

HISTORICAL BASE AND GROUND COVER MAP

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L WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Greene and Christian Counties, Missouri

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**ON MICROFILM**

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## FOREWORD

This report has been prepared to provide Wilson's Creek National Battlefield with an updated Historical Base and Ground Cover Map and the supportive documentation. Such a map and study are needed to provide management with data necessary to accomplish the Master Plan's goal of restoration of the vegetative cover to its appearance, circa 1861.

Guidelines for the project and its scope were outlined by Area Manager Pat Reed in a meeting with the author on January 19, 1978. To accomplish this task, all published material on the battle and Wilson and Porter Townships, on file at the Library of Congress, State Historical Society of Missouri, the Springfield Public Library, the Arkansas History Commission, and the Park Library, were reviewed and pertinent data extracted. Manuscripts, maps, letters, books, etc., on file in Record Groups 49, 77, and 92 at the National Archives and the Suitland Records Center were examined, as were manuscript collections of the University of Missouri and the Arkansas History Commission. Legal documents were selectively perused, along with the Springfield Public Library's extensive and invaluable local history clipping file.

A number of persons assisted in the preparation and birth of this study. Particular thanks are extended to Area Manager Pat Reed, Ranger Dave Montalbano, and Park Technician Gus Klapp. They handled

local arrangements, answered numerous questions, and served as devil's advocates. On Sunday, January 22, although there was some 10 inches of snow on the ground, Ranger Montalbano and Technician Klapp trudged the battlefield with the author in a successful effort to reconcile conflicting interpretations.

When January blizzards twice prevented visits to the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, our colleagues at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, Historians Milton Thompson and Sharon Brown, lent a hand. Ms. Brown visited the Society and secured vital information from the Agricultural and Industrial Schedule of the Ninth Decennial Census.

At the National Archives, Mike Musick, Richard Cox, Jim Dillon, Raymond Cotton, Ronald Grim and Bob Richardson shared their knowledge and promptly serviced our numerous requests. At the Missouri State Historical Society, Reference Librarian Goldena Howard was a fountain of information, thus expediting the accomplishment of our Columbia mission. Equally helpful and efficient was Ms. June Gustafson, Reference Librarian at the Harriett Shephard Room of the Springfield Public Library.

A special thanks are extended to Drs. William Lightfoot and Lee Hoover (the latter now deceased) and our other longtime friends of the Civil War Roundtable of the Ozarks for their continued support, assistance, and interest.

We are indebted to our colleagues--Area Manager Pat Reed, Ranger Dave Montalbano and Technician Gus Klapp of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield; Regional Historians Andy Ketterson and Don Dosch;



Manager, Historic Preservation, Denver Service Center John Luzader;  
and Chief Park Service Historian Dr. Harry Pfanz for their review of  
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## I. THE RESTORATION OF THE HISTORIC SCENE

### A. The Goal

Restoration of the historic scene at the time of the Wilson's Creek battle will present management with a number of challenging opportunities. Fields, orchards, and meadows in the core-area will be reestablished and fenced. If feasible, the fields should be cultivated by local farmers under special use permits.

Beyond the fields, meadows, and farmyards, the hills and hollows supported a thin growth of timber. This timber varied slightly from quarter section to quarter section, depending on the character of the soil. Among the trees represented were black and white oaks, blackjacks, post oaks, pin oaks, chinquapins, hickories, and sycamores. Of these, black and white oaks, post oaks, and blackjacks predominated. Where there was undergrowth, in the ravines and on a few of the hillsides, it was hazel. Except in the ravines and bottoms where there was cane and underbrush, the area supported a luxuriant growth of prairie grasses. There was a small prairie on the west side of Wilson's Creek, opposite Gibson's Mill. Large trees, as well as cane and underbrush, defined the principal watercourses--Wilson's and Terrell Creeks and Skeggs and McElhaney Branches.

Restoration of the historic vegetative cover will be a long-term project. As noted in the Master Plan, it can be accomplished by various methods. Controlled natural regeneration may be allowed to

continue in certain areas, while in others seedlings can be set out and prairie grasses and cane introduced. Concurrently, it will be necessary to eradicate exotics, such as cedars and osage orange.

B. The Problem

Unlike many major Civil War battlefields in the East, the Army Engineers did not return to Wilson's Creek in the immediate post-war years to prepare a surveyed map with a controlled grid. On maps, such as those prepared under supervision of Maj. Gouverneur K. Warren of Gettysburg, Capt. G. L. Gillespie of Cedar Creek and Third Winchester, and Maj. Nicholas Michler of the Petersburg Campaign, were entered in detail the subject area's cultural features and vegetative cover. Equally detailed regarding cultural and vegetative data were the base maps prepared in the early 1890s for the Antietam Battlefield Commission by Emmor B. Cope and the Chickamauga-Chattanooga Commission by Edward E. Betts.

To prepare a map containing similar information for the Wilson's Creek battlefield, after more than a century, was the goal of this project. Rather than employing a grid system for documenting features found on this Historical Base-Vegetative Cover Map, we have approached the subject by topics. Each topic is identified with a specific physical, cultural, or vegetative feature. The documentation follows the entry listing the feature. The progression in introducing these features, in relation to the map, is from north to south and west to east.

## II. THE VEGETATIVE COVER AS DESCRIBED BY EXPLORERS AND SURVEYORS

### A. The Area as Seen by Schoolcraft in 1819

The first description of the area was recorded by Henry R. Schoolcraft, an American explorer-topographer, in January 1819, 42 years before the battle and 16 years before the region was surveyed.

On January 1 of that year, Schoolcraft and his party, travelling from the east, struck the James River, near the mouth of Wilsons Creek. "Along the river banks," he observed, "are found extensive bodies of the choicest land, covered by a large growth of forest-trees and cane, and interspersed with prairies. Oak, Maple, White and Black Walnut, Elm, Hackberry, and Sycamores are the common trees, and attain a very large size. On the west commences a prairie of unexpected extent, stretching off towards the Osage River, and covered with tall rank grass."<sup>1</sup>

The prairies, Schoolcraft noted, "which commence at the distance of a mile west of the river are the most extensive, rich and beautiful of any which I have ever seen west of the Mississippi River. They are covered by a high coarse wild grass which obtains so great a height that it completely hides a man on horseback in riding through it. The deer and elk abound in this quarter, and the buffalo is occasionally seen in droves upon the prairie, and the open high-land woods.

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<sup>1</sup>Schoolcraft in the Ozarks, Reprint of Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Arkansas in 1818 and 1819, edited by Hugh Park (Van Buren, 1955), p. 111.

"The river banks are skirted with cane, to the exclusion of all other underbrush."<sup>2</sup>

B. The 1835 General Land Office Survey

1. Garrison's Party Surveys the Exterior Boundary of Township 28 North, Range 23 West

During the first quarter of 1835, a party headed by A. Fithian Garrison surveyed the exterior boundary of Township 28 North, Range 23 West of Missouri's 5th Principal Meridian.<sup>3</sup> In running the south line of the subject township, the party moved east from the southwest corner of Section No. 35. At 40 chains, they set a stake for the quarter section line, and took bearings on a white oak 10 inches in diameter and a 26-inch diameter black oak. Just north of the section line, Garrison's party passed "6 or 8 springs [Mbody's] rising from under the bluff." The terrain, along this half-mile, was level, the soil second quality, but "fit for cultivation." The ground was "thinly timbered," with black and white oaks.

The surveyors continued eastward another 40 chains, and set a stake for the southeast corner of section No. 35. Bearings were taken on two white oaks, the first 20 inches in diameter and the second 28 inches. The land along this one-half mile was "gently rolling," the soil second class, but "fit for cultivation." It was

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>Field Notes of Surveys in the State of Missouri, West of the 5th Principal Meridian, Book 168, NA, RG 49. Members of Garrison's party included: John McBroom, hind chainman; Joseph Harris, fore chainman; James Hopper, flagman; and Hiram A. Johnson, axeman.

lightly timbered, the vegetative cover consisting of black and white oak, blackjack, with a hazel undergrowth.<sup>4</sup>

Garrison and his people continued east along the south boundary of Section No. 36. At 35 chains, they crossed Wilsons Creek and at 40 chains set the stake, marking the quarter section. Here, bearings were taken on two post oaks. The land along this half-mile was "rolling," the soil of second quality, and "thinly timbered," with black and white oak. The ground, for four or five chains, on either side of Wilsons Creek was "more or less level," and forested with "better quality black and white oaks." Pushing on another 40 chains, the surveyors set a post for the southeast corner of Section No. 36. The terrain, since leaving the quarter section marker, was rolling, with a "flinty soil" that was generally unfit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered with black and white oaks and blackjack. There was no undergrowth.

About midway between the quarter section stake and section line, they had crossed the "Old White River Road."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.; "Plat of Township 28 North, Range 23 West of the 5th Principal Meridian, June 28, 1838," NA, RG 49. Copies of these plats are on file at Wilson's Creek NB.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

The surveyors now headed north, marking the east boundary of Section No. 36. At 40 chains, they set the quarter section marker, and took bearings on a 27-inch in diameter post oak and 10-inch blackjack. The land along this half mile was rolling, while the soil was of second quality and "mostly unfit for cultivation." It was thinly timbered by black and white oak. Pushing on another 40 chains, and crossing the Old White River Road at 20 chains, they set a stake for the northeast corner of Section No. 36. From there bearings were taken on two large blackjacks, one 17 inches in diameter and the other 11 inches. The ground along this one-half mile was "rolling and mostly unfit for cultivation." The timber was "tolerable good," consisting of black and white oaks, with no undergrowth.<sup>6</sup>

Garrison and his men continued north, running the east boundary of Section No. 25. At 40 chains, they positioned a stake for the quarter section, and took bearings on an 11-inch and a 17-inch blackjack. The land was gently rolling, the soil first quality, and fit for cultivation. Garrison listed the timber as "tolerable good," consisting of black and white oak, and blackjack. There was no undergrowth. Continuing northward 40 chains, the section's northeast corner was delineated, and bearings taken on two large chinquapins. Along this one-half mile, the ground was "gently rolling, soil first

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

quality and fit for cultivation." The timber was first rate black and white oak, chinquapin, and hickory. The undergrowth was hazel.<sup>7</sup>

The surveyors next ran the east line of section No. 24. One chain north of the stake marking the southeast corner was a "remarkably fine and thick grove of chinkapin Oaks." At 40 chains, they drove the quarter section stake, and took bearings on two black oaks. Since leaving the grove, the land had been rolling, the soil first quality, and suited to cultivation. The timber was white oak and hickory. Forty chains north of the quarter section stake, Garrison's party marked the section's northeast corner, and took bearings on a 9-inch in diameter white oak and a 10-inch hickory. Along this one-half mile section of the line the terrain was gently rolling, the soil second quality, and fit for cultivation. The timber--consisting of black and white oak, hickory, and pin oak--was described as good. The undergrowth was hazel.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Garrison and His People Run the Interior Subdivision Lines

During the second quarter of 1835, Deputy Surveyor Garrison and his crew returned to Township 28 North, Range 23 West, to run the interior subdivision lines.<sup>9</sup> When they commenced running these

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>The crew, in addition to Garrison, included John McBroom, hind chainman; Sterling B. Allen, fore chainman; Robert J. McElhaney and William A. Appleby, axemen; and James Hopper, flagman.



lines, they began at the stake marking the southwest and southeast corner of Sections Nos. 35 and 36. Proceeding north, they crossed Terrell Creek and noted the swift current. At 40 chains, they set a stake for the quarter section line, and took bearings on two black-jacks, one of 10-inch diameter and the other of 9-inch. The ground traversed was "gently rolling," the soil second quality, and fit for cultivation." The area was thinly timbered. Continuing northward, they set a stake for the corner of Section Nos. 25, 26, 35, and 36, and took bearings on three white oaks and one black oak. One of the white oaks was a giant of 27-inch diameter, while the black oak had a 30-inch diameter. Since leaving the quarter section marker, the terrain was gently rolling, the soil of second quality, and fit for cultivation. There was a thin growth of timber consisting of scattered blackjack and post oak.<sup>10</sup>

Garrison and his party next ran the line dividing Section Nos. 25 and 36. At 2.30 chains they descended a bluff and crossed Wilsons Creek, which at this point had a gentle current and mud bottom. They then crossed a belt of bottom land, nine chains in width, and at 40 chains from the section corner set a stake to mark the quarter section line. From this marker, bearings were taken on three white

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<sup>10</sup>"Copies of Field Notes of Surveys of Mo., North of Base Line and West of 5th Principal Meridian, Subdivision of Township 28 N, Range 23 West executed in the month of May 1835," NA, RG 49: "Plat of Township 28 North, 23 West of 5th Principal Meridian, June 28, 1835," NA, RG 49.

oaks and a 30-inch black oak. The Wilsons Creek bottom was first quality land, fit for cultivation, while the rest of this one-half mile was rolling terrain, with flinty second grade soil, but fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered, the growth consisting of black and white oak, and blackjack. The undergrowth was oak. Continuing eastward 40 chains, the surveyors reached the stake set several months before, when they were running the exterior lines of Township 28. The land, since leaving the quarter section line, was gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second grade, but fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered by black and white oak along with blackjack.<sup>11</sup>

Returning to the northwest corner of Section No. 36, the surveyors ran the line separating Sections Nos. 25 and 26. At 65 links, they left the bluff and entered the Wilsons Creek bottom. At 37.5 chains, they forded the stream which here had a gravel bottom and a gentle current. The quarter section post was set at 40 chains, on the bank of Wilsons Creek, and bearings taken on two black oaks, both 8 inches in diameter. The land traversed, since leaving the section corner was level, the soil of first quality, and fit for cultivation. In addition, it was not subject to flooding. Walking north from the quarter section post, the surveyors forded the stream twice before marking off another 40 chains, and setting the post marking the corners of Section Nos. 23, 24, 25, and 26. The creek at both these

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

points had a gravel bottom and a gentle current. From the corner post, bearings were taken on a 12-inch elm, 12-inch sycamore, and a 12-inch post oak. On the west bank of Wilsons Creek, just south of the section line, was a small prairie. Between the quarter and section lines, Garrison and his men had chained across "level first quality bottom land." Not being subject to inundation, it was fit for cultivation. The land was thinly timbered principally by scattered blackjack.<sup>12</sup>

The surveyors next ran the line dividing Section Nos. 24 and 25. Wilsons Creek was crossed at 68 links. The current was gentle, while the bottom was mud. Between the stream and the post set to mark the quarter section line (from which bearings were taken on a 28-inch and 12-inch blackjack), the surveyors walked across gently rolling terrain, its soil of second quality, but fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered with black and white oak and blackjack. No undergrowth was encountered. The surveyors next travelled eastward another 40 chains to the post set several months before marking the corner of Section Nos. 24 and 25, Township 28 North, Range 23 West, and Section Nos. 12 and 30, Township 28 North, Range 22 West. Along this quarter section, the ground was gently rolling, the soil first quality, and fit for cultivation. The land was thinly timbered, the trees were blackjack and post oak.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

Returning to the corner post for Section Nos. 23, 24, 25, and 26, the Garrison party prepared to run the line between Sections Nos. 23 and 24. Starting north, they waded Wilsons Creek at 8.20 chains and recrossed it at 29.15 chains. At the first crossing, the bottom was gravel and at the second mud. The current at both sites was gentle. The quarter section post was set at 40 chains, and bearings taken on a 10-inch black oak and a 12-inch blackjack. Along this line the land was rolling, the soil of second quality, fit for cultivation, and thinly timbered by blackjack and post oak. From the quarter section stake, the surveyors marked off another 40 chains and set a post, from which bearings were taken on four blackjacks. The land along the section line was rolling, of second quality, fit for cultivation, and thinly timbered with blackjack and post oak. There was no undergrowth.<sup>14</sup>

Garrison's party next ran the line dividing Section Nos. 24 and 13. The stake for the quarter section line was positioned on the east bank of Wilsons Creek, downstream from Callifaxe's mill, and bearings taken on a 20-inch sycamore and a 12-inch post oak. The creek here had a gentle current and gravel bottom. The land between the section line and the creek was gently rolling, the soil flinty, of second quality, and suited to cultivation. Continuing eastward 40 chains, the surveyors reached the stake set three months before marking the

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

northeast corner of Section No. 24. From the creek to the east line of Township 28 North, Range 23 West, the terrain was gently rolling. The flinty, second quality soil was suitable for cultivation. It was thinly timbered by black and white oaks and hickories.<sup>15</sup>

After surveying the boundary between Section Nos. 1 and 2, Garrison and his party retraced their steps, preparatory to marking the line between Section Nos. 34 and 35. Beginning at the stake set on the exterior line during the first quarter of 1835, marking the section line, they walked off 40 chains, and set a post for the quarter section line. Bearings were then taken on two blackjacks. The land along this one-half mile was gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but fit for cultivation. There was a thin growth of blackjack and post oak. Proceeding north another 40 chains, they set a stake to identify the northwest corner of Section No. 35, from where bearings were taken on four blackjacks, ranging in diameter from 12 to 14 inches. The terrain continued to be gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered with blackjack and black and white oak. There was little or no undergrowth.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

The surveyors next ran the line between Section Nos. 35 and 26. At 40 chains, they set the post marking the quarter section line, and took bearings on two blackjacks. The land along this half-mile was gently rolling, while the soil was flinty, of second quality, but fit for cultivation. The vegetative cover consisted of a few scattered blackjacks and post oaks. Garrison and his people now continued the line east 40 chains to the post, previously erected, marking the corner of Section Nos. 25, 26, 35, and 36. Land on either side of the section line was gently rolling, the soil flinty, of second quality, but fit for cultivation. There was a thin growth of black and white oak and blackjack.<sup>17</sup>

The next line surveyed was the boundary between Section Nos. 26 and 27. Beginning at the post marking the corner of Section Nos. 26, 27, 34, and 35, they walked off 40 chains. A stake was then set, and bearings taken on two blackjacks, one of 10-inch and the other 27-inch diameter. The landscape along this one-half mile was gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but suitable for cultivation. It was thinly timbered with black and white oak and blackjack. Proceeding north from the quarter section post 40 chains, the Garrison party set a stake to mark the corner of Section No. 22, 23, 26, and 27, from which bearings were taken on a 30- and 10-inch black oak and

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

from where bearings were taken on three blackjacks and one black oak. The land along this one-half mile was gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second class, but fit for cultivation. There was a "tolerable good" growth of black and white oak and blackjack.<sup>20</sup>

Garrison and his men next ran the line between Section Nos. 14 and 23. At 40 chains, the quarter section post was set, and bearings taken on two blackjacks. The terrain along the section line was gently rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but fit for cultivation. There was "tolerable good timber," consisting of black and white oak and blackjack. The undergrowth was hazel. Continuing east 40 chains, the surveyors reached the stake previously set to mark the corner of Section Nos. 13, 14, 23, and 24. Since leaving the quarter section post, the land was rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but suitable for cultivation. There was a thin growth of blackjack, and black and white oak.<sup>21</sup>

### III. MAPS OF THE BATTLEFIELD: 1861-1926

During the 65 years following the battle, a number of maps were prepared of the area to illustrate troop movements. The quality and detail of these maps varied. But even the best of them fails to measure up to the maps prepared by the Corps of Engineers during the immediate post war years for certain eastern battlefields and in the 1890s for several of the National Battlefield Commissions.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

a 12-inch blackjack. The terrain along this one-half mile was rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but fit for cultivation. The vegetative cover consisted of a sparse growth of black and white oak and blackjack.<sup>18</sup>

Running the line between Section Nos. 23 and 26, Garrison and his men marked off 40 chains and set a post for the quarter section, from which sightings were taken on a 27-inch blackjack and a 8-inch hickory. The ground on either side of this line was rolling, the soil flinty and of second quality, but fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered, the growth included blackjack and post oak. There was no underbrush. The surveyors continued east another 40 chains to the post erected to delineate the corner of Section Nos. 23, 24, 25, and 26. The land along the line was level, the soil of first quality, and fit for cultivation. It was thinly timbered, the growth consisting of blackjack, and black and white oak.<sup>19</sup>

Garrison's party, returning to the post at the corner of Sections Nos. 22, 23, 26, and 27, began chaining the line between Section Nos. 22 and 23. At 40 chains, a post was set for the quarter section marker, from where bearings were taken on two blackjacks. Since leaving the section corner, the land had been gently rolling, the soil second class and fit for cultivation. The thin growth of timber was black oak and blackjack. Forty chains north of this post, they set the stake identifying the corner of Section Nos. 14, 15, 22, and 23,

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.  
<sup>19</sup>Ibid.



