. 205). The statue, which was cast in Florence, Italy, was the work of Gaetano Trentanove, a popular Italian-born sculptor who produced a number of large public works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including a piece in Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol; and works in Wisconsin, New Jersey, Michigan, and Paris, France.[455] The inscription on the monument reads:

> *[North face:] To the Memory of the Missouri Soldier In the Army / of the Confederate States of America*
>
> *[East face:] Those Who Die for a Right Principle Do Not Die in Vain*
>
> *[South face:] Erected A.D. 1901 by / the United Confederate Veterans of Missouri / and / the Daughters of the Confederacy of Missouri / They Fought for the / Right of Self Government*

The Confederate monument was dedicated on the fortieth anniversary of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1901. The event, which coincided with the Missouri UCV annual reunion, was a three-day affair that featured a parade and unveiling ceremony. Special excursion trains brought hundreds of people to Springfield for the event. An estimated 1,000 people thronged to the cemetery to watch. The carefully scripted event began with a bugle call followed by 135 young women marching into the cemetery and halting at the base of the memorial. The women carried eleven Confederate flags representing the UDC chapters of Missouri. A minister led a prayer and then Miss Laura Virginia Edwards unveiled the monument. Three speeches and an artillery salute concluded the ceremony.[456]

By 1901 small rectangular headstones replaced the headboards on the graves since the 1870s (fig. 206). The cemetery caretaker resided in a nearby cottage rented by the UCV. The Missouri UCV deeded the cemetery to the Confederate Cemetery Association

of Missouri in 1902, which was given authority to deed the cemetery to the City of Springfield, Greene County, or to the United States of America.[457]

In the hope of ensuring long-term care for the cemetery, the Confederate Cemetery Association of Missouri initiated measures to cede responsibility for the cemetery to the federal government, citing President McKinley's 1898 speech in Atlanta. A congressional bill introduced in 1909 failed when a rider was attached allowing Union veterans to be buried in the Confederate cemetery once the national cemetery was full. Finally, in March 1911, the cemetery was deeded to the federal government with several restrictions: the cemetery was to be reserved for individuals who had served in Confederate armed forces, and access for burials and other ceremonial activities was to be unrestricted, save for "proper and reasonable regulations and restrictions made by the Secretary of War."[458]

Merging the National and Confederate Cemeteries

Bids were taken in August 1911 for improvements that would integrate the newly acquired Confederate cemetery into the national cemetery. Projects included construction of a graveled road through the Confederate section, a new gateway between the two cemeteries, and cleaning and grading of both cemeteries.[459]

Late in 1914, Samuel E. Lewis, commissioner of the newly reauthorized Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, wrote the quartermaster general seeking information about the Confederate soldiers who were buried at Springfield, Missouri. The information Lewis sought did not exist. James Burns, superintendent of Springfield National Cemetery, sent Lewis the list of names of Confederates buried in the cemetery.[460] In a caveat, Burns noted, "I have no doubt but that many of the soldiers whose bodies were exhumed from different places in and around Springfield, died in the hospitals here while in the custody of the United States, as prisoners of war, still I have no way of being certain of the fact."[461] Consequently, the commission had no authority to mark those graves.

In 1940 a limestone rostrum in a Neoclassical design was built between the two cemeteries so that it could be used for services from either cemetery. Two limestone

Figure 206. Confederate cemetery in 1901, showing the small rectangular markers on graves. *Photograph from Missouri UCV, United Confederate Veterans' Reunion souvenir booklet, 1901.*

lecterns were set on projections in the perimeter walls at the center of the rostrum's north and south sides, each decorated on the front by a carved, blind memorial tablet. The iron fences and limestone fence posts flanking the rostrum to east and west were built at the same time as the rostrum so as to provide proper terminations where the original wall of the Confederate cemetery had been removed.

Ninety-year-old Thomas Henry Hadden of Springfield was the last veteran to be interred in the Confederate section of Springfield National Cemetery. At his request, he wore a Confederate uniform and was buried with a Confederate flag on June 12, 1939. The local UDC chapter supplied the uniform. Hadden's grave, Section 1S, is by the Confederate monument; his wife was buried next to him in 1964.[462]

The current two-story brick lodge replaced the older lodge in 1940. Sometime in the 1930s, the service building behind the lodge was constructed and since then has been updated several times.[463] Also in 1940 the U.S. Army Fifth District quartermaster approached the Springfield Chapter of the UDC about acquiring 3 acres of land for the national cemetery. Apparently 6 acres was purchased when the Confederate cemetery was organized and the 3 acres in question was never used nor fenced because it contained no burials. The Confederate Cemetery Association of Missouri held legal title to the property and the organization had to be reformed before the land could be deeded to the U.S. government. The new deed removed the restrictions in the 1911 deed from the 3-acre parcel, thereby allowing the burial of all eligible veterans and spouses. Congress amended the 1911 legislation in May 1957.[464]

One year later the UDC placed a new memorial near the south wall of the old Confederate section. The small stone flush to the ground reads:

> *In Memory of the Gallant Confederate / Dead Who Fell at Wilson's Creek on / August 10, 1861, and Whose Place of / Burial is Not Known This Marker was / Erected by the United Daughters of / the Confederacy on Sept. 27, 1958.*

In 1979 a bronze plaque honoring Vietnam veterans was put on the north face of the rostrum by the Southeast Missouri State University Veterans Club. Two bronze plaques on the south face of the rostrum refer to the Confederate cemetery. It is not known when they were added; they read:

> *Confederates / of the 501 Originally Buried Here 238 / Were Killed in the Battle of Wilson's Creek / August 10th 1861, Most of the Remaining / 263 Died from Wounds Received in Battle / or From Sickness. Some Were Killed in the / Battle of Springfield January 8th 1863.*
>
> *Confederate / Cemetery / Established 1870 / By Private Contributions / Sui Regendi Causa Dimicaverunt [Fought for the cause of his ruling]*

In 1984 the UDC lifted the deed restrictions on the old Confederate section, which opened up an additional 485 burial plots. However, in this case, the UDC imposed stipulations to protect the historic integrity of the old Confederate cemetery. Perhaps the most significant limitation required that new graves in the Confederate section be marked with flat markers set flush with the ground surface. The stones marking the new graves are not discernible from a distance. The feeling and look of the old cemetery

therefore stays intact, even though more than 400 more recent burials have been placed in the former Confederate cemetery (fig. 207).[465] To recognize the generosity of the UDC in lifting the deed restrictions, the Veterans Administration, now the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, added a bronze plaque to the Confederate memorial in a ceremony in 1984, which reads:

> *August 10, 1984 / This Tablet is Dedicated by the / Veterans Administration in Grateful / Appreciation to the United / Daughters of the Confederacy, / Missouri Division, for Actions Taken / to Remove Deed Restrictions on 485 / Unoccupied Confederate Gravesites / in Springfield National Cemetery. / This Relinquishment of these / Gravesites for Use by All Veterans / and Their Dependents Serves as a / Symbol of Reunification of Purpose / for Memorializing All Who Have / Honorably Served this Great Nation / Without Regard to Past Differences / — Confederate and Union Alike. / Dedicated on this Anniversary of / the Battle of Wilson's Creek / August 10, 1861*

The original small rectangular headstones marking the graves in the Confederate cemetery were replaced in 1948 with government-issue headstones but it is not known who initiated the change or exactly when. A photograph in a 1948 *Springfield News-Leader* article clearly shows the government headstones.[466]

Figure 207. Confederate graves and monument (designated Sections 1-2 N, 1-2 S) visible beyond a post-1984 burial section of flat grave markers (foreground), photograph 2009.

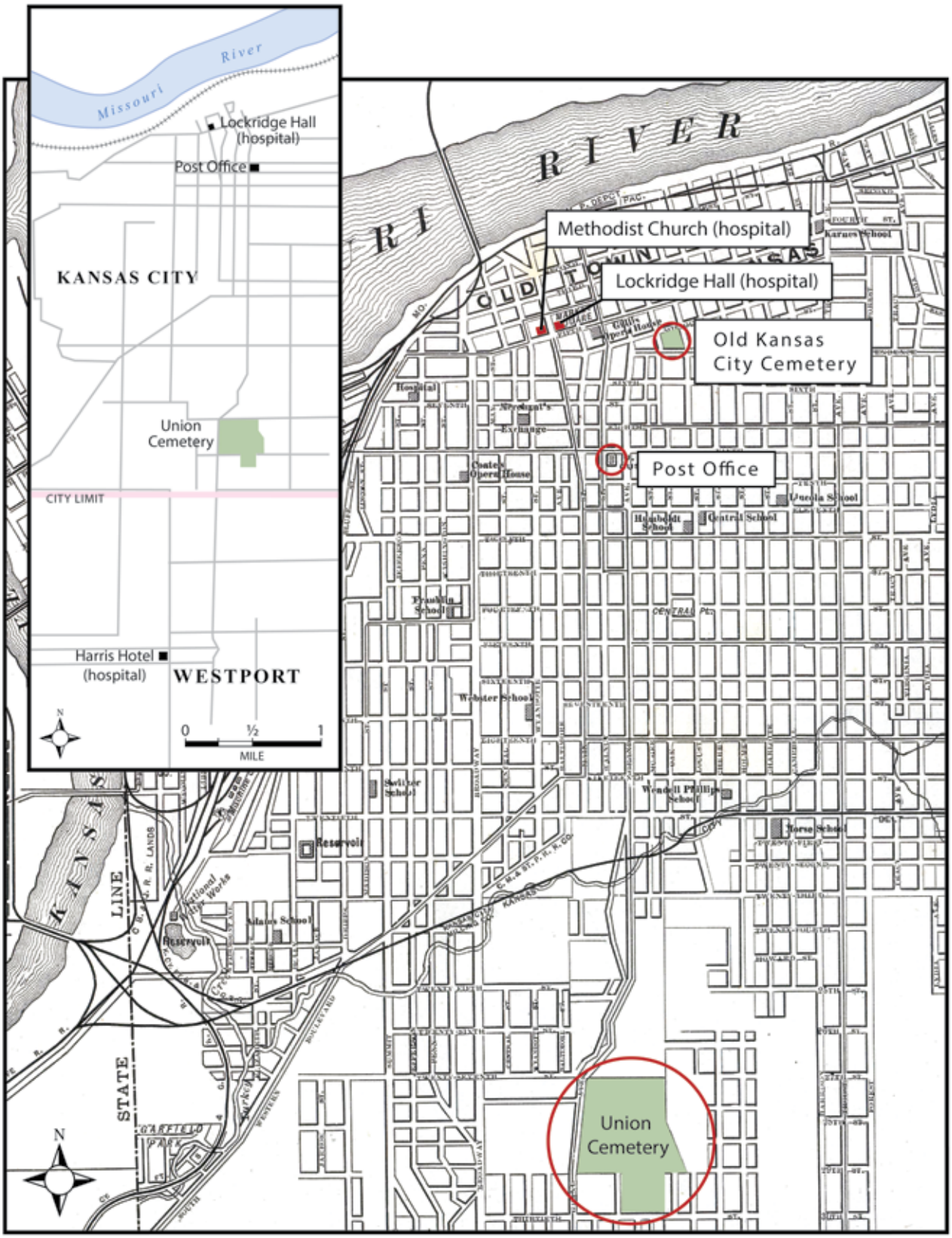

Figure 208. Map of Kansas City and Westport, Missouri, showing the cemeteries and hospitals associated with the 1911 Confederate monument.

UNION CEMETERY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT

Kansas City, Missouri

In August 1864, Confederate General Sterling Price commanded an expedition from Arkansas into Missouri. The raid had several objectives: to capture the City of St. Louis, divert Union manpower from the east, recruit Missourians for the Confederate army, and obtain horses, mules, and other needed military supplies. The raid went badly almost from the beginning. St. Louis and Jefferson City were too well-defended so Price did not attack there. Instead, he decided to capture Kansas City. At Westport, south of Kansas City, Price's Confederates confronted a strong Union defensive position held by General Samuel Curtis. After a four-hour battle, the Confederates failed to break the Union line and retreated. At the Battle of Westport approximately 1,500 Confederate soldiers were killed and wounded, many of whom were left on the field.[467]

After the battle, several buildings and houses in the area were forced into service as hospitals. The Harris House, a hotel in Westport, which was also the location of General Curtis's headquarters, became a hospital, as did the Wornall Homestead. The Methodist Church and Lockridge Hall in Kansas City also served as hospitals.[468]

Lockridge Hall was placed under the care of Dr. J. Thorne. Several days later, the local newspaper reported that Dr. D. Y. Chalfant would be in charge of the place. Moreover the same newspaper praised the women of Kansas City for their tireless efforts in caring for the wounded. A few miles away in Westport, a hospital reported caring for thirty-three wounded. Eighteen were Confederates; four had already died and it was feared that one or two more would die of their wounds. Another newspaper article reported that between forty and sixty wounded Confederates were still on the field near Big Blue River and were under the care of a single surgeon.[469]

It is not clear how many Confederate soldiers eventually died in the Battle of Westport. It is clear, however, that fifteen or more wounded Confederates were captured, treated, and died in different hospitals in and around Kansas City. Some were later buried in the Kansas City Cemetery (fig. 208).

The Commission

Armed with a list of fifteen names obtained from the Department of War, William Oates of the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead began his investigations at Kansas City in 1908. Oates knew that the men were buried in the Kansas City Cemetery but he needed to know if their individual graves could be identified. Oates wrote to several people in Kansas City with mixed results. The first thing he discovered was that the Kansas City Cemetery no longer existed. All of the remains had been moved to Union Cemetery in the 1870s. However, Oates could not confirm that the Confederate soldiers were there because Union Cemetery records were destroyed in a

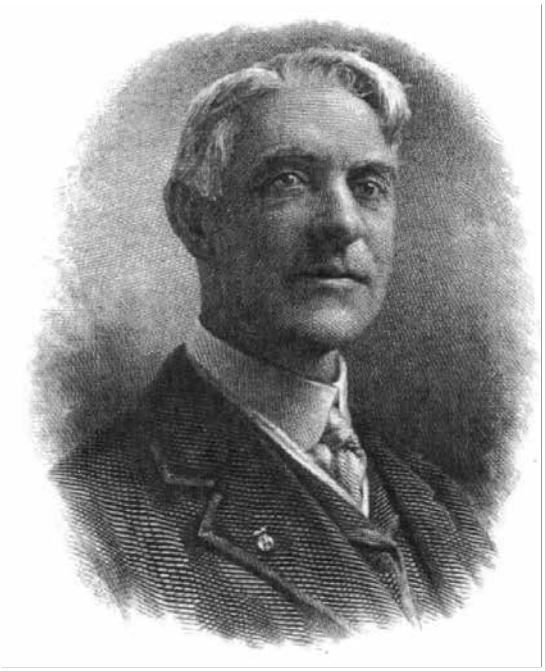

Figure 209. Congressman William P. Borland, a Democrat from Kansas City, took a personal interest in the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and facilitated its work to mark the unknown Confederate dead in Union Cemetery. *From William P. Borland (a late representative from Missouri) Memorial addresses delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, Sixty-fifth Congress, 3rd session, March 2, 1919.*

fire in September 1889. On the last page of his handwritten report, Oates scribbled the following note, "In the present state of information, I am not prepared to say what shall be done as to the graves of these men."[470]

Commissioner Oates died before he could decide how to proceed in Kansas City. James Berry, the commissioner who succeeded Oates, worked with William Borland, a local congressman in Kansas City, to reach a resolution (fig. 209). It was ultimately decided to erect a single monument in lieu of individual headstones because there was no way to identify individual graves.

After it was decided to erect a single monument, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) chapter in Kansas City stepped in with a request. In August 1863, a building holding several female prisoners in Kansas City had collapsed, killing four women. The women, according to Congressman Borland, were prisoners of war and relatives of Confederate soldiers and guerrillas. One of those killed was the sister of W. T. or "Bloody Bill" Anderson, a notorious guerrilla. The UDC wanted the commission to portray the four women's names on the monument with the Confederate soldiers' names. Berry denied their request.[471]

Technically, the cost of a single monument was not supposed to exceed the total cost of individual headstones for the same cemetery. Fifteen headstones would cost about $50. Commissioner Berry sought and received a special ruling from the judge advocate general to allow him to spend more on the single monument than the aggregate cost of the individual headstones. The judge advocate general went as far as suggesting a price of $300 for the monument. With the army's approval in hand, Berry again sought the aid of Congressman Borland, who thereafter obtained a list of local monument dealers and sent it along to Berry.[472]

The next step was to get permission from Union Cemetery to erect the monument. Congressman Borland, who had taken a personal interest in the project, worked tirelessly in Kansas City to keep everything running smoothly. Borland received written permission to allow the monument to be placed in the cemetery and also secured the deed to the lot on which the monument would stand. The Union Cemetery Association sold to the U.S. government a 2-foot, 8-inch square lot in the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of Section 17, Township 49 north, Range 33 west. The final task remaining was to select a monument contractor.[473]

M. H. Rice, the same company that would create the 1912 Confederate monument for Woodlawn Cemetery in Terre Haute, Indiana, was awarded the contract for the Kansas City memorial. The 8-foot-tall granite obelisk features two bronze plaques: one is inscribed with the names of the Confederate dead, the other credits the federal government for erecting the monument. The dedication was a lavish ceremony held on October 23, 1911, the forty-seventh anniversary of the Battle of Westport (fig. 210).[474]

Figure 210. The original drawing of the Union Cemetery Confederate Monument, by M. H. Rice of Kansas City, 1911. *National Archives and Records Administration.*

A crowd of 200 gathered on that sun-drenched fall day. The ceremony, presided over by Kansas City Mayor Darius A. Brown, began in the late afternoon, and in keeping with the solemn proceedings, began with an invocation by the Reverend Burris A. Jenkins. A brief address by Dr. William Campbell of the Kansas City Historical Society was followed by speeches from former Confederate and Union soldiers. Judge John B. Stone, a former Confederate and member of the local United Confederate Veterans, spoke on behalf of the South. Stone praised the service of his former comrades for whom the monument honored. He also praised the federal government, "We are proud to honor a government broad enough and generous enough to erect a monument as this to their defeated enemies."[475] Stone was followed by H. B. Kelley, a former Union soldier and Kansas state senator. Kelly spoke of reconciliation and brotherhood. "Time has healed the old wounds," he said. "The passing years have mellowed the old feelings of sectional strife and today we can meet as brothers."[476]

Congressman Borland then gave a brief history of the life of Confederate General Joseph O. "Jo" Shelby and finished with more thoughts of national reconciliation: "The men we honor today were not leaders in the Southern cause. They were only privates who gave up their lives in the performance of their duties. The government has erected this monument and it is a stronger guarantee of permanent peace than standing armies and frowning forts."[477] At the conclusion of Borland's remarks, the monument was unveiled by Mrs. John W. Black, event chairwoman and member of the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the UDC, and Gladys Shelby, granddaughter of General Shelby. Black made some brief remarks and together the ladies uncovered the monument. Then Battery B of the Missouri National Guard fired a twenty-one-gun salute to conclude the ceremony.[478]

Union Cemetery was abandoned in 1937. Today it is owned by the Kansas City Parks and Recreation Board, which keeps it well tended. The Confederate monument still occupies a prime location on a hill, and a small interpretive marker indicates that the site is a featured point of interest on the Union Cemetery Historical Society walking tour (figs. 211–212).[479]

Figure 211. The Confederate Monument is stop No. 15 on the Union Cemetery walking tour, photograph 2009.

Figure 212. The south face of the Union Cemetery Confederate Monument, erected 1911.

