1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Honey Springs Battlefield

Other Name/Site Number: Battle of Honey Springs Site, Affair at Elk Creek

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 1863 Honey Springs Battlefield Road Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Checotah Vicinity: X

State: Oklahoma County: McIntosh, Muskogee Code: 091, 101 Zip Code: 74426

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	___
Public-Local:	___	District:	___
Public-State:	X	Site:	X
Public-Federal:	___	Structure:	___
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
0	11 buildings
2	5 sites
1	6 structures
0	5 objects
3	27 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Defense	Sub:	Battle Site
	Transportation		Road-Related (vehicular)
	Domestic		Single Dwelling
	Agriculture/Subsistence		Agriculture
	Commerce/Trade		Business
	Religion		Religious Facility
Current:	Landscape	Sub:	Park
	Recreation and Culture		Monument/Marker
	Agriculture/Subsistence		Agriculture
			Animal Facility
	Domestic		Single Dwelling
			Secondary Structure
	Funerary		Cemetery

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A

MATERIALS:
Foundation: N/A
Walls: N/A
Roof: N/A
Other: N/A

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Honey Springs Battlefield Site covers approximately 1.3 square miles in rural northern McIntosh and southern Muskogee counties in eastern Oklahoma. The topography consists of gently rolling upland prairie bisected by the meanders of Anderson and Elk Creeks, which join just inside the western boundary to form eastward-flowing Dirty (Durdy) Creek, a tributary of the Arkansas River seventeen miles east. The dominant feature on the landscape is Pumpkin Ridge.[1] The northwestern-most height of the Rattlesnake Mountains, it rises sharply two hundred feet on the south side of Dirty Creek with a lower shoulder extending to the southwest. (See Figure 3: Locations of Actions.) Sandstone outcroppings and springs are common. Situated in the transition zone between Ozark Plateau and the tall grass prairies, approximately half the site is covered by pastures of native Indian grass, switch grass, and big and little bluestem grass in addition to some fields of small grain crops. Otherwise, thick woods of native black jack oak, elm, bois d'arc, dogwood, walnut, sycamore, and honey locust border the creeks and blanket Pumpkin Ridge, creating an area of great natural beauty typical of eastern Oklahoma. (See photograph 14). The property is managed by the Oklahoma Historical Society as the Honey Springs Battlefield Historic Site. The battlefield retains a high degree of integrity of location, association, setting, and feeling, the most important aspects for historic battlefields.

The 1863 Battle of Honey Springs occurred at this location because it was here the Texas Road crossed Dirty Creek (locally and historically also called "Elk Creek"). The major north-south route through the Indian Territory between present Kansas and Texas from 1820 through the 1870s, the unpaved Texas Road carried a heavy volume of public, commercial, and military traffic. Army columns, wagon trains, and cattle herds moved over the trail, which widened to fifty or more yards as travelers avoided ruts, sought firm footing in wet weather, or grazed livestock along the margins. It angled northeast/southwest across the prairies and the low, rough mountains of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations in present eastern Oklahoma for roughly two hundred fifty miles. (See Figure 2: Northeastern Indian Territory and Surrounding Region.) But here in the Creek Nation, Texas Road traffic could cross Dirty Creek, with its steep banks at least fifteen feet high, only at the toll bridge just north of Pumpkin Ridge or at one of five nearby fords--three upstream (west) and two downstream. From Creek removal to the Indian Territory (1827-1837) to 1863, a Creek settlement consisting of scattered farms, trading posts, a wagon depot, and a Creek Baptist church grew up about two miles south of the Dirty Creek crossing near several springs known collectively as Honey Springs. In 1863, the Texas Road was the most feasible route when Union forces launched a major invasion of the Creek Nation, designed to recapture Confederate-controlled Indian Territory south of the Arkansas River, from their base at Fort Gibson about twenty-two miles northeast. Facing them were the allied Confederate forces, with their supply depot at Honey Springs and their forward line of defense at the Dirty Creek crossings.

The Honey Springs Battlefield site is located in an area that has been rural and agricultural at least since it was first described in 1719 by French explorer Bernard de La Harpe as he passed just to the west. The use and look of the land has changed little in three hundred years. Caddoan Indians of the 1700s, Creek (or Muskogee) Indians of the 1800s, and white, black, and Creek residents of the 1900s to the present have farmed the creek bottoms and run stock on the prairies and in the woods. Although there were scattered trading posts and a handful of settlements such as Honey Springs, and there were *tvlwv* ("tuhlwuh")--Creek "towns," or ceremonial grounds--in the vicinity, there were no towns as Anglo-Americans understood the term in the Creek Nation before the 1870s. There are none today within the proposed NHL boundaries.

The nature of Creek life and history and the events of the Civil War in the Indian Territory precluded the survival of most resources associated with the Battle of Honey Springs and the period of national

[1] Although not recognized by the U.S. Geological Survey, the name Pumpkin Ridge is used locally.

significance, 1863-1866. The Creek Indians who settled this area after removal from their homeland in the southeastern U.S. used locally available building materials to erect almost all their residential, agricultural, public, and commercial buildings. These were typical of the frontier and relatively impermanent: hand-dressed logs sometimes set on stone foundations and often with stick and clay chimneys. Few Creek buildings were still standing at the end of awar that was marked by extreme vindictiveness and wholesale devastation. In the confrontation of two armies on July 17, 1863, neither side had time to construct fortifications. Moreover, the Confederate allies burned the supply depot at Honey Springs during their retreat to prevent its capture after the battle. Union forces and two subsequent years of guerrilla warfare completed the destruction of the Honey Springs settlement. Possible remains of the settlement that may pre-date 1863--three cemeteries and a walled spring—have not been investigated. The 1863 wooden toll bridge over Dirty Creek was swept away in a flood in the 1880s, rebuilt about 1884, washed out again in 1889, and rebuilt in 1912. The surviving stone abutments are from the 1880s bridge and were moved to their present location from the original bridge site. Three upper fords from the period of national significance were archeologically identified, but archeological investigation has not located the downstream fords. General rebuilding in the Creek Nation post-dated 1866, the last year of the period of national significance, but the Honey Springs settlement was not rebuilt. Late 1800s evidence of post-Civil War occupation of the area, which is minimal, has survived in four identifiable cemeteries, one residence foundation, and a walled spring. In the post-war period Rentiesville, founded as a Creek freedmen's town, grew up one mile southwest. Checotah, two miles southwest, and Oktaha, one mile north, were founded after 1874 when the railroad was built parallel to but four to five miles west of the Texas Road. In the 1900s, county section line roads and U.S. Highway 69, two miles west, replaced the Texas Road. Most evidence of the road has been erased by disuse, subsequent road and pipeline construction, and farming- operations, but distinct traces survive near the center of Section 35and faint traces remain in sections 2 and 11. The commercial pull of the railroad, new highways, and competing new towns completed the demise of Honey Springs as a community but helped preserve its historic setting. Included in this nomination are thirty resources, of which three are contributing and twenty-seven noncontributing. Noncontributing resources, while greater in proportion numerically, consist of scattered residences and farm building along with modern interpretive structures and objects that do not compromise the setting and feeling of this rural landscape. (See Figure 4: Resource Map.)

The most important aspects of integrity for historic battlefields-- location, association, setting, and feeling—are present at the Honey Springs Battlefield. Several studies in the twentieth century sought to identify locations and resources identified with the Battle of Honey Springs. In 1938 Earl Plischke mapped the battlefield and Honey Springs locale based on the memories of local residents. Unfortunately, his map contained several errors. Even then, the only surviving above ground resources were foundations or other resources of questionable age. In 1967 the Oklahoma Historical Society began acquisition of land for a battlefield park, and Honey Springs Battlefield was listed on the National Register in 1970 (NRIS #70000848). At the time, no thorough cultural resource investigation had been conducted on the ground; nor were today's rigorous standards in effect. The boundaries selected at that time created a potential buffer zone against development around the park. Consequently, the west boundary lay along the post-Civil War railroad line as far north as the City limits of Oktaha, Oklahoma; the north boundary angled south-east on a high point on EW 1000 Road in Section 36; the east boundary angled southwest to include most of Section 11; and the south boundary extended as far east as the city limits of Rentiesville, Oklahoma.

Local oral tradition regarding the existence of a sandstone "powder house" supposedly built by the Confederate allies resulted in an ethno-historical and archeological study conducted by Charles D. Cheek and sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1976. Cheek concluded that the building foundations post-dated the battle. In 1981 the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey conducted a survey of prehistoric and historic sites in the Honey Springs Battlefield area based on the National Register boundaries. Particular attention was paid to locating the Texas Road, Dirty Creek crossings, and possible burial sites of the Confederate dead, reported as 150 in

number. (The 14 to 17 Union dead were removed to Fort Gibson in 1866.) The study located the preserved section of the Texas Road in Section 35 and an upper ford but failed to find conclusive evidence of Confederate grave locations either in a mass grave or in the cemeteries listed below as Indian, McIntosh/Keys/Combs, or Fullsom/Love/Robinson. The Oklahoma Historical Society performed the latest series of archeological surveys in 1994, 1996, and 1997. Using metal detectors, the surveyors recovered Miníe bullets, lead balls, cannon ball fragments, small iron canister balls, harmonicas, uniform buttons, gun parts, equipment parts, and camp equipment. Electronic surveying instruments noted exact artifact locations, and the resulting information allowed the production of computer-generated maps. The boundaries and battle phase locations of this nomination are based on these findings, and restrict the nominated area to the identified core of activity. Thus the location of the battle has been documented using primary and secondary documentary sources and archeological investigations; the site thereby maintains integrity of location and association with the historic event. While the archeological resources do not meet the standards of Criterion 6 (providing information of major scientific importance), the remaining archeological resources on the battlefield contribute to the understanding of its significance under Criterion 1 and help to define the boundaries.