A review of the principal Wilson's Creek Battlefield maps for this period follows:

A. Map from the "St. Louis Republican"

Probably the first published map of the battle appeared in the St. Louis Republican for August 26, 1861. This crude schematic drawing, lacking a scale, presents scant data regarding the vegetative cover. Hachures are employed to indicate commanding ground. A "Cornfield" (Ray's) is located and identified, as is a nearby "Log House" probably John Gibson's.<sup>1</sup>

B. Lt. John V. Du Bois' Map

Lieutenant Du Bois supplemented his journal with a sketch map, illustrating the initial deployment of the troops on "Bloody Hill." In addition to Wilsons Creek, DuBois located a cornfield (Ray's).<sup>2</sup>

C. General Pearce's Map

Immediately after the battle, Brig. Gen. N. Bart Pearce of the Arkansas State Guard prepared a map of the fight. Like the correspondent for the St. Louis Republican and Lieutenant Du Bois, Pearce emphasized troop movements. He, however, provided more details on geographic and cultural features. Wilsons Creek, the Fayetteville (Telegraph) road, the Sharp house, and several small roads are delineated and identified. "Oak Hill," the commanding ground west of the Sharp house, and the bluffs and knolls east of Wilsons Creek are indicated by hachures. The fields south of the Sharp house and west

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<sup>1</sup>St. Louis Republican, Aug. 26, 1861. This map was drawn by F. W. Reeder of Company C, 1st U.S. Cavalry.

<sup>2</sup>John V. Du Bois, "Journal and Letters of Col. John Van Deusen Du Bois," Jarel C. Lobdell (editor), Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LXI, No. 1.

of Wilsons Creek are defined, as is the large cornfield (Ray's) east of Wilsons Creek and north of the Fayetteville-Springfield road.

General Pearce employs conventional symbols to delineate wooded areas.<sup>3</sup>

D. Capt. Napoleon Boardman's Map

Sometime in the late spring or summer of 1864, Capt. Napoleon Boardman of Battery M, 2d Missouri Light Artillery, spent several weeks in the area drawing a map of the battlefield. On his map, which is surprisingly accurate as to physical geography, Boardman located many cultural features. Although there are no contour lines, a judicious use of hachures, conveys a reasonably accurate representation of the landscape. Conventional symbols are employed to identify fields, orchards, structures, fences, roads, and timbered areas. Camps, along with major troop movements, are delineated. A copy of the Boardman Map is found in this report.<sup>4</sup>

E. Capt. William E. Hoelcke's Map

On September 22, 1865, Capt. William E. Hoelcke, then Chief Engineer of the Department of the Missouri, wrote Chief Engineer Richard Delafield, in reference to the Boardman Map. He reported

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<sup>3</sup>Pearce's Map of the "Battle of Wilson's Creek--August 10, 1861." A copy of this map is found in the files of the Harriett Shepherd Room at the Springfield Public Library.

<sup>4</sup>"Map of the Battle Field of Wilson's Creek, Surveyed & Drawn by N. Boardman, Capt. Battery M, 2d Mo. Light Arty.," NR, RG 77.

that "the plan of the battlefield of Wilson's Creek, Mo. is in my office in a single copy and a duplicate will be forwarded as soon as it is finished."<sup>5</sup>

Some five weeks later, on October 31, Captain Hoelcke mailed to the Chief Engineer a "Map of the Battlefield of Wilson's Creek, Mo." The subject map was based on the Boardman Map, but it was drawn by a professional draftsman and rendered. A scale of four inches to the mile is indicated. Certain minor details were omitted from the Hoelcke Map, i.e., John Ray's outbuildings, Sharp's orchard and cornfield, and the dwelling and outbuildings associated with the enclosed field on the Telegraph road, midway between Sharp's and Terrell Creek. More important, the Sharp house and outbuilding are given a different location in respect to each other; the road alignment and the positions of Dixon's house, outbuilding, and field in the area south of the confluence of Terrell and Wilsons Creeks, while having the same relation, are positioned farther down Wilsons Creek. A copy of the Hoelcke Map accompanies this report.<sup>6</sup>

F. The "Battles and Leaders" Map

The editors of Battles and Leaders of the Civil War included a map to supplement the articles appearing in Volume I, describing the

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<sup>5</sup>Hoelcke to Chief Engineer, Sept. 22, 1865, NA, RG 77, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Engineer.

<sup>6</sup>"Map of the Battlefield of Wilson's Creek, Mo., Wm. Hoelcke Captain & Adl. A. de C., U.S.A. Chief Eng. Dept. of the Mo.," NA, RG 77.

Wilson's Creek battle. The draftsman who prepared this map, seemingly had access to both the Hoelcke and Boardman drawings. Several farm roads and traces have been omitted, along with conventional symbols identifying the Ray and Manley dwellings and the house north of the Telegraph road, midway between the Ray house and Wilsons Creek. The size of Ray's cornfield has been slashed; the troop movements simplified; and less detail provided pertaining to the Seccessionists' camps.<sup>7</sup>

G. Colonel Snead's Map

To supplement the chapters describing the battle in his monograph, Col. Thomas L. Snead included a map titled, "The Battle-Field of Wilson's Creek." On this schematic map are shown major physical and cultural features, such as Wilsons Creek; Skegg's Branch; Terrell Creek; Gilson's Mill and mill pond; the Sharp, Ray and Manley houses; Bloody Hill; Ray's cornfield, and the Fayetteville (Telegraph) road. Conventional symbols are employed to indicate a scattered growth of timber. A marginal note reads, "Most of the ground was covered with dense undergrowth which is not depicted in the sketch."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>"Battle of Wilson's Creek or Oak Hills, August 10th, 1861," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Robert V. Johnson & Clarence C. Buel (editors), 4 vols. (New York, 1884-87), Vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas L. Snead, The Fight for Missouri From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon (New York, 1886), opposite page 273.

H. Capt. W. E. Woodruff's Map

Captain Woodruff evidently relied heavily on General Pearce's Map for the physical and cultural features found on the "Field of Battle of Oak Hill, August 10, 1861," which is found in his With the Light Guns. The only vegetative features shown are the cornfield, where the Confederate battled Plummer's battalion, and two fields south of Sharp's, where General Steen's cavalry division camped.<sup>9</sup>

I. General Sigel's Map

There is on file in the Map Collection in the Harriett Shepherd Room of the Springfield Public Library, a drawing titled, "Battle of Wilson Creek, Position and Movement of Troops as Shown by Map of Gen. F. Sigel." Found on this map are the major physical features, i.e., Wilsons Creek, Skegg's Branch, Terrell Creek, several smaller water courses, a spring, and Bloody Hill. Hachures are employed to locate commanding elevations. Certain cultural features are depicted--the Old Wire (Telegraph) road, a road ascending Skegg's Hollow, the C. B. Manley, J. A. Manley, Gibson, Guinn dwellings, and house to which Lyon was taken after his death (the Ray house)--are located and identified. The Sharp house and Edwards cabin are located but not labelled. Gibson's Mill is identified but positioned on the wrong side of Wilsons Creek.

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<sup>9</sup>W. E. Woodruff, With the Light Guns in '61-65 (Little Rock, 1903), opposite page 41.

Sigel's Map fails to address itself to the vegetative cover.<sup>10</sup>

J. The Russell and Axon Map

In 1926 Russell and Axon prepared a "Map Showing Location of Troops, Wilson Creek Battlefield. From Records and Sketches Filed by Gen'ls Sigel, McCulloch, Maj. Sturgis, etc." On his 1928 visit to the battlefield with local historian Lewis E. Meador, War Department Historian Lt. Col. H. L. Landers reviewed this document.

Found on this map, in addition to the troop movements, camps, hospitals, headquarters, etc., are certain cultural features--the Old Wire (Telegraph) road, Ray House ("Where Lyon's Body Was Taken"), and a symbol for the C. B. Manley house, labeled "Hospital." Among the physical features depicted are Wilsons Creek, Schuler Creek (Skegg's Branch), Terrell Creek, most, if not all, the intermittent water-courses, the ford where the Telegraph road crossed Wilsons Creek, and a number of springs.

Except for locating Ray's cornfield, the Russell & Axon Map fails to convey any data on the 1861 vegetative cover.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>"Plat of Battle of Wilson Creek: Position and Movement of Troops as Shown by Map of Gen. S. Sigel," Harriett Shephard Room, Springfield Public Library.

<sup>11</sup>"Map showing location of Troops, Wilson Creek Battlefield. From Records and Sketches Filed by Gen'l S. Sigel, McCulloch, Maj. Sturgis, etc." by Russell & Axon, Civil Engineers, Harriett Shephard Room, Springfield Public Library.

#### IV. NINETEENTH CENTURY ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BATTLEFIELD

##### A. The Lovie Drawings

There was no Matthew B. Brady to record on glass plates the Trans-Mississippi battlefields. Consequently, the earliest known photographs of the area date to the early 1880s. There was, however, an artist and illustrator present at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861, who made pencil drawings of the battle. His name was Henri Lovie, and he dashed off several sketches, which were published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.

One of these depicts the charge by Col. Elkanah B. Greer's South Kansas-Texas Regiment against the Union right and rear some 500 yards northwest of the Bloody Hill sinkhole. In the distance can be seen the Ray's House. From the high ground, behind the Union battle line, the terrain slopes down into Wilsons Creek. As to be expected, only a few scattered trees are found in the area across which the Texas Rangers surged. To the northwest in the area held by Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon's right are a number of large trees. As the ground falls away into the Wilsons Creek bottom, the trees become more numerous. There is little or no underbrush in that direction. Totten's battery and its supporting infantry are posted at the edge of an area, where there is considerable undergrowth.

The high ground east of Wilsons Creek is timbered, except for the Ray house clearing.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Charge of the Rebel Cavalry during the Battle of Springfield" from a pencil drawing by Henri Lovie, courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

The second Lovie drawing, titled the "Death of General Lyon" provides considerable detail on vegetative cover. On this section of Bloody Hill, there is found a scattered growth of timber, and little or no underbrush. According to Lovie's marginal notes, for the engraver, the timber consisted of "small oak trees from 15-25 feet high, scattered." On the high ground east of Wilsons Creek, the artist locates a Rebel battery, Woodruff's Pulaski Arkansas Artillery. The hillside, where the Confederates have unlimbered their guns, is wooded. Lovie's marginal notes concerning the hillside and battery reads, "Rebel Battery masked between the heavy brush, 4 fires."

In the distance beyond the Rebel camps, the hillsides east of Wilsons Creek and the high ground west of the Sharp house and south of Skegg's Branch are wooded.<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of other drawings and lithographs depicting incidents in the battle, generally featuring General Lyon. These were drawn by artists who had no personal knowledge of the topography and vegetative cover. To make matters worse, most of these artists failed to do much, if any, research on these subjects. A selection of these

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<sup>2</sup>"Death of General Lyon" from a pencil drawing by Henri Lovie, found in The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War (New York, 1960), pp. 88-89; telephone conversation with Robert Rainwater of the Print Division, New York Public Library, Dec. 19, 1977. The original drawing is the property of the New York Public Library.



drawings, lithographs, and paintings is found at the Library of Congress' Still Prints and Photographs Division. Among these are two 1862 drawings by F. O. C. Darley, engraved by H. B. Hall ("Genl. Lyon's Charge at the Battle of Wilson's Creek" and "Battle of Wilson's Creek. Fall of Genl. Lyon"); a third Darley drawing, engraved by V. Batch; the 1893 Kurz & Allison lithograph of the "Battle of Wilson's Creek"; the Currier & Ives lithograph titled the "Death of General Lyon at the head of his troops while successfully charging the rebel forces, at the Battle of Wilson Creek, Missouri, Aug. 10th, 1861"; and a drawing of the death of General Lyon from the Official Illustrated War Record.

B. Two Mid-1880s Photographs of the Battlefield

Two photograph of the area taken in the mid-1880s, more than two decades after the battle, supplement the articles on Wilson's Creek published in Battle and Leaders of the Civil War.

The photograph found on page 294, Vol. I, of the subject publication is captioned, "The Battlefield of Wilson's Creek as seen from behind Pearce's camp on the east side of the creek." This photograph, probably a montage, was taken from the high ground north of the C. Manley house and cemetery, near where the Pulaski Artillery unlimbered its four guns. Since there are no leaves on the trees, the photograph(s) were taken sometime between late October and mid-April. The only vegetative cover that can be identified is a skirt of

deciduous trees in the foreground; a belt of timber in the hollow through which the Telegraph Road passes; the wooded crest of Bloody Hill; and timber on the high ground behind the "Sharp House."

Between the photographer and the Telegraph Road hollow is a hayfield, haystack, and rail fence. In the distance the "Sharp House" is identified.<sup>3</sup>

The second photograph was taken from the high ground behind the Ray House and Gibson's Mill. The area at this time was under cultivation, and the photograph was made in the late summer or early autumn.

In the foreground are two men and a number of ricks. In the distance can be seen Bloody Hill and the Skegg's Branch hollow. Bloody Hill and the hollow are wooded, while there appears to be a field or a belt of open ground between Bloody Hill and the skirt of timber through which Wilsons Creek meanders.<sup>4</sup>

#### C. Turn of the Century Stereopticons

There are on file in the Harriett Shephard Room of the Springfield Public Library five stereopticon views of the battlefield, circa 1900,

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<sup>3</sup>Photograph, "The Battle-field of Wilson's Creek as seen from behind Pearce's Camp on the East Side of the Creek," found in Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup>Photograph, "'Bloody Hill' from the East. From a Recent Photograph," found in ibid., p. 298.

belonging to "Sihizes Views along the line of the Kansas City, Springfield & Memphis Railroad." The first of these is labeled the "Spot Where Lyon Fell." In the foreground is the pile of rocks that had been placed to mark the site, and four men. In the background can be seen the Steele dwelling (which had been erected on or near where the Sharp House stood in 1861). The area around the rock pile is barren, rocky, and sterile. The only vegetation in the immediate area is cactus, a poor stand of prairie grass, and some scattered undergrowth.<sup>5</sup>

The second stereopticon in the set is titled, "Road at Foot of Bloody Hill." This photograph was taken from the high ground south of Skegg's Branch. In the middle foreground can be seen Wilsons Creek, the ground on its east bank sloping rapidly upward to the plateau where General Pearce's Arkansas State Guard encamped. In the left background is seen the meadow in which units of the Missouri State Guard bivouacked from August 6-11, 1861. This meadow, at the turn of the century, was under cultivation and planted in corn.<sup>6</sup>

A third stereopticon is labeled, "Bloody Hill from Across Spring Creek." The photographer, in taking this view, stood on the high ground south of Skegg's Branch and pointed his camera north. Featured

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<sup>5</sup>Springfield Public Library Historic File, Historic Photographs, Wilson's Creek, "Spot Where Lyon Fell."  
<sup>6</sup>ibid., "Road at Foot of Bloody Hill."

is the southern slope and crest of Bloody Hill. The only vegetation seen on the lower two-thirds of the slope is prairie grass and scattered clumps of low underbrush. Somewhere beyond the sinkhole and site of Lyon's death can be seen a narrow skirt of timber. Between this timber and the wooded crest of the hill is more open space.<sup>7</sup>

The fourth stereopticon in the collection is titled, "Wilson Creek." In taking this view the photographer stood on the west bank of the creek and aimed his camera northeast. The width of the stream leads to the conclusion that the reach featured is part of the Gibson's Mill impoundment. On either side of the creek are large deciduous trees. The amount of underbrush on the west bank is minimal.<sup>8</sup>

The final view in the series is labeled, "Wilson Creek, Camp of Arkansas Troops." From a position above the stream, near the mouth of Skegg's Branch, the photographer focused his camera upstream. Two men, one wading the creek, are featured in the foreground. The banks of the stream slope gently to the east and west, and are timbered. Most of the trees seem to be about 20 to 30 feet in height, with a scattering of forest giants. There is a limited amount of undergrowth.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., "The Bloody Hill from Across Spring Creek."

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., "Wilson Creek."

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., "Wilson Creek, Camp of Arkansas Troops."

V. THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES AS DESCRIBED BY VETERANS,  
TRAVELERS, AND HISTORIANS

The "After Action Reports" of the participants, their journals, letters, and reminiscences contain references to the physical and cultural features of the battlefield. So do the accounts of the several war correspondents that accompanied General Lyon's column on August 9 and 10, 1861. The best of these accounts provide only a limited amount of detail regarding the environment. As to be expected, these veterans, in their writings, were more concerned with life and death, tactics, rations and clothing, their friends and the enemy, and victory and defeat. Information regarding the historic scene must be extracted from these sources and pieced together like a jigsaw puzzle.