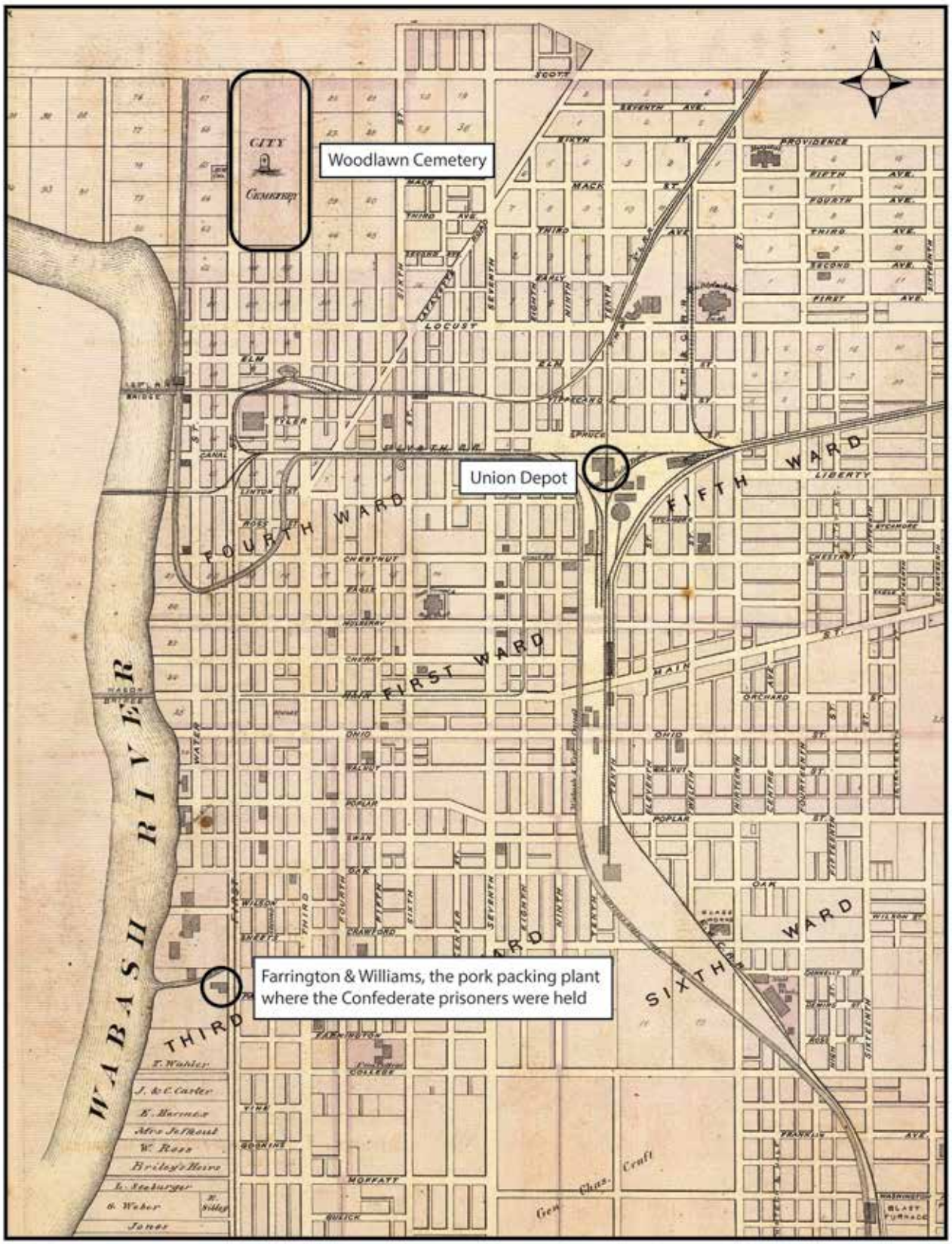

Figure 213. Map of Terre Haute, Indiana, showing the locations of Woodlawn Cemetery, the railroad depot, and building where Confederate prisoners were held, 1876. *Based on the "Illustrated Historical Atlas of Indiana," 1876. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*.

WOODLAWN CEMETERY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT

Terre Haute, Indiana

After the fall of Fort Donelson in Tennessee in February 1862, the Union army suddenly had 15,000 Confederate prisoners on its hands. General Henry Halleck wired several Midwestern governors asking if there were facilities to house them. Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana told Halleck that he could take 3,000 prisoners. The prisoners were next transported by boat to St. Louis where they were put aboard several trains. They arrived in Indianapolis in groups of 200 to 400. On or about February 22, 1862, a group of 279 prisoners arrived by train to Terre Haute, Indiana.[480]

On February 24, 1862, Governor Morton ordered Colonel Bernard F. Mullen to move his regiment, the 61st Indiana Infantry, to Terre Haute in order to take charge of the prisoners. Mullen arrived in Terre Haute that afternoon where he found the prisoners under the command of a 24th Ohio Infantry lieutenant. The lieutenant told Mullen that his orders were to transport the prisoners to Camp Morton in Indianapolis, and he refused to turn them over to Mullen. After trying to contact Indianapolis via telegraph, Mullen, the higher-ranking officer, relieved the lieutenant of the prisoners.[481]

Mullen marched the prisoners to a brick building, an old pork-packing establishment owned by Farrington & Williams, which was situated at the end of Park Street between the river and First Street. According to Colonel Mullen's report, he had 279 prisoners on February 27, 1862. By March 18 most of the prisoners had been transferred to Camp Morton. As of that date, seven had died and forty-one remained in the hospital in Terre Haute (fig. 213).[482]

Woodlawn Cemetery

Several more prisoners died before the group was well enough to be moved on to Indianapolis. Over the course of the prisoners' stay in Terre Haute, at least eleven men died and were buried in Woodlawn Cemetery. According to the undertaker who buried them:

> *[The] Colonel commanding the regiment that were guarding them came to me and told me to bury them in a plain coffin with an outside box and use a hearse (not wagon) for transporting to the cemetery and to use a guard of U.S. soldiers (6) as an escort.*[483]

Colonel Mullen's insistence on using a hearse demonstrated that he felt that the prisoners deserved a certain amount of respect and that a certain protocol should be observed in death. Unfortunately for undertaker Isaac Ball, he was never paid for his services because the quartermaster in Indianapolis determined that his costs were too high compared to the fees paid to undertakers burying prisoners in Indianapolis.[484]

The remains of eleven Confederate prisoners remained in the Terre Haute cemetery, largely forgotten until 1901. That year a letter from Mrs. William J. Behan, president of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, found its way to the mayor of Terre Haute. Behan had heard that a cemetery containing Confederate burials was about to be abandoned and the property sold off for town lots; she was determined to pursue this matter.[485]

The Confederated Southern Memorial Association had been instrumental in erecting monuments to the Confederate dead throughout the South, as well as moving the remains of Southern dead from Gettysburg and other places in the Eastern Theater. In 1901 the association began focusing its efforts on prisoners of war, including those said to be interred at Terre Haute.[486]

Behan was under the impression that the cemetery contained the graves of more than 100 Confederate soldiers. She received numerous replies to her queries, including a letter from the mayor and undertaker, an attorney, the local Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) post, and the cemetery superintendent. Mayor Henry O. Sterg assured Behan that no cemetery in the city was to be abandoned and that there were no Confederate soldiers buried in Terre Haute. Ball, however, assured her that the mayor was wrong; there were indeed Confederates buried in Terre Haute. Ball gave the number buried in the cemetery as thirteen, not 100. All letters to Behan attempted to reassure her, telling her that the Confederate graves in Terre Haute, while unmarked, were well cared for and would continue to be taken care of "as long as time may last." She appeared to be satisfied that the graves were being properly maintained and made note of it in a letter she wrote to the *Confederate Veteran* later that year.[487]

The Commission

Six years passed between the flurry of correspondence between Mrs. Behan and the citizens of Terre Haute, and L. Frank Nye's first visit to the city in summer 1907. Nye, employed by the Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, was in Terre Haute to locate the graves of the Confederate prisoners and to determine if they could be individually marked.

Nye went first to the post office. There he was directed by the assistant postmaster to Woodlawn Cemetery, called the "old cemetery." The assistant superintendent at Woodlawn explained that all records before 1866 had been destroyed in a fire. He told Nye that he thought the Confederate prisoners were "buried in a small section near the entrance, two paths west, and about three sections south from the entrance street." Nye called the cemetery superintendent who, though not familiar with the situation, believed that the prisoners and the Union dead were buried together. He told Nye that the area thought to be the resting place of the Confederate prisoners was marked with a monument to the unknown dead, placed there by the Ladies of Morton Relief Corps No. 11 in 1904.[488]

Nye consulted Lawrence Burgett, a member of the local GAR, who suggested that he speak with Frank Ball, son of Isaac Ball, the undertaker who had buried the dead prisoners in 1862. Ball arranged a visit with his father, who at that time was in poor health. Nye interviewed Isaac Ball at his house on Swan Street. The elder Ball was

Figure 214. This grassy strip along the west edge of Woodlawn Cemetery, which was reserved for paupers during the Civil War era, is the most likely the location of Confederate prisoner burials.

confused regarding the number of men he buried, but he gave Nye a number of details that convinced him that Ball knew what he was talking about. In the interview, Ball told Nye that he did not bury the Confederate prisoners with the Union soldiers. Ball said he buried the Confederates in Section 37, east of 12th Street, and south of Grand Entry Avenue (fig. 214). Ball also mentioned a particular headstone, which he said would lead Nye to the grave site. Nye found the headstone and marked the passage in his report. Ball did not mention that he had marked the graves in any way and it seems unlikely there were ever headboards on the prisoners' graves.[489]

Though now somewhat more comfortable with the location of the Confederate graves in Terre Haute, the commission still did not know the names of the men buried in Woodlawn Cemetery. Hoping to get more information, Commissioner Oates wrote to the secretary of war, requesting all paperwork on an 1862 claim made by Isaac Ball to Indianapolis for payment for his services. Oates's request bounced around the Department of War for two months. The quartermaster general found nothing and, initially, the adjutant general also came up empty handed. Finally, three months after Oates requested the information, the adjutant general sent him a list of eleven names. It turned out that Isaac Ball did indeed bury these men and had presented a bill for payment.[490]

Commissioner Oates, following up on the information from the adjutant general, wrote to John T. Sudbrink, an attorney in Terre Haute, who had been in communication with the Confederated Southern Memorial Association back in 1901. Sudbrink replied that he could locate the individual graves and put up stakes, but "there would be some little expense attached." A second letter was then sent to John E. Lamb, a former congressman who served with Oates. Lamb fired back a response, "Mr. John T. Sudbrink, of this city is absolutely unreliable, and in the opinion of a great many people is non compos mentis. I have known him all his life. He has no more knowledge about the graves of the Confederate soldiers than he has about the [Halley's] comet."[491]

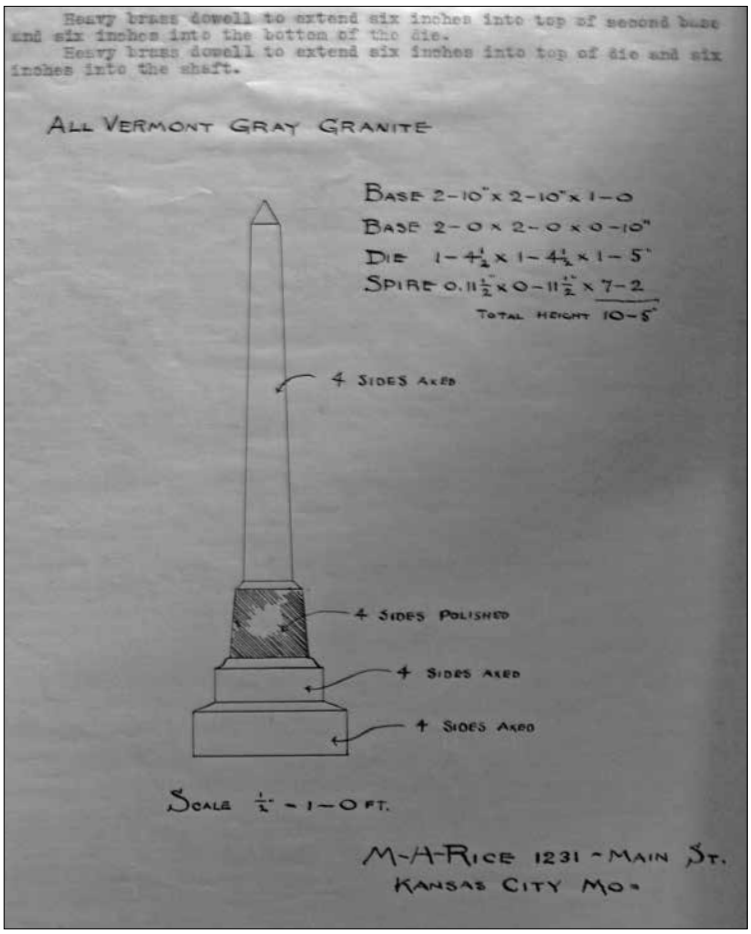

Figure 215. Undated sketch by M. H. Rice of Kansas City, Missouri, of the proposed monument to Confederate prisoners buried at Woodlawn Cemetery. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

After exhausting every avenue in the search for the location of the graves and the matching of graves with names, the commission determined to erect a single monument in the cemetery. L. Frank Nye traveled to Terre Haute in 1911 to meet with the cemetery superintendent, with whom he reached agreement on a single monument; the city would donate the property.[492]

In late 1911 a circular asking for bids on the work in Terre Haute was sent out, and in December 1911, the contract was awarded to M. H. Rice of Kansas City, Missouri. The cost of the modest, 10 foot 5-inch-tall obelisk of gray Vermont granite with bronze plaques listing the names of the eleven dead was $300. The city officially deeded the cemetery lot to the U.S. government in spring 1912 and the monument was erected sometime afterward (fig. 215).[493]

In his 1901 letter to Behan, Isaac Ball said that after the war the remains of one prisoner were claimed by a man named Zollicoffer, and a 1925 newspaper clipping found in the Vigo County Public Library recounts his story. In the article, Ball remembers that a man named Zollicoffer came to Terre Haute and recovered a body that was buried there. Ball does not specifically state that Zollicoffer came to recover the body of a family member but it seems to be a logical reason. The bronze plaque on the Confederate monument also lists a George N. Zollicoffer, who could be the soldier whose remains were claimed after the war (fig. 216).[494]

Moving the Monument

In 1951, the monument was moved from its original location in Section 35.5 to the circle where it still stands. In October 1951, the monument was rededicated during a ceremony held by members of the American Legion, Morton Relief Corps, and the mayor, among others. The U.S. Army enclosed the new plot with curbing and continued to care for the monument. Sometime before the monument was relocated, the original bronze plaques had been stolen; these were probably replaced as part of the move (fig. 216).[495]

Figure 216. Plaques added to the monument when it was moved in 1951: recognition (leftmost), and two on the east and west faces inscribed with names of the dead.

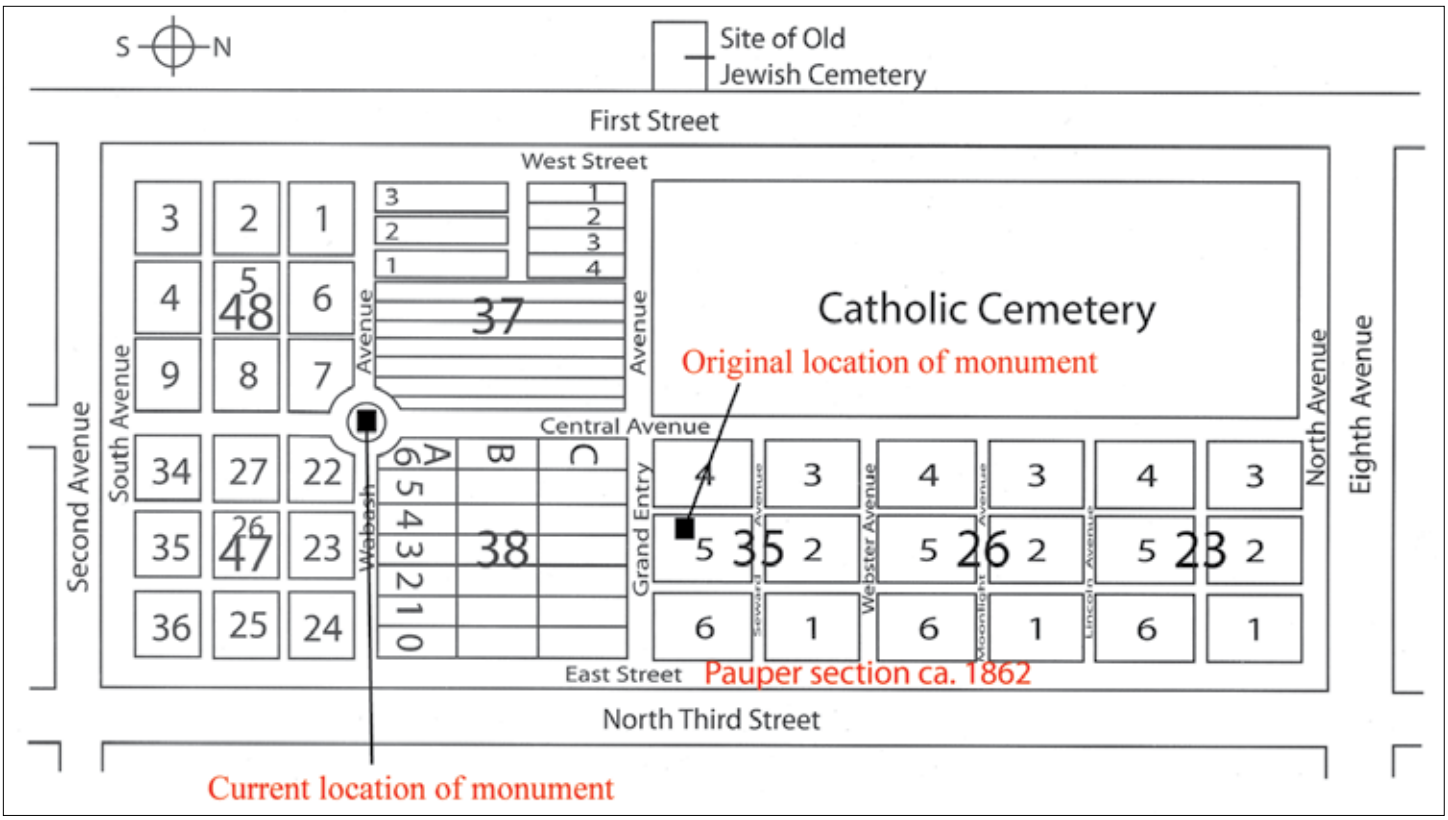

Figure 217. Map of Woodlawn Cemetery showing the area reserved for paupers and the original and current locations of the Confederate monument.

Accounts published in Terre Haute newspapers and in some local histories contain confusing information about the monument. Several publications insist that the monument in the circle is a newer, larger version replacement of a more modest original. However, the drawing located at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., the 1951 newspaper article, the 2009 inspection of the monument, and a conversation with Mr. Lennie Snyder, current cemetery superintendent as of this writing, confirm that the monument in Woodlawn Cemetery is the one erected by the commission in 1912.[496]

According to Snyder, the monument was never placed over the graves of the Confederate dead, which are interred in the last two sections south of Grand Entry Avenue in a strip of land adjacent to the west fence (fig. 217); this section was historically reserved for paupers. According to Snyder, the commission-funded monument was originally in Section 35, one section west of Central Avenue, and about 10 feet from Grand Entry Avenue. Snyder explained that the city asked the army's permission to move the monument so that they might sell the lots on the property it occupied. In exchange, the monument would be put in a more prominent location. Everyone agreed and the monument was moved in 1951 (fig. 218).[497]

Figure 218. East face of the Woodlawn Cemetery Confederate Monument, set in a circle at the intersection of Central Avenue and Walsh Avenue in 2009.

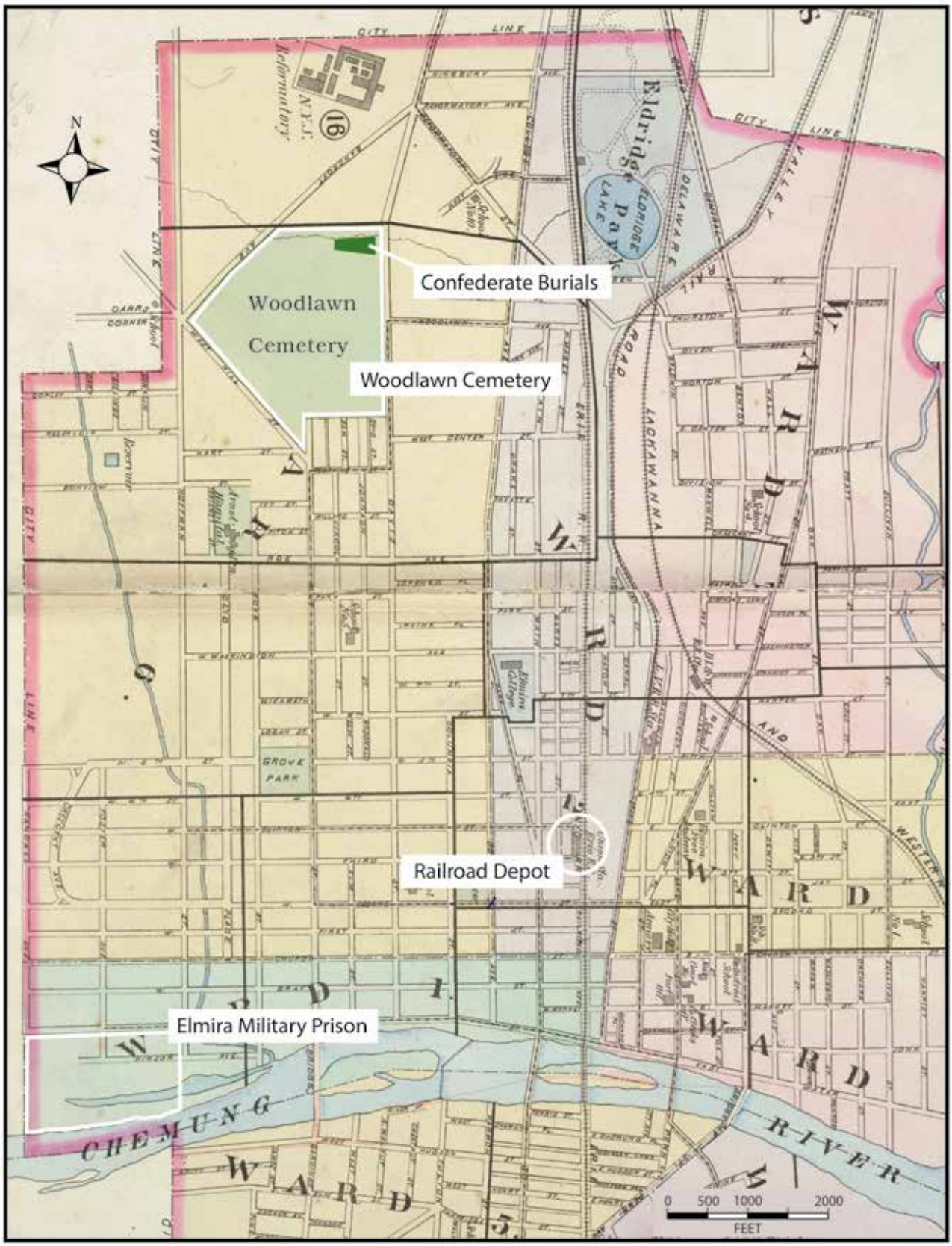

Figure 219. Map of Elmira, New York, showing locations of the prison and Woodlawn Cemetery. *Based on the Atlas of the City of Elmira, New York, 1896. Chemung County Historical Society.*

WOODLAWN NATIONAL CEMETERY

Elmira, New York

Overcrowding at the Point Lookout prison in Maryland led the federal government to establish Elmira Military Prison in western New York during May 1864. Commissary General of Prisoners William Hoffman planned to secure Barracks No. 3 at the Elmira Depot with a 12-foot-tall stockade fence. The depot had been a rendezvous for Union soldiers entering service from New York State. In addition to the barracks, it had hospitals, storehouses, corrals, and stables.[498] Hoffman optimistically wrote to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton:

> *I respectfully suggest that one set of the barracks at Elmira may be appropriated to this purpose. I am informed there are barracks there available which have, by crowding, received 12,000 volunteers. By fencing them [the barracks] in at a cost of about $2,000 they may be relied on to receive 8,000 or possibly 10,000 prisoners. They can be shipped directly from Belle Plain, on steamers already ordered for the purpose, to New York, and thence by railroad to Elmira, which will not make the transportation very expensive.*[499]

Lieutenant Colonel Seth Eastman, the commander of Elmira Depot, was not nearly as optimistic as Hoffman. In his reply to the commissary general of prisoners he wrote:

> *These barracks were built to comfortably accommodate 3,000 troops without crowding. The bunks are double. The buildings are in excellent condition and well ventilated. Four thousand prisoners of war could be quartered in them, and there is plenty of ground room in which tents could be pitched to accommodate 1,000 more.*[500]

Hoffman, ever on the lookout for an inexpensive solution to the escalating prisoner problem, chose Elmira as the option to relieve overcrowding elsewhere. Its location made escape difficult, it would be relatively cheap to set up, and transportation was readily available.