The property retains its setting, including how it is situated within and its relationship to surrounding natural features and open space. These physical features convey the property's historic character, thus creating the feeling of the time of battle. Changes on the land since the period of national significance have made a minimal impact on the historic integrity of the site. Allotment of their lands in 160-acre parcels to Creek citizens about 1900 imposed the rectangular survey pattern on the land but they maintained the dispersed nineteenth century Creek settlement standard in this area. Farm buildings and residences, all single family, date from about 1910 through 2001 and reflect the vernacular styles and building materials common during their period of construction in this location. The primary changes on the land have been in agricultural terracing, pond excavations, county road construction, fence lines, and burial of a pipeline on the north side of Dirty Creek. On the park road, just west of the old settlement site, stands the Honey Springs Battlefield Memorial; this area includes a small shelter and five monuments. Honey Springs Battlefield retains much of its historic setting and feel, particularly in the landscape and topography that set the stage for the event: the prairie on which the Union forces bivouacked that damp July morning, the timber in which they engaged the Confederate allies, the Texas Road angling through the woods and down the steep bluff toward Dirty Creek, Pumpkin Ridge rising to the southeast, and the clear waters of Honey Springs.

Resources

1. Honey Springs Battlefield Site (1863) (Contributing site)
Honey Springs Battlefield Site is an irregular, elongated area of approximately 1.3 square miles generally paralleling the northeast-southwest route of the Texas Road. It includes portions of section 35, Range 17 East, Township 13 North in Muskogee County and of sections 1, 2, and 11, Range 17 East, Township 12 North in McIntosh County. From north to south the five primary locations associated with the battle of July 17-18, 1863 are:
Union Troop Encampment: the prairie north of the battle, possibly in the northeast quarter of Section 35.[2] (Photographs 2 & 3)
Main Battle: near the timbered center of Section 35. (Photographs 4, 5 & 6)

[2] The location of the Union encampment has yet to be identified with certainty. Archeological surveys in 1994 and 1995 recovered Civil War era artifacts within the general area where tradition places the encampment; however, these artifacts are interpreted as being primarily battle-related, e.g., fired bullets and cannonball shrapnel, and are evidently associated with the first battle. It is conceivable that the Union encampment is actually located some distance farther to the north. This theory is proffered by Oklahoma Historical Society historian Bob Rea, a recognized expert regarding the battle of Honey Springs. Rea suspects that the Union troops would have bivouacked beyond the range of Confederate artillery.

Engagement at the Creek: the steep, timbered slopes down to the bridge site at Dirty Creek and the open bottomlands just north of the creek in the south half of Section 35. (Photographs 7, 8 & 9)
Final Battle: the open prairie and timbered rise of Pumpkin Ridge in eastern half of Section 2. (Photographs 11 & 12)
Confederate Depot: open prairie and timber-lined Honey Springs in the northwest quarter of Section 11. (Photographs 1 and 13)

2. The Texas Road (c.1800-C.1900) (Contributing structure)
Also known as the Osage Trace, Shawnee Trail, and Sedalia Trail, the Texas Road appears most clearly near the center of Section 35 as a depression approximately twenty-five feet wide and one foot deep. It enters the site in the northeast quarter of Section 35, crosses Dirty Creek and exits near the center of the south half of Section 35, angles west of Pumpkin Ridge across the northwest half of Section 2, exits Section 2 in the southwest quarter, and cuts diagonally across the northwest quarter of Section 11. (Photographs 2 & 3)

3. Upper Ford (c. 1800-1900) (Contributing site)
The first of three fords historically located west of the toll bridge at the Texas Road crossing of Dirty Creek, the upper ford is located one-half mile upstream from the bridge site and just west of the mouth of Anderson Creek. It has a rock bottom, and access is by a graded incline sloping downward from west to east.

4. Honey Springs Battlefield Road (2000) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
Honey Springs Battlefield Road is currently the only public access through the entire site and was designed to provide views of or pedestrian access to all five major battlefield venues. It is a two-lane asphalt road 1.9 miles in length. It begins at EW1000 Road at the north end of the Oklahoma Historical Society park in the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of Section 35. It continues south and southwest across Section 35, crossing Dirty Creek on a concrete bridge 151.33 feet long. It continues on a southeasterly course for approximately one-quarter mile through the north half of Section 2 and then swings just south of west approximately one-half mile to the north-south centerline of the southwest quarter of Section 2. There it joins the two-lane, quarter-section line gravel road and continues south to EW1020 Road. It is in excellent condition. (Photograph 14)

5. Abandoned county road (c. 1912) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
Approximately one-quarter mile long, this abandoned half-section county road runs straight north and south through the western edge of the northwest quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 35. Less than two lanes wide, it is a shallow depression with no discernible surfacing. At the edge of the bluff north of Dirty Creek, it descends a graded cut to the floodplain. This road is in poor condition. (Photograph 7)

6. Fullsom/Love/Robinson Cemetery (c.1880) (Noncontributing site: Outside the period of significance)
The boundaries of this small cemetery situated in the timber on the bluff north of Dirty Creek are no longer discernible. It may contain as many as thirty graves, but most are no longer visible. Currently, more than twelve markers remain. The oldest is dated April 1883. The cemetery is unfenced, not maintained, and in ruins.

7. Outbuilding (c. 1910) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
These are the remains of an outbuilding near Fullsom/Love/Robinson Cemetery. These are sandstone end walls approximately ten feet long and six feet high. This building is in ruins. (Photograph 10)

8. Bridge abutments (c. 1912) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
These cut sandstone abutments on the north and south banks of Dirty Creek are believed to be the remains of the McIntosh Bridge (c. 1884) washed out in 1889. They were removed to this location c. 1912 when the north-

south half-section line road was constructed through Section 35. The abutments, which are partially buried, are approximately five feet long, three feet high. They are in ruins. (Photographs 8 & 9)

9. Walker (Reinhardt) Iron Bridge (c. 1930) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
This bridge over Dirty Creek is a single span, modified Warren pony truss, two-lane iron bridge resting on concrete piers. It is abandoned and no longer connected by roads. The wood decking has been removed. It is in ruins.

10. Residence foundation (c. 1900) (Noncontributing site: Outside the. period of significance)
Rough sandstone blocks forming two sides of a cellar and foundation, approximately eight feet by six feet, are all that remain of a wood frame house no longer standing.

11. Interpretive Center (c. 2000) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
This one-story modular building, moved to this location, is rectangular and approximately thirty feet by twenty-two feet. It has a metal gable roof and metal walls, and it rests temporarily on concrete

12. Grave of "Little Nossie" McIntosh (1871) (Noncontributing site: Outside the period of significance)
A granite tombstone approximately two feet high marks this single grave. It states that "Little Nossie," who died in 1871, was the infant daughter of William F. McIntosh. McIntosh was a Creek farmer and minister of the Honey Springs Baptist Church. The tombstone has fallen off the base and broken two places. It is in poor condition. (Photograph 12)

13. Shed and corral (c. 1960) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
A small flat- roofed wood shed with metal siding, it is approximately sixteen feet by sixteen feet and in poor condition. An attached corral is approximately twenty-eight feet by fifty-two feet.

14. Mclntosh/Keys/Combs Cemetery (c. 1882) (Noncontributing site: Outside the period of significance)
This fenced cemetery is associated with the Creek McIntosh and Keys families and the Anglo-American Combs family who lived in the vicinity. It is known locally by all these names, as well as the Pumpkin Ridge Cemetery. It contains approximately one hundred graves in approximately 1.35 acres. The oldest visible grave is dated 1882, but some graves may be unmarked. An iron picket fence surrounds the Grayson family plot. Tombstones are generally granite or marble. The cemetery is maintained and in fair condition.

15. Residence (c. 1950) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
This small one-story post-WWII bungalow-type house may have been constructed around a much older residence. Generally rectangular in shape, it has a small rear addition. The house has a concrete block foundation, asbestos siding, an end-gabled roof with asphalt composition shingles, and a front-facing gable on the left. There is a half porch on the right with a recessed wood door and a plate glass window between one-over-one hung windows in aluminum frames. It is in good condition. (Photograph 11)

16. Garage (c. 1970) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
Immediately northeast of Number 15 above is a detached double garage approximately twenty-four feet by thirty feet. It is a gabled asphalt shingled roof, wood siding, and a concrete foundation. There are two metal overhead doors on the west elevation. The garage is in good condition. (Photograph 11)

17. Covered travel trailer (c. 1960) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
Northeast of Number 16 above is a travel trailer permanently parked beneath an open-sided cover. The travel trailer is approximately twenty feet by eight feet. It has a curved roof, walls, and skirt of metal. The travel trailer

cover is an asphalt-shingled gable roof resting on wood pole supports. The travel trailer and cover are in fair condition.

18. Barn (c.1920) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
To the northeast of Number 17 above is a rectangular barn approximately twenty feet by twelve feet. It has a metal gable roof, metal walls, and a stone foundation. There is a wood door on the west elevation. It is in poor condition.

19. Barn (c. 1950) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
Southeast of Number 18 above is a rectangular outbuilding approximately thirty feet by fifteen feet. It has a metal gable roof, wood siding, and a concrete block foundation. On the south elevation are two single door openings. The building is in -fair condition.

20. Outbuilding (c. 1920) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
Directly behind Number 15 above is a shed approximately eight feet by ten feet. It has a metal gable roof, wood gables, metal walls, and a concrete block foundation. There is a single wood door on the south elevation. It is in fair condition.