As to be expected, in the months and years following the battle, the area became a much visited historic site. Several of these visitors wrote of what they saw and experienced.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century historians, such as Wiley Britton and John McElroy, were Civil War veterans and able to communicate with Wilson's Creek participants. Information collected was incorporated in their monographs. It is upon these diverse sources and the archeologist that the documentation for this section of the Wilson's Creek Historical Base and Vegetative Cover Map is founded.

A. Section Nos. 13 and 14, Township 28 North, Range 23 West (One Mile North of Map)

1. The Grand Prairie

The southern limit of the Grand Prairie encompassed the north one-half of Section No. 13 and the northeast quarter and the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of Section No. 14, Township 28, Range 23 West. This was about one mile north of Elias Short's house.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly a quarter of a century after the battle, Bvt. Brig. Gen. William M. Wherry recalled that, on the evening of August 9, General Lyon marched "out to the west on the Little York road until joined by Sturgis' command from their camps, when they turned to the south across the prairie."<sup>2</sup>

Local historians Return I. Holcombe and W. S. Adams reported that, "The whole Federal column now moved unmolested and in tolerable order to the high open prairie east of Ross' spring and about two miles from the battleground."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Plat of Township 28 North, Range 23 West of the 5th Principal Meridian, June 28, 1838" NA, RG 49.

<sup>2</sup>William M. Wherry, "Wilson's Creek and the Death of Lyon," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, edited by Robert V. Johnson & Clarence C. Buell, 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1887), Vol. 1, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup>Return I. Holcombe & W. S. Adams, An Account of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, or Oak Hills, Fought Between the Union Troops Commanded by Gen. N. Lyon, and the Southern or Confederate Troops under Command of Gens. McCulloch and Price on Saturday, August 10, 1861, in Greene County, Missouri (Springfield, 1883), p. 40.

Maj. Samuel D. Sturgis reported that, no Confederates in view, the Federals abandoned their position on Bloody Hill and retired "slowly to the high open prairie about 2 miles from the battleground."<sup>4</sup>

B. Section No. 23, Township 28 North, Range 23 West

1. The Elias B. Short House and Outbuildings

The E. B. Short house and one outbuilding are located and identified on both the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps. In 1966 Contract Archeologist Dr. Robert T. Bray located and excavated the Short house site. Upon doing so, he found the limestone remains of the chimney stack and hearth. Extending from the stack east and west were reasonably aligned foundation stones. The house site measured about 20 feet from out to out.

Bray and his people next excavated the root cellar, which they found about six feet north of the chimney foundation. Efforts to pinpoint the barn were unsuccessful.<sup>5</sup>

Like his neighbor John Ray, Elias "Uncle Ben" Short was a Unionist. Although he belonged to the Home Guard before the battle of Wilson's Creek and subsequently served an enlistment in the 72d Regiment Missouri Militia, he and his family were not immune to requisitions by Union quartermasters. A number of years after the war, he filed and submitted claims to be reimbursed for his losses.

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<sup>4</sup>The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 73 Vols. in 128 parts (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. III, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup>Robert T. Bray, An Archaeological Survey and Excavation at Wilson's Creek Battlefield National Park, Missouri (Columbia, 1967), pp. 136-46.

On November 10, 1879, the 59-year-old Short swore that, in late August or early September 1862, while he was home on furlough, a score of soldiers entered his 18-acre field and began shucking corn and thrusting the ears in sacks and blankets. When challenged, they told Short that they belonged to Brig. Gen. Egbert B. Brown's command, which was camped nearby, and gave him receipts.

In November 1862, he continued, Brig. Gen. Francis J. Herron's division camped at Moody's Spring(s), some 2-1/2 miles to the south of his farm. While there, the troops requisitioned about 200 bushels of corn, giving Mrs. Short a voucher for 40 bushels at 50 cents per bushel, signed by 1st Lt. H. W. Pettit, Acting Division Quartermaster.

When no action was taken by the Government on this claim, Short resubmitted it with a second affidavit, asking to be compensated for 75 bushels of corn at 50 cents per bushel requisition from him on August 10, 1861, by Sebastian Enbert, Regimental Quartermaster of the Third Missouri Infantry.

After the battle, Short noted, he became a refugee and had accompanied Sigel's column on its retreat from Springfield to Rolla. Once again, his claim was rejected.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. The Short Fields

We know from information found in Elias Short's claims against the Quartermaster Department for damages and data collected by the enumerator for the 1860 Agricultural Census that he had 50 acres under

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<sup>6</sup>Elias B. Short's Claims for Loss of Corn, NA, RG 92, Claim No. 114/259.



cultivation. We do not know, however, the whereabouts or the configuration of these fields, beyond that they were located in the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter and the southwest quarter of Section No. 23.

### 3. Commanding Ridge South of Short's Branch

Major Sturgis reported that "After crossing a ravine and ascending a high ridge, we came in full view of a considerable force of the enemy's skirmishers."<sup>7</sup>

On the morning of August 10, as the Third Louisiana was forming on its color line, Sgt. William H. Tunnard recalled, "a puff of smoke arose from a clump of trees northwest of our position, followed by another accompanied by the ugly scream of shot and their sudden, dull thud into the ground."<sup>8</sup>

This information leads to the conclusion that the ridge, south of Short's Branch and north of the hollow in which James Cawthorn's brigade of the Eighth Division, Missouri State Guard, was camped, supported a scattered growth of timber.

### 4. Wooded Hollow North of "Bloody Hill"

Capt. James Totten of Battery F, Second U.S. Artillery, reported that, in the hollow at the Short farm, Union "skirmishers found those of the enemy, and the battle opened." Ascending the ridge beyond, the "left section of his battery, under Lieutenant Sokalski, was first brought to bear upon the enemy in the woods in front and shortly afterwards the other four pieces were thrown forward into battery to the right on higher ground."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 65  
<sup>8</sup>William H. Tunnard, A Southern Record: The Story of the Third Louisiana Infantry, C.S.A. (Dayton, 1970), p. 51.  
<sup>9</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 73.

C. Section No. 24, Township 28 North, Range 23 West and the Southeast Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section No. 23, Township 28 North, Range 23 West

1. Wilsons Creek

Wilsons Creek, General Wherry recalled, "was fordable at all points but in places the banks were steep and high."<sup>10</sup>

2. A Correspondent's View of the Confederate Camps

A war correspondent for the St. Louis Daily Democrat reported that "we soon came in sight of the valley in which they [the Rebels] were encamped. A thousand tents stretching off in the distance and partially screened from view by a hill jutting into the angle of Wilson Creek were before us, presenting as animated an appearance as a young city. The enemy's camp extended from the head of the valley, overlooked on north, east, and west sides by hills and ridges two or three hundred feet in height southward about a mile, thence eastward a mile and a half, and then southward half a mile, following the windings of. . . [Wilsons] Creek, along whose banks the gently sloping hills on each side afforded the most excellent camping ground."<sup>11</sup>

3. Gibson's Mill, Mill Race, Dams, House, etc.

John M. Gibson's mill, house, dam No. 1, and other structures are located and identified on the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps. Writing of the battle in 1886, Col. Thomas L. Snead, Maj. Gen. Sterling Price's acting adjutant-general in 1861, recalled that, "A mile further up

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<sup>10</sup>William M. Wherry, "The Campaign in Missouri and the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Publications of the Missouri Historical Society, (St. Louis, 1880), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup>Daily Democrat, Aug. 15, 1861.

the creek, on the northern slope of Bloody Hill, was Rains, with Cawthorn's Brigade of mounted Missourians; his camps extended northward as far as Gibson's mill."<sup>12</sup>

In 1966 Contract Archeologist Bray investigated these features, the surface vestiges of which had disappeared or been forgotten, except by a few long-time residents. After careful preliminary investigation, Bray and his crew found and excavated the mill site, located on the left bank of Wilsons Creek and extending into the stream. The portion of the mill, consisting principally of heavy timbers underwater, had failed to burn when the structure was destroyed by fire in the late nineteenth century. The dry land parts consisted of massive stone foundations, the base of a chimney, a few charred timbers, and numerous artifacts.<sup>13</sup>

Archeologist Bray and his crew were able to trace out the open trench headrace which carried water from dam No. 1 to turn the mill's wheel. The 3,862-foot race crossed from the west to the east side of Wilsons Creek on a timber trestle supported sluice. They were also able to pinpoint, investigate, and identify the long forgotten sites of dams Nos. 1 and 2.<sup>14</sup>

On a "gravelly second terrace 150 yards northeast of the mill," the archeologists found and excavated a house site. The site corresponded to the location of the Gibson house as shown on the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps. Although the alignment of the foundation

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<sup>12</sup>Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, p. 260.

<sup>13</sup>Bray, *An Archaeological Survey and Excavation*, pp. 62-77.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid*; pp. 91-112.

stones had been disrupted in the more than 40 years that had passed since the house was destroyed by fire, Dr. Bray was able to determine that the structure was frame and faced east. It was possibly two stories, with a door on the east and a brick chimney next to it on the south. There was a limestone walled cellar under the northeast wall and probably a cistern or well 60 feet west of the back door.<sup>15</sup>

In August 1967, Dr. Bray returned to the area and excavated a site which he assumed to be a root cellar. It was about 60 feet southwest of the Gibson house site. Although a number of artifacts were found, Dr. Bray theorized that, although it was intended to be a root cellar, the structure was never completed.<sup>16</sup>

John M. Gibson had purchased for \$2,200, the mill, the house, and other improvements, along with the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of Section No. 23, Township 28 North, 23 West, from W. L. A. Robertson on October 20, 1859. He paid \$1,000 in cash and gave three notes for the balance, one for \$650 falling due on December 25, 1859, a second for \$600 to be paid on December 25, 1860, and the third for \$600 to be retired on Christmas 1861. The last of these was paid on August 17, 1863, and Gibson given a clear title to the property by James A. Robertson and Thomas Haywood, the administrators of the W. L. A. Robertson estate.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 112-23.

<sup>16</sup>Robert T. Bray, Wilson's Creek Revisited: An Account of the 1967 Excavations (Columbia, 1967), pp. 185-87.

<sup>17</sup>Greene County Reed Book L, pp. 639-40; Probated Estate of W. L. A. Robertson, File 5180, Greene County Courthouse Springfield, Mo. Robertson had died by January 23, 1860.

#### 4. Dense Growth of "Chaparral" Paralleling Gibson's Mill Pond

Capt. Joseph B. Plummer reported that he overtook Capt. Charles C. Gilbert's Company B, First Infantry, deployed as skirmishers "in a deep jungle, where he had been checked by an impassable lagoon [mill pond]. Much time was consumed in effecting the passage of the obstacles. The battalion, however, finally emerged in good order. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

Testifying before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Plummer (now a colonel) reported that his battalion was driven from Ray's cornfield by an overwhelming force which turned his left. "I had a creek behind me," he stated, "with a dense chaparral bordering it on both sides which was almost impenetrable, except in one or two places."<sup>19</sup>

Historian Wiley Britton, writing in 1890, noted that, "On the extreme Federal left, Captain Plummer moved his battalion of Regular Infantry in a line along a ridge until it terminated in the valley through which Wilson Creek runs. The creek runs along near the foot of the ridge, forming a kind a lacuma, which was impassable at that point and for thirty or forty yards above and below. Along the bank of the stream too, directly in his front there was an almost impenetrable thicket."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>James Peckham, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, and Missouri in 1861: A Monograph of the Great Rebellion (New York, 1866), p. 380.

<sup>20</sup>Wiley Britton, The Civil War on the Border: A Narrative of Operations in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and the Indian Territory, 2 Vols. (New York, 1890), Vol. I, p. 90.

5. John Gibson's Oatfield

Col. Lewis Hébert of the Third Louisiana reported that as the Third Louisiana emerged "from the corn field the regiment found themselves in a naked oat field, where a battery [Du Bois'] on the left opened upon us a severe fire."<sup>21</sup>

Historian Britton reported that the Third Louisiana and Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles climbed the fence "and pushed on through the corn and oat field almost at a double quick and were making considerable havoc in Captain Plummer's little command when Captain DuBois, whose battery was about one hundred yards to the left of Totten's battery, turned his gun upon the enemy. . . ." <sup>22</sup>

6. The Edgar Cemetery

The Edgar Cemetery is in the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section No. 24, Township 28 North, Range 23 West, on land owned by the Edgars at the time of the battle.

According to John W. and LeMerle W. Cockrum, known burials in the cemetery are:

Edgar, Cartha J., Aug. 29, 1849, wife of John F.

Edgar, infant, son of J. F. and M. E. born and died, Feb. 21, 1882.

Edgar, Hubert Elmer, son of J. F. and M. E., July 10, 1894-  
Nov. 13, 1895.

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<sup>21</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 113.

<sup>22</sup>Britton, Civil War on the Border, Vol. 1, p. 91.

Edgar, J., wife of \_\_\_\_\_, June 19, 1847.

Edgar, Jannie L., child of J. F. and C. J., Sept. 22, 1884-  
Nov. 18, 1904.

Edgar, John F. M., Aug. 13, 1846-Oct. 5, 1912.

Edgar, Susannah, June 16, 1872, wife of J. J., born 1817.

Edgar, J. J., born 1790 died March 1852.

Gouch, Elisha C., son of E. R. and S. J., Feb. 22, 1860-July 17,  
1880.

Gouch, Elisha R., March 28, 1834-Dec. 13, 1907.

Gouch, Sarah J., wife of E. R., Dec. 22, 1831-Jan. 15, 1901.

White, Elzira R., wife of Trulove, Oct. 26, 1822-Jan. 17,  
1905.<sup>23</sup>

D. Section No. 26, Township 28 North, Range 23 West

1. "Bloody Hill"

- a. As Described by Union Officers in Their "After Action  
Reports"

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<sup>23</sup>John W. & LeMerle W. Cockran, Cemeteries of Greene County  
(Strafford, Mo., 1966), Vol. II, p. 24.

Majs. John M. Schofield and Samuel D. Sturgis separately wrote that Captain Totten was compelled to bring his battery "into action by section and by piece, as the nature of the ground would permit (it being covered with much undergrowth), and played upon the enemy's lines with great effect."<sup>24</sup>

Major Sturgis observed that the Rebels "now rallied in large force near the foot of the slope, and under considerable cover opposite our left wing."<sup>25</sup>

Captain Totten reported that the "battle was raging in thick woods and underbrush to the front and right of the position occupied by my battery."<sup>26</sup>

Continuing, Captain Totten wrote, near the end of the fighting, the left battalion of the First Iowa was rushed "to support our brave men still in action, while two pieces of my battery were in advance on their right. The last effort was short and decisive, the enemy leaving the field and returning down through the valley, covered by thick underbrush, to the right of the center of the field of battle towards their camp on Wilson's Creek."<sup>27</sup>

Lt. Col. George L. Andrews of the First Missouri was wounded in the fighting on Bloody Hill. Near the close of the engagement, he was sent to the rear by the regimental surgeon. Soon thereafter, Andrews

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<sup>24</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 61, 66. Majors Schofield and Sturgis each filed "After Action Reports," on August 20. The phraseology found in these reports is identical in numerous instances.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-75.



saw the Union infantry, in three columns, "emerge from the timber into the small cleared space between myself and our recent line of battle."<sup>28</sup>

Lt. John V. Du Bois reported that large numbers of Rebels "now collected in a ravine [Skegg's Branch] in front of our center. By using small charges I succeeded in shelling the thicket but could not judge of the effect of my fire."<sup>29</sup>

b. As Described by Confederate Officers in Their After Action Reports

Brig. Gen. John B. Clark of the Third Division, Missouri State Guard, in describing the fighting on Bloody Hill, called attention to the "thick brush timber."<sup>30</sup>

Brig. Gen. Mosby M. Parsons of the Sixth Division, Missouri State Guard, wrote that as the troops moved from their camp, their "route of necessity was through thick undergrowth for nearly half a mile. After getting that distance an open space was reached in which my battery (Guibor's) could be brought to bear with effect upon the foe, he having appeared with strong force [within] musket-range on my front."<sup>31</sup>

After abandoning the summit in response to General Price's orders, General Parsons' troops marched to take position near the center of the Confederate main line of resistance on Bloody Hill. "While retiring down the slope in the direction of Price's battle line, a regiment of the enemy's infantry, which had been supposed to

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>30</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 423.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 431.

be our friends rushed out of the underbrush to the left of [Parsons'] rear and about forty yards distant. . . ."32

Col. John R. Gratiot of the Third Arkansas State Troops reported that during the morning, Brig. Gen. N. Bart Pearce ordered his regiment to march to the point of danger, attacking "a battery and large force" of Federals then forming on the west "side of Wilson's Creek, on the ridge, and in the woods."33

c. As described by War Correspondents

The correspondent for the New York Tribune wrote, "Passing over a spur of high land which lies at the north end of the valley, they entered a valley and began to ascend a hill, moderately covered with trees and underwood, which was not, however, dense enough to be any impediment to the artillery."34

Henri Lovie, a Frank Leslie's artist, wrote of the attack by Col. Elkanah B. Greer, "The greatest danger to our troops was at the time when a regiment of rebel cavalry charged from the woods toward our baggage and ambulance trains. Only one company of cavalry, Captain Wood's rangers and two companies of the Second Kansas Regiment were on the spot to meet them. They formed immediately, and coolly prepared for the attack. Captain Totten, U.S.A. Artillery seeing the danger galloped four guns, under cover of the brushwood, into a position unseen by the advancing enemy, and opened on them at 500 yards. This fire raked them from the flank, and was terribly

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32Ibid., p. 432.

33Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 123.

34New York Tribune.

effective throwing them into disorder and forcing them to retreat."<sup>35</sup>

d. As Described in a Participant's Journal

Lt. John V. Du Bois reported that his battery followed Steele's battalion into action. "Not finding any orders for me, selected a cross-road where there is a ford for my position."

Du Bois observed that the "underbrush was so thick that a line of troops came up within twenty yards of my guns before I saw them, and nearly carried my guns."

The trees, he wrote, "had been stripped of all their lower branches by shot of the enemy, and everything was covered with blood."<sup>36</sup>

e. As Recalled by Union Veterans

More than a score of years after the battle, General Wherry wrote that east of Wilsons Creek, "the hills assume the proportion of bluffs; on the right or western bank the ground is a succession of broken ridges, at that time covered for the most part with trees and a stunted growth of scrub oaks with dense foliage, which in places become an almost impenetrable tangle. Rough ravines and deep gullies cut up the surface."<sup>37</sup>

During the Bloody Hill fighting, Wherry recalled, "General Lyon started as if to confront them [a mounted party of State Guard,

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<sup>35</sup>Henri Lovie, dispatch appearing in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Aug. 31, 1864, p. 250.