The prison facility at Elmira sat on uneven ground located near the Chemung River (fig. 219). Roughly two-thirds of the 40-acre camp, including the thirty barracks buildings, headquarters, and other support structures, stood on the high ground between Foster's Pond and Water Street. Foster's Pond, 580 yards long by 12 yards wide, sat south of the main compound. From the pond, the land fell 20 feet. The smallpox hospital stood in this low area, between the pond and the south wall.

The first Confederate prisoners arrived in Elmira on July 6, 1864. By the end of the first week, the prison population exceeded 1,100 men. This was only the beginning. As planned, nearly 1,000 more prisoners were transferred from Point Lookout and by the

end of July, Elmira prison housed nearly 5,000 men. It was around this time that tragedy struck.[501]

On July 14 over 800 Confederate prisoners, 125 Union guards, and 3 Union officers arrived by train in New York City from Point Lookout. They left the city at 6 a.m. the following day, bound for Elmira Military Prison. On July 15, the telegraph operator at Lackawaxen Junction failed to stop a coal train, which was inadvertently sent onto the same track traveled by the prison train. Around 3 p.m., the two trains collided on a curvy section of track known as King and Fuller's Cut in the vicinity of Shohola, Pennsylvania.[502]

Figure 220. Barracks at Elmira Military Prison, ca. 1865. *Library of Congress*.

Local farmers heard the collision and rushed to the scene to render aid. One engineer had leaped from the train right before the wreck and survived but the other two crew members were not as fortunate. Most of the prison train was a total loss; forty-nine prisoners and seventeen guards were killed outright or died soon after as a result of injuries sustained in the crash. The dead were placed in coffins built with the debris of the box cars and buried in a mass grave at the site of the accident, between the railroad and the river. Many of the bodies were so badly mutilated they could not be identified. On the next day, the 780 surviving prisoners, many of them injured, arrived at Elmira.[503]

By fall 1864 more than 9,000 prisoners were contained at Elmira. The original thirty barracks housed 3,873 men; more than 5,000 prisoners lived in "A" frame tents. With winter approaching, camp commandant Major Henry V. Colt was granted permission to construct enough barracks to house the prison population. Although short on both labor and supplies, Colt pushed ahead. Prisoners with carpentry skills supplemented the workforce. Even though many of the crews worked seven days a week, it would not be until New Year's Day 1865 before all of the prisoners were protected from the elements in barracks (fig. 220). The new accommodations nevertheless came too late for many: hundreds of men died at Elmira during the harsh winter of 1864–1865.[504]

The Prison Burial Ground

Elmira opened in July 1864 and closed in July 1865. During its brief operation, 2,961 of the 12,147 prisoners who passed through its gates had died. The Elmira mortality rate was the highest of any of the Union's military prisons. Almost all of the dead were interred at what is today the Woodlawn National Cemetery (fig. 221).[505]

A cemetery for the prison was established immediately. One-half acre of land, approximately 2 miles north of the prison, was leased from Woodlawn Cemetery and the prison commandant authorized the hiring of a laborer and a hearse. Woodlawn Cemetery's sexton (caretaker) was John W. Jones, an escaped slave who had found his way to Elmira from Leesburg, Virginia. The federal government paid Jones $2.50 per body to bury the deceased Confederate prisoners. Jones stayed busy; by January 1865,

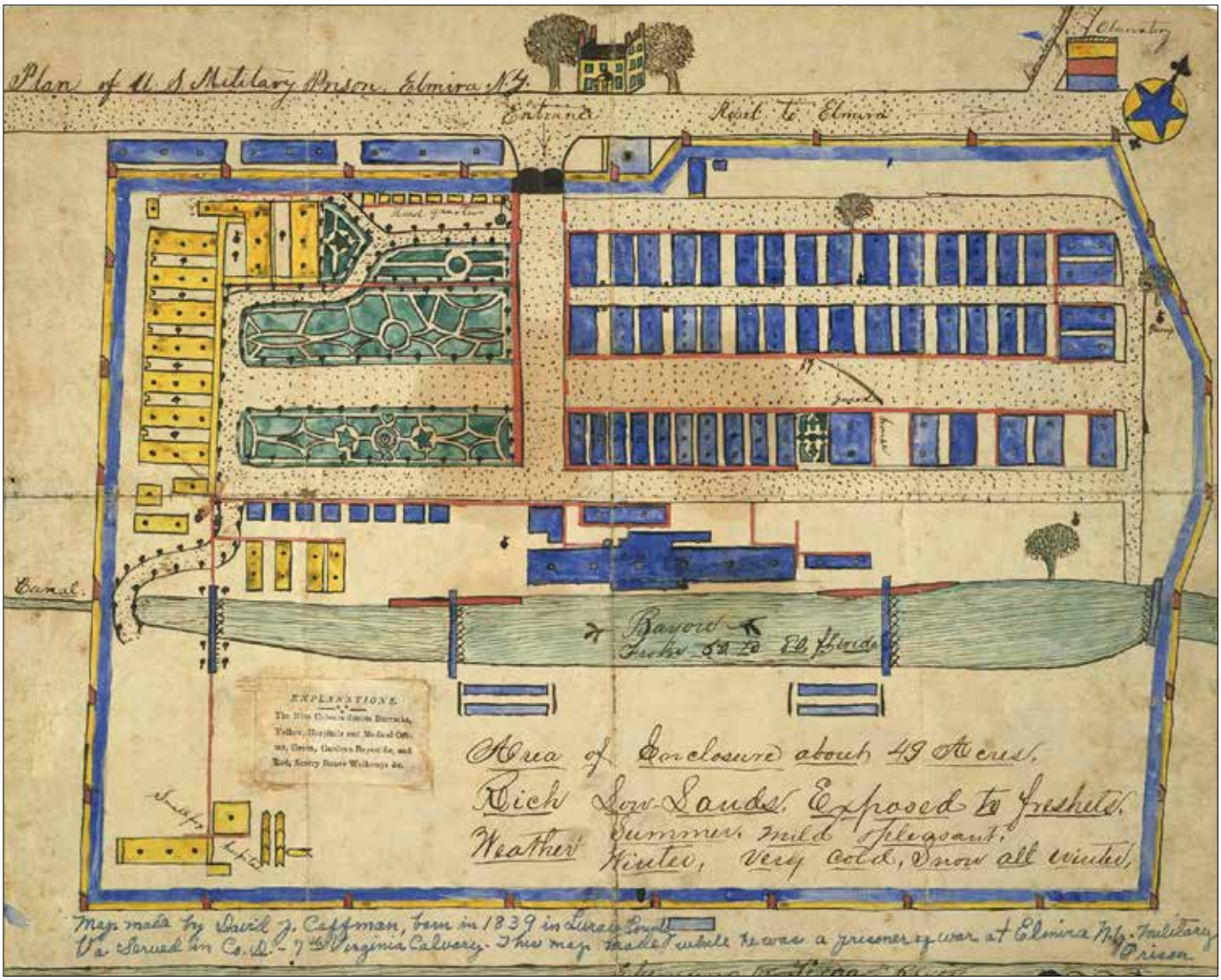

Figure 221. Plan of the Elmira Military Prison compound, ca. 1865. *Library of Congress.*

the original government plot was full. The government leased another half-acre in Woodlawn Cemetery from the City of Elmira for the prison cemetery. It is in these two plots in the Civil War Section that the Confederate dead rest today.[506]

When a prisoner died, the body was taken to the dead house at the prison and placed in a coffin. The prisoner's name, rank, company, regiment, grave number, and date of death were written on the lid of the coffin. The coffins were then transported to Woodlawn Cemetery by a wagon converted into a hearse, and upon arrival at the cemetery, were placed in a trench. A headboard bearing the information written on the coffin lid was placed at the head of each grave. The headboards were made and painted by William F. Naefe.[507]

The cemetery consisted of thirty-six trenches running north-south and two running east-west. Jones buried men every month, and probably every day, that Elmira Military Prison was in operation. The fewest burials in a given month were 208; the most was 495. One day Jones buried forty-eight men; on average he buried eight men a day. As the sexton, Jones kept records of the men he buried.[508]

Sometime before his death in 1900, Jones was interviewed by the local paper.

> *"Have you the name of every one of the rebel prisoners that you buried?" he was asked. "Every one of the 2,988." was the reply. "The name, company, regiment and state where from just as it is painted on the head-board."*
>
> *"Were they the right names?" "I have every reason to suppose so, as also will an officer in command of the camp. The prisoner may have given a fictitious name when he first came and never been obliged to reveal his true name, but if he chanced to get into the hospital he was pretty sure to tell it."*[509]

The last Confederate prisoner left Elmira prison in July 1865. The small government plot at Woodlawn Cemetery, which included 119 Union dead, remained under the care of Sexton Jones. An army inspection of September 11, 1868, stated:

> *The interments number one hundred and nineteen (119) all known. The burials are mostly from the general hospital in the city. There are thirty-seven bodies yet to be removed. There are also buried in the cemetery two thousand nine hundred and eighty-two (2,982) rebel prisoners of war, in forty rows of graves. All graves are sodded, and all have headboards. The graves are well taken care of.*[510]

An army inspection on September 13, 1870, reported that there were now only 2,968 Confederate prisoner burials in the cemetery, friends or relatives having removed twenty to the South. The inspector noted that the cemetery had not been taken care of since June 1, as pay that was promised to the caretaker had not been forthcoming. There was a note in the printed inspection report that a special report had been made for this cemetery.[511]

The government burial lot in Woodlawn Cemetery was not a national cemetery in 1870 but rather was a leased lot in a private cemetery. It was routinely inspected because government funds were used for its maintenance. A number of people in Elmira, one of the chief proponents being Congressman H. Boardman Smith, an Elmira native, petitioned for the soldiers' lot to be declared a national cemetery. Finally on June 23, 1874, a sundry civil service appropriation bill, which carried a clause inserted by Congressman Smith, was passed, thereby making the government lots in Woodlawn Cemetery a national cemetery.[512]

Woodlawn National Cemetery

Major Oscar Mack inspected the new Woodlawn National Cemetery on September 23, 1874. He reported that the cemetery had recently been expanded and improved. The cemetery was neat and the grass recently cut. The graves of 128 Union soldiers were located on the extreme north edge of the grounds, in a narrow strip of land between the north boundary fence and the avenue on the north side of the lot. The Union soldiers' graves were marked with headboards the inspector described as "old and weather beaten." The graves of 2,988 Confederate prisoners of war were "a short distance" southeast of the Union soldiers' graves. Mack reported, "The graves were originally

mounded up and sodded and marked by head-boards painted and lettered. Many of the latter have fallen down."[513]

In his special report, Major Mack described the Confederate section in more detail:

> *The greater part of these graves are arranged in parallel double rows, feet to feet, with wide walks between the rows of head boards—these rows run north and south. There are also two long single rows of graves of confederate soldiers, running east and west, between the north side of the cemetery (close to the fence) and the Avenue which runs along this side and passes by the east end of the double rows above mentioned. This Avenue has been laid out and lined on each side with trees—but is not otherwise improved. A little stream, whose bed has been made parallel with the north fence, bounds the confederate graves on the south, and isolates this part of the grounds from the rest of the cemetery.*[514]

Mack indicated that about one-quarter of the headboards in the Confederate section were rotted at the base and lay on the ground but that the lettering and numbering on the headboards is clear. He also wrote that the "remains of some twenty odd confederates have been removed by friends."[515]

While in Elmira, Mack met with Congressman Smith. He learned that Smith expected the Union and Confederate graves in Woodlawn to be treated alike. Smith wanted headstones placed on all of the graves "to blend the blue and gray," as he expressed it. Mack told him that the law authorizing headstones applied only to Union graves. Mack recommended in his report that an accurate list of the names of the Confederate soldiers be taken down from the headboards and placed on a chart showing the position of each grave, and the headboards then be removed. The first and last grave in the row, he wrote, should be marked by a plain stone post rising 6 inches above the ground.[516]

Congressman Smith was not happy with Mack's suggestion. On February 22, 1875, he submitted a resolution for inclusion into a piece of legislation being drafted by the U.S. House of Representatives. The resolution was read, considered, agreed to, and included in the bill, which was later passed. Smith's resolution read, "Resolved, That the rules be so suspended as that it shall be in order in Committee of the Whole to consider an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill providing for head-stones at the graves of Union and confederate soldiers in Woodlawn cemetery, New York, and for the proper care of such graves."[517]

After the bill was passed, no action was taken regarding the Confederate graves at Woodlawn National Cemetery. An irate Smith wrote to the Quartermaster Department complaining that the legislation was not being enacted by the department. He was passionate in his pleas, "If we have further punishment to visit upon the rebels we ought to visit it upon the living, the country can afford, at least, to provide its dead enemies, certainly those who died in a Northern prison, with 'hospitable graves."[518] Smith was sure that national cemetery policies did not discriminate and headstones could and should be placed on all of the graves in Woodlawn Cemetery. At the very least, he wanted a man appointed to care for the cemetery and he did not want the graves of the Confederates disturbed. "The removal of the remaining headboards would seem to our people here as an unpardonable act of vandalism."[519]

Major Mack replied by citing the acts and orders that established national cemeteries in relation to the headboards, once again pointing out that they only applied to soldiers of the United States. He did, however, agree that the headboards could remain. The secretary of war supported Mack and proposed hiring the man mentioned in Smith's letter, Edward Riggs, as well as keeping existing headboards and resetting those that had fallen.[520]

Congressman Smith would not take no for an answer. In summer 1875, he fired off another letter to the quartermaster general. He wanted to make it clear that the congressional act passed in 1875 was created with the understanding of the other committee members to include the Confederates. He seemed to have come to the realization that headstones could not be erected for all 2,900 Confederate graves. However, he thought those graves could and should be afforded the same care as those of the Union soldiers; after all, the whole of the lot was a national cemetery.[521] In an endorsement to Smith's letter, District Quartermaster Major C. S. Sawtelle wrote:

> *I presume we are under no obligation to take care of the graves of the Confederates, except to prevent them being desecrated, although I am of the opinion that it would be proper for our agent to be instructed to look after and keep in as good order as possible the lot set apart for those in the cemetery—After the work immediately required on the graves of the Union dead is done.*[522]

The graves of the Union soldiers were marked and the section where the Confederate prisoners were buried was also cared for, though permanent headstones were not

Figure 222. Wood headboards on Confederate graves at Woodlawn National Cemetery, Decoration Day 1875. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

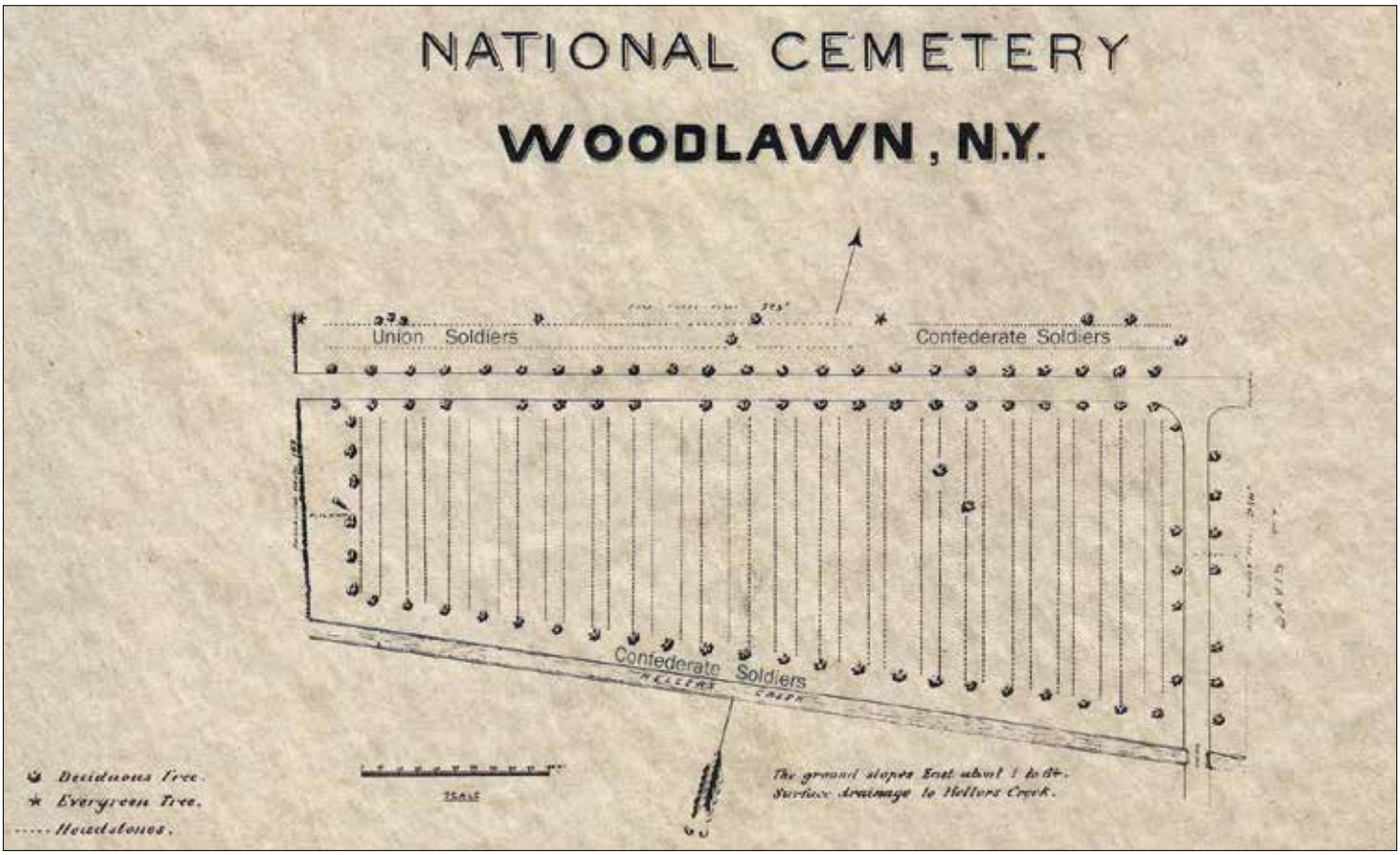

Figure 223. U.S. Army Quartermaster Department map of Woodlawn National Cemetery showing the location of Confederate and Union burials, 1893. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

Figure 224. Woodlawn National Cemetery in 1906 when the commission began its work; Union graves are visible on the left side. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

Figure 225. Private grave marker for Confederate soldier "John Smith T." in the Civil War Section, erected by his son in 1905.

