



Newtonia Battlefields Special Resource Study

Newtonia, Missouri

January 2013



Front cover images: Ritchey Mansion, 2010; Cherokee delegation to Washington, DC., 1866. Left to right: John Rollin Ridge, Saladin Watie, Richard Field, E. C. Boudinot, W. P. Adair. Photo by A. Gardner. (Oklahoma Historical Society); “Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, March 8th 1862” by Currier and Ives, 1862 (Library of Congress); Ritchey family cemetery, Newtonia (Larry Wood)

Back cover images (left to right): Confederate General Sterling Price (NPS); Choctaw Treaty Delegation, 1866. Left to right: Allen Wright, Campbell LeFlore, Julius (J.P.) Folsom, and F. Battiste. (Oklahoma Historical Society); Cherokee Chief John Ross.

STUDY TEAM, ADVISORS, AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

STUDY TEAM

Project Manager: Ruth Heikkinen, Division Chief, Planning and Compliance, Midwest Region, National Park Service

Rachel Franklin-Weekley, Historian, Midwest Region, National Park Service

Natalie Franz, Planner, Midwest Region, National Park Service

Grant Johnson, Planning Intern, Midwest Region, National Park Service

ADVISORS:

Tokey Boswell, Program Analyst, Park Planning & Special Studies, National Park Service

Bill Harlow, Chief, Historic Architecture and Landscapes, Midwest Region

Ted Hillmer, Superintendent, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

Robie Lange, National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service

Connie Langum, Historian, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

Don Stevens, Chief, History and National Register Programs, Midwest Region

Gary Sullivan, Chief of Resources and Facilities Management, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

Patricia Trap, Deputy Regional Director, Midwest Region, National Park Service

Sandra Washington, Associate Regional Director, Planning, Communication, and Legislation, Midwest Region, National Park Service

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This report would not have been possible without the time and expertise of the following individuals:

Ed Bearrs, Emeritus Chief Historian, National Park Service

Walter Busch, Site Administrator, Fort Davidson State Historic Site, Missouri State Parks

Kelley Collins, Fort Scott National Historic Site, National Park Service

Tanya Gossett, American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service

Laurence M. Hauptman, SUNY Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History, SUNY New Paltz

Bethany Henry, Pea Ridge National Military Park, National Park Service

Kay Hively, Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association

Pam Holtman, Denver Service Center, National Park Service

Linda and Larry James, Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association

Lisa LaRue, Acting Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma

Mark Lause, Associate Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

William G. Piston, Professor of History, Missouri State University

Dwight Pitcaithley, Emeritus Chief Historian, National Park Service and Professor of History, New Mexico State University

Lyle Sparkman, Southwest Missouri Chapter, The Missouri Archaeological Society

Daniel Sutherland, Professor of History, University of Arkansas

Alan Thompson, Prairie Grove State Park, Arkansas State Parks

Paul Wannemacher, Filmmaker, *Civil War Battle of Newtonia*

David Weems, Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association

This report has been prepared to provide Congress and the public with information about the resources in the study area and how they relate to criteria for inclusion within the national park system. Publication and transmittal of this report should not be considered an endorsement for a commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support either specific legislative authorization for the project or appropriation for its implementation.

This report was prepared by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Region. For more information contact Ruth Heikkinen, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 601 Riverfront Drive, Omaha, NE 68102-4226, (402) 661-1846

SUMMARY

The National Park Service (NPS) was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to evaluate if the Newtonia Battlefields in Newtonia, Missouri, met the criteria for addition to the national park system as an independent NPS unit, or as an addition to the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield in Republic, Missouri.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Newtonia was the site of two Civil War battles. The First Battle of Newtonia occurred on September 30, 1862, and the military consequences of the battle were minor. However, the battle is distinguished by regiments of American Indian soldiers fighting on both sides. The historic context places the First Battle of Newtonia in the perspective of the complex and tragic history of intertribal violence and the affiliation of the American Indian tribes with the Union or Confederate armies in the Civil War. The Second Battle of Newtonia on October 28, 1864, although minor, was the final full-scale battle of the Civil War in Missouri, and the final battle of General Sterling Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864. The historic context places the Second Battle of Newtonia in the context of that campaign.