<sup>36</sup>Journal and Letters of Col. John Van Deusen Du Bois," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LXI, pp. 29, 30, 31.  
<sup>37</sup>Wherry, "Wilson's Creek and the Death of Lyon," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 291.

among whom were recognized General Price and Maj. Emmett MacDonald], ordering his party to 'draw pistols and follow' him when the aide protested against his exposing himself to the fire of the line which was partly concealed by the mass of dense underbrush. . . ."38

Soon thereafter, Wherry wrote, "A murderous fire was opened from thick brush, the 2d Kansas deployed rapidly to the front and with the two companies of the First Iowa swept over the hill. . . ."39

Pvt. Eugene F. Ware of the First Iowa recalled, "We took a position of the ridge, and the country seemed alive on both our right and left. Wilson's Creek was in our front, with an easy descending hillside and a broad meadow before us, in which about five acres of Confederate wagons were parked, axle to axle. The hills bore some scattering oaks, and an occasional bush, but we could see clearly, because the fires had kept the undergrowth eaten out, and the soil was flinty and poor. Since that time [Ware's book was published in 1907] a large portion of the country has been covered with a very dense thicket of small oaks. But in those days, the few trees were rather large, scrawling, and straggling, and everything could be distinctly seen under them all around."40

Continuing, Ware wrote, "on the edge of the meadow toward us, and between us, was a low rail fence; the enemy rallied under the shelter of it. . . ."41

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Eugene F. Ware, The Lyon Campaign in Missouri: Being a Brief History of the First Iowa Infantry. . . (Topeka, 1907), pp. 316-317.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 318.

Samuel Crawford of the Second Kansas Infantry recalled that General Lyon and Colonel Mitchell were moving "straight toward a thicket of underbrush and scattered oak trees, when a volley was fired from the thicket; Lyon was killed, and Mitchell was wounded."<sup>42</sup>

After Lyon's death, Crawford continued, "our three companies speedily drove the enemy out of the bushes.

As soon as the enemy was driven out of the brush we wheeled our companies into line with the regiment, to face a brigade of McCulloch's troops advancing upgrade on our front. The Rebels having been driven out of the timber and underbrush, and our three companies having wheeled back into line with the regiment, Lieutenant Gustavus Schreyer, of Tholen's company, took a detachment of his men and removed General Lyon's body and all the wounded to the rear. Then Schreyer was stationed with a part of Tholen's company at the edge of the timber, near where Lyon fell. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

Subsequent to Lyon's death, Captain Crawford wrote, "Steadily the Rebel line advanced, and as soon as it reached the open ground in front, Totten's battery spoke with no uncertain sound, and Du Bois' immediately followed. About the same time a Rebel battery away in the rear opened on the Second Kansas with shell which tore through the tops of the scrub oak-trees over our heads."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Samuel Crawford, Kansas in the Sixties (Chicago, 1911),

p. 32<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-33.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

f. As Recalled by Confederate Veterans

Colonel Snead remembered that, "Between Skegg's Branch and the ford cross Wilson's Creek, the valley through which the [Telegraph] road passes is quite narrow, and the road runs within a few yards of the stream. Toward the west a hill, since known as Bloody Hill, rises gradually from the creek to the height of nearly a hundred feet, its sides deeply seamed with ravines, and dented here and there with sinkholes. At this time it was densely covered with undergrowth through which was interspersed a species of scrub-oak (black-jacks), and near its summit the rock cropped out in many places."<sup>45</sup>

The opposing battle lines on Bloody Hill, Colonel Snead wrote, "were not more than three hundred yards apart, but they were entirely concealed from each other by the intervening foliage."<sup>46</sup>

Colonel Snead recalled that Lyon's body was resting "under the shade of an oak. . . , still clad in the captain's uniform which he had worn just two months before."<sup>47</sup>

Pvt. Joseph A. Mudd was assigned to Burbridge's Regiment of the Third Division, Missouri State Guard. He recalled that "we camped at the foot of what our work four days later inspired Colonel John T. Hughes, of Slack's division, a soldier in and the historian of Doniphan's Expedition, to christen 'Bloody Hill'." Clark's and Parsons' divisions had always camped together. Our camp was now immediately west of the Fayetteville [Telegraph] road, and that of

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<sup>45</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 259.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 294.

Parsons' just east of it on the north branch of Skegg's Branch, a short distance above where it emptied into Wilson's Creek."<sup>48</sup>

Mudd remembered that "large black-oak trees grew all over the field, but on Bloody Hill the probable average space between them was fifty yards, with dense undergrowth between two and three feet high, and here and there bare spots covered with flint stones."<sup>49</sup>

Sgt. Samuel B. Barron of the South Kansas-Texas Cavalry Regiment recalled that, when Colonel Greer ordered a charge, "we dashed down the rough rocky hillside at a full gallop right into the face of that solid line of well-armed and disciplined infantry."<sup>50</sup>

Lt. Col. James A. Pritchard of the Missouri State Guard recalled that the enemy was concealed in the "brush, tall grass and weeds. I ordered our men to lie down until he unmasked himself."<sup>51</sup>

Sgt. William Watson of the Third Louisiana recalled that on the opposite side of Wilsons Creek from the regiment's camp "were several grassy ridges the principal of which terminated in a hill about half-a-mile from the creek. This hill, near the top, was covered with stunted or scrub oak trees, and it bore the name of

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<sup>48</sup>Joseph A. Mudd, "What I saw at Wilson's Creek," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. VII, January 1913, No. 2, p. 93.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>50</sup>Samuel B. Barron, The Lone Star Defenders: A Chronicle of the Third Texas Cavalry, Ross Brigade (New York, 1908), p. 46.

<sup>51</sup>Robert S. Bevier, History of the First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigades, 1861-1865: and from Wakarusa to Appomattax, A Military Anagraph (St. Louis, 1879), p. 46.

'Oak Hill.' On the grassy ridges, forming the spurs of the hill, Price's division[s] encamped."<sup>52</sup>

g. As Described by a Visitor in February 1862

Pvt. Ephraim McD. Anderson of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade visited Bloody Hill on February 13, 1862, six months after the battle. "The trees," he wrote, "bore evidence of hard fighting many of them being marked by artillery, and none but some of the smallest bushes had escaped the fire of the small arms."<sup>53</sup>

h. As Described by Late 19th and Early 20th Century

Historians

Writing of the battle in 1883, Holcombe and Adams recorded that "Capt. Totten's battery came into action by section and by piece, as the nature of the ground would admit, it being wooded, with much black-jack undergrowth. . . ."<sup>54</sup>

According to Holcombe and Adams, "The place where Lyon fell was afterward called 'Bloody Point.' A heap of stones marks the spot to this day."<sup>55</sup>

Editor-historian McElroy, of the National Tribune, wrote, "above Skegg's Branch rises a hill, since known as Bloody Hill, nearly 100 feet high. Its sides were scored with ravines, the rock comes to

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<sup>52</sup>William Watson, Life in the Confederate Army: Being the Observations and Experiences of an Alien in the South During the American Civil War (New York, 1888), p. 210.

<sup>53</sup>Ephraim McD. Anderson, Memoirs: Historical and Personal; Including the Campaigns of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade, edited by Edwin C. Bearss (Dayton, 1972), p. 142.

<sup>54</sup>Holcombe & Adams, Battle of Wilson's Creek, p. 33.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 37.



the surface in many places, and the height was thickly covered with an overgrowth of scrub-oak. There are other eminences and ravines generally covered with scrub-oak and undergrowth."<sup>56</sup>

2. The Bald Knob (Hill)

General Parsons, after a bitter 30-minute fight, saw the Federals break contact and retire toward "the summit of the high ridge toward the northwest and about half a mile distant." He thereupon ordered his artillery and infantry to advance and occupy this ground, which he deemed the key to the Yankees' Bloody Hill line. Just as the Missourians were nearing the "summit of the ridge," Parsons encountered the head of a Union infantry column "marching along the ridge from the north." Before Guibor's cannoneers could unlimber their guns, a squad of Missourians "rushed for some large oaks immediately in front of the enemy, and from behind the trees with their common hunting rifles. . . at the first fire turned the head of their column and caused it to fall back under the cover of the timber and the thick underbrush."<sup>57</sup>

Brig. Gen. James H. McBride recalled that his Seventh Division, Missouri State Guard, "recrossed the ravine and passing in rear of General Parsons' battery [Guibor's], the Second Regiment passed to the extreme right and took position behind a bald knob and between the enemy's and Woodruff's battery."<sup>58</sup>

Private Anderson of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade recalled that on his February 13, 1862, visit to "Bloody Hill that up

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<sup>56</sup>John McElroy, The Struggle for Missouri (Washington, 1909), pp. 154-55.

<sup>57</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 431.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 435.

near the bald hill, in a dense thicket of undergrowth, we discovered a corpse, which had been overlooked in burying."<sup>59</sup>

E. Section No. 25, Township 23 North, Range 23 West

1. John Ray's Cornfield and Brushwood Between it and the Telegraph Road

a. As Described in Confederate "After Action Reports"

Brig. Gen. Benjamin McCulloch reported that, on the morning of August 10, the Third Louisiana and Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles were ordered to the front. After passing the Pulaski Artillery, the column turned to the left, and soon engaged the enemy. Col. James McIntosh dismounted the Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles, and they and the Third Louisiana "marched up abreast to a fence around a large corn field, when they met the left of the enemy already posted." The Confederates, "notwithstanding the galling fire poured upon them" leaped over the fence and routed Plummer's Regulars from the field.<sup>60</sup>

Colonel McIntosh wrote that, advancing through a terrible fire, his regiment (the Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles) came up with the Third Louisiana. Whereupon, he dismounted his "men, and ordered them to face to the left and attack the right of the enemy. I led them through a dense thicket to a fence surrounding a corn field, where we became closely engaged with the enemy."<sup>61</sup>

On Saturday morning, August 10, Colonel Hébert formed his Third Louisiana, and, in accordance with instructions from

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<sup>59</sup>Anderson, Memiors: Historical and Personal, p. 142.

<sup>60</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 105.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. III.

Colonel McIntosh, marched from his camp. The Telegraph road was followed "a short distance to a narrow by-road flanked on both sides by the thickest kind of underbrush and on one side by a rail fence. This road led to a corn field." While Hébert was deploying his regiment, the foe opened fire from a distance of 15 paces upon his vanguard. As soon as the regiment had completed its deployment, Colonel McIntosh ordered an advance. "The enemy," Colonel Hébert recalled, "was posted behind a fence and in the corn field. The companies moved up bravely, broke the enemy, pursued them into the corn field, and routed them completely."<sup>62</sup>

Lt. Col. S. M. Hyams of the Third Louisiana reported that, "after forming with the regiment and marching to the thicket and corn field. . . , on the order of the charge in the thicket, I dismounted and went on foot with the command in the charge.

"After crossing the fencing and running the enemy through the corn field, where the enemy's artillery were showering grape [sic] and shell, with heavy fire of minie' muskets," I met General McCulloch.

In this fight "in the bushes and corn field," the regiment behaved well and there were no slackers.<sup>63</sup>

Maj. William F. Tunnard, who commanded the left battalion of the Third Louisiana, assisted in getting his people into position. They then "charged the enemy through the bushes to the corn field" and beyond.<sup>64</sup>

Major Tunnard of the Third Louisiana reported that he "assisted in deploying the regiment in a thick oak underbrush to the left of

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 113.  
<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 115.  
<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

the [Telegraph] road, and before we were in the field ten minutes we were fired on by the enemy, who were ambushed in a corn-field behind a fence."

After Colonel McIntosh ordered the charge the men rushed "to the fence," and Plummer's Regulars gave way. During the pursuit Major Tunnard "was with the left wing, cheering them on until we reached an open field."<sup>65</sup>

b. As Described in Union "After Action Reports"

Major Schofield reported that Captain Plummer's battalion of Regulars found their advance east of Wilsons Creek "arrested by a large force of infantry occupying a corn field in the valley in front." Plummer's people encountering "overpowering resistance from the large mass of infantry [the Third Louisiana and Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles] in the cornfield on his front and in the woods beyond was compelled to fall back; but at this moment Lieutenant Du Bois' battery, which had taken position on our left flank, supported by Major Osterhaus' battalion, opened upon the enemy in the corn field a fire of shells."<sup>66</sup>

Major Sturgis used identical words to describe the cornfield fight, with exception of the closing phrases, which read, Plummer, "meeting with overpowering resistance from the large mass of infantry [the Third Louisiana and Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles] in the corn field on his front and in the woods beyond, was compelled to fall

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<sup>65</sup>Major Tunnard's "After Action Report," undated, is found in William H. Tunnard, A Southern Record: The Story of the Third Louisiana Infantry C.S.A., edited by E. C. Bearss (Dayton, 1970) p. 59.

<sup>66</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 60-61.

back; but at this moment Lieutenant Du Bois' battery, which had taken position on our left flank, supported by Captain Steele's battalion, opened upon the enemy in the corn field a fire of shells with such marked effect as to drive him in the utmost confusion and with great slaughter from the field."<sup>67</sup>

Captain Plummer reported that, after his Regulars crossed Gibson's mill pond, they entered "the corn field to the left" of the Union force advancing across Bloody Hill.<sup>68</sup>

Capt. Clark Wright of the Missouri Home Guard reported that General Lyon called his attention to the Rebels (Rains' cavalry) "occupying the ridges and corn fields on the left [east of Wilson's Creek], asking me if I could drive them back." Whereupon, Wright's and Switzler's companies "took position on the left and immediately in front of the corn fields."

Wright's people charged and drove the State Guard "from the brush into the upper corn field. The second [cornfield] was by the right of my command, making through the fence at the upper end of the corn field, under Capt. Switzler, the left under my immediate command to the left of the corn field, with a right wheel, forming a cross fire and a junction with the right, telling fearfully on the enemy and resulting in a rout and abandonment of the field. The squadron then retired to the left and occupied a high hill for observation."

A later advance placed Wright's and Switzler's Home Guard companies "south of the second or large corn field [Ray's], and

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 66.  
<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

immediately back of their hospital, at the mouth of the ravine leading to the left."<sup>69</sup>

c. As Described in a Participant's Journal

Lieutenant John V. Du Bois recalled that the "ground [on Bloody Hill] we occupied we had taken from the [Rebels]. The hills were quite high on either side, descending to the creek. The corn field [Ray's] was the only level ground on the entire battlefield. The First Missouri led into battle, driving everything before them. Major Osterhaus on the right supported the Missouri [ans], and drove the enemy from our right flank. Four companies of regulars (Plummer's battalion) pushed forward on our left and. . . (formed) line in front of the corn field. Our regulars on the left marched forward steadily until they entered the corn field."

Continuing, Lieutenant Du Bois wrote, Plummer's Regulars, having forded Wilsons Creek "drove the enemy across a corn field to the timber beyond. The enemy, reinforced by a regiment, drove us back in turn. They were ten to one now. Seeing this, I turned my guns upon them. A few rounds of spherical case defeated them with some loss."<sup>70</sup>

d. As Recalled in Old Soldiers' Reminiscences

In 1866 Sgt. William H. Tunnard of the Third Louisiana Infantry wrote that, on August 6, the regiment "encamped near Wilson's Creek nine miles from Springfield. The position was as follows: We were on a hillside, at whose western base flowed a stream (Wilson's Creek) the hill sloping away north and east, along which ran the main

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<sup>69</sup>Clark Wright's "After Action Report" found in the Daily Democrat for August 22, 1861.  
<sup>70</sup>Journal and Letters of Col. John Van Deusen Du Bois," Missouri Historical Reveiw, Vol. LXL, No. 1, pp. 20-23.

road to Springfield. Opposite our encampment west and northwest rose in a gradual slope a succession of hills extending as far as the eye could reach. The hillside northwest [Bloody Hill] was about three quarters of a mile distant, the intervening space being covered by corn fields in the valley formed by Wilson's Creek. On the north was a slight rise beyond the ravine, covered as usual with a dense undergrowth of black jack and hazel, skirting a large and open corn and hayfield."<sup>71</sup>

On the morning of the 10th, Sergeant Tunnard recorded, the regiment moved out and "quickly entered the ravine north of our encampment, marching in close columns of companies, and approached the corn field already described." As the regiment "advanced through the dense undergrowth towards the open field," it came under a scathing fire from Plummer's battalion "posted behind the fence, while our position among the bushes rendered it almost an utter impossibility to obtain a good view of them."

After a bitter fire fight Tunnard continued, the Confederates "rushed on the foe with fixed bayonets," and as the Third Louisiana "reached the fence," they blazed away. They next climbed "over the fence," and charged "across the field."<sup>72</sup>

General Wherry, in 1880, recalled that the ground held by "the Confederates was quite advantageous as a defensive position; on the left [east] bank of the stream was an open corn field, surrounded by a dense chaparral, which grew down to the banks of the stream,

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<sup>71</sup>Tunnard, A Southern Record, p. 49  
<sup>72</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.

and beyond the field abrupt hills."<sup>73</sup>

Writing of the battle for Battles and Leaders, some years afterwards, General Wherry recalled that Plummer's battalion, on the left, soon became "separated from the main body by a deep ravine terminating in a swampy piece of ground [Gibson's mill pond] beyond which lay a corn field which he entered, encountering a large force, the main part of which was the Louisiana regiment. These troops fought with determined valor and checked Plummer's progress. Du Bois' battery was moved up to a hill on the left. . . and opened a deadly fire with shells upon the corn field."<sup>74</sup>

In a companion article in Battles and Leaders, General Bart Pearce of the Arkansas State Guard wrote, "The fighting at this juncture perhaps about 7 o'clock was confined to the corn-field. . . [east] of Wilson's Creek, where the Louisiana infantry, with Lieutenant Colonel Embry's Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles (dismounted), all under the immediate command of Colonel McIntosh, effectually charged and drove back the enemy."<sup>75</sup>

In 1888 former First Sgt. William Watson of Company K, Third Louisiana, recalled that, on the morning of August 10, after moving out "we now got to a road that led across some level land, which was covered with a low copse of brushwood. The skirmishers were now

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<sup>73</sup>Wherry, "The Campaign in Missouri and the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Publications of the Missouri Historical Society, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup>Wherry "Wilson's Creek, and the Death of Lyon," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 292.

<sup>75</sup>N. Bart Pearce, "Arkansas Troops in the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 300.



ordered to deploy in front, and fight their way up to a rail fence which formed the boundary between the copse and the cornfields beyond where the enemy [Plummer's battalion] was forming his line. The road led to the cornfields, and a large part of the rail fence had been taken down to allow of the carting away of the corn which had been already gathered.