Figure 226. Private headstone on the grave of Confederate Private William E. D. Crawford, photograph 1906. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

Figure 227. A standard 1930s government-issue headstone on the grave of sailor E. K. Lindsay, who died in 1865.

erected. The citizens of Elmira decorated both the Confederate and Union graves on Decoration Day (fig. 222).[523]

The federal government leased the lots in Woodlawn Cemetery from the City of Elmira for a period of some years. Finally, in December 1877, the government purchased the 2 acres holding the graves of the Union and Confederate dead from the city for $1,500, making Woodlawn National Cemetery a legal entity separate from the municipal cemetery.[524]

Sixteen years later in September 1893, the office of the quartermaster general drew a map of the cemetery at Elmira. This map shows the Confederate and Union burial sections that correspond to those described by Major Mack in his 1874 special report. The larger section consists of thirty-six parallel rows with graves oriented north-south: all of these graves are Confederate. The second section, located north of the first, consists of two parallel rows with the graves oriented east-west. The Confederate and Union sections were separated by a tree-lined allée running east-west and parallel to the Union graves (fig. 223).[525]

The Commission

The Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead began its work in Elmira when Commissioner William Elliott and his assistant L. Frank Nye visited the cemetery in June 1906 (fig. 224). Elliott and Nye were trying to rectify the discrepancies in the numbers of dead as reported in the various documents they had gathered. Some printed documentation from 1873 listed 2,988 burials, while a list obtained from the quartermaster general put the number at 2,948.[526]

There were seven individual headstones in the Confederate section in 1906: William B. Egerton, W. B. Le Quenx, Anthony Rankin, John Smith T. (fig. 225), William E. D. Crawford, E. K. Lindsay, and John Covert Plowden.[527] Relatives of the deceased had requested and obtained permission from the Quartermaster Department to place these individual stones. Four of them remain today. Crawford, Rankin, and Lindsay's old stones have been replaced. Lindsay's new stone bears the Confederate Cross of Honor, which was not used until the 1930s and so was not placed by the commission (figs.226-227).[528]

Elliott and Nye questioned Superintendent Charles Abbott about the cemetery maps drawn in 1874 and in 1893. According to Abbott, the 1874 map was drawn while the headboards were still in place. Abbott explained that an engineer from Washington, D.C., surveyed the grounds in 1874 and drew the map based on the position of the headboards. At the same time, the engineer also put together a list of the names on the headboards. When the engineer completed his mapping, the headboards were removed and burned. The engineer sent Abbott a copy of the map, along with an indexed list of the prisoners buried in the cemetery.[529]

Elliott and Nye spent a month in Elmira and eventually reached the conclusion that there were 2,963 Confederate prisoners of war buried in the cemetery:

> *Taking the total of the Q. M. G.'s [quartermaster general] list, 2,948, less 1 duplicated, 2,947, and adding the 16 "Unknown" would make a total of 2,963, the number shown in the Burial Register and also on the Map, and accepting Mr. Tower's statement that 25 were removed by friends, would make the total as given in Senate Ex. Doc.*[530]

When Elliott and Nye arrived in Elmira, they carried with them a list from the quartermaster general's office containing 2,948 names. They compared this list with the burial register in the superintendent's office. The Quartermaster Department list was in alphabetical order; the burial register was arranged by grave number. A list of names and their corresponding grave numbers, grouped by first letter of the last name, was given in the back of the burial register. A third set of names was printed on the 1874 map but that list showed a different set of grave numbers. To further complicate matters, two volumes entitled *Record of Deaths of Prisoners of War, Confederate* were found while Nye and Elliott were in Elmira, but they did not receive the volumes in time to compare them against the other lists.[531]

Elliott wrote to twelve former Confederate states to request information on names for which he had questions. Four states did not respond. Four responded but sent no information. Only four states provided information that proved helpful. With the information in hand and using the Quartermaster Department list as the control, a list of names was drawn up and forwarded to the Department of War for verification.[532]

In spring 1907 the commission requested bids for headstones. The bid was not just for graves at Elmira, but for 20,000 headstones to mark all of the Confederate graves documented by the commission. The headstones were to be American white marble slabs 39 inches long, 12 inches wide, and 4 inches thick. Each would have the distinctive pointed top first used on headstones to mark the graves of Confederate soldiers buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Each inscription was to include name, rank (above private), regiment, and the letters "CSA." The contract was awarded to Blue Ridge Marble Company of Nelson, Georgia.[533]

The appropriate number of headstones were delivered to Elmira in summer 1907. A second contract was awarded for transporting the headstones to the cemetery. A third contract was let to set the headstones on graves. Since there was a labor shortage in Elmira in 1907, it took the commission some time to find a man to set them for an acceptable price.[534]

The contractor began setting headstones at Woodlawn National Cemetery in September 1907 and did not complete the work until early spring 1908 (fig. 228). Poor weather, headstone alignment and breakage, and other concerns slowed the process. All issues were, however, eventually resolved to the satisfaction of the commission. The contractor who set the headstones leveled the lowest areas of ground and he suggested bringing in more dirt to increase the overall depth of the soil in the cemetery before it was seeded.[535]

During an East Coast cemetery inspection tour in 1906, which included the visit to Elmira, Commissioner Elliott and L. Frank Nye began investigating the 1864 train wreck near Shohola, Pennsylvania, in which a number of Confederate prisoners had perished. Elliot wrote to the president of the Erie Railroad, F. D. Underwood requesting information on the accident. Underwood could tell him little except the name of the landowner on whose land the mass grave was located.[536]

Figure 228. Newly marked Confederate graves at Woodlawn National Cemetery prior to seeding in 1908. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

Elliott died before the final resting place of the prisoners and guards killed in the accident could be determined. Commissioner William Oates visited the Shohola site in 1909. The unmarked mass grave was located on inaccessible swampy ground that was prone to flooding. Oates was reluctant to mark the graves in place and finally put the question to the secretary of war, "I most respectfully request that you instruct me in this case as to my duty, and I will endeavor to do it to the best of my ability."[537] The Department of War determined that it was appropriate to move the remains to a national cemetery and that it would obtain funding the next year to do so.[538]

Given the location of the Shohola burial site, the remains could have been taken to either the national cemetery at Elmira or to Cypress Hills National Cemetery in Brooklyn. Commissioner Oates felt that since the prisoners were on their way to Elmira, that they should be moved there. Oates's wishes were honored, though he did not live to see it.[539]

During the week of June 5, 1911, the remains of the Confederate prisoners and Union guards were exhumed from the mass grave near Shohola and placed in four cases. They were shipped to Elmira and buried in four graves in Woodlawn National Cemetery. The commission agreed to place a monument over the graves that would include the names of the deceased and the "circumstances under which, and the place at which, they were killed."[540]

Charles G. Blake & Company of Chicago was chosen to create the Shohola Monument. The 8-foot 8-inch-tall die-and-base monument was completed in June 1912. A bronze plaque on the north face listed the names of the eleven Union guards and the following text:

> *Erected by the / United States / To the memory of the following / soldiers, privates in the Eleventh / Veteran Reserve Corps, comprising / the Union guard who were killed / with their Confederate prisoners / of war in the railroad accident / near Shohola, PA, July 15, 1864, whose / unidentified remains, together / with those of the Confederate / prisoners, have been removed to / this cemetery.*

The bronze plaque on the south face listed the names of the forty-nine Confederate prisoners after the text below:

> *Erected by the / United States / To mark the burial place of / forty-nine Confederate soldiers / who, while prisoners of war, were / killed in a railroad accident near / Shohola, Pennsylvania, and whose / remains were there buried, but / subsequently removed to this / cemetery, where the individual / graves cannot now be / identified.*[541]

Figure 229. One of the photographs Charles G. Blake & Company sent to Commissioner James Berry to document the finished Shohola Monument. *National Archives and Records Administration*.

After the inspection, Charles G. Blake & Company was paid $600. The monument company sent Commissioner James Berry photographs of the completed work, as he had let the bids and was responsible for the project (figs. 229–230).[542]

Figure 230. Two rows of Confederate graves and Shohola Monument in Woodlawn National Cemetery, between a tree-lined interior road and a picket perimeter fence, ca. 1912. *Chemung County Historical Society*.

In 1937 the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) donated a monument to Woodlawn National Cemetery. It was funded through a bequest made to the organization specifically for that purpose, by William S. Haven, a Confederate veteran who had escaped from Elmira prison. The granite and bas-relief bronze monument stands approximately 10 feet tall. The 6 feet 2 inch-tall bronze figure was produced by F. William Sievers, who also created the Virginia Monument at Gettysburg National Battlefield and other Confederate monuments in the early twentieth century. The dedication plaque reads:

> *In memory of / the Confederate soldiers / in the War Between the States / who died in Elmira prison / and lie buried here / Erected by the / United Daughters of the Confederacy / November 6, 1937*

The monument, erected at a cost of $4,312.20, was unveiled during a ceremony that included addresses given by UDC members and the mayor of Elmira (fig. 231).[543]

In the late 1930s, a land purchase increased the size of the national cemetery to about 8 acres. Because the federal government and the city worked together to care for the cemetery, a lodge was not constructed until 1949. By that time, the Civil War-era cemetery was being encroached upon by graves associated with the Spanish-American

Figure 231. United Daughters of the Confederacy monument by F. William Sievers, erected in Woodlawn National Cemetery in 1937.

War and both World Wars. Some line the perimeter of the original Confederate lot: Spanish-American War and World War I interments on the east and west ends; Union troops who died at Elmira, Spanish-American War, and World War I dead on the south edge (fig. 232). The cemetery exhausted its burial space and closed in 1970, but it reopened in the 1980s after land was acquired to accommodate 1,800 new graves.[544]

In 1997, a group of students from Elmira's Southside High School raised $1,500 to erect a small memorial to John W. Jones, the sexton of Woodlawn Cemetery and the individual solely responsible for burying the Confederate soldiers who died in Elmira Military Prison. The nine high-school students, locally known as "The Jones Nine," were members of the Southside High School Diversity Group. The small granite and bronze monument was unveiled on June 22, 1997, in a ceremony that included a twenty-one-gun salute by Union and Confederate reenactors (fig. 233).[545] The bronze plaque reads:

> *Between July 1864 and August 1865, 2973 / Confederate soldiers were buried here / with kindness and respect, by John W. Jones, / a runaway slave. They have remained in / these hallowed grounds of Woodlawn / National Cemetery by family choice / because of the honorable way in which / they were laid to rest by a caring man.*

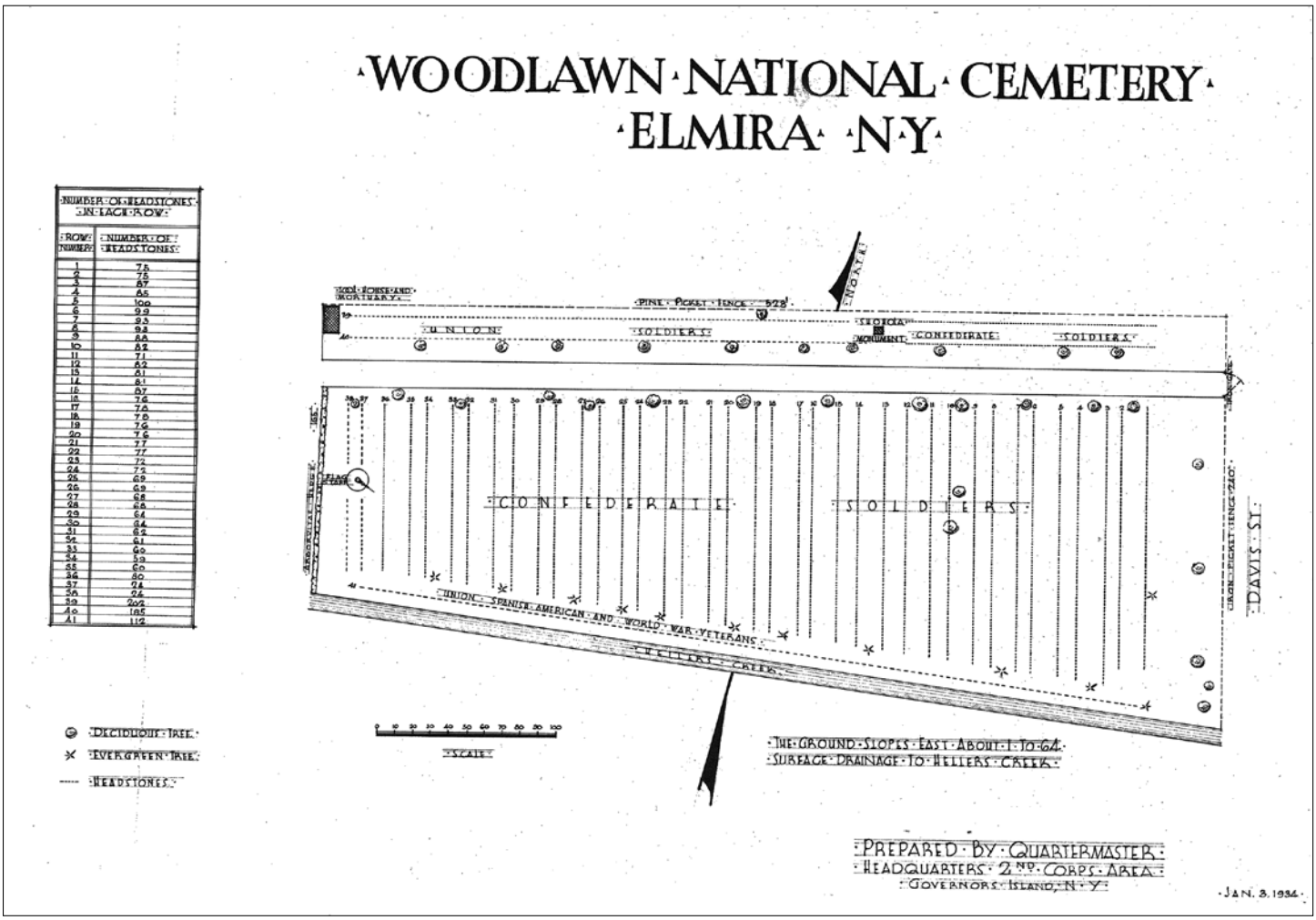

Figure 232. Map showing the Woodlawn National Cemetery layout after Spanish-American War and World War I burials were added to the Civil War Section, 1934. *National Cemetery Administration*.

Over the decades, citizens of Elmira have cared for and honored the graves of the Confederate prisoners buried in their city. On Decoration Day, Union soldiers' and Confederate graves were marked, as may be clearly observed in an 1875 photograph, as well as the 1912 image of the Shohola Monument. The flags that mark the Confederate graves are U.S. flags. In 1946, a memorial ceremony held at the cemetery included the past president of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Elmira Kiwanis Club. Two visiting southerners placed a wreath on the UDC Confederate monument; portions of the ceremony were broadcast on the radio. Since the late 1980s, Civil War reenactors have conducted memorial ceremonies in the cemetery and organized living-history encampments on surrounding property.[546]

Figure 233. A group of nine students from Elmira's Southside High School donated the John W. Jones Monument to Woodlawn National Cemetery in 1997.

Notes

Camp Butler National Cemetery

[1] William S. Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," *Illinois Historical Journal*, Volume 82, Number 2, Summer 1989, p. 75.

[2] Helen Edith Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Volume 25, April, 1932–January, 1933, p. 287; and Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," p. 78.

[3] Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," p. 79.

[4] Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph H. Moore, *Camp Morton 1861–1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1995, p. 17; *The War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. III, p. 281. Hereafter cited as O. R.; and Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," p. 297.

[5] Jack D. Coome, *Thunder Along the Mississippi: The River Battles that Split the Confederacy*, Castle Books, Edison, New Jersey, 1996, pp. 92–94; Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," p. 297; and Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," pp. 79–80.

[6] Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 73–74 and 136–137; and Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," p. 299.

[7] Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," pp. 298–299.

[8] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume III, p. 647; and Sheppley, "Camp Butler in the Civil War Days," pp. 299–300.

[9] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume IV, p. 112.

[10] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume IV, pp. 130–131.

[11] Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," p. 81; and Emma Eliza Parrotte, History of Camp Butler, MA. thesis, Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1938, p. 40.

[12] Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," p. 82.

[13] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, pp. 379–382.

[14] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, p. 379.

[15] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, p. 380.

[16] *O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, p. 382.

[17] Parrotte, *History of Camp Butler*, pp. 39–47; *O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, pp. 380–382; Peterson, "A History of Camp Butler, 1861–1866," p. 83; and *O. R.*, Series II, Volume VIII, p. 999.

[18] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, pp. 86–87; and Parrotte, *History of Camp Butler*, p. 41.

[19] U.S. Congress, *Report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, p. 87.

[20] Ibid.

[21] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1872, p. 87.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, p. 115.

[26] "No. 13, Camp Butler National Cemetery (Springfield, Illinois) Inspected October 9, 1881," RG 92, Entry 576, Box 68, Folder: Springfield, Missouri 1. Note: This report was filed in the Springfield, Missouri folder; it is a report on Camp Butler that was misfiled.

[27] Ibid.

[28] William Elliott to Fred C. Ainsworth, August 5, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 2.

[29] Between William C. Oates, Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and The Springfield Monument Co., of Springfield, Illinois; and Between William C. Oates, Commission for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and T. B. Richardson, of Riverton, Illinois, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 3.

[30] William C. Oates to George Ford, June 16, 1908, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 2.

[31] Parrotte, *History of Camp Butler*, p. 50.

[32] Parrotte, *History of Camp Butler*, pp. 52–54; and Therese T. Sammartino, *Camp Butler National Cemetery National Register Nomination*, on file at Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 1997, p. 3.; Parrotte does not state if the small markers designated the resting place of unknown soldiers. However, photographs taken in 2009 show all unknown burials marked with standard headstones rather than the small numbered blocks.

[33] Post Plan No. 182-149- A B C, Camp Butler National Cemetery, Illinois, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 6, Folder: Camp Butler 1. Department of Veterans Affairs, ; and Deed dated 25 June 1948, from Arthur E. Miller, conveying to U.S. Government, 33.23 acres, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 6, Folder: Camp Butler 4.

Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery

[34] Roger Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase and the Evolution of Union Prison Policy*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 2007, pp. 7–13; and Alfred E. Lee, *History of the City of Columbus, Capital of Ohio, Volume II*, Munsell & Company, New York, 1992, p. 97.

[35] Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, pp. 20–24.

[36] Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, p. 24; and "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery near Columbus, O.," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[37] *The War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, in 128 volumes,* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 382. Hereafter cited as O. R.

[38] Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, pp. 105–106.

[39] Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, p. 66; William H. Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Nashville, Tennessee, 1906, p. 11; and RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[40] Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, near Columbus, O., transcribed notes of L. Frank Nye, October 31, 1906 to November 15, 1906," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[41] *Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery*, National Cemetery Administration History Program vertical file, Camp Chase, pp. 3–4; "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery," RG 15, Entry 25 Box 31, Folder: Philadelphia 3; Senate Report 408, *Mr. Spencer, from the Committee on Military Affairs*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1878, p. 2; and Pickenpaugh, *Camp Chase*, p. 146.

[42] Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, p. 70.

[43] H. A. Axline to Samuel B. Holabird, May 15, 1886, RG 92, E 576, Box 22; and Samuel B. Holabird to H. A. Axline, May 20, 1886, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 22.

[44] Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, pp. xii–xiii and 11.

[45] Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, xiv; and *Confederate Veteran*, "Camp Chase Memorial Association," July 1899, p. 304.

[46] Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase*, p. 62.

[47] *Confederate Veteran*, "Camp Chase Confederate Dead," July 1902, p. 296.

[48] "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, near Columbus, O., transcribed notes of L. Frank Nye, October 31, 1906 to November 15, 1906," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Columbus, O., transcribed notes of L. Frank Nye, May 1908," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[52] "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, near Columbus, O., transcribed notes of L. Frank Nye October 31, 1906 to November 15, 1906," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[53] Ibid.

[54] L. Frank Nye to William Elliott August 7, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[55] L. Frank Nye to William Elliott August 7, 1907, *R*G 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3; and L. Frank Nye to William Elliott September 5, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[56] William Elliott to W.H. Knauss, June 28, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 2.

[57] William H. Knauss to William Elliott, August 29, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3; and The William Bayley Company to William C. Oates, December 8, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[58] L. Frank Nye to Mrs. LeRoy Rose, April 2, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[59] Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, to Columbus, Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Ohio, July 12, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3; and *Camp Chase 100th Memorial Service*, June 4, 1995, Ohio Historical Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Dixie Chapter, No. 1546 (Columbus, Ohio), 1864–2000, MSS 1312 AV, Box 2, Folder 6.

[60] Mrs. W. B. Sells to James Berry, January 1, 1912 and James H. Berry to Elizabeth Thompson Sells, January 24, 1912, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 3, Folder: Camp Chase 3.

[61] "Camp Chase Confederate Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio, General Layout, November 12, 1934," National Cemetery Administration History Program Collection, Vertical file: Camp Chase.

[62] "Camp Chase Cemetery," *The Hilltop Record-Historical Progress Issue*, July 31, 1936; and "Confederate Memorial Day," *The Hilltop Record,* May 22, 1936.

[63] "Scene of Rites," *The Hilltop Record,* June 5, 1936.

[64] "Plan of Camp Chase Cemetery, 1948," National Cemetery Administration History Program, Vertical file: Camp Chase; and "When Columbus Forgave the Rebel Dead," *The Columbus Dispatch Magazine*, Ohio Historical Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Dixie Chapter, No. 1546 (Columbus, Ohio), 1864–2000, MSS 1312 AV, Box 2, Folder 12.