21. Outbuilding (c. 1945) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance)
Directly southeast of Number 15 above is an outbuilding, approximately twenty feet by twenty-four feet, currently serving as the battlefield park office. It has a gabled roof with asphalt shingles. The walls and foundation are of concrete block. There is a single glazed wood door on the west elevation. On the south elevation is a small window filled with an air conditioner unit. The building is in good condition.

22. EW1020 Road (c. 1900) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
This two-lane section line road has a well-maintained gravel surface. It crosses the site between sections 2 and 11.

23. Walled spring (c. 1880) (Noncontributing structure: Outside the period of significance)
Just west of the site of Honey Springs Depot is a walled spring situated on Honey Springs Creek. It is square, approximately three feet by three feet by six feet deep and constructed of cut sandstone blocks. One side of the wall is exposed where the bank has washed away. It is in poor condition. (Photograph 1)

24. Honey Springs Battlefield Memorial shelter (c. 1980) (Noncontributing building: Outside the period of significance).
The shelter at the Honey Springs Battlefield Memorial is open sided, with a concrete foundation, cut sandstone supports, sandstone and wood benches, and a flat roof. It is approximately twelve feet by twelve feet. It is in excellent condition. (Photograph 13)

25. Monument (c. 1980) (Noncontributing object: Outside the period of significance)
A red granite slab with a rounded top, this monument, approximately four feet tall, is dedicated to the Union troops that fought at the Battle of Honey Springs. It has an American flag surrounded by a laurel wreath above an engraved tablet. It stands just to the south of the Honey Springs Battlefield Memorial shelter. It is in excellent condition. (Photograph 13)

26. Monument (c. 1980) (Noncontributing object: Outside the period of significance)
The red granite monument to Five Civilized Tribes participation in the Battle of Honey Springs is approximately four and one-half feet high. It is rectangular with unfinished edges. It features a slightly

oversized diagonal cross inset with the seals of the five Indian nations. Below is a tablet engraved with the order of battle, listing the Indian units in each army. It is in excellent condition. (Photograph 14)

27. Monument (c. 1980) (Noncontributing object: Outside the period of significance)
A red granite monument dedicated to the First Regiment of Kansas Colored Volunteers stands approximately five feet high. It is rectangular with unfinished edges. It has a federal banner with the letters "U.S." above the dates 1863-1865. Below is an inscription describing their participation in the battle. It stands in the center of the grouping of five monuments and is in excellent condition. (Photograph 13)

28. Monument (c. 1980) (Noncontributing object: Outside the period of significance)
Approximately five feet high, this red granite monument is dedicated to all Confederate units that participated in the Battle of Honey Springs. It has a rounded top and unfinished edges. There is a Confederate flag set in a laurel wreath above a tablet engraved with a description of the event. The monument is in excellent condition. (Photograph 14)

29. Monument (c. 1980) (Noncontributing object: Outside the period of significance)
The southernmost monument in this group of five is a thick rectangular slab of red granite, approximately three feet high and four feet wide, with a slanted top. It is dedicated to the "Defenders of Texas," the Confederate units from Texas that participated in the Battle of Honey Springs. The primary feature is an outline of the state of Texas set into a circle above the inscription. It is in excellent condition. (Photograph 13)

30. Indian Cemetery (c. 1880) (Noncontributing site: Outside the period of significance)
A large oak tree and a briar thicket mark the probable location of this cemetery, which has almost disappeared. It lies unfenced in an open field. One small rough sandstone slab appears to be the only surviving tombstone. The cemetery is not maintained and is in ruins.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally:

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B_C_D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A_B_C_D_E_F_G
NHL Criteria:	1
NHL Theme(s):	I. Peopling Places 5. Ethnic Homelands 6. Encounters, conflicts and colonization IV. Shaping the Political Landscape 3. Military Institutions and Activities
Areas of Significance:	Military Ethnic Heritage: Native American
Period(s) of Significance:	1863-1866
Significant Dates:	1863
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	N/A
NHL Historic Contexts:	I. Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations VI. The Civil War C. War in the West X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763-1898 C. Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict 2. The Southern Plains XXX. American Ways of Life E. Ethnic Communities

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary

This watershed event in the histories of the Cherokee, Creek (or Muskogee), Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations--the "Five Civilized Tribes" of the Indian Territory-- also had a far-reaching impact on other Indian peoples and nineteenth century American national development. Although the Battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863 occurred within the context of the American Civil War and was partially the result of Indian nations' alliances with the Confederacy, it was the climax of a devastating concurrent civil war within the Cherokees and Creeks, rooted in their pasts and key to the futures of all five Indian nations. It had a direct and immediate impact on noncombatants as well as men under arms, driving large segments of Indian populations into exile, while freeing others from slavery. The battle was by far the largest engagement of the 1861-1865 period of conflict within Indian Territory, which saw more than 150 battles and skirmishes. It was the largest in Indian Territory in which Indian men fought as members of national regiments (Union and Confederate), and the first and largest in which Indian troops of both sides fought in the formalized style of Anglo-American warfare. Highly significant in the lives and futures of African American slaves of the five Indian nations, the Battle of Honey Springs also was the largest and among the first engagements in which former slaves of Indians participated in Union uniform; it was also among the first major engagements of black troops as Union soldiers. To restore peace, all five nations were forced to sign Reconstruction Treaties in 1866, which radically changed their sovereignty, land base, social structure, and relationship with the United States. The process of assigning the lands confiscated from the Indian nations through their Reconstruction Treaties to other tribes began immediately, facilitating the removal of other Indian peoples during the next decade from their homelands on the Great Plains, in California, and in the Pacific Northwest, and from their reservations in Kansas, Nebraska and the Southwest. The intent was to clear the way for homesteading, railroad building, and the exploitation of the natural resources of the western United States to aid national development. Thus, Honey Springs Battlefield is eligible under Criterion 1 and is being nominated under the themes of Peopling Places and Shaping the Political Landscape for the period of significance 1863 to 1866.[3]

Historical Background

The pressures that resulted in the Battle of Honey Springs in 1863 developed over several generations of Indian/European/African interaction and resulting cultural change among Indian peoples. However, the sharpest pressure on Indian national life and politics was the early nineteenth century federal policy aimed at clearing Indians from their homelands in the East to make way for Anglo-American expansion and settlement. Beginning about 1820, the federal government employed persuasion, financial obligation, and intimidation to force Indian peoples to relocate to reservations west of the Mississippi River. The Five Civilized Tribes, who lived in most of the present southeastern United States, maintained the most successful resistance, aided by a

[3] Although archeological investigations have been conducted at Honey Springs Battlefield, the site is not being nominated under Criterion 6. A property is eligible for National Historic Landmark status under Criterion 6 only if it has yielded, or may likely yield, information of major scientific importance, such as data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree. In order for Honey Springs Battlefield to meet this criterion, archeological data must be likely to substantially modify a major historic concept or close a serious gap regarding the conduct of military actions within the Indian Territory during the Civil War. Given the multicultural character of this battle, these concepts may be related to race. Archeological data obtained from Honey Springs Battlefield to date largely validates both written and oral accounts regarding the overall conduct of the battle. This data is important since it provides physical evidence that supports Criterion 1; however, it does not meet the requirements for Criterion 6. Nonetheless, it is possible that future archeological investigations of this battlefield will employ methods of data retrieval that are more technologically advanced, thereby significantly increasing the corpus of archeological data. These data, in turn, may lead to answering research questions that meet Criterion 6 requirements.

relatively large combined population of more than sixty-five thousand as well as long-term economic and diplomatic experience with European Americans. Leadership among these nations by the early 1800s included literate, bilingual planters and businessmen who promoted Christianity, English education, and constitutional government as progressive measures that would benefit their people and strengthen their nations. However, the opposition of traditional people to these measures, combined with external pressures, contributed to internal tensions. Among the Creeks those tensions erupted in the Red Stick War (1813-1814). This civil war between anti-Anglo-American traditional people and the pro-Anglo-American followers of leaders such as Chief William McIntosh engendered hostilities directly linked to the Battle of Honey Springs fifty years later.[4]

As the federal government stepped up the pressure for Indian removal in the 1820s and 1830s, the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations remained fairly united in yielding to it. But Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole citizens divided over whether to sign removal treaties with the United States or to resist. Factionalism escalated, culminating in the 1825 assassination of Chief William McIntosh for signing a removal treaty and the 1839 assassination of three of four Cherokee "Treaty Party" leaders by followers of Principal Chief John Ross, who had resisted removal until forced west over the "Trail of Tears." Only Stand Watie escaped, and he remained Ross's bitter enemy. In spite of such divisions, extreme hardships, and severe losses of population and property during the removal, the five Indian nations re-established themselves in the Indian Territory in the 1820s and 1830s, building new school systems, ceremonial grounds, churches, governments, homes, and businesses. By 1860 more than four thousand African American slaves worked their farms and served in their homes. Prosperity had returned, and removal factionalism had somewhat subsided.[5]

Civil Wars

The new stability ended as increasing sectional tensions in the United States spilled over onto Indian Territory. The Indian nations occupied a unique position defined by the U.S. Supreme Court as "domestic dependent nations," owning their homelands in fee simple, and governing themselves, with the exception of the Seminoles, as constitutional republics.[6] Their removal treaties with the United States guaranteed federal protection of their borders, payment of annuities from the sale of their Eastern lands, and their permanent ownership of and sovereignty over their homeland: all of present Oklahoma except the Panhandle and the southwestern corner. (See Figure 1: Indian Territory.) But in the 1860 presidential campaign Republican rhetoric about opening the Indian Territory to non-Indian settlers and rumors about candidate Abraham Lincoln's abolitionism alarmed removal survivors and Indian slave owners. Strategically located to be either a buffer zone or an invasion route between Unionist Kansas and secessionist Texas and Arkansas, the Indian nations had little hope of remaining neutral toward the developing sectional conflict. In February 1861, within weeks of the creation of the Confederacy, its emissaries visited the Indian nations with generous treaty offers. They found a welcome among Indian leaders who retained economic and kinship ties with the South, wanted to protect their slave property, and feared the loss of their new lands under the Lincoln administration. Meanwhile, the Union alienated them by withdrawing treaty-guaranteed military protection from the territory and withholding the annuity payments the nations used to support their school systems. Four months after the beginning of the war, the August 1861 Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek in neighboring Missouri helped persuade all five Indian nations to sign

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[4] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 299. See also Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska), 1982.