"The copse was low and easily got through," and it did not stand "higher than our shoulders."<sup>76</sup>

At the turn of the century, Capt. W. E. Woodruff of the Pulaski Artillery reported that, "A considerable force of the enemy was observed in the corn field near one-half mile immediately north of our position."<sup>77</sup>

e. As Described by Late 19th & Early 20th Century Historians

Historians Holcombe and Adams noted, in their detailed 1883 history of the battle, that "Plummer's battalion had advanced along the ridge about 500 yards to the left of the main Federal position, and had reached the terminus of this ridge, when he found his further progress arrested by a force of infantry (a portion of McCulloch's division), which was occupying a cornfield (Mr. Ray's) in the valley."<sup>78</sup>

Describing the fight in Ray's cornfield, Holcombe and Adams wrote that the field was enclosed by a fence. This struggle, they continued, "was one of the severest of the day, and when it was ended

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<sup>76</sup>Watson, Life in the Confederate Army, pp. 211-212.  
<sup>77</sup>Woodruff, With the Light Guns, p. 41.  
<sup>78</sup>Holcombe & Adams, Battle of Wilson's Creek, p. 33.

many a corn blade and stalk and tassel had been torn with bullets, and many a dead man lay in the farrows."<sup>79</sup>

Writing of the battle in 1909, John McElroy of the National Tribune noted that "Capt. Gilbert moved forward rapidly until he came to Wilson's Creek, where his skirmishers were stopped by swamps and jungles of brushwood, when Capt. Plummer caught up with him, and the whole battalion finally crossed the creek and advanced into a corn field."<sup>80</sup>

Captain Plummer, McElroy continued, pushed "his Regulars through the corn and oat fields toward the battery [the Pulaski] which he wanted to take, and was within 200 yards of it when Capt. McIntosh saw the danger and rushed up the 3d La. and 2d Ark. against Plummer's left. The Regulars made a stubborn resistance for a few minutes, but their line was enveloped by the long line of the two regiments, and fell back across the creek."<sup>81</sup>

General McCulloch's biographer, Victor M. Rose, reported that the general ordered the colonel of the Third Louisiana to "lead your men out!

"As the regiment deployed into position a puff of smoke arose from a clump of trees to the northwest, followed by another, and accompanied by the angry scream of shot. The line was formed on the edge of a corn field, in front of a column of United States Regulars, and the musket firing between the two opposing lines was

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>80</sup>McElroy, The Struggle for Missouri, p. 167.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

deafening. . . . The enemy were posted behind a rail fence. . .

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2. Wooded Area East and Southeast of Ray's Cornfield

After Du Bois' battery began hammering with shot and shell the Third Louisiana, Colonel Hébert called for his men "to fall back to a wooded ground higher up to the right [east and southeast]."83

3. The Ray House and Outbuildings

The Ray house, although it was an important area cultural feature, is mentioned in only one of the "After Action Reports" filed by battle participants, and he fails to identify it by name. Lieutenant Du Bois reported that, after the Rebels had been driven from the fields east of Wilsons Creek by the enfilade fire of his four guns, they "rallied behind a house on the right of their line. I struck the house twice with 12-pounder shot, when they showed a hospital flag."84

The structural history of the Ray house and outbuildings have been documented in Edwin C. Bearss' The Ray House: Wilson's Creek Battlefield National Park (Washington, 1968).

In 1974-75 the Ray house site was investigated by a team of archeologists led by Robert T. Bray of the University of Missouri. Efforts were made to pinpoint locations of structures associated with the Ray house by "intensive inspections and thorough coverage with a metal detector. Suspected sites inside the protective wire fence [erected in the early 1970s by the Park Service] were not covered

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82 Victor M. Rose, The Life and Services of Gen. Ben McCulloch (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 140.

83 Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 113.

84 Ibid., p. 80.

with the detector." A review of creditable documentary evidence and oral histories satisfied Dr. Bray and his people that there were two, and possibly four, outbuildings, not counting the spring house, associated with the Civil War era.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4. Open Field Near John Ray's House

Major Tunnard, after the Third Louisiana was driven from the oat field by the fire of Du Bois' battery, rallied and re-formed his battalion "in an open field, where they were again shelled by Union Artillery." He then formed his men "under cover of a hill in a field."<sup>86</sup>

#### 5. The Telegraph (Wire) Road

The Telegraph road, linking Springfield and Fayetteville, is found on both the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps. Colonel Snead, writing of the battle more than a score of years afterwards, noted, "The road from Cassville, on which McCulloch was advancing toward Springfield (known also as the Fayetteville, or Telegraph Road), crossed both Tyrel's [sic] Creek and Skegg's Branch just above their mouths. After crossing the latter, it runs northward along the western bank of Wilson's Creek nearly a mile, and then, crossing the creek at a ford, turns northeastward toward Springfield."<sup>87</sup>

The Telegraph road, Private Ware of the First Iowa recalled, was the "main thoroughfare southwest from Springfield, through Cassville,

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<sup>85</sup>Robert T. Bray, Inventory and Evaluation of the Archaeological Resources, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Missouri (Columbia, 1975), pp. 7-12.

<sup>86</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 116.

<sup>87</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 259.

Keitsville [sic], and down to Fayetteville, Ark. It was "rocky and full of flints, while the clay of the road was red and washed."<sup>88</sup>

To identify all sections of the Telegraph road within the Park, preparatory to its restoration and maintenance as a historic trace, will require further archeological investigation in the vicinity of the quarry and possibly other areas.

#### 6. Farm Roads and Trails

A number of farm roads and trails are found on the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps.

#### 7. Road Paralleling East Side of Wilsons Creek and Connecting Gibson's Mill with the Telegraph Road

Colonel Snead recalled that there was "a road leading down the east side of the creek from Rains' H. Q. to the Ford, at which the Telegraph Road crosses the creek."<sup>89</sup>

#### 8. The Springfield-Fort Smith Telegraph Line

The subject telegraph line paralleled the Springfield-Fayetteville road, and led to its designation as the Telegraph or Wire road. Wherever possible the insulators, to which the wires were secured, were affixed to convenient trees. Elsewhere the single wire was positioned on poles.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Ware, The Lyon Campaign, p. 271.

<sup>89</sup>Snead to Snyder, Oct. 14, 1885, Snyder Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>90</sup>Ware, The Lyon Campaign, p. 271; The Diary of Benjamin F. McIntyre, 1862-1864, edited by Nannie M. Tilley (Austin, 1963), p. 20.

9. House, Fences, and Orchard on Bluff Between Telegraph Road and Ray's Branch

The Boardman and Hoelcke Maps locate a house or cabin on the eminence north of the Telegraph road. The structure is sited on a rectangular lot enclosed by a rail fence. Between the bluff and the watercourse draining southwest from the Ray house into Wilsons Creek is a fenced orchard. Neither Captains Boardman nor Hoelcke identified the house's occupants.

In 1848 the tract on which these improvements are located (the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter) was purchased from the General Land Office by Elbert Rose. By 1870 George Neavitt owned and resided on the subject 80 acres.

In 1966 Archeologist Bray reconnoitered and excavated the eminence, and at a point 100 feet southwest of the knoll overlooking the Wilsons Creek bottom a "relative abundance of stoneware and china" was found. Also uncovered were "ten limestone blocks which were almost certainly foundation stones."<sup>91</sup>

10. Cow-Yard and the William B. Edwards' Cabin

Colonel Snead recalled that Price's headquarters were "pitched in sort of a cow-yard by a little farm house down in a hollow."<sup>92</sup>

In his history of Ross' Texas Brigade, Victor Rose wrote, "At four o'clock, on the morning of the battle. . . McCulloch rode over

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<sup>91</sup>Bray, An Archaeological Survey and Excavations, pp. 29-38.  
<sup>92</sup>"Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 577.

to Price's headquarters, which were pitched in a sort of cow-yard by a little farm house down in a hollow."<sup>93</sup>

Several years later, when veteran of the battle Rose wrote his biography of General McCulloch, he noted, "The party of officers rose from the breakfast table [at Price's headquarters], and looked up from the cow yard, in which General Price's camp was pitched, to where the hills were rising, line on line above them, and in the clear morning perspective they saw Totten's battery unlimbered on the top of a hill, less than three quarters of a mile distant."<sup>94</sup>

The Boardman and Hoelcke Maps locate a structure on the right bank of Wilsons Creek and west of the Telegraph Road, adjacent to General Price's encampment. In August 1967 Archeologist Bray investigated the site. After first identifying traces of the Telegraph Road adjacent to where it forded Wilsons Creek, the archeologists dug two trenches forming a "T", at the probable location. Here were found artifacts that could be associated with a mid-nineteenth century house site. No foundation stones were found, but, if they had ever existed, Dr. Bray theorized, they had been removed by persons subsequently cultivating a field which was otherwise free of large rocks.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Victor M. Rose, Ross' Texas Brigade: Being a Narrative of Events Connected with its Service in the Late War between the States (Louisville, 1881), p. 27.

<sup>94</sup>Rose, Life and Services of Gen. Ben McCulloch, p. 139.

<sup>95</sup>Bray, Wilson's Creek Revisited, pp. 191-194.

11. Camps Occupied by Infantry Units of McBride's, Parsons', Clark's, and Slack's Divisions, MSG

Brig. Gen. J. H. McBride of the Seventh Division, Missouri State Guard, identified his camp on the morning of August 10. It was on the "west side of the [Telegraph] road leading from Fayetteville to Springfield, and about halfway between the crossing of the creek and Sharp's residence."<sup>96</sup>

Colonel Snead recalled that, "between Skegg's Branch and the ford across Wilson's Creek, the valley through which the [Telegraph] road passes is quite narrow, and the road runs within a few yards of the stream. In the narrow valley between the base of . . . [Bloody Hill] and the creek were bivouacked all the infantry of Price's command, except Weightman's Brigade. Price's quarters were on the road, and about five hundred yards south of the ford. McBride, Slack, Clark, and Parsons occupied the ground between his quarters and Skegg's Branch."<sup>97</sup>

12. Timbered Area North of Bluff Occupied by the Pulaski Arkansas Artillery

Lt. Col. Benjamin T. Embry of the Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles was at breakfast, when "the regiment was surprised by the opening of the enemy's batteries on the western heights of Oak Hills." At the call of the bugle, the regiment rallied, mounted, and formed on their colors. As Colonel McIntosh was at General McCulloch's headquarters,

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<sup>96</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 435.  
<sup>97</sup>Snead, Fight for Missouri, pp. 259-60.



Colonel Embry "marched the regiment to the timber north of Captain Woodruff's battery, to shield them from the fire of the enemy's batteries on the west, and dismounted them."<sup>98</sup>

13. Bluff Occupied by the Pulaski Arkansas Artillery

General Pearce of the Arkansas State Guard recalled that, on being alerted to the Federals' approach, "Captain Woodruff's Little Rock (Ark.) battery was ordered to occupy a hill commanding the road to Springfield, and the 3d Arkansas Infantry was ordered to support him. I placed Captain Reid's Fort Smith (Ark.) battery on an eminence to command the approaches to our right and rear and gave him the 5th Arkansas Infantry as a support. I then advanced the 4th Arkansas Infantry north of this battery to watch the [Manley House] ravine. . . ." <sup>99</sup>

Colonel Snead recalled that General Price "was greatly aided from the beginning by Woodruff, who had with true soldierly instinct, thrown his pieces into battery on the bluff east of the ford, at the sound of Totten's guns, and opened on Lyon a fire which checked his advance and gave the Missourians time to reach Cawthorn's position and form a line of battle there."<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 111.

<sup>99</sup>Pearce, "Arkansas Troops in the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>100</sup>Snead, Fight for Missouri, p. 274.

Captain Woodruff reported, "A considerable force of the enemy was observed in the cornfield near one-half mile immediately north of our position."<sup>101</sup>

Captain Totten observed that, "as the position of the enemy's guns was masked, the gunners of my pieces were obliged to give directions to their pieces by the flash and smoke of the opposing artillery."<sup>102</sup>

#### 14. Caleb S. Manley House and Manley Cemetery

The Caleb S. Manley house is found on both the Boardman and Hoelcke Maps. According to the records of the General Land Office, Caleb Manley, on November 13, 1865, purchased from the United States for \$14 the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of Section No. 25, Township 28 North, Range 23 West. The Manleys had been living on the subject 80 acres for some time before they acquired fee title.

At the probable house site, the spring has been covered by a small impoundment. The limestone slabs, according to Archeologist Bray, on the ground immediately north of the pond and west of the small branch may be associated with the Manley house.

On the high ground southwest of the house site is the Manley Cemetery. A flagged pathway provides access to the cemetery from the abandoned Missouri Pacific Railroad right-of-way. Of the 57 visible grave markers, most are unfinished limestone slabs, some of which may be graves of Confederate soldiers. Eight of the markers are inscribed:

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<sup>101</sup>Woodruff, *With the Light Guns*, p. 41.

<sup>102</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 73.

Caleb Manley	February 3, 1802	November 16, 1872
Rebecca Manley	November 21, 1809	January 28, 1893
D. C. Prunty	December 29, 1882	July 26, 1895
Martha Ann Manley	January 30, 1855	August 16, 1884
Ardela A. Jennings	February 14, 1838	September 16, 1903
Oda Watham Howe	1895	1896
Ernest Alva Howe	1899	1900
Pearl Howe	1905	1905 <sup>103</sup>

Cockran and Cockran, in their Cemeteries of Greene County, identified two other burials in the graveyard:

John Earl Black	September 24, 1904	June 9, 1905
W. S. Jennings	May 12, 1829	September 10, 1902 <sup>104</sup>

F. Section No. 35, Township 28 North, Range 23 West

1. Timbered Area to the West and Northwest of Sharp's Fields

The cavalry belonging to the Sixth Division, Missouri State Guard, was taken by surprise by Sigel's attack. Col. William Brown failed to rally his men in Sharp's fields "under this murderous fire." The Missourians then retired "to the timber to the west, and from that point moved northward" toward Skegg's Branch.<sup>105</sup>

On the morning of August 10, Col. Thomas J. Churchill's First Arkansas Mounted Rifles were preparing breakfast in Sharp's fields, when Sigel's battery opened fire upon their camp. "Being in an open

<sup>103</sup>Bray, Inventory and Evaluation of the Archaeological Resources, pp. 29-40. D.C. Prunty served in Company K, 40th Missouri Infantry.

<sup>104</sup>Cockran & Cockran, Cemeteries of Greene County, Vol. II, p. 1<sup>105</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 433.

field," Churchill reported, "and exposed to raking fire of grape and shell, and not supported by any of our own batteries, I fell back to the woods, and there formed my regiment."<sup>106</sup>

Colonel Sigel saw that the Confederate cavalry was re-forming in and around their tents. To exploit his success, he "ordered the artillery to be brought forward from the hill and formed them in a battery across the valley, with the Third and Fifth regiments to the left and the cavalry to the right. After an effective fire of half an hour the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills."<sup>107</sup>

General Pearce recalled that the Rebel cavalry, when routed from their camps by the fire of Sigel's cannon, fled "to an adjacent wood."<sup>108</sup>

Capt. Eugene A. Carr led Company I, First U.S. Cavalry, across Wilsons Creek, crossing at the ford below the mouth of Terrell Creek. When he reported to Colonel Sigel, Carr was told to take position and cover the brigade's left, as it advanced north toward the Sharp place. Reaching their assigned position, Carr's horsesoldiers kept "in line with the advance along the road. After advancing a short distance," which Carr believed to be "within about half a mile to the Fayetteville crossing, and over a mile from where we first engaged,

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<sup>106</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 109-110.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>108</sup>Pearce "Arkansas Troops in the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 301.

the command encountered a concealed battery [the Fort Smith Artillery] on or near the Fayetteville [Telegraph] road, into which ours had forked. The action was hot," and Carr "could see but little, being mostly in the timber to the left with my company."<sup>109</sup>

On the retreat to Moody's Spring, Carr's command was "fired on from a bushy hill-side."<sup>110</sup>

2. Joseph D. Sharp's Dwelling, Barn, Outbuildings, etc., Adjacent Roads, and Vegetative Cover Found on Either Side of Skegg's Branch

Col. Franz Sigel, in his "After Action Report," noted that his brigade "struck the Fayetteville [Telegraph] road, making our way through a large number of cattle and horses until we arrived at an eminence used as a slaughtering place, and known as Sharp's farm. On our route we had taken about 100 prisoners, who were scattered over the camp.

"At Sharp's place, I formed the troops across the [Telegraph] road, by planting the artillery on the plateau and the two infantry regiments on the right and left across the road. . . ."<sup>111</sup>

Some 20 years later, Sigel recalled, "We now turned back into the road, and advancing made our way through a number of cattle near Sharp's house, and suddenly struck the Fayetteville road. . . ."

After he had deployed his brigade on the "plateau near Sharp's," Dr. Samuel H. Melcher, who was "in advance on the road to Skegg's

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<sup>109</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 89.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>111</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 87.

Branch," reported that "Lyon's troops were coming up the road and that we must not fire."<sup>112</sup>

During the wild retreat from Sharp's, Colonel Sigel recollected, "the 3d Missouri Infantry and one piece of artillery, followed the road [to Dixon's farm] we came, while the left consisting of the 5th Missouri Infantry and another piece, went down the Fayetteville road, then, turning to the right (north-west), made its way toward Little York and Springfield."<sup>113</sup>

Dr. Melcher, an assistant surgeon in the Fifth Missouri Infantry of Sigel's brigade, recalled that, when the unit took position astride the Telegraph road at Sharp's, "armed men, mostly mounted, were seen moving on our right in the edge of the timber." When the Fort Smith Artillery opened fire with canister, Dr. Melcher wrote, "that there was a great deal of noise as shot struck the fence and trees."<sup>114</sup>

Capt. Otto C. B. Lademann of the Third Missouri (Union) wrote, in 1913, "After about half an hour we advanced on the western road to its junction with the great Springfield or Fayetteville road, about three-quarters of a mile due north till we arrived at Sharp's house situated on the cliff at Skegg's Branch which entered. . . Wilson's Creek only a hundred yards further north near the crossing of the Springfield road. Up to the time we had left the cavalry in a large open field,

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<sup>112</sup>Franz Sigel, "The Flanking Column at Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 305.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.  
<sup>114</sup>Melcher to Holcombe, undated, found in Holcombe & Adams, Battle of Wilson's Creek, pp. 46-47.

we had been in line on their left flank.<sup>115</sup>

"Reaching the bluff on Skegg's Branch, in front of the Sharp house. . . we were formed by Col. Sigel," Captain Lademann continued. "The ground we occupied," he recalled, "was very wooded and you could scarcely see ahead."<sup>116</sup>

Sergeant Tunnard of the Third Louisiana recalled that part of the regiment followed General McCulloch "with steady regular tread along the valley [of Wilsons Creek], crossing around the base of the hill, over the creek [Skegg's Branch] where the road took an abrupt turn westward, and ascended a precipitous rocky hill" to the Sharp place.