EXISTING CONDITIONS AND BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

Newtonia is a small, predominantly agricultural town that still strongly resembles the Civil War era in size and land use. Resources such as the Ritchey Mansion, cemeteries, stone walls, agricultural fields, and other landscape features remain. The boundaries for the study area for each battle are the same as those described in the National Register of Historic Places nominations for each site.

NEW UNIT ANALYSIS

The special resource study evaluates the Newtonia Battlefields as a potential new unit of the national park system based on established criteria. To be considered eligible for designation as a new unit, an area must be significant, suitable, feasible, and have a need for direct NPS management.

Significance Findings: For cultural resources to meet significance criteria in a special resource study, they must meet National Historic Landmark criteria. The first and second battles at Newtonia are illustrative of two different nationally important themes, and were evaluated separately. The National Park Service concludes that the First Battle of Newtonia was not as consequential as comparable battles representing American Indian participation in the Civil War. While the battlefield has a high degree of integrity, it does not meet significance criteria. General Price's Missouri Expedition was a campaign with nationwide repercussions; however, the site of the Second Battle of Newtonia does not represent major aspects of the campaign as well as comparable battlefields, and therefore, does not meet significance criteria.

Suitability Finding: For a property to be suitable, it must represent a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected by another entity. Brief analysis of the first and second battles of Newtonia finds that they would likely not meet the suitability criteria if fully evaluated.

Feasibility Finding: Because neither the first nor second battle of Newtonia meets the criteria for significance, feasibility was not considered.

Need for Direct NPS Management Finding: Because neither the first nor second battle of Newtonia meets the criteria for significance, the need for direct NPS management was not considered.

The National Park Service finds that the Newtonia Battlefields do not meet the criteria for a unit of the national park system.

BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENT ANALYSIS

The boundary adjustment section evaluates the Newtonia Battlefields as a potential addition to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield as specified in the study's authorizing legislation. For an area to be appropriate for addition to an existing park, it must (1) protect significant resources or enhance opportunities for public enjoyment, (2) address operational and management issues of the existing park site, or (3) protect critical park resources. The added lands must also be feasible to administer, and there must be no other

adequate alternatives for management and resource protection. The Newtonia Battlefields do not meet any of the first three conditions for boundary adjustments, and are therefore not an appropriate addition to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

OPTIONS FOR MANAGEMENT

Options for management considered by this study were Continuation of Current Management (No Action), which would mean continuation of current ownership and management, and Continuation of Current Management with Enhanced Interpretation and Collaboration with Other Sites, which would include all elements of the first alternative and include increased coordination among sites representing American Indian participation in the Civil War for expanded interpretation. Because the Newtonia Battlefields do not meet the criteria for addition to the national park system, boundary adjustment, or affiliated area, the NPS considered but dismissed these alternatives.

CONCLUSION

The National Park Service finds that the Newtonia Battlefields do not meet the criteria for establishing an independent unit of the national park system and do not meet established criteria for an addition to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. No new federal ownership or management is proposed.