[5] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1981), 50-97; Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, introduction to *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, by Annie Heloise Abel (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1992), 3. See also W. David Baird and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2008), 77-104. The standard work on this period is Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1942).

[6] U.S. Supreme Court Decision *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, (*1831), quoted in Gibson, *The American Indian*, 320.

treaties of alliance with the Confederacy. But the question of the best response to this new crisis quickly revived bitter factionalism among the nations most divided during the removal--the Creeks, Cherokees, and Seminoles.[7]

In each nation the conditions that soon escalated into civil war were somewhat different, but each nation split into almost equal halves. Seminoles divided into two camps: 1) the followers of Principal Chief John Jumper, convert of Baptist missionary and ardent Southerner Joseph S. Murrow, or 2) adherents of Second Chief John Chupco, convert of Methodist missionary James R. Ramsey, an abolitionist. Among the Cherokees, Principal Chief John Ross, who represented the traditionalist faction--many of them Baptist abolitionists--reluctantly signed the treaty. Meanwhile, enthusiastic supporters of the Confederate Cherokee alliance rallied around his old enemy Stand Watie. Creeks likewise divided equally into removal-related camps: the pro-Confederate faction led by the McIntosh family, and the followers of a traditionalist implicated in the death of Chief William McIntosh, Opothle Yahola. He argued that Creeks must honor their removal treaty with the United States and that neutrality was the wisest course. This Creek division precipitated the outbreak of violence in the Indian Territory, when in late summer 1861 Opothle Yahola led his followers, the "Loyal Creeks," into the back-country to avoid the "white man's war." As more than seven thousand Loyal Creeks, pro-Unionist Cherokees, pro-Unionist Seminoles, and smaller numbers of other tribes joined him, McIntosh Creeks became alarmed, particularly when their slaves began running away to his camp in hopes of gaining their freedom. By this time, in accordance with their Confederate treaties, each Indian nation had organized a regiment that would serve under the Confederate command but within Indian Territory boundaries. (The Choctaws and Chickasaws combined into one regiment.) Fearing that Opothle Yahola would link up with Kansas and Missouri Unionists and attack them, late that fall the Creek and Cherokee regiments joined regular Confederate units from Texas and Arkansas in a campaign to disperse Opothle Yahola and his followers. Three times that bitter November and December they fended off allied Confederate attacks, but with heavy losses. In late December the pro-Union Indians escaped into Kansas, where they froze and starved in refugee camps. Eventually the able-bodied men were organized into Indian Home Guard units in the Union Army. This first campaign, waged primarily against civilians seeking neutrality and refuge, set the vindictive tone for encompassing civil conflict in the Indian Territory.[8]

Beginning in the fall of 1861 life changed drastically for the Indian Territory population of about one hundred thousand as a mass migration began. Nearly half the Creek population fled into exile in Kansas, but many pro-Confederate Creeks and Cherokees also took their families and movable property--their male slaves and livestock--south to the safety of the Red River Valley, which straddled the border of Indian Territory and Texas. Slaves left behind were those considered the least valuable, the women and children. Jim Tomm, a slave of Creek Judge George W. Stidham, who owned a ranch and trading post at Honey Springs, recalled that Judge Stidham took his father Tom, a blacksmith, along with thirty other male slaves to Texas. Jim's teenaged brother ran away to Kansas, while little Jim, his mother Flora, and his twin sisters were left on the farm near Honey Springs.[9] Lucinda Davis, the teenaged slave of Tuskaya Heneha, recalled that in July 1863, only the women were left behind after Tuskaya Henehe and the men slaves left the farm just north of Honey Springs on the Texas Road.[10]

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[7] Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 117-120; Mrs. G. W. Grayson, "Why the Five Civilized Tribes Joined the Confederacy," *The Indian (Eufaula, Oklahoma) Journal*, 6 June 1913.

[8] Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 93, 119; Mary Jane Warde, "'Now the Wolf Has Come': The Civilian Civil War in the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11 (Spring 1993): 68.-70; Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1999), 53-57.

[9] Warde, "'Now the Wolf Has Come,'" 66-68; Jim Tomm, interview, 112: 277, *Indian-Pioneer History* Papers Collection (hereafter *I-PH*), Works Progress Administration, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Georgianna Stidham Grayson, untitled manuscript, Mary Hansard Knight, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

[10] T. Lindsey Baker and Julie P. Baker, eds., *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1996), 112.

Once Opothle Yahola and his followers reached Kansas, relative calm descended on the Indian Territory. In March 1862, the Union victory at Pea Ridge, Arkansas weakened the Confederate cause in the Trans-Mississippi Department, leaving the Indian regiments poorly supplied and Confederate troops poorly commanded. In the summer of 1862, the federal Indian Expedition tried to exploit this weakness by invading the Cherokee Nation from Kansas to restore Union control. It withdrew after capturing Principal Chief John Ross, and pro-Union Cherokees formed a new government that repudiated their Confederate alliance. But Stand Watie, commander of the Confederate-allied Cherokee troops, was then named "Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation"--actually the pro-Confederate faction--leaving the Cherokees with two chiefs and two governments. Thereafter, violence escalated between the pro-Union "Pin" Cherokees and Watie's pro-Confederate faction. In the bitter civil war that followed, even noncombatants were vulnerable; and both sides destroyed homes, farms, and public buildings to keep them from sheltering the enemy. Another wave of frightened pro-Confederate Cherokees fled to the neighboring Creek and Choctaw nations.[11]

In Apri11863, events that ultimately climaxed in the Battle of Honey Springs began when Union forces took Fort Gibson just east of the Arkansas River near the Cherokee-Creek border. This began their re-conquest of the Cherokee Nation and anticipated restoration of refugee pro-Union Indians to the Indian Territory. In the occupying army were regiments of Indian Home Guards (primarily Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles) as well as the First Kansas Infantry Regiment (Colored), which included runaway slaves from the Indian nations, freed on January 1, 1863 by the Emancipation Proclamation. As the first black regiment recruited in the United States, these troops especially alarmed Confederate-allied Indian civilians who expected revenge from their old enemies and former slaves. Opposing the Union regiments were the Confederate allies, occupying a defensive line along the Arkansas River, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, the former federal Choctaw Agent. Encamped at the North Fork Town settlement (near present Eufaula, Oklahoma), they established a supply depot about fifteen miles north up the Texas Road at Honey Springs, a well-known watering place.[12] (See photograph 1.) The Confederates massed supplies that were brought from several forts in Indian Territory to the facility, which included a frame commissary building, a log hospital, several arbors, and numerous tents.[13]

After the capture of Fort Gibson, there was a lull until mid-July when Union Major General James Blunt learned that Confederate reinforcements were moving toward the North Fork Town camps from Fort Smith, Arkansas. Already outnumbered two to one, he decided to advance into the Creek Nation before the odds reached three to one. On the night of July 15, 250 cavalry and four light artillery pieces crossed the rain-swollen Arkansas River, drove in the Confederate pickets, and cleared the way for the rest of the army. On July 16 Blunt ferried over eight cannons and his army of fewer than three thousand, whom he described as "mostly Indians and Negroes." Through the night they marched south on the Texas Road, skirmishing with Confederate scouts, who alerted Cooper of Union activity.[14] Unsure whether a major operation was underway, Cooper ordered Choctaw Colonel Tandy Walker, commanding the First Cherokee and Choctaw-Chickasaw regiments, along with a squadron of Texas cavalry, to a crossroad near Chimney Mountain. In a skirmish with the Union advance

[11] William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokee Struggle for Sovereignty*, 1839-1880 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993); 203-207; diary of Stephen Foreman, March 21, 1863, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[12] Warde, "'Now the Wolf Has Come,'" 73-75.

[13] Oklahoma Historical Society, "Battle of Honey Springs," Museums & Sites, http://www.okhistory.org/sites/hsbattle?full (accessed May 9, 2012).