"As the men reached the protection of the hill on which the battery was stationed, and ere an order had been given, a man stepped from behind the shelter of a huge oak on its summit." After a brief pause, the Louisianans "scaled the rocky hill side" and came abruptly on Sigel's guns.<sup>117</sup>

Sergeant Watson of the Third Louisiana remembered that Sigel's "battery was situated on a piece of high tableland overlooking and commanding a large part of the field, with a steep bank in front. The [Telegraph] road led along the bottom of this bank, which was covered with trees and brushwood."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Otto C. B. Lademann, "The Battle of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861," War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (Milwaukee, 1914), Vol. IV, p. 434.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., pp. 434-435.

<sup>117</sup>Tunnard, A Southern Record, pp. 52-53.

<sup>118</sup>Watson, Life in the Confederate Army, p. 220.

Immediately in the rear of the captured battery, Watson wrote, "was a pretty substantial farm house with some extensive barns and outhouses. All the buildings were. . . riddled by the shot."<sup>119</sup>

Sergeant Barron of the South Kansas-Texas Cavalry Regiment recalled that, on August 6, "We came to the premises of a Mr. Sharp, situated on the right hand or east side of the [Telegraph] road. Just beyond his house, down the hill, the creek crossed the road and ran down through his place, back of his house and lot. On the left hand or west side of the road were rough hills covered with blackjack trees, and considerable underbrush. Before coming to his dwelling we passed through his lot gates down in rear of his premises. . . ." <sup>120</sup>

Colonel Sigel, Snead wrote, drove the Rebel Cavalry "out of the valley in which they were encamped and into the thick woods that fringed the banks of Skegg's Branch and covered the hills that rose on either side of that little stream."<sup>121</sup>

Between Sigel's brigade at the Sharp house, Colonel Snead recalled, "and the valley, in which their foes were gathering, stood a dense wood through whose luxuriant undergrowth no eye could pierce. Now and then a skirmisher, or an adventurous officer, would make his way to the bluff which overhung the little stream (Skegg's Branch), and catch sight of the smoke that darkened Bloody Hill. . . ." <sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>120</sup>Barron, Lone Star Defenders, pp. 40-41.

<sup>121</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 272.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 279.



Rebel cavalry was camped, Historians Holcombe and Adams wrote, on "Sharp's farm, which runs up to the county line, on which stands Mr. Sharp's house.

"Marching forward Sigel struck the Cassville [Telegraph] road, making his way through a number of cattle and horses, and arriving at an eminence, which had been used as a slaughter-yard by McCulloch's men. This was on Sharp's farm and near the house."<sup>123</sup>

### 3. The Search for the Site of the Sharp House

By 1867 Joseph and Mary M. Sharp were living in Howell Country, Missouri. In February of that year, they purchased from Hezekiah and Clarissa Blankenship for \$50 the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter of Section No. 35, Township 28 North, 23 West.<sup>124</sup>

In June the Sharps sold to William and Nancy Egner for \$950 the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter, the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter, and the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section No. 36, Township 28 North, Range 23 West; and the north half of the northwest quarter of Section No. 35, Township 28 North, 23 West.<sup>125</sup>

Soon thereafter, Joseph and Mary Sharp sold to Samuel Ferguson for \$1,250 the northeast quarter of Section No. 35, Township 28 North, Range 23 West.

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<sup>123</sup>Holcombe & Adams, Battle of Wilson's Creek, p. 41.  
<sup>124</sup>Christian County Deed Book 1, p. 540, Christian County Courthouse, Ozark, Mo.  
<sup>125</sup>Christian County Deed Book 2, pp. 81-8, Christian County Courthouse, Ozark, Mo.

The Sharp house and other improvements, in 1861, were located in the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of Section No. 35, Township 28 North, Range 23 West.<sup>126</sup> The house is said to have been burned subsequent to the battle.

In 1974-75 the Robert T. Bray archeological expedition investigated the area in an effort to identify the site of the Sharp house and its configuration. The archeologists were unable to determine the "precise location" of the structure(s) in a surface survey "due to the dense grass cover at the site and the presence of remains of later buildings (the Steele farm) which tend to obscure and confuse the situation."<sup>127</sup>

#### 4. Joseph D. Sharp's Fields

##### a. As Described in "After Action Reports" and Diaries

Thomas Jefferson Jobe of the First Arkansas Mounted Rifles wrote in his diary, on August 6, "Today we moved two miles, north of Moodys Springs and camped in a field 1/2 mile east of the telegraph road to Springfield on 'Wilson's Creek' a little muddy creek wandering from west to east through what is known as the Spur of the Ozark Mountains. This camp is 10 miles from the city of Springfield. The Southern Army being all at this camp, the whole country around for a mile or two looks like one solid camp, especially a little northwest of Mr. Sharp's residence on the hill south of Wilson's Creek."<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid., pp. 407-08.

<sup>127</sup>Bray, Inventory and Evaluation of the Archaeological Resources, p. 22.

<sup>128</sup>Diary, Thomas Jefferson Jobe, Aug. 6, 1861, Microfilm Records, University of Arkansas Library.

Col. Elkanah Greer's South Kansas-Texas Cavalry Regiment received orders, early on August 10, to report at the ford, where the Telegraph road crossed Wilsons Creek. The battle had been joined by the time Greer's people broke camp and moved out. Greer accordingly determined to cross at the ford, opposite the camp of General Pearce's Arkansas State Troops, and charge Sigel's battery on the bluff overlooking the confluence of Terrell and Wilsons Creek. "About half of the companies," Greer recalled, "had marched out of the field in which we had been encamped, when I found that the other companies did not move out."

By the time orders had been sent to have these companies report, the foe had "appeared in the field, and planted several pieces of artillery."<sup>129</sup>

General Pearce of the Arkansas State Troops, upon being alerted, deployed his command on the plateau east of Wilsons Creek. "Soon the enemy [Colonel Sigel's brigade] appeared in our rear in the field formerly occupied" by Colonel Churchill's First Arkansas Mounted Rifles. "They had infantry, cavalry, and artillery, but being some distance off," Pearce "was unable to determine the character of this force, as they displayed no flag until they marched across the field and had fired several rounds with their artillery."<sup>130</sup>

Capt. John P. Vigilini of the Third Louisiana reported that Colonel Sigel's troops, after being routed from their position at the Sharp house retreated "into a corn field, where they were followed by

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<sup>129</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 118.  
<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

our men and shot down as they attempted to escape."<sup>131</sup>

General Parsons, at the close of the battle, unlimbered Guibor's cannon to command the passes immediately to the rear, and the valley field to the south, where Colonel Sigel made his first attack in the morning."<sup>132</sup>

b. As Recalled in Reminiscences of Participants

Between Terrell Creek and Skegg's Branch, Colonel Snead wrote, "there is a considerable valley, partly wooded, lying between the Fayetteville [Telegraph] Road and Wilson's Creek. In this valley the mounted regiments of Greer, and Churchill and about seven hundred Missourians, under Lieutenant Colonel Major and Colonel Brown, went into camp."<sup>133</sup>

More than a score of years afterwards, Colonel Sigel recalled, after wading Terrell Creek, "we reached the south side of the valley which extends northward to Sharp's house, about 3,000 paces, and from west to east about 1,000. We took the road on the west side of the valley, along the margin of the woods, and within a fence running nearly parallel with the open fields."<sup>134</sup>

A large force of Rebel cavalry could be seen "forming across the valley, not far distant from its northern extremity," Sigel continued, and he halted his column on the road, sent for the four pieces left "on the other side of the creek, and as soon as their approach was

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>132</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 432.

<sup>133</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 259.

<sup>134</sup>Sigel, The Flanking Column at Wilson's Creek, "Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 304.

reported to me, I directed the head of our column to the right, left the road, and formed the troops in line of battle, between the road and the enemy's deserted camp--the infantry on the left, the artillery on the right, and the calvary on the extreme right, toward Wilson's Creek."135

After a "lively" 20-minute bombardment, Sigel wrote, the foe retired "in disorder toward the north and into the woods."136

When Sigel's artillery roared into action from its position on the commanding ground east of Wilsons Creek, Victor M. Rose recalled, the command, "to horse!" was given, and the South Kansas-Texas Cavalry Regiment "marched out into an open field to await orders from General McCulloch. In passing a rail fence, the second battalion of the regiment became cut off from the first. . . ."137

Sergeant Barron of the South Kansas-Texas Regiment recalled that, on the evening of August 6, we "camped in a strip of small timber growing along the creek. In the same enclosure, in front and south of us, was a wide, uncultivated field, with a gradual upgrade all the way to the timber back of the field. Here we lived on our meager rations for several days."138

On the morning of the 10th, Barron wrote, "our horses, having slipped their reins from the hands of the sleeping soldiers, were grazing in the field in front of the camp.

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135 Ibid.

136 Ibid.

137 Rose, Ross' Texas Brigade, p. 23.

138 Barron, Lone Star Defenders, p. 41.

"Captain [Frank M.] Taylor had ridden up to regimental headquarters to ask for instructions or orders, when the enemy opened fire upon us with a battery stationed in the timber just back of the field in our front."<sup>139</sup>

In 1866 Sergeant Tunnard of the Third Louisiana wrote that Sigel's men, after being routed from their position at the Sharp place "fled into a corn-field and along the road in the rear of their lost battery. . . ."<sup>140</sup>

Sergeant Watson of the Third Louisiana recalled that Sigel's infantrymen "were driven back by our fire, and they retreated away through some corn fields."<sup>141</sup>

5. Road Network South of the Sharp Place and East of the Telegraph Road

Captain Lademann of the Third Missouri marched with Sigel's column. After crossing Terrell Creek, he recalled, "we formed a line crossing two roads, running north."<sup>142</sup>

General Wherry wrote that Sigel's brigade, as it pressed ahead, "advanced from his first position near the creek, by a road west of the deserted camp" from which they had routed General Steen's cavalry.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>140</sup>Tunnard, A Southern Record, p. 53.

<sup>141</sup>Watson, Life in the Confederate Army, p. 220.

<sup>142</sup>Lademann, "The Battle of Wilson's Creek," p. 434.

<sup>143</sup>Wherry, "Wilson's Creek, and the Death of Lyon," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 294.

6. Moody's Spring(s)

Pvt. William W. Branson of the First Iowa Infantry noted in his diary on August 4, 1861, "We came today twelve miles on the backtrack & camped near Moody's Spring the strongest and nicest water I ever saw[.] Corn for supper tonight."<sup>144</sup>

The Confederate columns pursued the Federals up the Telegraph road. General Price reported that, on August 5, the Southern army marched from Crane Creek to "Moody's Spring, we were compelled to halt our forces, who were already nearly exhausted by the intense heat of the weather and the dustiness of the roads."<sup>145</sup>

Captain Woodruff of the Pulaski Artillery recalled that "on reaching camp at Moody's Spring, at night, the men all fell where they halted and went to sleep where they lay. . . ."<sup>146</sup>

Colonel Snead wrote that "McCulloch kept up the pursuit to Moody's Spring near Tyrel [sic] Creek."<sup>147</sup>

Pvt. Joseph Mudd of the Third Division, Missouri State Guard, recalled that the August 5 march, ending at Moody's Spring, "was perhaps the hardest ever made by an army expecting to meet the enemy in force, the whole army marched in close column, in lock step, eight abreast. The day was intensely hot. The road lay for the most part

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<sup>144</sup>William W. Branson, Diary, 1861-1862, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

<sup>145</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 99.

<sup>146</sup>Woodruff, With the Light Guns, p. 37.

<sup>147</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 258.

in a shallow canyon the heavy growth on either side shutting off the slightest motion of air. The dust was a foot deep, and every man was so thickly coated with it as to be not recognizable by his fellows. Not a drop of water could be had, and the thirst was almost maddening. The spring was a bold stream a dozen feet wide, issuing from the base of the hill."<sup>148</sup>

Confederate diarist Thomas Jefferson Jobe of the First Arkansas Mounted Rifles noted that on Monday, August 6, "We camped at Moody's Springs and in his fields around gathered forage for [the] horses."<sup>149</sup>

G. Section No. 36, Township 28 North, Range 23 West

1. Sigel's Hill Commanding the Encampments of the Confederate Cavalry in Sharp's Fields.

Colonel Sigel, coming out onto the escarpment overlooking Wilsons Creek, saw the Confederate cavalry's camps "spread out in our front and right." Four cannon were emplaced "on a little hill, whilst the infantry advanced towards the point where the Fayetteville road crosses Wilson's Creek."<sup>150</sup>

Some 20 years after the battle, Sigel wrote, "moving on, we suddenly found ourselves near a hill, from which we gained a full view of the [Rebels'] camp. We halted a few minutes, when I directed four pieces of our artillery to take position on the top of the hill,

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<sup>148</sup>Mudd, "What I Saw at Wilson's Creek," p. 93.  
<sup>149</sup>Diary, Thomas Jefferson Jobe, Aug. 5, 1861, Microfilm Records, University of Arkansas Library.  
<sup>150</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. III, p. 86.



commanding the camp."<sup>151</sup>

Lt. Col. James P. Major, whose cavalry battalion was camped in Sharp's fields, reported that Sigel's infantry fired "a heavy volley into us from the woods on the east side [of Wilsons Creek]."<sup>152</sup>

H. Section No. 1, Township 27 North, Range 23 West

1. The Wilsons Creek Ford at the John Dixon Place

Colonel Sigel recalled that "we crossed Wilson's Creek, took down the fences at Dixon's farm, passed through it and crossed Terrel (or Tyrel) Creek."<sup>153</sup>

I. Nearby Corn- and Wheatfields

1. Their Relation to the Rebel Camps

Colonel Snead recalled that, on August 6, the army camped on "Wilson's Creek, so as to be within reach of some ripening fields of corn."<sup>154</sup>

In 1909 Historian McElroy, paraphrasing Snead, wrote that the Confederates camped on Wilsons Creek, "because of its proximity to immense corn fields, which would supply the troops and animals with food."<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup>Sigel, "The Flanking Column at Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>152</sup>Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 425.

<sup>153</sup>Sigel, "The Flanking Column at Wilson's Creek," Battles and Leaders, Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>154</sup>Snead, The Fight for Missouri, p. 258.

<sup>155</sup>McElroy, The Struggle for Missouri, p. 154.

2. Cornfield North of John Ray's, Probably on the Susannah Edgar Farm

A war correspondent from the New York Tribune accompanied General Lyon's column. The 19th century Ernie Pyle wrote that "Capt. Wright and three or four companies [actually two] of mounted Home Guards, the only ones in the engagement, was sent to the left, across the creek, to cut off a party of horsemen visible on that side, near a house recently vacated by a Union man named Hale. Upon their approach, the Rebels retired behind the south fence of a cornfield and in the adjoining bush were soon visible swarms of men, whose fire threatened to be disastrous to the Home Guard cavalry, should they approach. Through the thin stalks of broom-corn, Capt. Wright had seen the ambush, and approached only near enough to draw their fire, when he withdrew, to induce them to follow him into the field."<sup>156</sup>

3. Field of "Wheat Stubble," Possibly Joseph Sharp's

On the evening of August 10, Captain Lademann recalled, "we were reconducted to the battlefield, arriving there near sundown. We were permitted to drink water, lying down at the edge of the creek, and then taken to the field of wheat stubble."<sup>157</sup>

J. The Burial of the Dead and Descriptions of the Sink Hole and Site of Lyon's Death

1. As seen and Recalled by Participants

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<sup>156</sup>New York Tribune.  
<sup>157</sup>Lademann, "A Prisoner of War: A Sequel to the Battle of Wilson's Creek," Wisconsin Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Vol. IV, p. 439.

Robert H. Dyer of the Missouri State Guard wrote his sister, on August 12, 1861, "So completely were they [the Federals] routed they could not take time to bury him [General Lyon], although they sent a white flag to ask for his body, but left him in an open house to be buried by any one, who would be so charitable; they had permission to bury their dead, and gather their wounded, the former they neglected to do, the latter in part."<sup>158</sup>

Early on Sunday morning, August 11, Sergeant Tunnard of the Third Louisiana was placed in charge of a burial detail. He recalled that "armed with shovel, pick-axe and spades, the detail proceeded to the principal point of the battle-field on" Bloody Hill. "The ground was still thickly strewn with the ghastly and mangled forms. Fifty-three bodies were placed in a single grave all gathered within the compass of one hundred yards. These were hastily covered with brush and stones."<sup>159</sup>

Captain Woodruff of the Pulaski Artillery recalled that, after the battle, "We remained in camp on the battlefield for two or three days. Lieutenant [Omer B.] Weaver's and [Pvt. Hugh] Byler's bodies were buried, but Weaver's was disinterred and sent to Little Rock for final burial."<sup>160</sup>

Robert Austin of Slack's Division, Missouri State Guard, remembered that the Confederate "dead were all carefully and decently buried upon the bank of Wilson Creek."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup>Robert H. Dyer to Lilia Dyer, Aug. 12, 1861, Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

<sup>159</sup>Tunnard, A Southern Record, p. 61.

<sup>160</sup>Woodruff, With the Light Guns, p. 49.

<sup>161</sup>Robert A. Austin, "Battle of Wilson's Creek," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, p. 48.

## 2. As Described by 1862 Visitors

Private Anderson of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade visited the battlefield on February 13, 1862, and saw "the sink-hole said to contain several hundred dead bodies; the earth thrown on top being partially washed away, the clothing and bones protruded in some places."<sup>162</sup>

Cpl. W. O. Gulick of the First Iowa Cavalry wrote his sister from Twin (Moody's) Springs on November 24, 1862, describing a visit to the battlefield. His letter read, "We arrived here Saturday [22d], yesterday I was baker for the day. And today (Monday) I have been washing and also visited the old Battle Grounds. The marks of that bloody conflict is distinctly visible in-as-much as skulls & human bones lay scattered about the field, and bullets mark nearly every tree. Some as large as my body has been cut off completely by canon shots. Though the canon Shots are not as large or numerous as those at Pea Ridge for there, and especialy on the Telegraph road trees are mown down as though it were done by the Tornado, the winds strong hand, & even the Telegraph pols were cut slick off by shots. On the centre of this (Wilson Creek) field is a huge pit formed by nature which was used for a grave and it is said nearly Two hundred are buried in it. The thin covering of Dirt has caved in which expose whole frames to the sight. Bones & hair have been pulled out by wolves, etc.