[65] "Monument has link with Vicksburg," Ohio Historical Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Dixie Chapter, No. 1546 (Columbus, Ohio), 1864–2000, MSS 1312 AV, Box 2, Folder 12.

Confederate Mound

[66] E. B. Long, "Camp Douglas: 'A Hellish Den'?" *Chicago History*, Volume I, Number 2, New Series, Fall 1970, pp. 83–94.

[67] Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 71–72.

[68] Joseph L. Eisendrath, "Chicago's Camp Douglas, 1861–1865," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. LIII, No. I, Spring, 1960, pp. 39–40.

[69] E. B. Long, "Camp Douglas," p. 94.

[70] George Levy, To Die in Chicago: *Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas 1862–65*, Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, Louisiana, 1999, pp. 351–355; and L. H. Peirce to Brigadier General M. Meigs, November 8, 1865, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 27.

[71] Colonel J. J. Dana to Brevet Major General M. C. Meigs, October 26, 1865, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 27.

[72] L. H. Peirce to Brevet Major General M. C. Meigs, November 8, 1865, and Colonel J. J. Dana to Brevet Major General M. C. Meigs, November 17, 1865, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 27.

[73] Levy, *To Die in Chicago*, pp. 358–359.

[74] Confederate Dead at Oakwoods [sic] Cemetery, Chicago, Ill., October 18, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1; Ramsey Stewart to General William C. Oates, November 30, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1; and James R. Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, editors, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 2004, p. 122.

[75] Matt Hucke and Ursula Bielski, *Graveyards of Chicago: The People, History, Art, and Lore of Cook County Cemeteries*, Lake Claremont Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1999, p. 147; and Oak Woods Cemetery Association, *Chicago as We Remember Her*, Oak Woods Cemetery Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1955, pp. 3–4.

[76] Confederate Dead, Oakwoods [sic] Cemetery, Chicago, Ill., October 18, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[77] Levy, *To Die in Chicago*, pp. 354–355; L. H. Peirce to Brigadier General M. Meigs, November 8, 1865, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 27; and Confederate Dead at Oakwoods [sic] Cemetery, Chicago, Ill., October 18, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1.

[78] *Confederate Veteran*, "Confederate 'Mound' in Chicago," July, 1902, p. 319; and John C. Underwood, *Report of the Proceedings Incidental to the Erection and Dedication of the Confederate Monument*, William Johnson Printing Company, Chicago, Illinois, 1896, p. 232. The name Confederate Mound seems to have originated in about 1902. At that time Chicago Congressman James R. Mann sought federal funds for upgrading Confederate Mound, as reported in the July 1902 issue of the *Confederate Veteran*. The site retained the name in subsequent notices when Congress provided the War Department with funds for its maintenance.

[79] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, p. 254.

[80] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 2–4.

[81] Ex-Confederate Association of Chicago, *Register of Confederate Soldiers who Died in Camp Douglas 1862–65 and Lie Buried in Oakwoods* [sic] *Cemetery*, Cohen & Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1892, pp. 3–7; Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 87–91 and 268; and Levy, *To Die in Chicago*, p. 361.

[82] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 255–256.

[83] *Confederate Veteran*, "Dedication of the Monument in Chicago," May 1895.

[84] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 8, 87–93, and 254.

[85] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 101–103.

[86] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 101 and 109–113.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 135–137.

[89] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, p. 135.

[90] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 135–137.

[91] Underwood, *Confederate Monument*, pp. 103–149.

[92] U.S. Congress, "Confederate Mound in Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, Ill., 57th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 2155," RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island.

[93] James R. Mann to William H. Taft, December 26, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[94] Proposed Work on Confederate Mound Monument, Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, Ill., RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II. This document is a packet of notes, letters, and other documentation of Elliott and Nye's visit to Chicago in late October 1907.

[95] Ramsey Stewart to William Elliott, January 29, 1908 and William C. Oates to Ramsey Stewart, November 23, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; and Proposed Work on Confederate Mound Monument, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[96] Lewis, *Report of the Commissioner for Locating and Marking Confederate Graves*, p. 6; and James R. Mann to William H. Taft, December 26, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[97] W. B. Van Amringe to William C. Oates, January 12, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[98] Ramsey H. Stewart, George W. Levin, and E. W. Carter to James R. Mann, March 21, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2; and "U.S. Congress, Confederate Mound, Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, April 22, 1910, Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed, 61st Congress, 2nd sess., Report No. 1095," RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[99] Jacob M. Dickinson to William C. Oates, May 12, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas 2; William C. Oates to Jacob M. Dickinson, May 21, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; Memorandum for the Secretary of War, May 24, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; and Contract between Robert Shaw Oliver and The Van Amringe Granite Co. of Boston, Mass., October 5, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[100] Ramsey H. Stewart, George W. Levin, and E. W. Carter to James R. Mann, March 21, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2; and T. R. Gallant to Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, July 28, 1911, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[101] William C. Oates to George W. LeVin, June 4, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, *Folder: Camp Douglas II*; John Underwood, *Register of Confederate Soldiers Who Died in Camp Douglas 1862–1865 and Lie Buried in Oakwoods* [sic] *Cemetery*, Chicago, Ill., Cohen & Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1892, p. 5; and James H. Berry to Luther H. Peirce, December 10, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[102] Jacob M. Dickinson to James H. Berry, February 1, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; Jacob M. Dickinson to James H. Berry, February 18, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; Board of Trustee Confederate Monument to James H. Berry, February 25, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II; and James H. Berry to George W. LeVin, March 27, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

[103] Meredith Taussig, *Confederate Mound Monument*, Commission on Chicago Landmarks, Chicago, Illinois, 1991; Faye Sparks Robertson, "Oak Woods Cemetery, Chicago, Illinois," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, Vol. 58, No. 9, October 1995, p. 26.

[104] Personal communication, Matt Crawford, Chicago Landmarks Commission, February 10, 2010.

[105] Proposed Work on Confederate Mound Monument, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas II.

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[106] Charles E. Frohman, *Rebels on Lake Erie*, The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1995, pp. 1–2.

[107] Frohman, *Rebels on Lake Erie*, pp. 1–2; and William B. Hesseltine, editor, *Civil War Prisons*, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1962, p. 98.

[108] Frohman, *Rebels on Lake Erie*, p. 4; Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, p. 78; and Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons*, p. 99.

[109] *War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 24, hereafter cited as O. R.; and Speer, *Portals to Hell*, p. 79.

[110] David R. Bush, *Guide Map to the Confederate Cemetery on Johnson's Island*, Friends and Descendants of Johnson's Island Civil War Prison, Johnson's Island, Ohio, 2008.

[111]Frohman, *Rebels on Lake Erie*, p. 26 and Bush, *Guide Map to the Confederate Cemetery on Johnson's Island.*

[112]U.S. Senate, Report of Quartermaster General relating to cemetery of prison camp of Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio, 46th Congress Executive Document No. 53, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 36, Folder: Johnson's Island. Secretary of War Alexander Ramsey does not state what conditions the landowner specified, only that he himself believed they were inadmissible under the June 20, 1878 statute.

[113]"Decoration Day," *Sandusky Register*, May 31, 1883.

[114]Ibid.

[115]"Decoration Day," *Sandusky Register*, May 31, 1883; and Lydia J. Ryall, *Sketches and Stories of the Lake Erie Islands*, American Publishers, Norwalk, Ohio, 1913, p. 374.

[116]W. H. Owen to Colonel J. G. Chandler, September 16, 1887, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 36, Folder: Johnson's Island; "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Daily Register*, October 19, 1889; "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Daily Register*, February 22, 1890; and "Confederate Dead at Johnson's Island," *Macon Daily Telegraph*, May 16, 1890.

[117]W. H. H. Blackman, "A Visit to the Confederate Cemetery of the Prison," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 27, January–December, 1899, pp. 103–104.

[118]"Memorandum of Agreement between James H. Emrich and Charles Dick and the Robert Patton Chapter UDC, March 1, 1905," Sandusky (Ohio) Public Library Vertical File: Johnson's Island-Cemetery.

[119]Mrs. Mary Patton Hudson to William Elliott, March 24, 1906, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II. "Marse Robert" is slang for Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

[120]Ibid.

[121]Typescript of notes taken by L. Frank Nye on visit to Johnson's Island October 27–November 7, 1906, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II; and *Bush, Guide Map to the Confederate Cemetery on Johnson's Island*. Border states are loyal slave states (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri) that did not secede from the Union and join the Confederacy.

[122]Ibid.

[123]William Elliott to John T. Mack, March 16, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II.

[124]Ibid.

[125]William Elliott to George Davis, April 6, 1907—see 1st Endorsement (19834) April 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[126]William Elliott to Assistant Secretary of War, June 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I; and William Elliott to John Scofield, August 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[127]William Elliott to Secretary of War, June 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Mrs. Mary Patton Hudson to Theodore Roosevelt, July 24, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[130]William Elliott to Scofield, August 10, 1907 and William Elliott to Secretary of War, August 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[131]Re: Fence around Cemetery on Johnson's Island, O., October 3, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II.

[132]Mrs. Mary Patton Hudson to William Oates, December 17, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II.

[133]Mrs. Mary Patton Hudson to Marcus J. Wright, November 11, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island II; and Mrs. Mary Patton Hudson to William Oates, November 22, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[134]William C. Oates to Mary Patton Hudson, April 30, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I; and "William Oates to Robert Shaw Oliver, April 29, 1909," RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[135]Mary Patton Hudson to J.M. Dickinson, July 13, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I; Marcus J. Wright to Mary Patton Hudson, July 19, 1909, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I; and "To Select Site for Confederate Memorial on Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Register*, December 1, 1909.

[136]"To Unveil Monument," *Sandusky Star Journal*, April 21, 1910; "Elaborate Arrangements are Being Made of the Dedication of Statue," *Sandusky Register*, April 25, 1910; "Memory of Dead," *Sandusky Star Journal*, May 19, 1910; "Base Upon Monument to Confederate Soldiers Buried on Johnson's Island Will Stand," *Sandusky Register*, April 21, 1910; and "Unveil Monument to Confederates," *Sandusky Register*, June 7, 1910.

[137]"Tears Dim Eyes of Blue and Gray as Monument is Unveiled," *Sandusky Register*, June 9, 1910.

[138]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, to Johnson's Island, Ohio, July 12, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[139]"Confederate Graves on Johnson's Island," *Sandusky Register,* September 2, 1912; and Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, to Johnson's Island, Ohio, July 12, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[140]A handwritten note on page three of a booklet produced by the Johnson's Island Chapter, UDC, in 1940 states: "Mary Patton Hudson's last surviving member transferred their interest in the cemetery to the Ohio Division United Daughters of the Confederacy who in turn transferred the property to the U.S. government." Found in *United Daughters of the Confederacy, Dixie Chapter, No. 1546 (Columbus, Ohio), PA Box 205 14, Ohio* Historical Society.

[141]Rufus H. Wilson to Delbert L. Latta, November 13, 1974, National Cemetery Administration, History Program Collection vertical files; "Island Cemetery Belongs to U.S.," *Sandusky Star Journal*, May 13, 1932; "Island Burial Ground Service set for Today," *Sandusky Register*, June 5, 1932; and "Johnson's Island Rites Seen and Heard by Many," *Sandusky Register*, June 7, 1932.

[142]United Daughters of the Confederacy, Ohio Division, Robert Patton Chapter, Cincinnati, *Dedication of bronze monument to Confederate soldiers in Johnson's Island, Ohio, stockade cemetery . . . June, 8, 1910*, Ebbert & Richardson, Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, 1910.

[143]Warranty deed, Robert Patton Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, June 6, 1932, RG 92, Entry 687, Folder Johnson's Island; Confederate Stockade cemetery, Ohio—metes and bounds, March 16, 1939, RG 92, Entry 687, Folder Johnson's Island; see also W. H. Owen to Colonel J.G. Chandler, September 16, 1887, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 36, Folder: Johnson's Island; and William Elliott to Secretary of War, August 10, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Johnson's Island I.

[144]"Island Service Sunday, June 2," *Sandusky Register*, May 15, 1935; and "Island Service this Afternoon," *Sandusky Register*, June 2, 1935.

[145]Bush, *Guide Map to the Confederate Cemetery.* Note: if a man was buried and the body was disinterred, there would still be a burial shaft that would be detected by GPR. The number of shafts found using GPR and the number of dead in historical records cannot be reconciled without excavation.

Crown Hill Confederate Cemetery

[146]Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph H. Moore, *Camp Morton 1861–1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1995, pp. 1–14.

[147]*The War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. III, p. 269. Hereafter cited as *O. R.*

[148]Lonnie Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, p. 75.

[149]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 75–77.

[150]Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 20–22 and 26.

[151]Sue Buckner, *Confederate Burials in Crown Hill Cemetery, Marion County, Indiana*, Genealogical Society of Marion County, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1990, pp. 3–4; and Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 30, 57–59.

[152]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume IV, pp. 436–437 and 460–461.

[153]Speer, P*ortals to Hell*, p. 76–77; *O. R.* Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 348–349; and Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, p. 143.

[154]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 141–142.

[155]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume V, pp. 258–259.

[156]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 141–142.

[157]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume VI, pp. 424–425.

[158]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume VI, p. 425.

[159]Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 97 and 106.

[160]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume VI, p. 504; Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 102–106; and Speer, *Portals to Hell*, p. 140.

[161]Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 117–118; William B. Hesseltine, editor, *Civil War Prisons*, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1962, pp. 216–218; and Speer, *Portals to Hell*, p. 199.

[162]Winslow and Moore, *Camp Morton*, pp. 137–138; and "Prisoners Buried in Greenlawn," *Indianapolis News*, February 24, 1894.

[163]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 82; and "Prisoners Buried in Greenlawn," *Indianapolis News*, February 24, 1897.

[164]George B. Davis to the Secretary of War, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[165]Memorandum of visit to Greenlawn Cemetery by Colonel Elliott and James H. Hedges, November 22, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1.

[166]George B. Davis to the Secretary of War, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2; and Transcribed notes of November 17–29, 1906, Indianapolis visit by Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye, James H. Hedges transcripts November 22–23, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1.

[167]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, p. 111.

[168]Transcribed notes of November 17–29, 1906, Indianapolis visit by Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye, P. J. Gorman transcripts November 21, 1906, and Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind., p. 2, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1.

[169]Transcribed notes of November 17–29, 1906, Indianapolis visit by Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye, Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind., November 19, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1.

[170]"Hunt for 1,400 'Missing' Graves," *Indianapolis Star*, November 20, 1906.

[171]Transcribed notes of November 17–29, 1906, Indianapolis visit by Commissioner William Elliott and L. Frank Nye November 17–29, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1.

[172]"Lost Grave Quest Arouses Pioneers," *Indianapolis Star*, November 21, 1906.

[173]"Hunt for 1,400 'Missing' Graves," *Indianapolis Star*, November 20, 1906.

[174]William Elliott to Joseph Rugstaff, December 13, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 7, Folder: Camp Morton 1; and Memorandum: Relative to land in the Greenlawn Cemetery at Indianapolis, Indiana, in which Confederate prisoners of war were interred, November 3, 1908," RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[175]"Oates Finds Graves," *Indianapolis Star,* June 27, 1908.

[176]William C. Oates to Luke E. Wright, October 29, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[177]George B. Davis to Secretary of War, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[178]George B. Davis to Secretary of War, November 4, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[179]"Monument for the Confederate Dead," *Indianapolis News*, October 9, 1909; Patricia Demore, "Forum: the Readers Corner," *Indianapolis Star Magazine*, October 26, 1975, pp. 52–53; and U.S. Congress, *Statutes at large of the United States of America, December, 1927 to March, 1929*, Vol. XLV, Part 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1939, p. 533.

[180]"Confederate Rites For Burial Today," *Indianapolis Star*, October 27, 1931; Sue Buckner, *Confederate Burials in Crown Hill Cemetery, Marion County, Indiana,* Genealogical Society of Marion County, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1990, p. 9; and Demore, "Forum: the Readers Corner," *Indianapolis Star Magazine*, October 26, 1975, p. 52.

[181]"Confederate Memorial Lot to Be Rededicated in Public Ceremony," *The Crown Chronicle*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Summer 1993, p. 3; and Wayne L. Sanford, *Memories of the Past: A Tour of Historic Crown Hill Cemetery*, Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1996, p. 42.

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[182]Francis Trevelyan Miller, editor, *The Photographic History of the Civil War in Ten Volumes*, Volume 7: Prisons and Hospitals, Review of Reviews, New York, 1912, p. 34; Charles Sutton, *The New York Tombs: Its Secrets and Its Mysteries*, A. Roman & Co., San Francisco, California, 1874, p. 48; and Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 34–35. Some of the facilities in the list do not appear in the *Official Records*. They may have been hospitals that cared for Confederates or where prisoners were held prior to July 1862.

[183]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 35–39; and *War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Volume VII, pp. 987–1004. Hereafter cited as *O. R*.

[184]Speer, Portals to Hell, pp. 38–40; William B. Hesseltine, editor, *Civil War* Prisons, The Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1962, p. 34; and James Grant Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York: from its First Settlement to the Year 1892*, Vol. IV, New York History Company, New York, 1893, p. 41.

[185]*O. R.*, Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 987–1004.

[186]*Confederate Veteran*, "Prison Life on Hart's Island," May 1911, p. 219.

[187]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 147 and 253; *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XLIII/1, p. 307 and Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 1001–1003; and *Confederate Veteran*, "Confederate Artillery Regiments," December 1907, p. 536.

[188]*O. R.*, Series II, Vol. XXVII/1, p. 224; and John F. Walter, *The Confederate Dead in Brooklyn: Biographical Sketches of 513 Confederate POWs*, Heritage Books, Bowie, Maryland, 2003, pp.4–5. Based on the biographies in *The Confederate Dead in Brooklyn*; 167 men buried at Cypress Hills died at De Camp Hospital. The biographies in this book have been well researched using primary documents.

[189]*Confederate Veteran*, "Prison Reminiscences," November 1906, p. 504.

[190]Kurt T. Kraska, *The History of Cypress Hill Cemetery and its Permanent Residents*, Woodhaven Cultural and Historical Society, Woodhaven, New York, 1996, p. 4.

[191]James L. Farley to N. P. Clubman, June 16, 1868, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 24.

[192]U.S., Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 4.

[193]Ibid.

[194]U.S., Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1872, p. 7.

[195]Ibid.

[196]George P. Sanger, editor, *Statutes at Large and Proclamations of the United States of America from March 1871 to March 1873*, Little Brown and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1873, p. 605; and U.S., Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, pp. 6–7.

[197]Sanger, *Statutes at Large from March 1871 to March 1873*, p. 345

[198]Sanger, *Statutes at Large from March 1871 to March 1873*, p. 345; and *New York Sun*, "Fortunes in Headstones," April 3, 1876, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 25.

[199]*New York Sun*, "Fortunes in Headstones," April 3, 1876, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 25.

[200]Cypress Hills, NY, May 7, 1892, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[201]William C. Oates to the Adjutant General, War Department, September 9, 1909, *RG* 92, Entry 697, Box 4.

[202]Circular–Proposal issued by the War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, June 25, 1909, to haul Confederate headstones to Cypress Hill National Cemetery and to set said headstones, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4.

[203]James H. Berry, *Report of the Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., House of Representatives, Document No. 1105, U.S Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1912, p. 4.

[204]Ibid.

[205]Diary of Works Accomplished, Visitors, Conversations and Letter Written and Received Relating to Cemetery Records, January–August 1915, RG 92, Entry 703; and Berry, *Report of the Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves,* p. 27.

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[206]Brian Temple, *The Union Prison at Fort Delaware: A Perfect Hell on Earth*, McFarland & Company, Inc., Jefferson, North Carolina, 2002, pp. 5–10; and Emanuel Raymond Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History*, Presidio Press, New York, 1979, p. 37.

[207]Temple, *The Union Prison at Fort Delaware*, pp. 13–15.

[208]Dale Fetzer and Bruce Mowday, *Unlikely Allies: Fort Delaware's Prison Community in the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 2000, pp. 62–63.

[209]Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 145–146.

[210]*War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Volume VI, p. 517. Hereafter cited as *O. R.*

[211]W. Emerson Wilson, "First Prisoner's Funeral," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Vol. 30, April 1980, p. 4.

[212]*Temple, The Union Prison at Fort Delaware*, p. 37.

[213]*O. R*. Series II, Volume VI, p. 216.

[214]Nancy Travis Keen, *Confederate Prisoners of War at Fort Delaware*, reprinted by the Fort Delaware Society from *Delaware History*, April 1968, p. 1; and Fort Delaware Society, "Last Prisoner to Die," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Volume 21, No. 1, January 1971, p. 3.

[215]W. Emerson Wilson, "Prisoners Buried in Delaware City," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Vol. 30, April 1980, p. 4; and R. Hugh Simmons, "Civil War Burials on Pea Patch Island," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Vol. 54, February 2004, pp. 12–13.

[216]Temple, *The Union Prison at Fort Delaware*, p. 66.

[217]Chris J. Conradt, "Writing from Baltimore," *Confederate Veteran*, June 1899, p. 266.

[218]W. H. Moon. "Prison Life at Fort Delaware," *Confederate Veteran,* May 1907, p. 213.