[14] Report of Major General James G. Blunt, July 26, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series I, volume 22, part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 447-448.

guard, they discovered when a heavy rain fell that their Mexican-made gunpowder turned to worthless paste in high humidity. The Indian regiments withdrew to re-supply with fresh ammunition.[15]

Honey Springs

After the skirmish near Chimney Mountain, Cooper then prepared to block the Union advance along the Texas Road by controlling the Dirty Creek (also called Durdy or Elk Creek) crossings. He disposed his 5,700 troops in a one and one-half mile arc on the north approach to the creek that would cover the toll bridge and fords. The First and Second Cherokee regiments, anchoring the right wing, guarded the two lower fords near Pumpkin Ridge. (See photograph 2.) Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh covered the three upper fords and formed the left wing with the First and Second Creek Mounted Volunteers. (See photograph 3.) The Confederate center included the Twentieth Texas dismounted cavalry, Twenty-ninth Texas Cavalry, Fifth Texas Partisan Rangers, a Seminole detachment, and Lee's Light Battery. Walker's Choctaw-Chickasaw Regiment and two squadrons of Texas cavalry formed the reserve at Cooper's headquarters at the Honey Springs depot. Cooper ordered the advance guard to take up position astride the Texas Road in the timber at the edge of the prairie and do all possible to hold the position by keeping the Union troops out of the cover of the woods and away from any small streams they might follow down to Dirty Creek.[16]

Creek civilians in the Honey Springs vicinity tried to get out of the way of the coming fight. Lucinda Davis watched as a rider shouted the news to Tuskaya Heneha. Davis, a slave, recalled that they left hastily, stopping only to put out the fire and to grab pots and kettles. Some of the slave women caught the mules and harnessed them to the wagons; others retrieved meat and corn from a place where they had hidden it from “scouters.” Little Jim and the Stidham slaves hid in the cellar as men in "brown clothes dyed [with] walnut and butternut" began hurrying past on the Texas Road.[17]

Blunt, meanwhile, arrived north of Dirty Creek on July 17, 1863, at about eight in the morning with the Second Colorado Infantry; First, Second, and Third Indian Home Guards; First Kansas Infantry (Colored); Second Kansas Battery; Hopkins's Kansas Battery; Sixth Kansas Cavalry; and Third Wisconsin Cavalry. Wet and exhausted, the Union troops bivouacked perhaps a mile north of Dirty Creek while they took a two-hour rest, ate, and filled their canteens with water from the ruts of the Texas Road. (See photograph 4.) About ten o’clock Blunt ordered his troops into two columns, one on each side of the road, which marched southward across the prairie toward Dirty Creek. About one-quarter mile from where the Confederates awaited them in the edge of the timber, they quickly deployed in line of battle across the Confederate front. (See photograph 4.)[18] The tribes’ military traditions were individualistic or guerrilla-style warfare, including scouting, and raiding and skirmishing in small highly mobile units; they now prepared to do battle against fellow citizens in the formal style of Euro-American warfare.

The Confederate artillery opened the engagement, and the twelve-gun Union battery answered. Each side lost a piece in the duel, while the dismounted Union cavalry began moving forward. For about two hours fierce hand-to-hand fighting occurred along the edge of the timber, with the Confederate allies making up in numbers for the superior Union artillery. The brush and heavy smoke, hanging low in the high humidity, severely limited visibility. (See photograph 6.) On the left wing the Creek regiments could see little as they waited impatiently down in the Dirty Creek bottom to be called into the fight. Among them was George Washington "Wash" Grayson, aged twenty, who cared little for the Confederacy but had strong ties of *tvlwv* (ceremonial ground),

[15] Report of' Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, August 12, 1863, ibid, 457-458.
[16] General Orders No.25, ibid., 461-162.
[17] Quoted in Baker and Baker, 112-113; interview of Jim Tomm, 112: 281-283, *I-PH*.
[18] Report of Major General James G. Blunt, July 26, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, volume 22, part 1, 447.

clan, and blood to his commander, Colonel Chilly McIntosh. This son of Chief William McIntosh had made a stirring "war talk" earlier that morning as the Creeks prepared for battle in the traditional way, and Grayson had been much impressed. Family responsibilities had kept him out of the Creek regiments for the first two years of their civil war. Now the ambitious young man was eager to earn his war name and prove “the stuff [he] was made of” to his fellow Creeks according to Muskogee standards.[19]

Trying to gain the advantage, Blunt ordered the First Kansas Infantry (Colored), in the center of the line, to capture the Confederate artillery. Their commander, an abolitionist, had warned them that as runaway slaves they could expect no quarter. He ordered them to fix bayonets and move forward.[20] “… [E]very man stepped promptly and firmly in his place..." according to Lieutenant Colonel John Bowles.[21] Captain Benjamin Van Horn of Company I wrote later, "Our main line marched within 52 yards (I stepped the ground afterward) of where their main line lay concealed in the brush. Then both ranks fired apparently precisely at the same time, both armies then stood firm and fired at each other at that distance for 20 minutes."[22] The tide of battle turned near mid-day when in the confusion of the smoke-filled woods the Second Indian Home Guard drifted in between the First Kansas and the opposing Texans. When Lieutenant Colonel Bowles ordered the Indian regiment to move back into position, the Texans took his shouted "fall back" to signal a general Union retreat. Elated, they surged forward to within twenty-five paces of the Union line and then were cut down by a volley from the men of the First Kansas, who had stood firm. The Texans' backward scramble and the withdrawal of other small groups convinced Cooper that it was time for a general retreat. He ordered his troops to make a stand on the north side of Dirty Creek while his artillery moved to safety across the bridge. Though many died on the north bank of the creek, the Texans held the bridge—even using their muskets as clubs--until forced back by superior Union firepower. (See photographs 7, 8, and 9.)[23]

The Confederate allies began a retreat in good order up the south bank and across the prairie toward Honey Springs, but it soon disintegrated into a stampede. Cooper was concerned that the supplies at Honey Springs might be captured, so he ordered them burned. Colonel Tandy Walker and the reserved Choctaw-Chickasaw Regiment and the Texas squadrons made a last stand to hold off the Union advance, but by then the Union artillery was in place on the low shoulder of Pumpkin Ridge about one thousand yards north of Honey Springs. With the Choctaws giving a war-whoop, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Texans made one last charge to draw Federal fire--allowing some of the Confederate supply trains to vacate the scene--and then joined the retreat. Tandy’s men were praised for performing “bravely, as they always do.”[24] (See photographs 10, 11, and 13.) Union troops were only two hundred yards away when Corporal W. K. Makemson, a Texan on the Headquarters Staff, and his squad set fire to the Confederate stores depot. They, too, retreated, pushing the stragglers on ahead of them. Mackemson remembered "No heard [sic] of Texas cattle was ever more thoroughly scattered or demoralized."[25] The Union troops moved in so quickly behind them they saved large amounts of bacon, dried beef, flour, sorghum, and salt. Blunt, seeing that his men and horses were exhausted, ordered them

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[19] LeRoy H. Fischer, *Battle of Honey Springs, 1863-1988, Official Program,* Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Warde, *George Washington Grayson,* 63-64, 71-72; W. David Baird, ed., *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1989), 62-63.

[20] Fischer, *Battle of Honey Springs,* 4-5.

[21] Report of Lieutenant Colonel John Bowles, July 20, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, volume 22, part 1, 449.

[22] Benjamin Van Horn Collection, Manuscript Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, included in the Whit Edwards manuscript, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[23] Fischer, *Battle of Honey Springs,* 6-7; and Report of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, August 12, 1863, *War of the Rebellion*.

[24] Sergeant Oallas Bowman to Dear Mother, August 18, 1863, Bowman Collection, 96.72, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Report of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, August 12, 1863, *War of the Rebellion.*

[25] W. K. Makemson to Joseph Thobum, November 19, 1910, Thoburn Collection, 86.01, box 9, ibid.

to bivouac on the battlefield, while the Confederate allies retreated south of the Texas Road toward North Fork Town. (See photograph 13.)[26]

The four-hour battle over, both sides paused to take stock. The Confederate-allied Indian regiments were scattered, discouraged, and in no condition to counterattack even after the expected reinforcements arrived. They assessed the situation, and turned back to Fort Smith. Brigadier General Cooper blamed his defeat on the poor quality of the Mexican gunpowder supplied to his troops as well as the lack of these reinforcements. But Colonel Stand Watie, who had been sent on a last-minute mission and had missed the fight, blamed Cooper for mismanaging his Indian troops. Young Wash Grayson shared Watie's opinion because the Creek regiments were never ordered into the fight. He was bitterly disappointed at the lost opportunity to win status as a warrior. On the other side, Blunt judged his men, horses, and mules too exhausted to press on toward the main Confederate camps at North Fork Town. After burying the dead of both sides, his invasion force withdrew to Fort Gibson, remaining there for the next month. Blunt reported Confederate-allied casualties as 150 killed, 400 wounded and 77 captured. He placed Union losses at 17 killed and 60 wounded. The Union dead were later re-interred in the Fort Gibson National Cemetery, but the Confederate dead may have been placed in a mass grave or buried in local cemeteries.[27]

The outcome of the Battle of Honey Springs immediately affected not only the Indian national regiments, but also Indian civilians and slaves, completing the mass migration begun in 1861. When their men began retreating south of the Canadian River on the Texas Road, Confederate-allied Creeks and Cherokees wavered between fleeing to the safety of the Red River Valley or staying to face possible mayhem from pro-Union Creeks and Cherokees and their former slaves.[28] Tuskaya Heneha and his slaves watched the fight and the burning of the Honey Springs supply depot from a nearby cave. When they returned home after the battle, Lucinda Davis remembered that Tuskaya Heneha had packed a wagon with everything it could carry, and took his slaves down the Texas Road to escape the fighting.[29] Meanwhile, Union troops from Fort Gibson liberated slaves as they burned Indian homes on the way back to Fort Gibson. They found the Stidham slaves hiding in the cellar, packed them into a big wagon, and took them with other "freedmen" to spend the next two years in hunger- and disease-ravaged refugee camps within range of the fort's cannon. Some pro-Confederate Indians found their worst fears realized. The Barnett family members, who were Yuchi Creeks, were preparing to flee when Union troops rode into the yard. They killed a sixteen-year-old boy for no apparent reason, burned a smokehouse full of meat, and broke the spokes out of the wheels of the loaded wagon. The Barnetts, several of whom were recovering from smallpox, had to repair the wagon before they could leave. As did many of the Confederate-allied Indian troops, Wash Grayson hurried home to see to his family. He found them packing and debating whether they should leave as a family or send only the two teenaged sons south to safety. In the end, all except Wash spent the next three years in the Creek refugee camps in the Red River Valley. But when they returned home in 1866, they left the eldest, Grandfather Tulwa Tustunuggee, and their youngest, James Grayson, Jr., buried in the southern Chickasaw Nation. In late August, Blunt finally followed up his victory at Honey Springs by pushing down the Texas Road into the Choctaw Nation. Then those pro-Confederate Indians who had remained also fled to the Red River Valley. But the "Stampede," as it was called, left their homes, farms, public buildings, and livestock vulnerable to looting and arson from all sides.[30]

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[26] Report of General James G. Blunt, July 26, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, volume 22, part 1, 448.