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<sup>162</sup>Anderson, Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 143.

I also added one stone to the pile that marks the spot where Gen. Lyon fell."163

On November 26, 1862, First Sgt. Benjamin F. McIntyre visited the site of General Lyon's death. While there, he wrote in his journal, "the place is marked by a huge pile of Stones. A notice on the spot requests of every Soldier visiting the place to haul one Stone--Stone is plenty near by and if this request could be carried out to any considerable extent the pile must soon be an immense one.

"A little clump of trees, five in number, but growing from the same clump only a few yards distant is where the Hero died.

"The battle seemed to have extended along this barren ridge for a distance of perhaps over half a mile and is [a] most desolate and lonely looking place where nature has lavished but few beauties. Yet this is a sacred spot.

"Our dead had been hastily disposed of judging from the number of bones and skulls of human beings I noticed scattered around. And in places I saw partial decayed bodies there being one pit into which many bodies had been thrown promiscuously and slightly covered with dirt. . . ."164

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<sup>163</sup>William O. Gulick, "The Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick," edited by Max H. Guyer, Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVIII, Oct. 1930, No. 4, pp. 572-73.

<sup>164</sup>McIntyre, Federals on the Frontier, p. 52.

K. The Disinterment and Reburial of the Union Dead in the Springfield National Cemetery

"The Union dead," Historians Holcombe and Adams wrote, "were put underground as soon as possible, and with but little ceremony. In an old well, near the battlefield, fourteen bodies were thrown. In a 'sink-hole' thirty-four of their bodies were tumbled. The others were buried in groups here and there, and the burial heaps marked. In many instances, a few Federal soldiers were present when the burials were made, and identified certain graves. Some of the bodies whose graves were so marked, were afterwards disinterred and removed to their former homes. A number of the Federal dead were never buried, this was particularly true regarding Sigel's men."<sup>165</sup>

In the winter of 1867-68 William Goodyear, agent for collecting the remains of Union dead from temporary burial sites in southwestern Missouri for reinterment in the Springfield National Cemetery, sent a party to Wilsons Creek. By February 6, 183 Union dead had been disinterred from the battlefield and reburied in the National Cemetery.

Early in March 1868, Bvt. Lt. Col. C. W. Thomas reported that, during January and February, there had been interred in the Springfield National Cemetery:

<u>No. of Bodies</u>	<u>From Where Removed</u>	<u>Date Completed</u>
221	Cassville Cemetery	Jan. 21, 1868
3	Flat Creek, Boone County	Jan. 23, 1868

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<sup>165</sup>Holcombe & Adams, Battle of Wilson's Creek, p. 66.

2	Camp Bliss, Boone County	Jan. 24, 1868
15	Crane Creek, Stone County	Jan. 30, 1868
5	Dug Springs, Stone County	Jan. 31, 1868
183	Wilson's Creek, Greene County	Feb. 6, 1868
3	Judge Saunders', Christian County	Feb. 6, 1868
4	Stevens' Mill, Christian County	Feb. 6, 1868 <sup>166</sup>

Upon disinterring the Union dead from their battlefield graves, Goodyear's people recorded the location of the temporary sepulcher and the number and condition of the remains. Out of the "sink-hole" came 34 bodies, out of an old well 14, and from other portions of the field" the remainder.

Entries made by Goodyear and his men in a ledger provide a few details on the battlefield's cultural and physical features.<sup>167</sup>

L. The Battleground as Described by Visitors in the Years Between 1862 and 1897

1. The Battlefield as Seen in October 1862

On October 11, 1862, the 19th Iowa Infantry broke camp near Springfield and turned into the Telegraph road. One of the men of the 19th, First Sergeant McIntyre, kept a journal. Nightfall found the regiment camped near Twin (Moody's) Springs. Recording the day's activities, McIntyre wrote, "The day has been quite pleasant after a

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<sup>166</sup>Thomas to Donaldson, undated, NA, RG92, Consolidated Correspondence File. James Donaldson was Depot Quartermaster in St. Louis.

<sup>167</sup>Record of Disinterments from Wilson's Creek Battlefield. A copy of this document is on file at the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

cold night. I noticed frost this morning for the first time of the season. The dwellings along our road today have been nearly all destroyed and everything indicates the work of destruction had been carried on for months passed. There is a dwelling near our camp from the inmates of whom I wished to learn some particulars regarding the Wilson Creek battle. . . .

"We passed near the ground of the battle of Wilson Creek today at 3 p.m. The grounds are a rough stony range of hills to the right of the road running from Springfield to Twin Springs where we crossed the creek at the same point Gen. Sigel crossed. We found handsfull of grape and cannister. I also noticed several graves of Sesesh soldiers."<sup>168</sup>

2. The Battlefield as Seen by a Veteran in 1883

J. F. Snyder of Rains' Eighth Division, Missouri State Guard, attended the 1883 reunion of the participants. He found that, in the 22 years since the battle, "The place had changed very little in appearance. . . and only in the growth of the blackjacks and bushes."<sup>169</sup>

3. The Battlefield as Recalled by Dr. Melcher

On September 17, 1910, Dr. Melcher of Sigel's brigade wrote Martin Hubble that, in August 1861, "Heavy timber skirted the banks of the Creek. Bloody Hill and the plateau east of the creek were

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<sup>168</sup>McIntyre, Federals on the Frontier, p. 25.  
<sup>169</sup>Snyder to Snead, Oct. 19, 1885, Snyder Collection, Missouri Historical Society.



open except for some scattered scrub oaks and some bushes, but the view was far more open than now.

"There was a meadow just west of the creek, and north of the ford between the meadow and the creek was heavy timber.

"A spring in the ravine one-fourth mile north of Bloody Hill was the site of the Federal hospital.

"The Confederates had two hospitals--one at the spring west of the Manley house--the other was at a spring one-half mile southeast of the ford."<sup>170</sup>

#### 4. F. E. Herrick's 1897 Visit to Bloody Hill

A 1897 visitor to Bloody Hill reported that the battlefield was "mostly of solid limestone rock with scarcely any vegetation except some stray cactus. Some trees still show the marks of cannon balls, and such relics are frequently picked up in fields."<sup>171</sup>

More than 30 years later, F. E. Herrick still recalled his March 1897 visit. Writing to the Cortland Standard he noted, "The hillside on which the heaviest of the fighting took place, and where Gen. Lyon lost his life, is of solid limestone rock formation, there being scarcely a sign of vegetation except small cacti and scrub oak growing in the seams of the rock."<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup>Souvenir Program of Battle of Wilson's Creek, Seventy-seventh Anniversary, August 10-11, 1938 (Springfield, 1938), not paginated.

<sup>171</sup>F. E. Herrick, "A Trip to Wilson's Creek Battle Ground, Marble Cave and the Zinc and Lead Mines near Aurora, Missouri, March 11 to March 17, 1897," filed WICR.

<sup>172</sup>Herrick to Editor of Cortland Standard, March 19, 1929, files WICR.

APPENDIX A

Persons Entering on Land  
in Section Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, and  
36, Township 28 North, Range 23 West  
of the 5th Principal Meridian, 1838-1865.

Section 23, Township 28 North,

Range 23 West

William Thompson on December 11, 1860, purchased for \$2 per acre the SW 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

William D. Hendricks on May 6, 1852, for \$1.25 per acre purchased the NW 1/4 of the NE 1/4 and the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

Andrew Reeder on May 6, 1852, for \$1.25 per acre purchased the W 1/2 of the NW 1/4.

William Steele on May 11, 1847, for \$1.25 per acre purchased the NE 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

Elias B. Short on May 12, 1852, for \$1.25 per acre purchased the NW 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

Hezekiah S. Blankenship on August 25, 1855, for \$2.50 per acre purchased the SE 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

Elias B. Short on July 3, 1854, for \$1.25 per acre purchased the SW 1/4.

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Tract Book, Missouri, Vol. 89, p. 104, NA, RG 49.

Section 24, Township 28 North,

Range 23 West

On February 9, 1839, Joseph Crutchfield purchased for \$1.25 per acre the W 1/2 of the NE 1/4.

On March 13, 1854, by Act of June 10, 1852, the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad was granted the NW 1/4; the E 1/2 of NE 1/4; the NW 1/4 of SE 1/4; and the NE 1/4 of SW 1/4.

On December 31, 1852, Joseph Crutchfield purchased for \$1.25 per acre the E 1/2 of SE 1/4.

On March 20, 1852, Solomon W. Edgar purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

On July 31, 1846, William Kerr purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

On August 23, 1851, John A. Ray purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SE 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

On May 10, 1847, William Steele purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

Section 25, Township 28 North,

Range 23 West

On August 23, 1851, John A. Ray purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

On July 3, 1848, Elbert Rose purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On January 4, 1853, Joseph Hale for \$1.25 per acre purchased the E 1/2 of the NE 1/4 and the SW 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

On December 20, 1847, William Steele purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On February 25, 1852, John A. Ray purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On March 30, 1852, David W. Prewitt purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

On March 14, 1856, John A. Ray purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 and the NE 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

On October 22, 1858, William B. Edwards purchased for \$1.25 per acre the N 1/2 of the SW 1/4.

On November 13, 1865, Caleb S. Manley for \$14.00 purchased the SW 1/4 of the SE 1/4 and the SE 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

On June 8, 1839, John Dixon purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

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Tract Book, Missouri, Vol. 89, p. 105, NA, RG 49.

Section No. 26, Township 28 North,  
Range 23 West

In accordance with the Act of June 10, 1852, this section was granted on March 13, 1854, to the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad.

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Tract Book, Missouri, Vol. 89, p. 105, RG 49.

Section 35, Township 28 North,

Range 23 West

On August 19, 1843, Joseph D. Sharp purchased for \$1.25 per acre the E 1/2 of the NE 1/4.

On June 29, 1857, Joseph D. Sharp purchased for \$2.50 per acre the NW 1/2 of the NE 1/4.

On October 21, 1850, Joseph D. Sharp purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the NE 1/4.

On May 23, 1857, Joseph D. Sharp purchased for \$1.25 per acre the N 1/2 of the NW 1/4.

On June 17, 1854, Hezekiah Blankenship purchased for \$1.25 per acre the E 1/2 of the SE 1/2 and the NW 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

On March 2, 1849, Jeremiah W. Blankenship purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the SE 1/4.

On January 1, 1856, Jeremiah W. Blankenship purchased for \$2.50 per acre the SE 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

On April 1, 1859, John L. Gwinn purchased the W 1/2 of the SW 1/4 and the SW 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On May 1, 1857, John Gwinn purchased the SE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 and the NE 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

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Tract Book, Missouri, Vol. 89, p. 110, NA, RG 49.



Section 36, Township 28 North,

Range 23 West

The east 1/2 of Section No. 36, and the E 1/2 of the NW 1/4 and the E 1/2 of the SW 1/2 were granted to the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad on March 13, 1854.

On April 27, 1852, Joseph D. Sharp secured title to the NW 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On February 16, 1846, Joseph D. Sharp purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the NW 1/4.

On August 26, 1843, Joseph Burden purchased for \$1.25 per acre the NW 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

On August 16, 1851, John Dixon purchased for \$1.25 per acre the SW 1/4 of the SW 1/4.

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Tract Book, Missouri, Vol. 89, p. 110, NA, RG 49.

APPENDIX B

Persons Living on and Near the Battlefield in 1860

Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
10	68	68	Manley, Caleb	57	M		Farmer		400	Virginia					
			Manley, Rebecca	49	F					Virginia			1		
			Manley, John T.	18	M		Farmer			Tenn.					
			Manley, Thomas B.	15	M		Farmer			Mo.		1			
			Manley, Barboz E.	13	F					Mo.		1			
			Manley, Charles B.	10						Mo.		1			
10	69	69	Ray, John A.	44	M		Farmer	6000	4000	Tenn.					
			Ray, Roxana	40	F					Ga.					
			Steele, Anna E.	18	F					Mo.		1			
			Steele, Elizabeth	16	F					Mo.		1			
			Steele, Andrew M.	14	M					Mo.		1			
			Steele, Mary C.	11	F					Mo.		1			
			Ray, John W.	8	M					Mo.		1			
			Ray, Lavonia	9	F					Mo.		1			
			Ray, Olivia	6	F					Mo.		1			
			Ray, Marshall D.	2	M					Mo.					
			Ray, Marcellus	11/12	M					Mo.					
			Short, Julius	27	M		Farmer			Tenn.					

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Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
	70	70	Blankenship, H.	31	M		Farmer		1500	Tenn.					
			Blankenship, L.	33	F					Tenn.					
			Blankenship, Louis	13	M					Ill.		1			
			Blankenship, Houston	10	M					Ill.		1			
			Blankenship, Elisha	6	M					Ill.		1			
			Blankenship, Spencer	3	M					Ark.					
11	71	71	Gibson, J. M.	56	M		Wool Carder	3000	600	N.C.					
			Gibson, Martha	52	F					Tenn.					
			Gibson, Nancy P.	21	F					Tenn.					
			Dop, P. V.	60	M		Corder			Ky.			1		
			England, Sarah J.	18	F					Tenn.					
			Kelly, Robert	32	M		Farmer			Ala.					
11	72	72	Edgar, Susana	32	F		Farmer	200	150	Ky.			1		
			Edgar, Joshua M.	17	M		Farmer			Ky.					
			Edgar, John F. M.	14	M					Mo.					
			Edgar, Nancy E.	10	F					Mo.					
			Edgar, Isiah F.	7	M					Mo.					
11	73	73	Jackson, William	55	M		Farmer		200	Tenn.			1		
			Jackson, Clarissa	55	F					Tenn.			1		

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Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
			Jackson, Julia Ann	25	F					Tenn.			1		
			Jackson, James	19	M		Farmer			Tenn.			1		
			Jackson, William	18	M		Farmer			Tenn.			1		
			Jackson, Lafayette	11	M					Tenn.		1			
11	74	74	McNary, John	52	M		Farmer		30	Ky.					
			McNary, Nancy	40	F					N.J.			1		
			McNary, Nancy	17	F					Mo.		1			
			McNary, Mary	14	F					Mo.		1			
			McNary, Amanda	11	F					Mo.		1			
			McNary, Hester E.	8	F					Mo.		1			
			McNary, Ann E.	2	F					Mo.					
			Brattenbarg, M. A.	30	F					Ga.					
			Brattenbarg, Emiline	8	F					Mo.		1			
			Brattenbarg, John	6	M					Mo.		1			
			Brattenbarg, Elizabeth	3	F					Mo.					
			Brattenbarg, Warren	1	M					Mo.					
11	75	75	Schlemer, Matilda	22	F					Tenn.					
			Hoffmann, Christania	62	F				800	Saxony					
11	76	76	Edwards, W. B.	41	M		Farmer	2000	3000	Tenn.					

Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
			Edwards, Mary	44	F										
			Edwards, James P.	19	M		Farmer			Mo.		1			
16	114	114	Short, Elias B.	39	M		Farmer	3000	3200	Tenn.					
			Short, Rebecca	38	F					Tenn.					
			Short, James	16	M					Tenn.		1			
Undertended	115		Short, Sarah	14	F					Tenn.		1			
	116		Short, Samantha C.	12	F					Tenn.		1			
			Short, John A.	9	M					Mo.		1			
			Short, Willis C.	7	M					Mo.		1			
			Short, James M.	4	M					Mo.					

State Missouri County Christian Town Porter P.O. Ozark Cell No. \_\_\_\_\_

Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
46	324	324	Moody, Mercer	42	M		Blacksmith	4400	4806	Ky					
			Moody, Lydia A.	42	F					Va.					
			Moody, Almose	15	M					Ky.					
			Moody, Joseph	14	M					Ky.					
			Moody, Mercer	11	M					Ky					
			Fitch, James	25	M		Blacksmith			Unknown					
			Gunther, Sarah	28	F					Va.					
			Gunther, H. F.	24	M		Wagon maker			Unknown					
	325	325	Short, Samuel	35	M		Farmer	100	1722	Tenn.					
			Short, Mary	30	F					Tenn.		1			
			Short, William F.	8	M					Mo.					
			Short, Sarah E.	7	F					Mo.					
			Short, Nancy J.	6	F					Mo.					
			Short, Delila A.	4	F					Mo.					
			Short, Mary M.	2	F					Mo.					
47	326	326	Gwinn, Mary A.	37	F			1500	295	Ill.			1		
			Gwinn, Samuel	15	M		Farm laborer			Iowa					
			Gwinn, Payton	13	M					Mo.					
			Gwinn, John M.	11	M					Mo.					

1860 CENSUS -- UNITED STATES

State Missouri County Christian Town Porter Township Ozark P.O. Ozark Call No. \_\_\_\_\_

Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
46			Gwinn, William	10	M					Mo.					
			Gwinn, James B.	8	M					Mo.					
			Gwinn, Elvina	6	F					Mo.					
			Gwinn, Mona	3	F					Mo.					
			Gwinn, Sarah C.	2	F					Mo.					
327	327		Steele, John	28	M		School Teacher		250	N.Y.					
			Steele, Rebecca	24	F					N.Y.					
328	328		Sharp, Joseph D.	48	M		Farmer	5410	6000	Tenn.					
			Sharp, Mary M.	50	F					N.C.					
			Sharp, Mary E.	15	F					Mo.					
			Sharp, Margaret J.	13	F					Mo.					
			Sharp, Robert	12	M					Mo.					
			Sharp, Anney E.	8	F					Mo.					
			Hortle, Mary	78	F					N.C.			1		
329	329		Potter, Henderson	38	M		Farmer		815	Tenn.					
			Potter, Elisa	34	F					Tenn.			1		
			Potter, James B.	15	M					Mo.		1			
			Potter, Sarah F.	13	F					Mo.		1			



Page	Dwelling No.	Family No.	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Value - Personal Property	Birthplace	Married in Year	School in Year	Can't Read or Write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
			Potter, Minerva J.	5	F					Mo.					
			Potter, William H.	3	M					Mo.					
			Potter, Haramitha	1	F					Mo.					
	330	330	Dixon, John	47	M		Farmer	200	31095	Tenn.					
			Dixon, Susan	34	F					Tenn.					
			Dixon, John	15	M					Mo.		1			
			Dixon, Simpson	11	M					Mo.		1			
			Dixon, William D.	10	M					Mo.		1			
			Dixon, Hester A.	8	M					Mo.		1			
			Dixon, Mary	6	F					Mo.					
			Dixon, Lydia	1	F					Mo.					
	331	331	Dixon, Samuel	22	M		Farmer		605	Mo.					
			Dixon, Elizabeth	20	F					Mo.					