[219]James L. Kemper to Secretary of War, May 12, 1875, W. W. Belknap to governor of Virginia, May 19, 1875, RG 92 Entry 576, Box 28, Folder: Finn's Point; and Simmons, "Civil War Burials on Pea Patch Island," p. 13.

[220]G. D. Chenoweth to Col. A. F. Rockwell, October 25, 1875, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28, Folder: Finn's Point.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Ibid.

[223]Ibid.

[224]Ibid.

[225]Joe Deluca, "Finn's Point National Cemetery," *South Jersey Magazine*, Spring 1996, pp. 13–14; and Mary F. Sanderlin, *Stories of Lower Penn's Neck*, Pennsville Historical Society, Pennsville, New Jersey, 1994, p. 132, and Rich Thompson, "Bivouac of the Dead: A 19th Century Poem by Theodore O'Hara," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Vol. 55, February, 2005, p. 18.

[226]Sanderlin, *Stories of Lower Penn's Neck*, p. 132.

[227]Sanderlin, *Stories of Lower Penn's Neck*, p. 132 and Finn's Point, NJ, May 13, 1892, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box1.

[228]Department of Veterans Affairs, *Finn's Point National Cemetery, Salem, New Jersey*, N. P., N.D., pp. 4–5.

[229]National Cemetery, Finn's Point, NJ., August 7, 1906, *R*G 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1.

[230]Ibid.

[231]Ibid.

[232]Memorandum of visit to G. G. Gibbon, Pennsville, NJ, made by Colonel Wm. Elliott and L. Frank Nye, August 9, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1.

[233]Ibid.

[234]Memorandum of visit to G. G. Gibbon, Pennsville, NJ, made by Colonel William Elliott and L. Frank Nye, August 9, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1; and Temple, *The Union Prison at Fort Delaware*, p. 66.

[235]William Elliott to Quartermaster General, March 13, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1.

[236]William Elliott to Quartermaster General, March 13, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1. See also individual histories of North Alton, Crown Hill, Indianapolis, and Point Lookout.

[237]John Tomlin to Depot Quartermaster, Philadelphia, April 1, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1. T. G. Hodgson to Quartermaster General, May 31, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1.

[238]George B. Davis to Secretary of War, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2, and U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Report of Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., Document No. 1105, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1912, pp. 25–26.

[239]War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Washington, D.C., May 21, 1909, Circular and Poster; Between William C. Oates, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, and The Van Amringe Granite Company, Boston, Mass, August 28, 1909, RG 92 Entry 701, Box 2; L. Frank Nye to William Oates, November 5, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1; and E. A. Stockton, Jr. to William Oates, May 11, 1910, RG 92 Entry 701, Box 2.

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[241]S. A. Cunningham to James Berry, August 10, 1912; 1st Indorsement, Phila. Depot of the Q. M. Department of the Depot Quartermaster, Philadelphia, July 31, 1912; and 2nd Indorsement, War Department, Office of Quartermaster General, Washington, August 1, 1912, RG 92 Entry 697, Box 5, Folder: Finn's Point 1.

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[247]Fort Smith National Cemetery, *The Fort Smith National Cemetery*, p. 31; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., 1870, pp. 59–60.

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[258]"William Dillon to John C. Clem, November 13, 1914," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Fort Smith.

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[264]Tom Fusco, *The Story of Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery*, N.P., St. Louis, Missouri, 1967, pp. 4–5.

[265]Fusco, *The Story of Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery*, p. 7.

[266]Joanne Chiles Eakin, *Missouri Prisoners of War, Print America*, Independence, Missouri, 1995, p. VIII.

[267]Lonnie R. Speer, "A Hell on Earth," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Vol. 34, No. 3, August–July, 1995, p. 58; and W. B. Hesseltine, "Military Prisons of St. Louis," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, April 1929, p. 382.

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[272]Hesseltine, "Military Prisons of St. Louis," pp. 387–388; Speer, "A Hell on Earth," p. 63; *O. R.* Series II, Vol. V, p. 48; and Kollbaum, *Gateway to the West*, pp. 188–189.

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[277]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 90.

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[279]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, pp. 90–91.

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[281]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1875, p. 118.

[282]U.S. Congress, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, pp. 118–119.

[283]Classified Statement of Interments In the Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, June 30, 1875, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 36, Folder: Jefferson Barracks.

[284]Martin Burke to G. B. Dandy, August 7, 1882, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 35, Folder: Jefferson Barracks.

[285]Martin Burke to G. B. Dandy, August 7, 1882, First Indorsement, August 10, 1882, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 35, Folder: Jefferson Barracks.

[286]Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, July 20, 1893, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[287]Fusco, *Story of the Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery*, pp. 14–15.

[288]Transcribed notes on St. Louis and Jefferson Barracks, Mo., L. Frank Nye, May 31, 1907, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[289]Transcribed notes on Jefferson Barracks, Mo., L. Frank Nye, November 20, 1907, p. 1, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[290]Ibid.

[291]Transcribed notes on Jefferson Barracks, Mo., L. Frank Nye, November 20, 1907, p. 2, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1. There is no closing quotation mark on the typescript at the end of the reference to removal of H. W. Powers. The prisons in St. Louis held a number of men and women who were noncombatants. Missouri was a divided state and there were many Confederate sympathizers within its borders, some of whom were held at the prisons and died while in captivity.

[292]Charles C. Walcutt, Jr. to Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves, June 8, 1909 and 1st Indorsement, June 25, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Jefferson Barracks.

[293]J. B. Randolph to William C. Oates, July 23, 1909, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1; and U.S. Treasury Department, *Digest of Appropriations for the Support of the Government of the United States for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1911 and on Account of Deficiencies for Prior Years, Made by the First and Second Sessions of the Sixty-First Congress*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1911, p. 312.

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[295]Q. M. C. Form 117, U.S. National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, Enclosing Wall & Fences, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1; and Q. M. C. Form 117, U.S. National Cemetery, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, rostrum, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 22, Folder: Jefferson Barracks 1.

[296]The text was taken from the stone. There is a quotation mark at the end of the inscription, but there is not one at the beginning or anywhere else in the text.

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[297]Mark K. Christ, editor, *Rugged and Sublime: The Civil War in Arkansas*, University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1995, pp. 89–94; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., 1870, p. 59.

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[299]U.S. Congress, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, p. 66.

[300]Ibid.

[301]"Memorial Day—The Decoration for the Graves," *Arkansas Daily Gazette*, May 11, 1869.

[302]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, pp. 85–86. Note: The cannon memorials extant in Springfield, Missouri are set with only the knob in concrete. The barrel is stabilized with steel brackets. Burying the gun to the trunnions would have put about one-third of it below the surface of the ground.

[303]U.S. Congress, *Report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, pp. 85–86.

[304]Office of the Quartermaster General, Map of National Cemetery, Little Rock, Ark., Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–93, RG 92, Entry 691, Box 1.

[305]"The Remains of Over Six-hundred Confederate Soldiers Removed to Oakland Cemetery and Their Resting Place Marked by a Monumental Shaft," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 21, 1885.

[306]"Ladies Memorial Association's Work for the Monument," *Confederate Veteran*, August, 1905, p. 352.

[307]Hazel, Mrs. Isgrig, "The Memorial Chapter No. 48, The United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1889–1969," *The Pulaski County Historical Society Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1970, p. 11.

[308]"Confederate Matters in Arkansas," *Confederate Veteran*, September 1894, p. 269.

[309]Isgrig, "Memorial Chapter No. 48," p. 11; "Arkansas, Mrs. L. C. Hall, President," *Confederate Veteran*, December 1904, p. 566; and Zella Hargrove Gaither, *Arkansas Confederate Home, Little Rock*, New Era Press, Little Rock, 1920, pp. 4–5.

[310]"Confederate Dead at Little Rock," *Confederate Veteran*, October 1904, p. 470.

[311]Isgrig, "Memorial Chapter No. 48," p. 11.

[312]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1911 to March 1913*, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1913, pp. 663–664.

[313]U.S. Congress, "An Act providing for the taking over by the United States Government of the Confederate cemetery at Little Rock, Arkansas," *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1911 to March, 1913*, pp. 663–664.

[314]U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1913 to March, 1915*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1915, p. 630.

[315]Therese T. Sammartino, *Little Rock National Cemetery National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form,* on file at Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, 1999.

[316]Sammartino, *Little Rock National Cemetery National Register Nomination*.

[317]"Memo: Use of Available Gravesites in Confederate Section of the Little Rock National Cemetery," February 4, 1988, on file at Little Rock National Cemetery; and U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Third Session of the Seventy-fifth Congress of the United States of America 1938, Volume 52*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1938, p. 117.

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[319]*The War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. III, p. 169. Hereafter cited as *O. R.*; Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, p. 68; and Charlotte Stetson, Don J. Huber, and Robert St. Peters, *Alton Remembered*, G. Bradley Publishing, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri, 2000, p. 69.

[320]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume III, p. 237; and Stetson, Huber, and St. Peters, *Alton Remembered*, p. 69.

[321]Cox, *Alton Military Penitentiary in the Civil War*, pp. 73–74.

[322]Cox, *Alton Military Penitentiary in the Civil War*, pp. 75–101 and 115.

[323]Cox, *Alton Military Penitentiary in the Civil War*, pp. 101–103.

[324]Stetson, Huber, and St. Peters, *Alton Remembered*, p. 69; William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons*, Kent State University Press, 1962, p. 6; and Cox, *Alton Military Penitentiary in the Civil War*, p. 114.

[325]Cox, *Alton Military Penitentiary in the Civil War*, pp. 111–112.

[326]U.S. Congress, Senate, Letter of the Secretary of War *Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., 1870, p. 88; U.S. Congress, Senate, Letter of the Secretary of War *Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1872, p. 89; U.S. Congress, Senate, Letter of the Secretary of War *Communicating, In obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, p. 115; and Cox, *Alton Military Prison in the Civil War*, p. 108.

[327]W. Nelson to E. B. Grimes, January 27, 1877, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2, Folder: Alton.

[328]Montgomery Meigs to J. Donald Cameron, February 26, 1877, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2, Folder: Alton.

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[330]W. M. Mitchell to James M. Burns, February 21, 1887, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2, Folder: Alton; and S. B. Holabird to James M. Burns, February 25, 1887, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2, Folder: Alton.

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[332]Henry Nichols to Charles A. Booth, July 21, 1899, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 2.

[333]Henry Nichols to Charles A. Booth, July 21, 1899, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 2; and "The Confederate Cemetery," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, July 20, 1899.

[334]"Confederate Burying Grounds Ownership," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, September 8, 1899.

[335]"Re Alton Cemetery, Alton, Ill. (219647), July 12, 1905," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 2.

[336]"Will Strew Southern Flowers," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 28, 1900.

[337]"The President of the St. Louis Chapter Daughters of Confederacy Writes Regarding Alton Cemetery," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, January 20, 1903.

[338]"Will Organize Chapter of Confederacy Daughters," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 30, 1904; "Will Decorate Confederate Graves," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 17, 1905; and "Many Daughters of the Confederacy Visit Alton," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, June 3, 1905.

[339]"D. O. C. Chapter Gets Custody of Cemetery," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, September 29, 1905.

[340]Mrs. S. H. Gregory to William Elliott, July 14, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[341]William Elliott to Mrs. S. H. Gregory, August 1, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[342]William Elliott to Superintendent National Cemetery, April 13, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[343]Mrs. Mary H. Gregory to William Elliott, May 1, 1907 and William Elliott to Mrs. S. H. Gregory, May 11, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[344]"Federal Officer Here to Mark Graves," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, June 22, 1907, and Transcribed notes of interviews conducted by Elliott and Nye in Alton, Illinois, June 27–July 1, 1907, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 2.

[345]William Elliott to Messrs L. Pfeiffenberger & Son, July 29, 1907; John M. Pfeiffenberger to William Elliott, August 2 and 19, 1907; John M. Pfeiffenberger to William Elliott, September 2, 1907; William Elliott to Messrs L. Pfeiffenberger & Son, September 25, 1907; William Elliott to Messrs L. Pfeiffenberger & Son, October 2, 1907; John M. Pfeiffenberger to William Elliott, November 9, 1907; and L. Frank Nye to Messrs L. Pfeiffenberger & Son, February 8, 1908, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 2.

[346]Mrs. S. B. Grommet to William C. Oates, January 11, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[347]S. B. Grommet to William C. Oates, February 4, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[348]William Oates to Secretary of War, March 27, 1909; and Memorandum General Wm. C. Oates, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, March 30, 1909, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 1.

[349]L. Frank Nye to W. B. Pedigo, April 1, 1909, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 1.

[350]2nd Indorsement [sic] War Department Office of the Judge-Advocate General, April 6, 1909, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 1.

[351]Circular and Poster, May 21, 1909; and Between William C. Oates Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and The Champion Iron Company, of Kenton, Ohio, August 28, 1909, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 4.

[352]"Work Started on Monument to Confederates," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, August 12, 1909; and "Confederate Monument Completed," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, September 17, 1909.

[353]William C. Oates to Secretary, Sam Davis Chapter, UDC, February 22, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[354]S. B. Grommet to William C. Oates, March 2, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[355]Memorandum from Hon. Wm. C. Oates, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 1.

[356]"Work Started on Monument to Confederates," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, August 12, 1909.

[357]"Confederate Monument Completed," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, September 17, 1909; "Will Set Tablets December 13," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, December 7, 1910; and B. B. Stakemiller to Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, January 24, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 1.

[358]B. B. Stakemiller to William C. Oates, June 9, 1910; William C. Oates to B. B Stakemiller, June 25, 1910; and William C. Oates to Secretary of War, June 22, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 4.

[359]Elise Linkogle to James Berry, May 4, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1, Folder: Alton 1.

[360]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, to Alton, Ill., RG 92, Entry 697, Box 1.

[361]Final Narrative and Completion Report for the Repairs of Monument and Fence at the North Alton Confederate Cemetery at Alton, Illinois, Under the Works Progress Administration, Official Project 13-116, Completed May 15, 1936, RG 15, Entry 25, Box 1 Folder: Alton 1.

[362]"Improvement Complete," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, August 26, 1993.

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[363]R. Hugh Simmons, "Fort Delaware & the US Army Hospital at Upland, PA, in 1863," *Fort Delaware Notes*, Vol. 55, February, 1995, p. 1; and *War of the Rebellion: The Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. V, p. 240 and Series III, Vol. III, p. 965. Hereinafter cited as *O. R.*

[364]Simmons, "Fort Delaware & the US Army Hospital at Upland, PA, in 1863," p. 1; and *O. R.* Series II, Vol. VI, p. 118.

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[367]Schedule of Information, Philadelphia National Cemetery, January 8, 1889, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 56; and Transcribed notes of visit to Philadelphia, PA., July 30, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder 2: Philadelphia; and Report of Superintendent Philadelphia National Cemetery, January 8, 1889, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 56, Folder: Philadelphia.

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[369]Philadelphia, PA., May 9 1892, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

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[372]J. H. Dettre to William D. Stauffer, April 9, 1898, typescript of letter, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 1.

[373]"Confederate Monument in Philadelphia," *Confederate Veteran*, July 1900, pp. 309–310 and Transcribed notes of visit to Philadelphia, PA., July 30, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 2.

[374]Transcribed notes of visit to Philadelphia, PA., July 30, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 1.

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[376]Monthly Report of the Philadelphia National Cemetery for the month of December, 1891 [handwritten copy], RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 1.

[377]Transcribed notes of visit to Chester, PA., August 2, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 1.

[378]William C. Oates to Depot Quartermaster, Philadelphia, March 8, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 1; and William C. Oates to Frank Gray, January 21, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 2.

[379]Transcribed inscription on the Philadelphia Confederate monument in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va., June 30, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 2.

[380]War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Washington, D.C., March 11, 1911, Circular and Poster, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 3; and Agreement between James H. Berry, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, and James T. Maxwell, trading as John Maxwell's Sons of Philadelphia, Pa., Contact for furnishing and erecting Monument to Confederate Dead, in the United States National Cemetery, Pittsville, Philadelphia, Pa., dated April 24, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Philadelphia 3.

[381]"Dedication Ceremonies in Charge of United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Philadelphia Record*, October 10, 1911; Monument unveiling program, October 12, 1911; and "Federal Tribute to Southern Dead," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 13, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Philadelphia 2.

Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery

[382]Regina Combs Hammett, *History of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, Regina Combs Hammett, Ridge, Maryland, 1977, p. 122.

[383]Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1997, p. 151.

[384]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, pp. 152–153.

[385]Edwin W. Beitzell, "Point Lookout, Maryland," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, Vol. 2, No. 4, April 1954, pp. 18–19.

[386]U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series II, Volume VI, p. 740, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1899, p. 740. Hereafter cited as O. R.

[387]Speer, *Portals to Hell*, p. 189.

[388]E. W. Goodwin to M. I. Ludington, December 2, 1865, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout.

[389]James M. Moore to M. I. Ludington, April 4, 1866, RG 92, Entry576, Box 57; and M. I. Ludington to Montgomery C. Meigs, June 12, 1866, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout.

[390]Edwin W. Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates*, St. Mary's County Historical Society, Leonardtown, Maryland, 1983, p. 115.

[391]M. I. Ludington to Montgomery C. Meigs, April 4, 1866, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout.

[392]M. I. Ludington to Montgomery C. Meigs, June 12, 1866; James M. Moore to D. H. Rucker, July 27, 1867; and C. W. Folsom to D. H. Rucker, November 29, 1867, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout.

[393]Montgomery C. Meigs to Secretary of War, March 17, 1871, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1872, p. 21.

[394]Laws of the State of Maryland, Chapter 85, p. 111, 1870 and Laws of the State of Maryland, Chapter 407, p. 506, 1874, typescript copies, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1.

[395]Millard F. Minnick to William Elliott, February 4, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2: Folder Point Lookout 1.

[396]John T. Callaghan to William Elliott, May 28, 1906, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2: Folder Point Lookout 1.

[397]William C. Oates to Luke E. Wright, October 29, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2; George B. Davis to Luke E. Wright, November 3, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2; and Robert Shaw Oliver to William C. Oates, December 19, 1908," RG 92, Entry 701, Box 2.

[398]J. A. Fowler, Acting Attorney General to Secretary of War, July 23, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1.

[399]Laws of Maryland, January Session, 1910, Chapter 543, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1; and Circular and Poster, War Department, Office of Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1.

[400]Board of Trustees of Confederate Prisoners of War Lot, Point Lookout, Md., to William Oates, July 18, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5.

[401]W. A. Fenwick to William C. Oates, July 18, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5.

[402]Board of Trustees of Confederate Prisoners of War Lot, Point Lookout, Md., to Robert Shaw Oliver, September 19, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5; and Supplementary Contract dated April 3, 1911 Modifying the contract between Robert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War, and The Van Amringe Granite Co., of Boston, Mass., dated September 19, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5.

[403]Between Robert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War and The Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, Mass., September 19, 1910, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5; and Francis V. King to James H. Berry, March 19, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 2.

[404]James Hall to James H. Berry, February 7, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 2; Francis V. King to James H. Berry, March 24, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 2; and S. Percy Yeatman to James H. Berry, November 21, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1.

[405]James H. Berry to Francis V. King, October 9, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1.

[406]James H. Berry to War Department, September 4, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 2; and "Monument at Point Lookout, Md.," *Confederate Veteran*, March 1911, p. 123.

[407]National Cemetery Data, *Point Lookout, St. Mary's County, Maryland*, September 30, 1980, National Cemetery Administration, History Program Collection Vertical file: Confederate Cemeteries.

[408]Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates*, p. iii.

[409]Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates*, p. 122.

[410]Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates*, p. 115; James M. Moore to W. J. Ludington, April 4, 1866, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 67; William J. Ludington to Montgomery C. Meigs, June 12, 1866, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 57; U.S. Congress,

Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1872, p. 21; Laws of the State of Maryland, Chapter 85, 1870, p. 111; Laws of the State of Maryland, Chapter 407, 1874, p. 506, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Point Lookout 1; and U.S. Congress, *Report of Commissioner for Marking Confederate Graves*, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 1105, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912, p. 27.

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[411]Colonel Stanhope E. Blunt, "Rock Island Arsenal," in *Historic Rock Island County: History of the Settlement of Rock Island County From the Earliest Known Period to the Present Time*, Kramer & Company Publishers and Engravers, Rock Island, Illinois, 1908, pp. 53–56.

[412]Blunt, "Rock Island Arsenal," p. 57.

[413]Benton McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island: The Story of a Civil War Prison*, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, Illinois, 2000, pp. 25–27; and Clifford Stephens, *Rock Island Prison Barracks, 1863–1865*, RIA Pamphlet 870-3, Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, Illinois, 1967.

[414]T. R. Walker, *A History of Rock Island and Rock Island Arsenal from Earliest Times to 1954: Volume I to 1898*, U.S. Army Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, Illinois, 1962, pp. 101–102; and McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, p. 12.

[415]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, p. 3.

[416]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, pp. 47–57.

[417]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, 55–57; and William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons,* Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1962, pp. 51–53.

[418]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, pp. 88–89, 106–107 and 144–147.

[419]Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons*, pp. 5–8.

[420]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, pp. 205–206.