[27] Report of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, August 12, 1863, ibid; Warde, *George Washington Grayson,* 72; Report of General James G. Blunt, July 26, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, volume 22, part 1, 448; Catherine H. Yates, et al, *A Survey of Prehistoric and Historic Sites in the Honey Springs Battlefield Area, McIntosh and Muskogee Counties, Oklahoma,* Number 11 (Norman: Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, 1981), 57.

[28] Warde, "'Now the Wolf Has Come'," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 71 (Spring 1993): 74-75.

[29] Baker and Baker, *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives,* 114.

[30] Warde, "'Now the Wolf Has Come'," 76-79.

Militarily, the Battle of Honey Springs was the turning point of the 1861-1866 era of civil wars in the Indian Territory, because the defeat forced the Confederate allies to abandon their line of defense along the Arkansas River in northeastern Indian Territory and retreat south of the Canadian River in central Indian Territory--ground they were never able to regain. In September 1863 Union forces captured Fort Smith, cutting the Arkansas River supply line between the Indian Territory and the Confederacy, further weakening the Confederate-allied Indian nations. Occurring within two weeks of the Battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg, the defeat at Honey Springs lowered morale among the Confederate-allied Indians, but it did not end the civil wars. Colonel (later Brigadier General) Stand Watie, clearly regarding himself as the legitimate Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, wrote to the chiefs of the other Indian nations in August that the promised protection and support of the Confederacy had proved a "useless and expensive pageant." He warned that the Indian nations now faced a desperate fight, and they must unite to win. Otherwise, they would fall like a line of dominoes and be at the mercy of the federal government and enemies returning in Union uniforms. "...[I]f we possess the spirit of our fathers," he wrote, "and are resolved never to be enslaved by an inferior race, and trodden under the feet of an ignorant and insolent foe, we, the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Cherokees, never can be conquered by the Kansas jayhawkers, renegade Indians, and runaway negroes."[31] From July 1863 through June 1865, Watie's Indian Brigade, composed of the Indian national regiments, waged ruthless, relentless guerrilla warfare in the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations, keeping Union forces and refugees--Indian and freedman--pinned at Fort Gibson. But in spite of his troops seizing valuable Federal supplies from the steamer *J. R. Williams* in June 1864 and at Second Battle of Cabin Creek in September, the status quo did not change. In the spring of 1865 the Indian national regiments were preparing for a new season's raiding when the surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox in April signaled the end of the American Civil War. Brigadier General Watie and the Indian Brigade did not surrender until June 23, after a general council of the Confederate-allied representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Plains tribes, making Watie the last Confederate general to surrender in the Civil War. This Camp Napoleon Council in the Chickasaw Nation established the unified front they would need for upcoming peace negotiations with the United States and their fellow citizens who had “gone north.”[32]

The Aftermath

The resulting post-war negotiations and the Reconstruction Treaties produced by them brought profound change to the Five Civilized Tribes and their citizens. Moreover, according to one scholar, they sowed the seeds of the destruction of the five Indian republics. In council at Fort Smith in September 1865, representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes from both pro-Union and Confederate-allied factions learned to their shock that their entire nations were to be punished severely for the Confederate alliances. In 1866 the nations had little choice except to sign Reconstruction Treaties with common provisions: peace was restored among the United States and the Five Civilized Tribes. Each nation agreed to abolish slavery, and all except the Chickasaws granted citizenship and national rights to its former slaves. Each agreed to grant rights-of-way to one east-west and one north-south railway through its lands. Each agreed in principle to the idea of a unified Indian government for the Indian Territory, while the United States would establish federal courts in the Indian nations to adjudicate cases involving non-Indians. By these treaties, then, the erosion of Indian national sovereignty began. Railroad building and associated commerce, mining, and lumbering opened the door to an influx of non-Indians; in the 1880s this included Italian, Russian, Polish, and Slavic miners. National constitutions had to be rewritten to incorporate the freedmen into the Indian governments. At the same time, the freedmen now also shared national lands and resources, which in the Indian nations were held in common. Lastly, by the 1866 Reconstruction

[31] Watie to the Governor of the Creek Nation, August 9, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, vol. 22, part I, 1105.

[32] Gibson, *Oklahoma,* 126-127. Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws this difficult process took nearly two decades. See Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1961), 101-107, and Baker and Baker, *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives,* 5-6.

Treaties each nation ceded lands for the future settlement of other Indian peoples. The Chickasaws and Choctaws gave up rights to the Leased District--more than 3 million acres--now southwestern Oklahoma. The Cherokees lost the Cherokee Outlet--more than 6 million acres in present northern Oklahoma--and lands in Kansas. The Creeks yielded 3.25 million acres--the western half of their lands--and then were forced to sell present Seminole County to the Seminoles, who lost all their 2.17 million acres. [33]

Through 1866 Indian citizens who had survived war and exile (one of every four Creeks died) cautiously returned to their old homes to find few buildings standing, fences down, croplands grown up in brush, and their ranges stripped of livestock. Outlawry stemming from the civil wars and lack of federal protection of their national borders became a continuing plague in the Indian nations for the rest of the century. The vindictiveness of the civil wars also left a long-term residue of bitterness that poisoned national politics for a generation and in the Creek Nation flared into violence again in the Green Peach War of 1881. Both these factors contributed to external claims that the Indian nations could not govern themselves adequately and their lands should be opened to non-Indians for their own good. This Anglo-American public attitude, combined with constant pressure from the railroad lobby, which hoped to maximize markets in the Indian Territory, kept the Indian nations under a constant state of political and diplomatic siege until the federal government mandated their dissolution in 1906.[34]

Meanwhile, the federal government lost no time after ratifying the 1866 Reconstruction Treaties in beginning the "Second Trail of Tears." In 1867, the Omnibus Treaty removed the Miami, Peoria, Ottawa, and Wyandot tribes, along with remnant bands of Shawnees, Kaskaskias, Weas, and Piankashaws, from developing Kansas to tiny reservations in present Ottawa County. The Potawatomi and the Sac and Fox peoples of Kansas agreed to accept lands in present central Oklahoma ceded the year before by the Seminoles and Creeks. Also in 1867 federal representatives held major councils with Indian peoples living on the Great Plains with the intent of clearing them from the path of national development by relocating them on Indian Territory lands ceded by the Five Civilized Tribes. At the Medicine Lodge Council the Wichitas, Caddos, remnant bands of Shawnees and Delawares, and several Texas tribes were assigned to west-central Indian Territory. Cheyennes and Arapahos of Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas were given a reservation in western Indian Territory. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches who ranged over Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas were assigned a reservation in southwestern Indian Territory. During the decade of the 1870's tribal relocations to lands ceded by the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations continued as Pawnees and Poncas from Nebraska, Kaws and Osages from Kansas, Iowas and Otoe-Missourias from the Iowa/Nebraska border, and Tonkawas and Kickapoos from Texas trekked to the Indian Territory. While most of these removals were peaceful, some Plains tribes· vigorously resisted giving up their nomadic lifestyle for confinement to a reservation. The result was a series of Plains wars from 1867 to 1878 that forced experimentation and change in federal Indian policy and military tactics before Indian people who resisted were permanently confined to the new Indian Territory reservations. In addition, Indian Territory reservations imprisoned the Nez Perce from the Pacific Northwest (temporarily), the Modocs from California, and Geronimo's Chiricahua Apaches from New Mexico and Arizona--peoples who hindered Anglo-American settlement and development of their homelands and resources.

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[33] Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 129; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, Maps 24, 30, and 33. Between 1825 and 1850, more than 25 tribes consisting of more than 10,000 people were moved to the area known today as Kansas, the northern portion of Indian Territory at the time. Kansas Senators James Lane and Samuel Pomeroy introduced bills in Congress as early as 1862 to move the tribes from Kansas farther south. The resulting legislation became the core of the Reconstruction plan for Indian Territory. Under the Lane-Pomeroy plan, the president was authorized to suspend treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes, to seize portions of their land, and to remove the tribes from Kansas to Indian Territory. Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 127; Kansas Historical Society, "Indian Removal Act," Kansaspedia, http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/indian-removal-act/16714 (accessed March 14, 2012; Kansas Historical Society, "Emigrant Indians," Kansaspedia,http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/emigrant-indians/15146 (accessed March 14, 2012; and Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Native Americans and the Civil War, "*American Indian Quarterly* (Fall 1985), 404.

[34] Warde, *George Washington Grayson*, 86-88.