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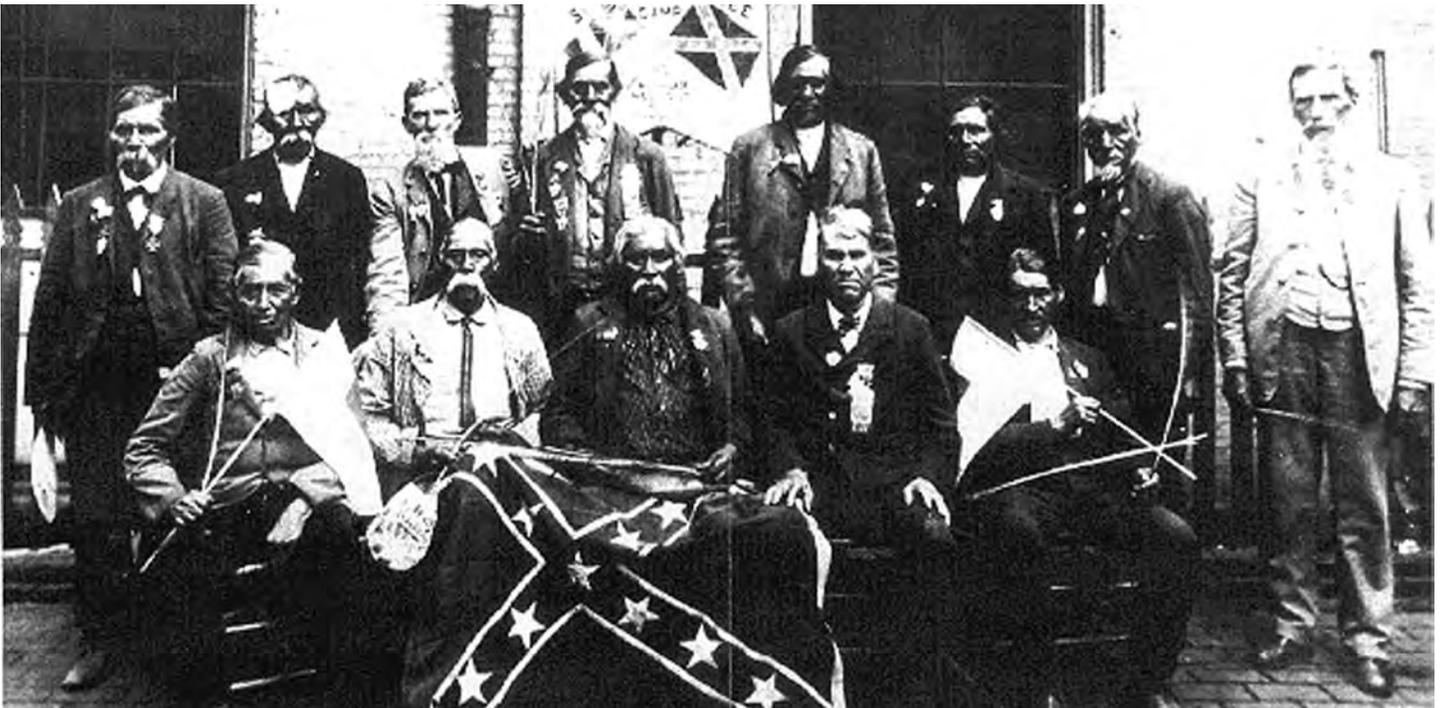
CHAPTER 1: STUDY PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

In the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970, Congress declared that areas comprising the national park system are “cumulative expressions of a single national heritage.”¹ Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in a unique way to a system that represents the superlative natural and cultural resources that characterize our heritage. Proposed additions to the national park system must possess nationally significant resources, be suitable additions to the system, be feasible additions to the system, and require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. Before Congress decides to create a new park or add land to an existing park, it needs to know whether the area’s resources meet those established criteria for designation.

The National Park Service was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to evaluate if the Newtonia Battlefields in Newtonia, Missouri, meet the criteria for addition to the national park system, and document its findings in a special resource study (SRS). In that law, the National Park Service was asked to study both the possibility of designating Newtonia Battlefields as an

independent national park system unit, and the possibility of including the Newtonia Battlefields in the existing Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield in Republic, Missouri. (See Appendix A for the full text of the law.)

Chapter 2 of this study examines the historic context of the First Battle of Newtonia (September 30, 1862) and the Second Battle of Newtonia (October 28, 1864) to provide background for the evaluations of national significance. Chapter 3 describes the existing conditions and boundaries of the study areas. Chapter 4 applies the new unit criteria, analyzing the significance, suitability, and feasibility of the battlefield sites as an independent unit of the national park system. It also applies the criteria for boundary adjustments to the Newtonia Battlefields as a potential addition to Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield. Finally, the National Park Service was directed to “consider alternatives for preservation, protection, and interpretation of the battlefields and related sites by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local governmental entities, or private and nonprofit organizations,” which is addressed in Chapter 5: Options for Management.