SLAVE SCHEDULE 1860

Greene County, Missouri, Wilson Township

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Color</u>
John A. Ray	1	8	F	B
	1	21	F	B
	1	6	F	B
	1	4	F	B
	1	1	F	B

John A. Ray had a slave cabin on his property.

Unfortunately, the Slave Schedule for Christian County is missing, so we do not have any data as to the vital statistics of the slaves owned by farmers residing on that part of the battlefield in 1860.

APPENDIX C

Persons Living on or Near the Battlefield in 1850

Sept. 20, 1850

1850 CENSUS — UNITED STATES

William G. Roberts, Enumerator

State Missouri

County Greene

Town Polk  
Township

Call No.

Page	Dwelling Number	Family Number	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value-Real Estate	Birthplace	Married within year	School within year	Cannot read or write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
582	709	709	Gwinn, John	35	M		farmer		Ky.					
			Gwinn, Mary A.	21	F				Ill.					
			Gwinn, Samuel	7	M				Iowa					
			Gwinn, Peyton	5	M				Ark.					
			Gwinn, John M.	3	M				Mo.					
			Gwinn, William P.	8/12	M				Mo.					
			Wells, Louise	22	F				Ga.					
710	710		Edgar, Josiah	60	M		farmer	150	Ky.					
			Edgar, Susanna	38	F				Ky.					
			Edgar, Joshua M.	8	M				Ky.					
			Edgar, John F.	5	M				Ky.					
			Edgar, Nancy E.	2	F				Ky.					
			Edgar, Frances	15	F				Ky.					
711	711		Edgar, Solomon	27	M		farmer		Ky.					
			Edgar, Andrew	22	M				Ky.					
712	712		Short, Elias B.	30	M		farmer	300	Tenn.					
			Short, Rebecca	28	F				Tenn.					
			Short, Frances A.	8	F				Tenn.					

Page	Dwelling Number	Family Number	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Birthplace	Married within year	School within year	Cannot read or write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
			Short, Samatha	3	F				Tenn.					
588	759	759	Ray, John	35	M		farmer		Tenn.					
			Ray, Roxanna	30	F				Ga.					
			Steele, William F.	10	M				Mo.					
			Steele, Ann E.	8	F				Mo.					
			Steele, Andrew Mc	4	M				Mo.					
			Steele, Mary C.	1	F				Mo.					
			Ray, Elizabeth F.	6	F				Mo.					
			Ray, Apolinia	3/2	F				Mo.					
	713	713	McCullough, John	29	M		farmer	400	Tenn.					
			McCullough, Mesina	28	F				Tenn.					
			McCullough, William	7	M				Tenn.					
			McCullough, James W.	5	M				Tenn.					
			McCullough, Nancy C.	4	F				Tenn.					
			McCullough, Lucy A.	2	F				Tenn.					
	714	714	Harrington, Nathaniel	44	M		farmer		Ky.					
			Harrington, Lucy	48	F				Ky.			1		
			Harrington, Mary	19	F				Ky.		1			
			Harrington, Anna	16	F				Ky.		1			

111

State Missouri County Greene Town Porter Township Porter Call No. \_\_\_\_\_

Page	Dwelling Number	Family Number	Names	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value- Real Estate	Birthplace	Married within year	School within year	Cannot read or write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
589	765	765	Sharp, Joseph	38	M		farmer	1500	Tenn.					
			Sharp, Mary M.	40	F				N.C.					
			Sharp, Mary E.	8	F				Mo.					
			Sharp, Margaret	4	F				Mo.					
			Sharp, Robert	2	M				Mo.					
	789	789	Dixon, John W.	36	M		farmer	1000	Tenn.			1		
			Dixon, Susanna	25	F				Tenn.			1		
			Dixon, Elizabeth	15	F				Ill.		1			
			Dixon, Samuel	13	M				Mo.		1			
			Dixon, Sarah G.	8	F				Mo.					
			Dixon, John	6	M				Mo.					
			Dixon, John L.	2	M				Mo.					
			Dixon, William	6/12	M				Mo.					
			Ricketts, Richard	23	M		farmer		Tenn.			1		

Sept. 25, 1850

1850 CENSUS

UNITED STATES

State Missouri

County Greene

Town  
Township

Porter

Call No.

Page	Dwelling Number	Family Number	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation, etc.	Value - Real Estate	Birthplace	Married within year	School within year	Cannot read or write	Enumeration Date	Remarks
	815	815	McElhaney, Markham	27	M		farmer		Tenn.					
			McElhaney, Sally	22	F				Tenn.					
			McElhaney, Mary A.	2	F				Mo.					
			McElhaney, Delila	1	F				Mo.					
	716	716	Scaggs, William	34	M		farmer	300	Ky.					
			Scaggs, Nancy	27	F				Ky.			1		
			Scaggs, John	10	M				Ky.		1			
			Scaggs, William	9	M				Ky.		1			
			Scaggs, Elizabeth	7	F				Ky.					
			Scaggs, Alfred	3	F				Ky.					

In late August and early September 1850 Enumerator William G. Roberts listed the slaves owned by the community's three slaveowners:

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Color</u>
John Ray	1	19	M	Mulatto
John Ray	1	14	F	Black
Joseph Sharp	1	30	F	Black
Joseph Sharp	1	33	M	Black
Joseph Sharp	1	13	F	Black
Joseph Sharp	1	10	M	Black
John Dixon	1	28	F	Mulatto
John Dixon	1	26	M	Black
John Dixon	1	3	F	Black
John Dixon	1	3	F	Black
John Dixon	1	9/12	M	Black
John Dixon	1	9/12	M	Black



APPENDIX D

The Agricultural Census for 1860 provides considerable data concerning battlefield farms. According to the enumerators there was found on these farms in June of that year:

GREENE COUNTY

	<u>Name of Owner</u>	<u>Acres of Land Improved</u>	<u>Unimproved</u>	<u>Cash Value of Farm</u>	<u>Value of Farm Implements</u>
1.	Ray, John A.	150	290	\$6,600	\$200
2.	Gibson, John M.	115	285	\$5,000	\$140
3.	Edwards, W. B.	32	288	\$2,000	\$290
4.	Short, Elias B.	50	230	\$3,000	\$150

	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Milk Cows</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Other Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Hogs</u>	<u>Value of Livestock</u>
1.	5	7	4	6		50	\$1,000
2.	4	3	8	8	3	25	\$ 675
3.	8	3		1		13	\$1,255
4.	1	5		4	4	25	\$ 400

	<u>Bushels of Wheat</u>	<u>Bushels of Indian Corn</u>	<u>Bushels of Oats</u>	<u>Pounds of Wool</u>	<u>Bushels of Irish Potatoes</u>
1.	272	1,000	300	60	50
2.	151	1,750	50		15
3.	267	1,000	600	12	20
4.	140	1,200		24	12

	<u>Bushels of Sweet Potatoes</u>	<u>Pounds of Butter</u>	<u>Tons of Hay</u>	<u>Bushels of Seed Grass</u>	<u>Pounds of Beeswax</u>
1.	25	500	5		
2.		200			
3.		200	15	10	
4.	40	265			15

	<u>Pounds of Honey</u>	<u>Value of Home Manufactures</u>	<u>Value of Animals Slaughtered</u>
1.		\$200	\$160
2.		\$100	\$130
3.	70	\$ 5	\$110
4.	100	\$ 75	\$100

CHRISTIAN COUNTY

<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres of Improved Land</u>	<u>Unimproved Land</u>	<u>Cash Value of Farm</u>	<u>Value of Farm Improvements</u>
1. Short, Samuel		40	\$ 100	\$133
2. Gwinn, Mary A.	50	150	\$1,500	\$ 55
3. Sharp, Joseph D.	250	1,122	\$5,400	\$ 75
4. Dixon, John	200	266	\$9,100	\$190
5. Dixon, Samuel				\$ 75
6. Moody, Mercer	30	222	\$1,400	\$ 40

<u>Horses</u>	<u>Mules</u>	<u>Milk Cows</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Other Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Hogs</u>	<u>Value of Livestock</u>
5		4		3	25	15	\$ 587
1		1	2	6		19	\$ 170
5	4	4	10	20	64	30	\$1,290
16	4	4	10	40	60	40	\$2,805
2		2		2		20	\$ 280
1		2		7	4	11	\$ 256

	<u>Bushels of Wheat</u>	<u>Bushels of Rye</u>	<u>Bushels of Indian Corn</u>	<u>Bushels of Oats</u>	<u>Pounds of Wool</u>	<u>Bushels of Peas &amp; Beans</u>	<u>Bushels of Irish Potatoes</u>
1.	100		500	57	50		6
2.	100		500	60		1	30
3.	150		1,550	400	140		90
4.	500	50	4,000	400			40
5.	40			500	100		

	<u>Bushels of Sweet Potatoes</u>	<u>Pounds of Butter</u>	<u>Pounds of Cheese</u>	<u>Tons of Hay</u>	<u>Bushels of Seed Grass</u>	<u>Gallons of Molasses</u>
1.	6	200				5
2.		365				
3.	50	520	60		10	85
4.		500	100	6		80
5.		365				

	<u>Pounds of Honey</u>	<u>Value of Home Manufactures</u>	<u>Value of Animals Slaughters</u>
1.	40	\$ 75	\$112
2.	100		\$ 68
3.		\$200	\$300
4.			\$450
5.			
6.			

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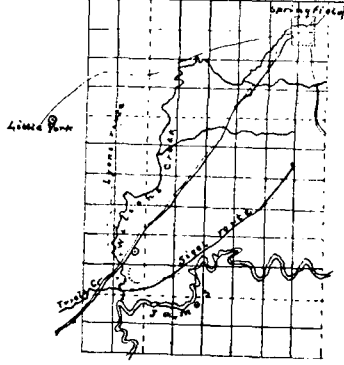
Springfield Press

St. Louis Republican

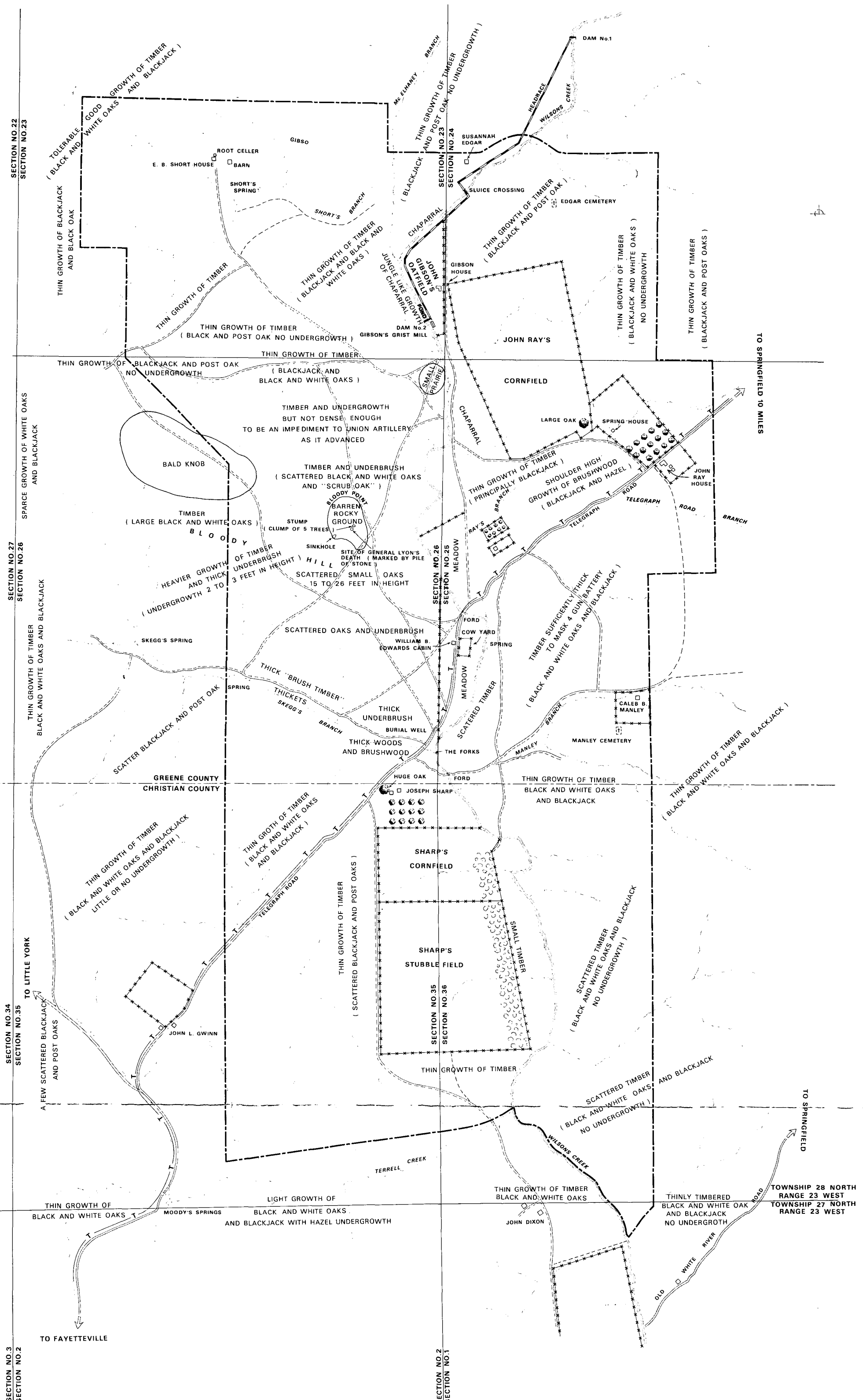
MAP  
of the  
BATTLE FIELD  
of  
WILSONS CREEK

Surveyed & Drawn  
by W. Brantley and  
Capt. S. G. M. L. S. L. S.

Traced in Office Chief Engineer  
Division of the Missouri  
Jan. 12, 1886.

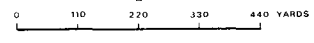


ON THE...



- LEGEND**
- PARK BOUNDARY
  - - - COUNTY LINE
  - SECTION LINE
  - MAJOR STREAM
  - LESSER STREAM
  - INTERMITTENT STREAM
  - SPRING
  - WELL
  - IMPROVED ROAD
  - FARM ROAD AND TRACE
  - TRAIL
  - TELEGRAPH LINE
  - CEMETERY
  - MILL
  - HEADRACE
  - DAM
  - HOUSE, BARN, ROOT CELLAR, ETC
  - RAIL FENCE
  - ORCHARD
  - SPECIFIC TREES DESCRIBED

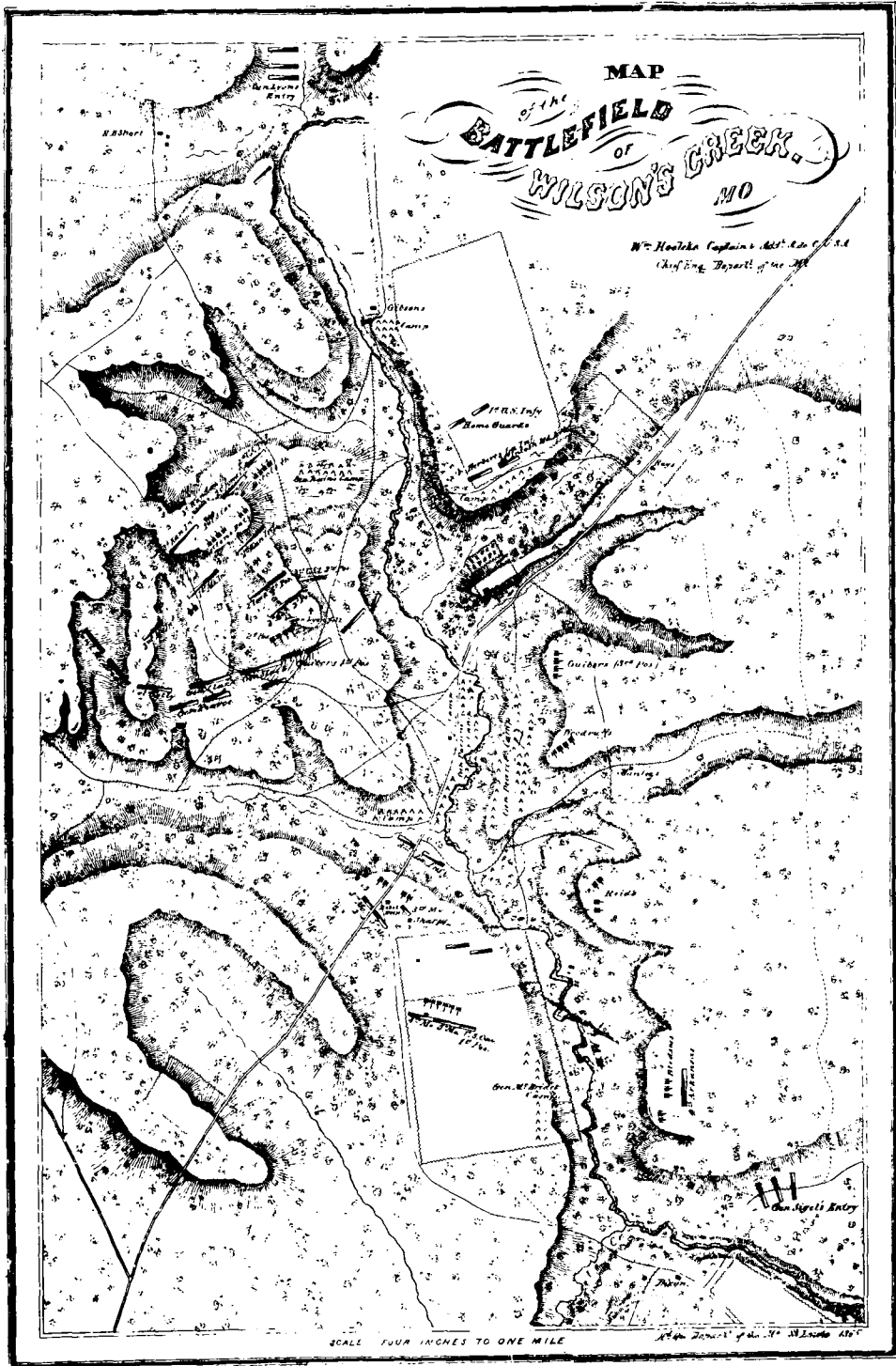
**HISTORICAL BASE AND GROUND COVER MAP**  
**WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD**  
 GREENE AND CHRISTIAN COUNTIES / MISSOURI



**ON MICROFILM**

~~Drawer 139~~

~~Sheet 28~~



Revised Engr. Dept. Nov. 7, 85 (with H. 1895)

9462