[421]McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island*, p. 63; M. L. Poland to Commanding Officer, Rock Island Arsenal, April 18, 1871, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; "Marking Graves of Confederate Prisoners," *Confederate Veteran*, May, 1904, p. 225; and Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons*, p. 50. Pest houses were where patients with pestilential or contagious diseases were housed to keep them away from the main hospital population.

[422]H. A. Snyder, *Rock Island Prison Barracks, 1863–1865*, Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, Illinois, 1967, p. 6; and "Confederate Cemetery Is One of Historical Sites on Arsenal," *Moline Daily Dispatch*, July 2, 1951.

[423]Blunt, "Rock Island Arsenal," pp. 59–60.

[424]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience*

to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 88.

[425]M. L. Poland to Commanding Officer, Rock Island Arsenal, April 18, 1871, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[426]M. L. Poland and A. B. Dyer to Commanding Officer, Rock Island Arsenal, April 26, 1871, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2. A great deal of captured Confederate ordnance was stored at Rock Island.

[427] D. W. Flagler to John C. Underwood, February 26, 1895, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[428]Ibid.

[429]Memorandum of visit to Rock Island Arsenal, Ill., in connection with the Confederate Cemetery on the island, February 28, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[430]Memorandum of visit to Rock Island Arsenal, Ill., in connection with the Confederate Cemetery on the island, February 28, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; and Clifford W. Stevens, *Rock Island Confederate Prison Dead*, Blackhawk Genealogical Society, Rock Island, Illinois, 1973, p. 1. A survey of the cemetery conducted by the author in July 2009 confirmed Nye's findings. Headstone No. 647 was absent.

[431]Rock Island, Ill., May 31, 1907, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[432]Clipping from *The Daily Times*, Rock Island, Illinois, June 23, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; Between William C. Oates, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and Schricker Marble & Granite Co. of Davenport, Iowa, Contract for setting headstones in the Confederate Cemetery on Rock Island, Rock Island, Illinois, dated June 25, 1908, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; and Acceptance of Proposal. Order No. 2. War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, July 9, 1910, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2. The count of 1,951, minus the grave that was removed in 1955, would equal the current total of 1,950.

[433]1st Indorsement War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Lemon Building, Washington, D.C., May 1, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[434]Office of the Secretary, War Department, April 30, 1912, 26312 Comr. Berry, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; James McKinney to James H. Berry, May 5, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2; and 1st Indorsement [sic] War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Lemon Building, Washington, D.C., May 1, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[435]1st Indorsement [sic] War Department, Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, Lemon Building, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1912, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

[436]"Confederate Cemetery Is One of Historical Sites on Arsenal," *Moline Daily Dispatch*, July 2, 1951. Note: the 1870 map does not show a formal road connecting the prison camp with the Confederate Cemetery.

[437]"Far from Forgotten," *Moline Dispatch*, November 16, 2003.

[438]"As She Does to Others," *Confederate Veteran*, September 1895, p. 274.

[439]"Confederate Flags To Fly Over 1,960 Southern Soldiers' graves on Island," *Moline Dispatch,* N. D., Rock Island County Historical Society, Vertical file: Wars – Civil War 1861–1865/Cemeteries/Confederate Cemetery; "Stars and Bars Placed on Arsenal Confederate Graves," *Rock Island Argus*, N. D., Rock Island County Historical Society, Vertical file: Wars – Civil War 1861–1865/Cemeteries/Confederate Cemetery; and "Feature Page," *Sunday Democrat-Times*, May 26, 1957.

[440]"Confederate War Dead Stars and Bars Gone," *Rock Island Argus*, May 13, 1975.

[441]"Reconciling the Past," *Quad-City Times*, May 21, 2000.

Springfield National Cemetery

[442]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 93.

[443]Ibid.

[444]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1872, p. 92.

[445]R. I. Holcombe, editor, *History of Green County, Missouri*, Perkins & Horne, St. Louis, Missouri, 1883, p. 542.

[446]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43nd Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1875, pp. 120–121.

[447]William H. Owen to C. W. Foster, July 9, 1886, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 68, Folder: Springfield, Missouri; and M. H. Wade to Quartermaster General, April 22, 1887, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 68, Folder: Springfield, Missouri.

[448]Springfield, Missouri, October 3, 1892, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[449]Confederate Southern Memorial Association, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, Graham Press, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1904, p. 221.

[450]Confederate Southern Memorial Association, p. 222.

[451]Ibid.

[452]"Condensed History of the Confederate Cemetery at Springfield, Missouri," pp. 23–24, Undated clipping, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Library Vertical Files, Folder: Springfield National Cemetery, File I.

[453]Confederate Southern Memorial Association, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations*, p. 223; "Veterans at Springfield, Mo.," *Confederate Veteran*, July 1899, p. 308; "Confederates Have $5,000 for the Monument," S*pringfield Leader-Democrat*, January 27, 1900; and "Monument is a Certainty," *Springfield Leader-Democrat*, February 28, 1900.

[454]"The Willipus Aids Monument Builders," *Springfield Leader-Democrat*, June 27, 1901.

[455]Missouri United Confederate Veterans, United *Confederate Veterans' Reunion, 1901, souvenir booklet*, Springfield, Missouri, 1901, pp. 91–92.

[456]Missouri United Confederate Veterans, *United Confederate Veterans' Reunion,* pp. 17–19; "The Excursions," *Springfield Leader-Democrat*, August 10, 1901; "Opening Scenes," *Springfield Leader-Democrat*, August 10, 1901; and "Young Ladies Take a Prominent Part in the Ceremonies. Strong Points Made by Some of Missouri's Most Eloquent Orators," *Springfield Leader-Democrat*, August 11, 1901.

[457]Missouri United Confederate Veterans, *United Confederate Veterans' Reunion*, p. 65; and "Condensed History of the Confederate Cemetery at Springfield, Missouri," pp. 24–25, Undated clipping, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Library Vertical Files, Folder: Springfield National Cemetery, File I.

[458]"Bill Passed By Senate Would Consolidate Cemeteries Here," *Springfield Republican*, February 16, 1910; and U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March, 1909 to March, 1911, Part I Vol. 36*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1911, pp. 1077–1078.

[459]"$11,500 Award Will be Made at St. Louis," *Springfield Republican*, August 29, 1911.

[460]Samuel Lewis to Quartermaster General, November 19, 1914; James Burns to Samuel Lewis, October 8, 1914, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Springfield, Missouri.

[461]James Burns to Samuel Lewis, March 13, 1915, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 8, Folder: Springfield, Missouri.

[462]"Last Confederate Vet in Greene County Dies," *Springfield Daily News*, June 10, 1939; "Thomas H. Hadden," *Springfield Leader & Press*, June 10, 1939; and "Burial Friday to Complete Roll in Cemetery's Confederate Area," *Springfield Daily News*, May 21, 1964.

[463]"Tract Used for Confederate Veterans to be Taken in by National Cemetery," *Springfield News-Leader*, November 7, 1948; and U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December 1927, to March 1929*, Vol. XLV, Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1929, p. 354.

[464]Department of Veterans Affairs, *A Promise Made–A Commitment Kept: The Story of America's Civil War Era National Cemeteries*, Department of Veterans Affairs, National Cemetery Administration, Washington, D.C., 1999, p. 255; "Tract Used for Confederate Veterans to be Taken in by National Cemetery," and Public Law 85-41, 85th Cong., S. 1274, May 31, 1957.

[465]Paul T. Bannai to Director, Springfield National Cemetery, N. D., National Cemetery Administration, History Program Collection,Vertical file: Springfield National Cemetery.

[466]"Tract Used for Confederate Veterans to be Taken in by National Cemetery," and U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1927, to March, 1929*, Vol. 45, Part I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1929, p. 354.

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[467]Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1968, pp. 202–203 and 221; and Monroe Dodd, editor, Kansas City: *An American City*, Kansas City Star Books, Kansas City, Missouri, 1999, pp. 53–56.

[468]Louis O. Honig, *Westport: Gateway to the Early West*, Honig, Kansas City, Missouri, 1950, pp. 49 and 83; and Theodore S. Case, *History of Kansas City, Missouri*, D. Mason & Co., Publishers, Syracuse, New York, 1888, p. 82.

[469]"Hospital–Lockridge Hall," *Daily Journal of Commerce*, October 24, 1864; "The Hospital," *Daily Journal of Commerce*, November 18, 1864; "The Prisoners," *Daily Journal of Commerce*, October 26, 1864; and "The Westport Hospital," *Daily Journal of Commerce*, October 31, 1864.

[470]"Montgomery, Alabama, October 16, 1908," RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City.

[471]William P. Borland to James H. Berry, March 1, 1911;William P. Borland to Jacob M. Dickerson, April 22, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City; and Flora E. Stevens to William P. Borland, April 17, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City.

[472]Memorandum for the Secretary of War: Cost of Monument for marking Confederate graves in Union Cemetery, Kansas City, Missouri, March 1, 1911; and William Borland to James H. Berry, March 1, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City.

[473]William Borland to James H. Berry, April 5, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City; and Smart & Strother to James H. Berry, September 18, 1912, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City.

[474]Memorandum to the Secretary of War, March 1, 1911, 3rd Indorsement [sic], RG 92, Entry 697, Box 6, Folder: Kansas City.

[475]"Blue and Gray Pay Homage," *Kansas City Times*, October 23, 1911.

[476]Ibid.

[477]"A Shaft to Men of the Gray," *Kansas City Star*, October 22, 1911; "Shaft is Unveiled to Fallen Heroes," *Kansas City Journal*, October 23, 1911; and "Blue and Gray Pay Homage," *Kansas City Times*, October 23, 1911.

[478]"Uncle Sam Erects Confederate Shaft," *Confederate Veteran*, April, 1912, pp. 154–155;

and "Blue and Gray Pay Homage," *Kansas City Times*, October 23, 1911.

[479]Union Cemetery Association, *Union Cemetery Association: A Walking Tour*, Kansas City Parks and Recreation Department, Kansas City, Missouri, 2004. Please note that Union Cemetery in Kansas City, which is inactive, does not have sections or section numbers. Important burials on the printed tours are marked with small signs, which are numbered to aid visitors in finding a particular grave.

Woodlawn Cemetery Confederate Monument

[480]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. III, p. 269. Hereafter cited as O. R.

[481]Governor Morton to Col. B. F. Mullen, February 24, 1862; and B. F. Mullen to Laz. Nobel, Adjutant General of Indiana, February 27, 1862, Vigo County Public Library, Vertical file: U.S. History/Civil War/Confederate Prison Camp/Mullen Family.

[482]"14 Confederate Were Buried Here," unidentified newspaper clipping dated October 25, 1925, Vigo County Public Library, Vertical file: Confederate Hospital; "I Hear the Tread of Prisoners," unidentified newspaper clipping dated October 24, 1958, Vigo County Public Library, Vertical file: Confederate Prisoners in Terre Haute; and "Camp Morton, Tuesday Eve., March 18, 1862, Report of prisoners in the charge of Col. F.B. Mullen, 61st Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, delivered at Camp Morton and Remaining at Terre Haute," typescript, Vigo County Public Library, Vertical file: U.S. History/Civil War/Confederate Prison Camp/Mullen Family.

[483]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves Confederate Dead, to Terre Haute, Ind., July 11, 1910: Isaac Ball to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 19, 1901, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[484]"14 Confederate Were Buried Here."

[485]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves Confederate Dead, to Terre Haute, Ind., July 11, 1910: See Henry O. Sterg to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 17, 1901 and Mrs. William J. Behan to Superintendent Woodlawn cemetery, February 5, 1901, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[486]"Confederate Dead at the North," *Confederate Veteran*, May 1901, p. 197.

[487]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves Confederate Dead, to Terre Haute, Ind., July 11, 1910: See Isaac Ball to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 17, 1901; J. T. Sudbrink to Mrs. William J. Behan, January 31, 1901; John M. Hickey to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 2, 1901; David Denny to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 10, 1901; and Isaac Ball to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 19, 1901, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute; and "Confederate Dead at the North," p. 198.

[488]Memorandum in connection with visit made by L. Frank Nye on the above date [July 25, 1907] concerning Confederate prisoners of war buried here, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[489]Ibid. Note: Section 37 is now referred to as "old Section 37." There is no longer a 12th Street; all of the streets are named.

[490]William Oates to Secretary of War, December 31, 1908, with three endorsements dated January 11, January 18, and April 5, 1908, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[491]L. Frank Nye to John E. Lamb, May 13, 1910; and John E. Lamb to William C. Oates, May 16, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[492]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves Confederate Dead, to Terre Haute, Ind., July 11, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[493]James H. Berry to Secretary of War, December 30, 1911, RG 92, Entry, 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute.

[494]Memorandum of visit by L. Frank Nye, Clerk to the Commissioner for Marking Graves Confederate Dead, to Terre Haute, Ind., July 11, 1910: Isaac Ball to Mrs. William J. Behan, February 19, 1901, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 9, Folder: Terre Haute; and "14 Confederates Were Buried Here."

[495]"Confederate Memorial Is Rededicated," *Terre Haute Tribune*, October 29, 1951; "Ever Know Confederate Monument Still Stands In Woodlawn Cemetery?" *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, September 13, 1953; and "14 Confederates Were Buried Here."

[496]Simona Lansaw, *Woodlawn Cemetery, Terre Haute, Vigo County, Indiana, Index of Burials 1839 Thru 1899*, Wabash Valley Genealogical Society, Cook-McDowell Publications, Inc., Owensboro, Kentucky, 1980, p. iii; "Priest Traces the Life Of His Vigo Ancestors," *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, May 28, 1972; All Vermont Gray Granite, M. H. Rice's drawing of monument for bid documents, 1911, RG 92, Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Terre Haute; and Lennie Snyder, personal communication, July 30, 2009.

[497]Lennie Snyder, personal communication, July 30, 2009.

Woodlawn National Cemetery

[498]Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and Its Civil War Prison*, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 2001, pp. 4–8.

[499]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1880–1901, Series II, Vol. VII. Hereafter cited as O. R., p. 152; and Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, p. 13.

[500]*O. R.*, Series II, Volume VII, p. 157.

[501]Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, pp. 12–14.

[502]Joseph C. Boyd, "Shohola Train Wreck," *The Chemung Historical Journal*, August 1985, pp. 1253–1255.

[503]Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, pp. 15–16; and Boyd, "Shohola Train Wreck," pp. 1256–1259.

[504]Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, pp. 55–61.

[505]Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, pp. 103 and 153; Clay W. Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp: A History of the Military Prison at Elmira, NY. July 6, 1864 to July 10, 1865*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1912, p. 130; and *O. R.*, Series II, Volume VIII, pp. 997–1002.

[506]Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, p. 128; and Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, p. 95.

[507]Gray, *The Business of Captivity,* p. 97; and Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, pp. 129–131.

[508]Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, p. 131; and Thomas E. Byrne, "Elmira's Civil War Prison Camp: 1864–65," *The Chemung Historical Journal*, reprint of September 1964 article, August 1990, 1997, 2002, p. 1298.

[509]"Burying the Rebel Dead," unidentified newspaper clipping, Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, NY, Folder (PC) Elmira Prison Camp, Misc., VF 500-320.

[510]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for 1869*, Ex. Doc. No. 62, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870, p. 5.

[511]U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the years 1870 and 1871*, Ex. Doc. No. 79, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1872, p. 8.

[512]Major Oscar Mack to H. Boardman Smith, September 30, 1874, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2*;* and U.S., Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875, p. 8.

[513]U.S., Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries for the year 1874*, pp. 7–8.

[514]Major Oscar Mack, *Special report relative to the Government lots in the Woodlawn Cemetery, Elmira, NY*., September 23, 1874, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 2.

[515]Ibid.

[516]Ibid.

[517]House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States Being the Second Session of the Forty-Third Congress; Begun and Held at the City of Washington, December 7, 1874*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1875, p. 511.

[518]H. Boardman Smith to Col. Mack, September 28, 1874, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28.

[519]Ibid.

[520]Major Oscar Mack to H. Boardman Smith, September 30, 1874, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28.

[521]H. Boardman Smith to C. G. Sawtelle, June 24, 1875, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28.

[522]1st Endorsement, H. Boardman Smith to C. G. Sawtelle, June 24, 1875, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 28.

[523]N. Baker to C. G. Sawtelle, February 2, 1876, RG 92, Entry 576, Box 27.

[524]Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, p. 132.

[525]National Cemetery, Woodlawn, NY., September 6, 1893, Plans of the National Cemeteries in the United States, 1892–1893, RG 92, Entry 691, NM-81, Box 1.

[526]Transcribed notes of visit to Elmira, June 15–26, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 2.

[527]John Smith T. is the name of the Confederate soldier buried in the cemetery. Inscribed on the headstone is "Born in Chambers Co., Ala./ 1830/ Died at Elmira, NY./ Feb. 17, 1864./ This stone placed here, 1905,/ by his youngest son John Smith T./ who lives in Opelika, Ala."

[528]Ibid.

[529]Ibid.

[530]Re: Total number of Confederate Dead Buried in Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, NY., RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 2. Senate Ex. Doc. is U.S. Congress, Senate, *Letter of the Secretary of War communicating, in obedience to the law, the report of the inspector of the national cemeteries of the United States for the year 1874*, Ex. Doc. No. 28, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1875.

[531]Transcribed notes on work undertaken in Elmira June 13–July 11, 1906, submitted, January 2, 1908, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 2.

[532]George Levy and John Bellinger, "A Rising in Woodlawn Cemetery, Part II," *The Chemung Historical Journal,* Vol. 55, No. 1, September 2009, p. 6123; and Transcribed notes on work undertaken in Elmira June 13–July 11, 1906, submitted, January 2, 1908, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 2.

[533]Proposal for Confederate Headstones, Washington, D.C., April 5, 1907, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 3.

[534]Levy and Bellinger, "A Rising in Woodlawn Cemetery," p. 6129; and William Elliott to Robert Shaw Oliver, September 26, 1907, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 5.

[535]L. Frank Nye to William C. Oates, January 29, 1908, RG 92, Entry 701, Box 4.

[536]F. D. Underwood to William Elliott, December 3, 1906, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1.

[537]William C. Oates to Secretary of War, May 17, 1909, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1.

[538]William C. Oates to Secretary of War, May 17, 1909; and E. H. Humphrey to William C. Oates, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1; and Levy and Bellinger, "A Rising in Woodlawn Cemetery," p. 6129.

[539]William C. Oates to Chief Quartermaster, Camp of Instruction, Pine Camp, NY., August 5, 1910, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1.

[540]Charles W. Fenton to Chief Quartermaster, Eastern Division, September 6, 1911; A. B. Shattuck to Headquarters Eastern Division, Chief Quartermaster's Office, October 3, 1911; and William B. Cochran to Office of the Quartermaster General, October 14, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1.

[541]Between James H. Berry, Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead and Charles G. Blake & Co. of Chicago, Ill., December 6, 1911, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 2.

[542]F. H. Shaw to Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, June 5, 1912, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder; Elmira 2; and Charles G. Blake to James H. Berry, October 28, 1912, RG 92, Entry 697, Box 4, Folder: Elmira 1.

[543]"Confederate Monument at Woodlawn National Cemetery, Elmira, New York," *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, Vol. 57, No. 8, September 1994, p. 87.

[544]"Expansion Planned for Woodlawn Cemetery," *Elmira Star-Gazette*, August 8, 1988.

[545]"Southside Teens Honor Ex-Slave," *Elmira Star-Gazette*, June 23, 1997.

[546]"Confederate Dead Paid Tribute by Kiwanis Club Men" June 7, 1946, clipping file Chemung County Historical Society, Folder 310-165; Parks, Woodlawn National Cemetery; "Re-Dedication of Woodlawn National Cemetery," *The Chemung Valley Reporter*, August 11, 1988; "Confederate Battalion Honors Dead at Woodlawn Cemetery," *Chemung Valley Reporter*, August 23, 1990; and personal communication Walter T. "Skip" Baroody, October 22, 2009.

APPENDIX A. FEDERAL CODIFICATION

APPENDIX B. HISTORY OF CONFEDERATE FLAGS

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APPENDIX A: FEDERAL CODIFICATION

Most of the national cemeteries and associated Confederate lots that originated with the U.S. Army in the 1860s have been managed by the National Cemetery Administration since 1973. The most relevant statutes, regulations, and policies to shape the memorial function of these properties since the Civil War are cited below, in chronological order.

- General Orders No. 75 issued September 11, 1861[1]
  "The Quartermaster will also provide means for a registered head-board, to be secured at the head of each soldier's grave."
- Public Law 165 July 1862[2]
  "That the President of the United States shall have power whenever in his opinion it shall be expedient, to purchase cemetery grounds, and cause them to be securely enclosed, to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of the country."
- General Orders No. 40 issued July 3, 1865[3]
  "[O]n the conclusion of the war called upon officers of this department for special reports of the number of interments registered during the war, reports have been received from officers in seventeen States, including the District of Columbia."
- General Orders No. 65 issued October 30, 1865
  Required quartermaster officers to submit reports on *"location and condition of cemeteries known to them and recommendations of the means necessary to provide for the preservation of the remains therein from desecration."*
- Reburial Program authorized by Congress April 13, 1866[4]
  "That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in the field and in hospital during the war of the rebellion; to secure suitable burial places in which they may be properly interred; and to have the grounds enclosed, so that the resting places of the honored dead may be kept sacred forever."
- An Act of February 22, 1867 [14 Stat. L. 399]
  This law was created to establish and protect National Cemeteries and called for cemeteries to be *"enclosed with a good substantial stone or iron fence; and to cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone or block."*
- An Act of March 3, 1873 [17 Stat. L. 545]
  "For the erection of a headstone at each grave in the national military cemeteries."