Confederate Cherokee reunion, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1903

Overview of the Study Area

The battles of Newtonia are each listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) at the state level of significance. The current NRHP boundaries for the two battlefield sites considered in this study form the study area. This area was selected because it represents the established area of historic importance for each of the battles.² The First Battle of Newtonia Historic District is 152.3 acres and the Second Battle of Newtonia Historic Site is 560 acres. The two sites, while adjacent in some areas, do not overlap. The total acreage is 712.3 - together they are referred to as the Newtonia Battlefields in this document. (See Figure 1 and Appendix C)

The Newtonia Battlefields are in and around the town of Newtonia and between Newtonia and Stark City in Newton County, Missouri. The area is predominantly agricultural. The population of the town of Newtonia is approximately 230, and the town of Stark City is approximately 120.³ Newtonia is 10 miles east of the Newton County seat of Neosho, and approximately 60 miles southwest of Springfield, Missouri. It is 49 miles distant from Republic, Missouri, home of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

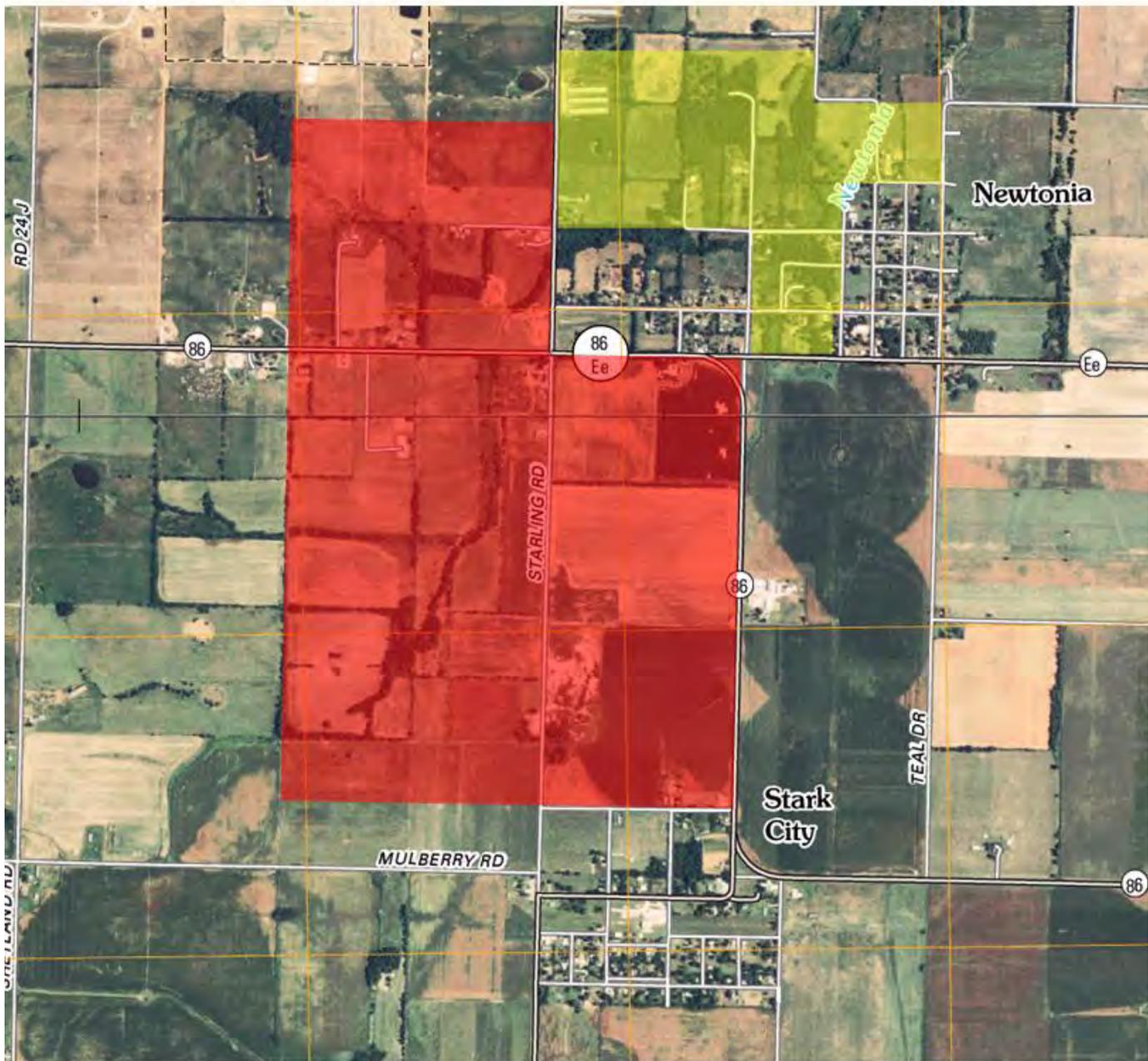
The Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association (NBPA), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, was formed in 1994, following the report by the congressionally authorized Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) in 1993 indicating that both battles at Newtonia were classified among the highest priorities for Civil War battlefield preservation nationally.⁴ The group has acquired property in the First Battle of Newtonia Historic District, and now owns and protects 25.5 acres of land, and has worked to restore the Ritchey Mansion, maintain the Civil War and Ritchey family cemeteries, and interpret the history of Newtonia and the Civil War. Land ownership is private elsewhere in the NHRP boundaries of the First Battle of Newtonia Historic District and in the NHRP boundaries of the Second Battle of Newtonia Historic Site.

The Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association is eligible for grant funding and technical assistance from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP). The Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association has received three grants to offset the debt from property acquisition, as well as for contracting surveys and planning. The association contracted with the consulting firm Gray & Pape to prepare a preservation plan for the Newtonia Battlefields. Completed in 2000, *A Preservation Plan for the Civil War Battlefields*

of Newtonia, Missouri identified the history related to battlefield features, detailed preservation methods for landscape and features, and proposed an action plan for the Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association.

The battlefields were each added to the National Register at the state level of significance in 2004. Also in 2004, with the assistance of contractors, the Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association prepared the *Vision Plan for Newtonia Battlefields Preservation*, which outlined goals and costs for site management, research, and improvements. The legislation authorizing this study specifically requests that the National Park Service "consider the findings and recommendations contained in the document."⁵ More information on this topic will be provided in Chapter 5: Options for Management.

Newtonia Battlefields Study Area



- First Battle of Newtonia NRHP Historic District
- Second Battle of Newtonia NRHP Historic Site



Base Map: USGS, 2009 Newtonia and Stella Quadrangles. Boundaries shown are based on NRHP nominations and are approximate.

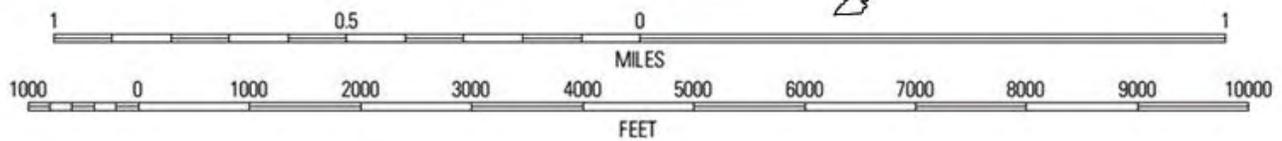
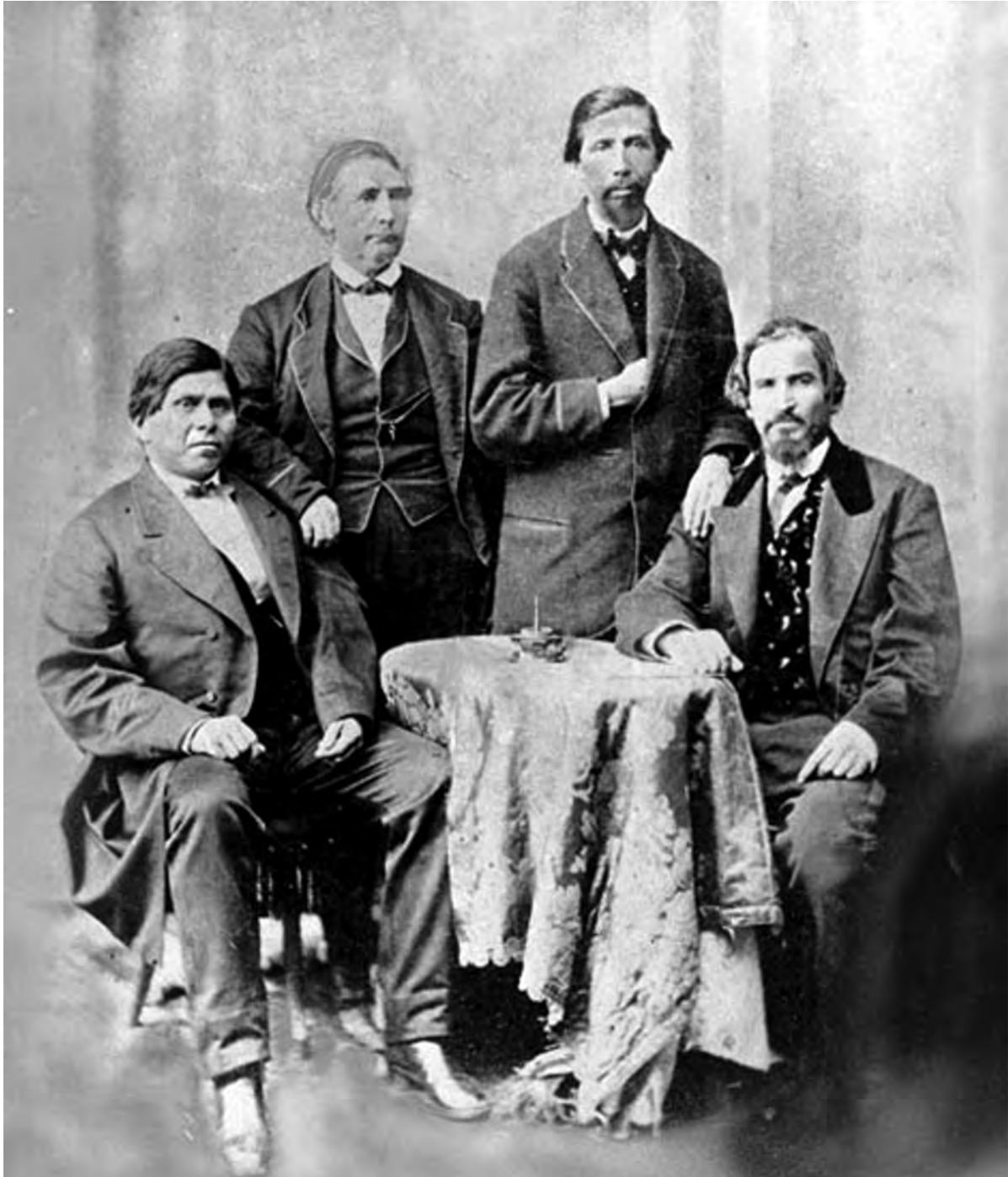


Figure 1: Newtonia Battlefields Study Area



Choctaw Treaty Delegation, 1866. Left to right: Allen Wright, Campbell LeFlore, Julius (J.P.) Folsom, and F. Battiste. (Oklahoma Historical Society)

CHAPTER 2: HISTORIC CONTEXT

The Newtonia Civil War Battlefields are in the village of Newtonia, in Newton County, Missouri. Despite its rural location in southwestern Missouri, Newtonia experienced substantial activity during the Civil War. Two battles were waged in and around the town; the First Battle of Newtonia (September 30, 1862) resulted in a Confederate victory, and the Second Battle of Newtonia (October 28, 1864) resulted in victory for Union forces. Numerous tribes and individual tribal members were involved in the Civil War, and the First Battle of Newtonia was one of the few instances of full American Indian regiments pitted against each other and directed by the Union and Confederate armies. The Second Battle of Newtonia was the final engagement of Confederate General Sterling Price's Expedition, and the final Civil War battle in the highly contested state of Missouri.