By 1889 more than three dozen tribes resided here. Thus the 1866 Reconstruction Treaties that were the result of the Confederate allies' defeat at the Battle of Honey Springs had far-reaching national consequences.[35]

The Battle of Honey Springs also was significant for its impact on the slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes. Although the Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves in areas in rebellion, it could only affect those Indian Territory slaves who had escaped to Kansas. As members of the First Kansas Infantry Regiment (Colored) and the Indian Home Guard, in 1863 they helped free relatives still under the control of the Confederate-allied Indians. The Union commanders were particularly pleased with the courage and fighting skill displayed by the First Kansas during the Battle of Honey Springs, and gave them credit for turning the tide in favor of the Union. Blunt reported that the First Kansas “particularly distinguished itself; they fought like veterans . . . . Their coolness and bravery I have never seen surpassed; they were in the hottest of the fight, and opposed to Texas troops twice their number, whom they completely routed.”[36] This was the first major engagement of black troops in Union uniform, occurring one day before the attack of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts at Fort Wagner, South Carolina.[37] Among the black Union soldiers at the Battle of Honey Springs was the elder brother of Jim Tomm, whose family was liberated by Union troops. The whole family left Fort Gibson in 1865 "free to be no more slaves."[38] Most freedmen returned to the places they knew, founding a number of Oklahoma's all-black towns, including Rentiesville adjacent to Honey Springs Battlefield. Not only did they receive their freedom, all except the Chickasaw freedmen also received citizenship in the Indian nations, a place in their national governments, use of Indian national resources, access to education in the national school systems, and in the process of dissolving the Indian nations about 1900, allotments of their nations' estates.[39]

Comparable Properties

The Battle of Honey Springs occurred within the context of the American Civil War and was also a part of the destructive simultaneous civil wars among the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles, and impacted the futures of all five Indian nations. During the civil wars, Indian Territory experienced more than 150 battles and skirmishes. While each was devastating in its own way, Honey Springs Battle was by far the largest engagement in the territory during that period of conflict. Furthermore, Honey Springs was the largest in the Indian Territory in which Indian men fought as members of national regiments (Union and Confederate), the largest in which former slaves of the Indians participated in Union uniform, and the first and largest in which Indian troops of both sides fought in the formalized style of Anglo-American warfare. In addition, the battle had a direct and immediate impact on noncombatants, driving large numbers of people into exile, while freeing others from slavery.

Other actions of note in Indian Territory include the 1862 battle at the site of Old Fort Wayne (which set back the Confederate offensive), the July 1863 Confederate attack on a supply train in the First Battle at Cabin Creek (one of the first engagements of the war in which African Americans fought, and the first in which African Americans, tribal members and whites all fought), the Union destruction of Fort Davis (near Muskogee,

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[35] Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 143-156; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1951), 202 ,209, 240, 263; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, Map 33; Oklahoma Historical Society, "Indian Territory," Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/I/IN018.html (accessed March 14, 2012).

[36] Report of Major General James G. Blunt, July 26, 1863, *War of the Rebellion* series I, volume 22, part 1, 448; and Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 372.

[37] Fischer, *The Battle of Honey Springs*, 7. The First Kansas (Colored) had previously fought in Missouri at Island Mound (October 29, 1862) and Baxter Spring (May 18, 1863) as well as at the First Battle at Cabin Creek, Indian Territory (July 1-2, 1863).

[38] Jim Tomm, interview, 112: 286, *IP-H*.

[39] See for example Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1941) on the role of Creek freedmen.

Oklahoma), the September 1864 capture of a three-hundred wagon Union supply train by at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, the capture of the steamboat *J. R. Williams* at Pleasant Bluff by Stand Waite's men (the final Confederate victory in the area), and the reoccupation of Fort Gibson (now a National Historic Landmark) by the Union Indian Brigade (which began the Union re-conquest of the Cherokee Nation).

Related sites outside of Indian Territory include the 1861 Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, which helped convince all five Indian nations to sign treaties of alliance with the Confederacy. The next year, the First and Second Cherokee regiments fought in the Battle of Pea Ridge (now a National Military Park). In 1863, Union forces captured Fort Smith, Arkansas (now a National Historic Site) cutting the Arkansas River supply line between the Indian Territory and the Confederacy. Fort Smith also played an important role after the war; it was there in September 1865 that representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes learned that they had lost their rights, annuities and land claims, and that new treaties would have to be negotiated. Ultimately, the Reconstruction Treaties, finalized in Washington, D.C. in 1866, radically changed the five nations' sovereignty, land base, social structure, and relationship with the United States.

However, the Battle of Honey Springs was the military turning point of the 1861-1866 era of civil wars in the Indian Territory. Later known as the "Gettysburg of Indian Territory," the battle marked the end of the extensive Confederate opposition to the Federal government in Indian Territory; they never again gathered a full-sized military force in the region.[40] Although conflict continued for the course of the war, the Honey Springs defeat forced the Confederate allies to abandon their line of defense along the Arkansas River in northeastern Indian Territory and retreat south of the Canadian River in central Indian Territory--ground they were never able to regain.

Summary and Linkages

The Battle of Honey Springs was unique in several ways as well as nationally significant. It was the climax of concurrent civil wars within three Indian nations, pitting Cherokee against Cherokee, Creek against Creek, Seminole against Seminole, and citizens of these nations against other Indian people and their former slaves. Although it occurred within the broad context of the American Civil War, its roots ran much deeper into these nations' histories and struggles to maintain their sovereignty, land base, social order, property, and cultures against an aggressive Anglo-America. It had a direct and immediate impact on noncombatants as well as men under arms, driving large segments of their populations into exile, while freeing others from slavery. The battle was by far the largest engagement of the 1861-1866 period of conflict, which saw more than 150 battles and skirmishes in Indian Territory.[41] It was the largest in the Indian Territory in which Indian men fought as members of national regiments and of Union regiments, the largest in which former slaves of the Indians participated in Union uniform, and the first and largest in which Indian troops of both sides fought in the formalized style of Anglo-American warfare. The outcome, epitomized in the 1866 Reconstruction Treaties, had a deep, long-term impact on all five Indian nations and their citizens in terms of national sovereignty, land base, and social order. But the impact of lands ceded by these nations for the resettlement of tribes from several other states extended that impact far beyond the borders of the five Indian nations. Therefore, Honey Springs Battlefield is eligible under the Peopling Places theme with special application to ethnic homelands, encounters, conflicts, and confrontation, as well as under the theme of Shaping the Political Landscape regarding military institutions and activities. Surprisingly well-documented, given the frontier location and degree of English literacy among the participants, Honey Springs Battlefield offers eyewitness accounts and personal insights into its meaning for three ethnic groups and both genders, adding new dimensions to these areas of significance.

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[40] Steve Cottrell, *Civil War in the Indian Territory* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing, 1995): 79, 82.

[41] Oklahoma Battlefield Preservation Commission, *Tribal and Civil War Battlefield Sites in Oklahoma,* May 1996, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Honey Springs Battlefield, although strongly Indian in origins, participation, and target of impact, cannot be separated from the American Civil War, and it fits within that important theme. Events of the 1861-1866 period of conflict are linked to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield in Missouri and to Pea Ridge National Military Park (where the First and Second Cherokee regiments fought in 1861) and to Fort Smith National Historic Site in Arkansas. But it also is linked directly to the Indigenous Peoples and Cultures theme and to the Black Americans in the United States theme. Through the 1866 Reconstruction Treaties and subsequent 1867-1880s Indian removals to Indian Territory, it is linked to the Military and Indian Affairs sub-theme of the Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific theme.

Public interest in the location of the Battle of Honey Springs revived during the Civil War centennial from 1961 to 1965. Several organizations, including the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, Oklahoma Civil War Round Table, and Oklahoma Historical Society joined a movement to create a battlefield park at Honey Springs. With the support of Governor Dewey Bartlett, the Oklahoma State Legislature in 1967 appropriated funds to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to purchase the first 160 acres of the proposed park. This acreage included the Honey Springs settlement and depot site. Since 1970, when Honey Springs Battlefield was listed on the National Register, the Oklahoma Historical Society has added to the initial acreage. It now owns the lands in Section 35, Range 17 East, Township 13 North and in Sections 2 and 11, Range 17 East, Township 12 North through which the Texas Road can be traced. Honey Springs Battlefield Memorial and Honey Springs Battlefield Road are situated so as to allow automobile and pedestrian access to the major battle areas without impairing the high degree of historical integrity maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society.[42] The Historical Society will commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Honey Springs in July 2013.

[42] See LeRoy H. Fischer, *The Honey Springs National Battlefield Park Movement* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1969).

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
_ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
_ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
_ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
_ Local Government
_ University
_ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: approximately 930 acres

UTM References:
Datum WGS-84, Zone 15

	Easting	Northing
A	275423	3938672
B	276438	3938635
C	276409	3938248
D	276306	3936170
E	276171	3935754
F	275336	3933984
G	274509	3933788
H	274546	3935392

Verbal Boundary Description:

From Point A, the center of the north boundary of Section 35, Township 13 North Range 17 East, go east 1980 feet along EW1000 Road to Point B,
then travel south 1320 feet to Point C,
then travel west 660 feet to Point D,
then travel south 113 feet to Point E,
then go west 490 feet to Point F,
then go south 445 feet to point G,
then go east 490 feet to Point H,
then travel south approximately 4962 feet, crossing the Muskogee and McIntosh county line to Point I, which is on the quarter section line of the boundary between Section 1 and Section 2, Township 12 North, Range 17 East.

From Point I go east 330 feet to Point J,
turning south for approximately 1320 feet to Point K, which is on the center line of Section 1.

From Point K travel west 330 feet to Point L, which is on the center line of the boundary between Section 1 and Section 2 and along EW 1015 Road.

From Point L, travel south along the section line 1320 feet to Point M,
turn west for 2640 feet along the quarter section line to Point N,
travel south for 1320 feet along the center section line to Point O.

At Point O turn west for 738 feet along the boundary between Section 2 and Section 11 to Point P.