  …*"for the erection of a headstone at each grave in the national military cemeteries."* Secretary of War William W. Belknap approved the first design, *"a slab design of marble or durable stone four inches thick, 10 inches wide and 12 inches in height extending above the ground. The part above the ground was to be polished and the top slightly curved."*
- An Act of February 3, 1879 [21 Stat. L. 281]
  "That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to erect headstones over the graves of soldiers who served in the Regular or Volunteer Army of the United States during the war for the Union, and who have been buried in private village or city cemeteries, in the same manner as provided by the law of March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-three, for those interred in national military cemeteries."

- S. B. Holabird, Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, "The following Instructions are Given for the Guidance of Superintendents of National Military [Cemeteries]," October 2, 1883[5]
  "Superintendents, however, have the same charge and control of the cemeteries on public occasions as at other times. All flowers, flags, and perishable emblems strewn or deposited on the graves will be allowed to remain on the ground only a reasonable time, not exceeding a few days."
- R. N. Batchelder, Quartermaster General, U. S. A., Circular, January 29, 1891[6]
  "Superintendent of National cemeteries shall see that these graves are appropriately decorated, and shall assume charge of the decoration ceremonies upon the day designated for such observance, and shall confer with and invite comrades and religious societies and other organizations in the vicinity to participate in the ceremonies."
- An Act March 3, 1893 [27 Stat. L. 599]
  "Monuments and Tablets at Gettysburg: For the purpose of preserving the lines of battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and for properly marking with tablets the positions occupied by the various commands of the armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia on that field, and for opening and improving avenues along the positions occupied by troops upon those lines, and fencing the same, and for determining the leading tactical positions of batteries of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps, and other organizations with reference to the study and correct understanding of the battle, and to mark the same with suitable tablets, each bearing a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure."
- An Act March 2, 1895 [28 Stat. L. 950]
  "Battlefield of Antietam: For completing the work of locating, preserving, and marking the lines of battle at Antietam, and for properly marking with tablets, each bearing a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure, the positions occupied by the several commands of the Armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia on that field. . ."
- Public Law 163, June 6, 1900 [31 Stat. L. 630]
  "To enable the Secretary of War to have reburied in some suitable spot in the national cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, and to place proper headstones at their graves."
  The bill referred to 128 Confederate soldiers buried at the National Soldiers Home in Washington, D.C., and 136 buried at Arlington. The Commission to Mark the Graves of Confederate Soldiers in the North adopted the "Arlington design" for the graves that it marked.
- An Act March 9, 1906, Public Law No. 38 [34 Stat. L. 56]
  "An Act to provide for the appropriate marking of the graves of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate army and navy who died in Northern prisons and were buried near the prisons where they died, and for other purposes."

  …*"with power in his [Secretary of War] discretion to acquire possession or control over all grounds where said prisoner dead are buried not now possessed or under the control of the United States."*

  Legislation to mark the graves of former Confederate soldiers—but only *"those who died as prisoners of war in Federal prisons and military hospitals in the North."*
- Joint Resolution February 26, 1908 [35 Stat. L. 567]
  The resolution to continue the legislation to mark graves of Confederate dead in the north *"shall not apply to Confederate Mound, Oakwoods Cemetery, Chicago, Ill."*

- An Act February 25, 1910 [36 Stat. L. 875]
  "at the head of each grave of a citizen or civilian prisoner of war who was buried among the soldiers a headstone of the size and dimensions of those placed at the head of the soldiers graves, but containing no inscription except the number of the grave, the name of the occupant, and the word "citizen or "civilian."
- An Act June 11, 1910 [36 Stat. L. 882]
  "[It] *shall hereafter be construed to apply to the confederate mound in Oakwood Cemetery, at Chicago."*
- Amended by Joint Resolution December 23, 1910 [36 Stat. L. 1453]
  "…authorized to cause to be erected central masonry constructions, or monuments, upon which bronze tablets shall be placed containing the names of the deceased prisoners of war who are buried in the immediate vicinity."
- An Act January 20, 1914 [38 Stat. L. 630]
  "For continuing the work of furnishing headstones of durable stone or other material for unmarked graves of Union and Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national, post, city town, and village cemeteries."
- An Act February 26, 1929 [45 Stat. L. 324]
  "That the Secretary of War is authorized to erect headstones over the graves of soldiers who served in the Confederate Army and who have been buried in national, city, town, or village cemeteries or in any other places, each grave to be marked with a small headstone or block which shall be of durable stone and of such design and weight as shall keep it in place when set and shall bear the name of the soldier and the name of his State inscribed thereon when the same are known. The Secretary of War shall cause to be preserved in the records of the War Department the name, rank, company, regiment, and date of death of the soldier and his State; if these are unknown it shall be so recorded."
- War Department regulations May 26, 1930[7]
  "The War Department implemented regulations that authorized the inscription of the Confederate Cross of Honor in a small circle on the front face of the stone above the standard inscription of the soldier's name, rank, company and regiment." When this order was issued there were already 6,000 orders at the War Department for Confederate headstones.[8]
- War Department, National Military Park National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations, Chapter 23, Application, 1931.[9]
  "No monument, marker, tablet, or other memorial shall be erected in any national military park or national monument until the design, inscription, material, finish, and site have been approved by the Secretary of War."
- Section 2 of Executive Order No. 6166, June 10, 1933, as amended by Executive Order No. 6229, July 27, 1934; Executive Order No. 6614, Feb. 26, 1934; Executive Order No. 6690, April, 25, 1934, set out as a note to section 901 of Title 5: *Government Organization and Employees, transferred all functions of administrator of certain historical national cemeteries located within the continental limits of the United States, including certain cemeteries administered by the War Department to the Director of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations in the Department of the Interior.*

- An Act June 18, 1973, Public Law 93-43
  The National Cemeteries Act of 1973 ordered the transfer of eighty-two of the Army's eighty-four existing national cemeteries to the custody of the Veteran's Administration.
- November 11, 1998, the *Veterans Programs Enhancement Act of 1998* (Public Law 105-368).
  This law officially elevated and redesignated the National Cemetery System (NCS), and changed its name to the National Cemetery Administration (NCA).

APPENDIX B: HISTORY OF CONFEDERATE FLAGS

NATIONAL FLAGS

The short-lived Confederate States of America generated three official flags. The first, commonly known as the "Stars and Bars," was adopted by the Confederate Provisional Congress on March 4, 1861. Confederate Senate Bill No. 132 and the subsequent Flag Act of 1863 established the "Stainless Banner" as the second official flag of the Confederacy. It was later decided that, from a distance, the large white field looked too much like a flag of truce. Confederate Senate Bill 137 modified the design by increasing the size of the upper-left corner motif and adding a red bar, thus decreasing the field. As the war was coming to an end, Jefferson Davis signed the bill into law on March 4, 1865, and this became the third and final official flag of the Confederacy (figs. B.1 through B.3).[10]

Figure B.1. First national Confederate pattern, in use from the beginning of the war to May 1863. *Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.*

MILITARY FLAGS

Battle and regimental flags have been carried by British regiments for hundreds of years. U.S. Army regimental flags were standardized with the War of 1812 and the designs remained in use through the Civil War. During the Civil War, each regiment in federal service carried national colors—the stars (thirty-six of them) and stripes—and a regimental flag (fig. B.4).

The national colors carried by a Union regiment usually featured its number, state, and type. For example, the 49th Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry's flag was labeled "49th Reg't O.V.I." and the 101st Indiana Volunteer Infantry's flag was labeled "101st Ind. Vols." Regimental identification was usually painted on the seventh stripe, but sometimes it continued onto the ninth and eleventh stripes.

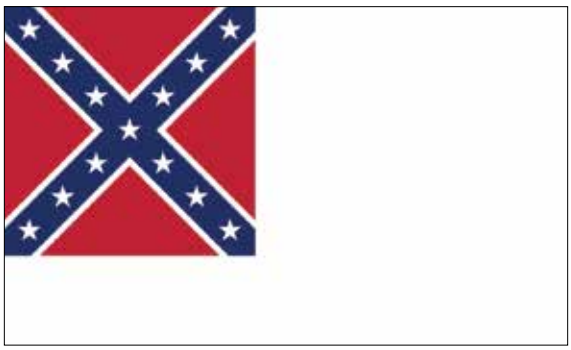

Figure B.2. Second Confederate national pattern, in use May 1863 to March 1865. *Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.*

A Union regimental flag was produced in navy-blue silk emblazoned with an eagle and shield, the whole bordered with yellow fringe (fig. B.5). The eagle's left and right claws held an olive branch and arrows, respectively. *"E Pluribus Unum"* was featured on an upper banner, either above the eagle or held in the eagle's beak. Below the eagle, another banner bore the name and number of the regiment; the stars above the eagle represented the number of states in the Union. Artillery regimental flags were yellow silk with crossed cannon at the center. A banner at the top of the field was stenciled "U.S." and the area below the cannon included the number and "Regiment Artillery."[11]

When it came to the appearance and form of flags, the Confederate army was not nearly as formal as its Union counterpart. Many officers in the Confederate army had attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and or at least served in the U.S. Army prior to shifting their allegiance. Thus, while they were familiar with the military flag system, Confederate leadership did not realize a standardized-flag system.

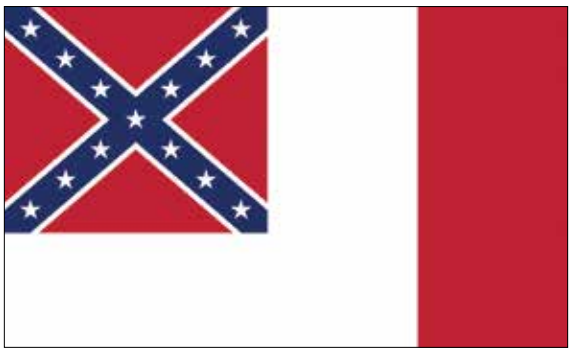

Figure B.3. Third Confederate national pattern, in use from March 1865 to war's end. *Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.*

Figure B.4. One of two flags carried by all Union regiments. *Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army, Civil War Battle Flags of the Union Army and Order of Battle, reprint edition, Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1997.*

Cathy Wright, collections manager at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, is responsible for that museum's extensive flag collection. According to Wright, all Confederate regiments carried both the Confederate States of America colors and a battle flag. Companies within a regiment might also carry a presentation flag—one given to the companies by local citizens. All of the flags except the national colors varied by theater, department, corps commander and, in the case of presentation flags, locality. "Their appearance could vary widely; some were standard state flags, others were based on First or Second National Confederate flags, still others were entirely fanciful and creative," according to Wright. "We have one in our collection made from a ladies' fringed maroon shawl" (fig. B.6).[12]

CONFEDERATE REGIMENTAL BATTLE FLAGS

No single design existed for the Confederate battle flag. Confederate army regimental battle flags were generally specific to a corps commander, army commander, or a combination of the two. The appearance of the flag carried by any given Confederate army also evolved over the course of the war.

Figure B.5. Union infantry regiments carried the eagle flag; the cavalry carried a variation of it. Artillery regiments carried a yellow flag with crossed cannon centered in the field. *Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army, Civil War Battle Flags of the Union Army and Order of Battle, reprint edition, Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1997.*

The dominant Confederate army in the Eastern Theater was the Army of the Potomac, later known as the Army of Northern Virginia. This territory included Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia—generally lands east of the Appalachian Mountains and north of Georgia. This army commonly carried a square flag composed of a red field and blue cross emblazoned with twelve (later thirteen) stars. General P. G. T. Beauregard created the flag in 1861. The first issue was 48 inches square, silk, with yellow stars. The second issue, also silk, had a yellow border and white stars. A third issue was made of cotton. All three original issues were produced privately by local sewing circles. Beginning with the first bunting flag—bunting is a soft cloth of cotton or wood made specifically for flags—all Army of Northern Virginia flags were produced by the Richmond Clothing Depot or Richmond Depot. Seven variants existed for the Army of Northern Virginia bunting flag, generally reflected in size and border colors (fig. B.7).[13]

The Army of Mississippi, later designated the Army of Tennessee, was the dominant Confederate force in the Western Theater—the area between the Appalachian Mountains to the east and the Mississippi River to the west. This army used several battle-flag designs; the two most unique were the Hardee and Polk corps flags.

Figure B.6. The presentation flag of the Phillips County (Arkansas) Guards. *Phillips County Museum, Helena, Arkansas.*

Hardee-Pattern Flag: The Army of Central Kentucky, which was part of the Confederate force holding southern Kentucky in early 1862, was headquartered in Bowling Green. The Army of Central Kentucky—composed of, forty-three infantry regiments, nine cavalry units, and twelve artillery batteries—adopted the Hardee-pattern flag, a blue field with a white oval or round disk in the center. The number and state abbreviation of each regiment was painted in the white disk. This flag remained in use throughout the war because General Patrick Cleburne successfully petitioned to allow his division to carry the flag rather

Figure B.7. The Army of Northern Virginia battle flag had several variants. This is the first design with twelve stars, of which there were three versions.

Figure B.8. The 1st Arkansas Infantry flag, one of the later variants of the Hardee-pattern, carried by the Army of Tennessee. *Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas.*

than the Army of Northern Virginia-pattern flag that was supplied to the Army of Tennessee from Georgia in 1864. There were four variants of the Hardee-pattern. The Hardee flags varied in size and shape; the last three variants had a white border around the blue field (fig. B.8).[14]

Polk-Pattern Flag: The Polk-pattern flag also dates from early in the war when the Confederate army in the West held a small portion of Kentucky. General Leonidas Polk, former Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, designed this flag for his division, which was headquartered at Columbus, Kentucky. Polk's twenty-eight infantry regiments, ten artillery batteries, and six detachments of cavalry were issued this flag in early 1862. The original issue was silk and featured a red St. George's cross with thirteen white stars in the center of a blue field. The second issue was made of bunting; the field was dark blue and the red St. George's cross with thirteen white stars was outlined in white. These flags were used until late 1863 (fig. B.9).[15]

In spring 1864, the Confederates were pushed out of Tennessee and into Georgia. As a result, General Braxton Bragg was replaced by General Joseph E. Johnston as commander of the Army of Tennessee. Johnston's first order of business was to restore morale, and this included issuing new battle flags. Johnston's flags were based on the Army of Northern Virginia's "southern cross" battle flags, except these flags were rectangular. The Army of Tennessee battle flags measured 36 inches by 52 inches; cavalry and artillery flags were slightly smaller. These flags had thirteen stars and no border. All divisions in the army carried these flags except General Patrick Cleburne's Division, which was allowed to keep the Hardee-pattern flag described above. The Army of Tennessee carried these flags for the rest of the war (fig. B.10).[16]

In the Trans-Mississippi—Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, and the western territories—there were numerous battle flags. The Trans-Mississippi was far removed from the Confederate government in Richmond. After the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, communication between Richmond and Texas could take as long as six weeks. As a result, even the Confederate flags in the Trans-Mississippi differed from those in the East. According to *Flags of the Confederacy,* the first Confederate flags in the Trans-Mississippi often had eleven stars: ten stars in a circle around a central star. The first national flags in the East generally had seven stars. Arkansas was late in joining the Confederacy; so flags issued later had more stars.[17]

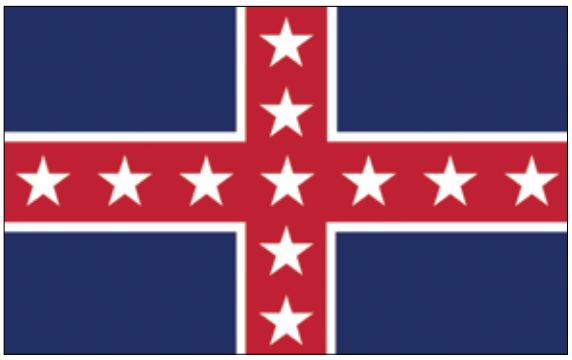

Figure B.9. The Polk-pattern flag was used at many early battles in the West, including Shiloh and Perryville.

The Beauregard-pattern battle flag (Army of Northern Virginia-pattern) was used in the Trans-Mississippi. At least one division, Walker's Division, used the flag with the colors reversed (fig. B.11). Several variations of this flag exist, including a rectangular flag. General Earl Van Dorn designed a flag for soldiers under his command in Arkansas: a white crescent moon and thirteen stars on a red field bordered in white or yellow (fig. B.12).[18] These are but two examples of Trans-Mississippi battle flags.

The Confederacy never standardized its battle flags at a national level. Attempts to do so failed. Battle flags by their nature are unit-specific, personal emblems specific to a given regiment.

THE CONFEDERATE BATTLE FLAG

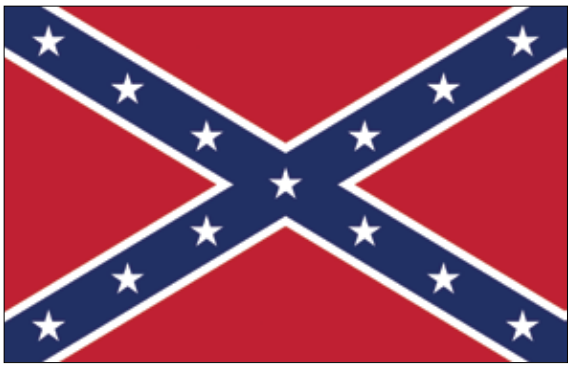

Figure B.10. The Army of Tennessee battle flag, issued in May 1864, is similar to the Army of Northern Virginia battle flag except it is rectangular.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the 1864 Army of Tennessee-pattern Confederate battle flag (fig. B.10) has become known as the "Rebel Flag." The image of this flag has become a part of Southern culture and heritage. In the 1940s through the 1960s, college students in the South waved the flag at football games. It has been sold in gift shops along the Gulf Coast beaches, and at historic sites across the South. During those decades, it was a source of regional pride and resistance; the latter is a stigma that may be forever associated with that flag.

In *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem,* historian John Coski at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, provides the following summary:

> *"It's history. It can't be changed or denied." This is a familiar refrain from those who defend the place of the Confederate battle flag in modern American life. The history in question is that of the Confederate States of America and the experiences of Confederate soldiers. But the history of the flag did not end in 1865. More people have carried Confederate flags in memorial parades and ceremonies, displayed them in houses or yards, worn them on T-shirts and hats, or waved them at football games, stock car races, and segregationist rallies since World War II than fought under them during the Civil War. Those latter-day uses of the flag are also history and cannot be changed, denied, or ignored. Proliferation of the flag's use between World War II and the early 1970s generated the diversity of meanings and perceptions that underlay subsequent controversies about its place in American life. The flag ceased being a virtually exclusive symbol of Confederate heritage and became also a widely and carelessly used symbol of many things, including the South as a distinctive region, individual rebelliousness, a self-conscious "redneck" culture, and segregation and racism.*[19]

Figure B.11. The Beauregard-pattern battle flag, used in the Trans-Mississippi, was issued in square (shown) and rectangular formats.

Since Coski's book was published in 2005, events have transpired to bring new, critical appraisal of the Confederate battle flag and its meaning to a national audience. For example, following a June 2015 mass shooting in Charleston, South Carolina, by a young, white supremacist, use of the banner was called into question. Within a month of the tragic massacre, the Confederate battle flag was permanently removed from the South Carolina statehouse grounds—where it had flown for more than fifty years. Such incidents continue to generate public discourse and engagement on the meaning and appropriateness associated with the display of the Confederate battle flag.

Figure B.12. A Van Dorn flag used by the 15th Arkansas Infantry. *Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas.*

Notes

[1] Thomas M. O'Brien and Oliver Diefendorf, *General Orders of the War Department embracing the years 1861, 1862 & 1863,* Derby & Miller, New York, 1864, p. 158.

[2] O'Brien and Diefendorf, *General Orders,* pp. 346-347.

[3] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* in 128 volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1899-1901, Series III, Vol. V, p. 316.

[4] George P. Sanger, editor, *Statutes at Large and Proclamations of the United States of America from December, 1865, to March, 1867,* p. 353.

[5] S. B. Holabird, Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, "The Following Instructions are Given for the Guidance of Superintendents of National Military [Cemeteries]," October 2, 1883, RG 92, Entry 589.

[6] R. N. Batchelder, Quartermaster General, U.S.A. Circular, January 29, 1891, RG 92, Entry 598.

[7] Mark C. Mollan, "The Evolution of the Government Policy on Headstones for Fallen Soldiers and Sailors: Confederate Headstones," *Prologue*, Spring 2003, Vol. 35, No. 1.

[8] "Headstones for Confederate Graves," *Confederate Veteran*, August 1930, p. 321.

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_____. June 12, 1866. Entry 576, Box 57, Folder: Point Lookout.

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Mann, James R., to William H. Taft, December 26, 1907. Entry 698, Box 1, Folder: Camp Douglas 2.

McKinney, James, to James H. Berry, May 5, 1912. Entry 698, Box 2, Folder: Rock Island 2.

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Memorandum of visit to G. G. Gibbon, Pennsville, NJ, made by Colonel Wm. Elliott and L. Frank Nye, August 9, 1906. Entry 697, Box 5, Folder 1: Finn's Point.

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