Missouri was politically divided between groups and individuals who supported the Union and those who were aligned with the Confederate cause. On the eve of the Civil War, the latter group dominated the state legislature, but took a position of "armed neutrality" to stay out of the war if possible. The attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, and the resulting call from President Lincoln for four volunteer regiments from Missouri (as part of 75,000 troops sought throughout the United States) plunged the state into the conflict. Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson refused to comply with the order, ultimately leading to a declaration of war by the Union.⁶

After the large and influential battles of Wilson's Creek, Missouri (August 10, 1861), and Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March 7-8, 1862), the Union army established a garrison in southwestern Missouri to create a presence in the area, as well as to protect the valuable lead mines in Granby. In late September, Confederate forces in search of food and interested in retaking Missouri, occupied Newtonia and operated the mill there. On September 30, 1862, the First Battle of Newtonia was fought in the area surrounding the house and farmstead of community founder and prominent businessman Mathew Ritchey.⁷ The resulting victory gave Confederate forces control of the mineral-rich area in Granby, 10 miles northeast of Newtonia, and reestablished a semblance of Confederate power in Missouri, if only temporarily.

Over the course of 1863, the Union became the undisputed military force in Arkansas and Missouri.

Confederate forces were removed from the Trans-Mississippi theater (whose boundaries extended from Missouri and Louisiana in the east to New Mexico in the west) to fight in the Eastern theater (whose battles ranged from Pennsylvania to Georgia).⁸ Brutal, small-scale hostilities continued with guerrilla forces aligned with the Confederacy creating havoc in southwestern Missouri. In September 1864, Confederate General Sterling Price saw an opportunity to disrupt the Union war effort by leading an invasion into Missouri. General Price intended to relieve pressure on Confederate armies in the east and win back Missouri for the Confederacy. Although both sides claimed victory, the Second Battle of Newtonia was the final engagement of General Price's expeditionary force and was won by the Union army. The Confederates were forced to retreat into Arkansas, the Union forces allowed Price and his remaining troops to escape. The Second Battle of Newtonia was the last battle of the Civil War fought in Missouri and the last engagement of General Price's Expedition of 1864.

The significance of the Newtonia Battlefields has been formally established at the statewide level through the successful nomination of the First Battle of Newtonia Historic District and Second Battle of Newtonia Historic Site to the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register can recognize properties at the local, state, or national level—neither of the designations for battlefield at Newtonia examined a possible national level of significance. The Ritchey Mansion, listed individually in the National Register, was determined to be of local significance. Both battles were evaluated by the *Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (1993) (CWSAC Report) (see further discussion in Chapter 4). Evaluation of the battlefields for national significance must consider the impact the battles of Newtonia had on the nation, as well as examine the contributions of those who fought, their roles in the conflicts, and the respective outcomes.

The purpose of this historic context is to frame the understanding of the First and Second Battles of Newtonia in terms of the broader historical associations they represent. Neither battle is considered to have had a national impact militarily or strategically. The First Battle of Newtonia is notable for American Indian involvement, thus this chapter focuses on those

aspects of the battle and the history of American Indian participation in the Civil War. The Second Battle of Newtonia is notable for being the final battle of General Price's Expedition and will be examined in the context of that campaign.