From Point P go south for 330 feet to Point Q,

then turn west for 156 feet to Point R,
Then go south for 330 feet to Point S,
then travel east approximately 702 feet to Point T,
then travel south 660 feet to Point U,
and travel east approximately 192 feet to the southeast corner of the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 11, which is Point V.

From Point V go south along the center line of Section 11 for 3168 feet to Point W,
then turn west 1650 feet to Point X,
then go south approximately 792 feet to Point Y on the north side of EW 1030 Road.

From Point Y go west 990 feet to Point Z,
then travel north approximately 5280 feet along the boundary between Section 10 and Section 11 to Point AA, which is at the corner of NS 4230 Road and EW 1020 Road, which is at the northwest corner of Section 11.

From Point AA go east 990 feet to Point BB,
then north 660 feet to Point CC,
then go east 330 feet to Point DD,
then travel north approximately 3960 feet to the northwest corner of the SE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 2 at Point EE.

From Point EE go east along the quarter section line approximately 1320 feet to point FF on the center line of Section 2.

From Point FF go north on the center line of Section 2 approximately 1560 feet to the boundary between Section 2 and Section 35 at Point GG.

From Point GG go west approximately 782 feet to Point HH,
then go north approximately 2574.5 feet to Point II,
then travel east approximately 2102 feet to the center line of Section 35 at Point JJ.

From Point JJ travel north along the center line of Section 35 approximately 2722 feet to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification:
The boundaries described above enclose the core area of the Honey Spring Battle, which was prompted by Cooper's attempt to block the Union advance along the Texas Road by controlling Dirty Creek. The core area was identified through archival research and archeological surveys by the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey and the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1976, 1981, 1994, 1996, and 1997. The key battle positions where the majority of the critical action took place and strategic landscape features are within the boundaries. Importantly, the boundaries include the locations of the decisive actions:

- the opening of the engagement and main battle along Texas Road north of Dirty Creek, where Confederate and Union main lines fired upon each other from close range and where a misunderstood "fall back" command marked the turning point of the battle;
- the Texas Road crossing at Dirty Creek, which the Confederates had tried to control and Texan Confederate troops protected until the retreating Confederate artillery had moved safely south on the bridge;
- the general route of retreat southward in the vicinity of the Texas Road; and
- the site of the Confederate depot that was burned in an unsuccessful effort to prevent the Union troops from capturing the supplies.

Retrieved battle artifacts, primary documentation, and mapping of surviving resources indicated the location of the Texas Road and the primary events of the Battle of Honey Springs; the boundaries enclose the locations with the greatest historical integrity.

The exact locations of several additional battle components have not been located with archeological investigations and are still a subject of debate, so those areas have not been included in the boundaries at this time. It is recommended that those sites be investigated and evaluated in the future, if possible, and include them within the NHL boundary if appropriate. Although those sites are important, even without them the NHL successfully conveys the significance of the battle and the boundary includes the most important portions of the Battle of Honey Springs.[43]

[43] The NHL boundary nominated here differs from the National Register boundary for the Honey Springs Battlefield. The approximately 2,900 acres designated in the National Register historic district consisted of a buffer around the battlefield included to “protect” the battlefield from future development. The NHL boundaries, however, were drawn to include approximately 885 acres, used primarily as the core of the battle area.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
September 4, 2012

Honey Springs settlement and Confederate depot area with the walled spring and Resource 26, facing east. The spring (not visible in the photograph) is just right of center, on the right bank of the stream. Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 1)

Possible area of Union bivouac from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M. along the Texas Road, facing northeast, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 2)

Possible area of bivouac from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M. along the Texas Road, facing east, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 3)

Area of deployment at 10:00 A.M. on either side of the Texas Road, facing east, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 4)

Scene of the Main Battle along the Texas Road through heavy timber from 10:00 A.M., facing north, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 5)

Scene of the Main Battle along the Texas Road through heavy timber from 10:00 A.M. facing south, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 6)

Abandoned county road cut descending the north bank of Dirty Creek with Pumpkin Ridge in the background, facing southeast, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 7)

Area of engagement at Dirty Creek near site of the 1863 toll bridge, and circa 1884/1912 bridge abutments, noncontributing resource number 8, facing northwest, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 8)

Area of engagement at Dirty Creek near site of the 1863 toll bridge, and circa 1884/1912 bridge abutments, noncontributing resource number 8, facing southeast, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 9)

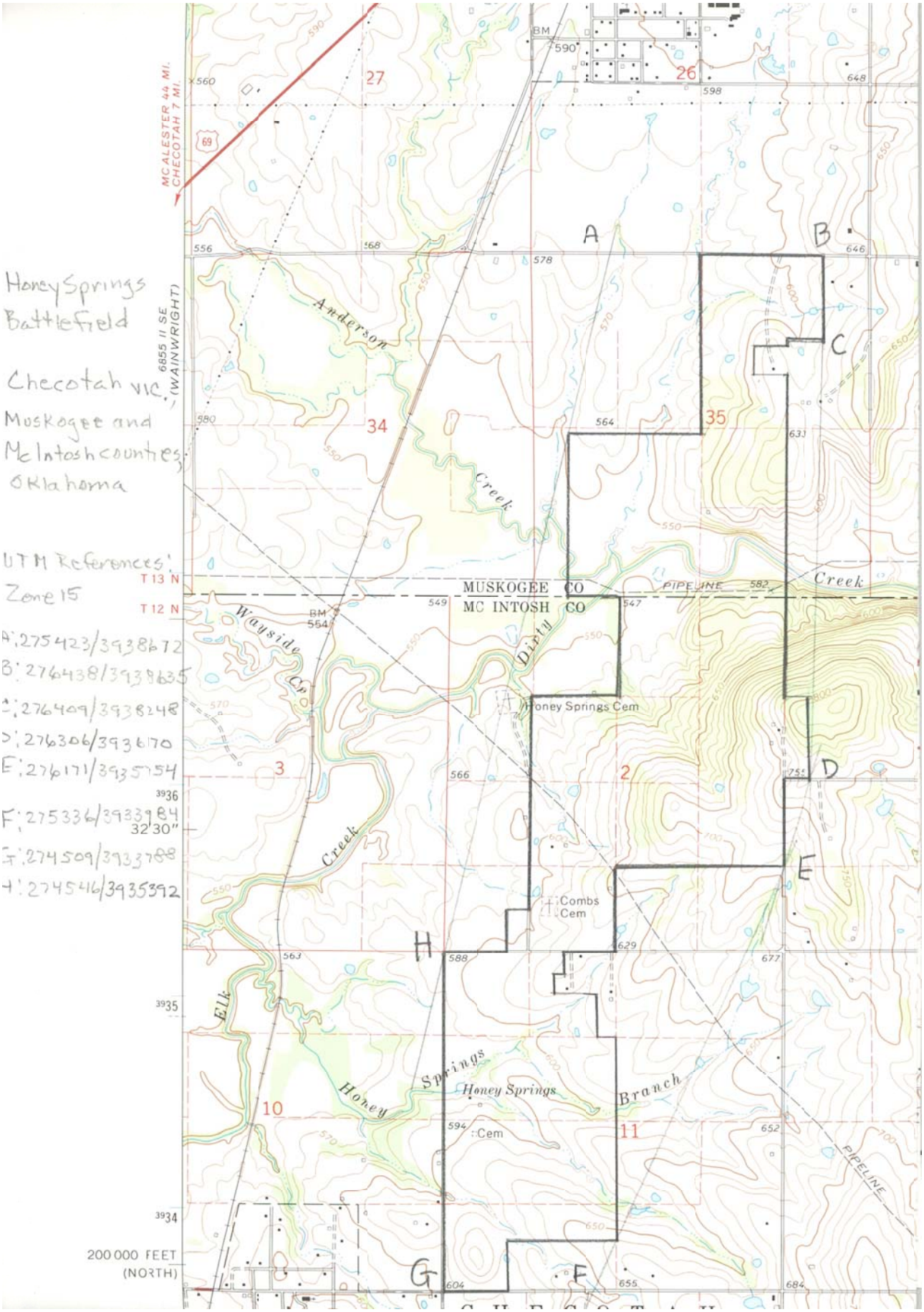
Outbuilding foundation, noncontributing resource number 7 near Fullsom/Love/Robinson Cemetery, facing southeast, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 10)

Site of final engagement 1:00-2:00 P.M. with the ridge on which Union artillery was placed in the background, noncontributing resources 15 to 17, facing east, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 11)

Grave of “Little Nossie” McIntosh, noncontributing resource number 12, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 12)

Honey Springs depot area and noncontributing resources numbered 24 - 29, facing northeast toward Honey Springs Battlefield memorial and monuments, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 13)

Honey Springs Battlefield Road, noncontributing resource number 4, facing south with Pumpkin Ridge in distance, Lynda Schwan, January 25, 2011. (Photo 14)


Honey Springs Battlefield
Checotah vic.
Muskogee and McIntosh counties, Oklahoma
UTM References:
Zone 15
A: 275423/3938672
B: 276438/3938635
C: 276409/3938248
D: 276306/3936170
E: 276171/3935754
F: 275336/3933984
G: 274509/3933788
H: 274546/3935392
MCALESTER 44 MI.
CHECOTAH 7 MI.
6855 II SE (WAINWRIGHT)
MUSKOGEE CO
MC INTOSH CO
T 13 N
T 12 N
Anderson Creek
Wayside Cr
Dirty Creek
Honey Springs Cem
Combs Cem
Elk Creek
Honey Springs Branch
Honey Springs Cem
PIPELINE
200 000 FEET (NORTH)