There are a number of excellent narratives of the battles, most recently Larry Wood's *The Two Civil War Battles of Newtonia* and Gray & Pape, Inc.'s, *A Preservation Plan for the Civil War Battlefields of Newtonia, Missouri*. The following historic context does not endeavor to reiterate the specifics of troop positions or movements; rather, its purpose is to place the battles at Newtonia within broader historical contexts to evaluate their national significance in Chapter 4.

AMERICAN INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL WAR

*Trusting that God will not only keep
from our own borders the desolations
of war, but that He will in infinite mercy
and Power stay its ravages among the
Brotherhood of States.*

Cherokee Chief John Ross, May 17, 1861⁹

The First Battle of Newtonia was one of several battles in the Trans-Mississippi West to involve regiments of American Indians. Individual members of tribes fought for both the Union and Confederate armies in every theater of the Civil War, but nowhere was American Indian participation more widespread and critical than in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) and the adjacent states.

The Civil War not only divided the United States; it also divided members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" of American Indians (the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) and other eastern tribes who were residing in Indian Territory and Kansas on the eve of the war. The eastern tribes, particularly the Cherokees, shared a slave-holding background with the Confederacy. However, just as slavery wasn't the only motivation for white soldiers' participation in the Civil War, it wasn't the only reason that American Indian soldiers fought on either side. Understanding the history of American Indian allegiances and their role in the Trans-Mississippi theater of the Civil War is the objective of this section.

Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other tribal groups fought on both sides of the First Battle of Newtonia. Although it was not the first instance of Civil War violence between tribes, previous occurrences of violence were partly manifestations of long-standing tribal conflicts. Newtonia may be the first battle in which organized units of American Indians engaged in battle against each other in the Civil War.¹⁰ Some of the Indian troops who clashed at Newtonia were from the same tribe, but divided by whether or not they supported the Union or Confederate cause.

The choice of American Indians to join the Union or Confederacy was born from frustration at the displacement and suffering they had experienced for decades prior to the Civil War. Although slaveholding tribes identified with the Confederate mission, many tribes in the Trans-Mississippi West saw joining the Confederacy as their only way out of the circumstances they faced. Military involvement was a way to potentially obtain a larger, more secure land base and maintain Indian lifeways that were continually threatened by forced removal.¹¹

Origins of Intra-Tribal Conflict

In 1829, in his first address to Congress, newly elected President Andrew Jackson proposed that all Indians be removed from the southeastern states to reservations west of the Mississippi River. The resulting Indian Removal Act of 1830 gave the president authorization to exchange unorganized land in the Trans-Mississippi West for Indian lands in the east, in exchange for perpetual title, and compensation and assistance in moving to the new lands.¹² Members of several tribes divided over the issue of relocation had fought during the Creek War of 1813–1814. The increased pressures of removal aggravated existing divisions within the Cherokee and Creek tribes, divisions that would be exacerbated in the decades leading to the Civil War.¹³

By 1850, 84,000 eastern Indians from the Five Civilized Tribes of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations, as well as many smaller groups, had been removed to the Trans-Mississippi West. Already weary and agitated from the forced removal and arduous journey from their homelands, the eastern refugees had to coexist with tribes of the buffalo-hunting Plains Indians, which resulted in tense relations between the newcomers and their new neighbors.¹⁴ Conflicts within and between tribes would later result in members of these tribes engaging in battle in the Civil War.

In 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act considerably reduced the size of Indian Territory by creating the new Kansas and Nebraska territories. In addition to accelerating white settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West, violence between pro-slavery and abolitionist white settlers prompted new calls for Indian removal that threatened to drive the relocated tribes from their recently settled lands. The episode known as “Bleeding Kansas” (1855–1859) was more than a North-South conflict presaging the Civil War. The act prompted a new era of frontier violence against American Indians, requiring new strategies from the tribes to ensure their survival.¹⁵

Nation selected a single leader. Although the majority of Cherokee towns strongly favored British trade, warfare broke out frequently among them during the 1700s as a result of the scheming agents of France, Spain, or England who sought to exploit the Cherokees for their own purposes.¹⁶

Early in the 19th century, chiefs of some settlements ultimately became dissatisfied with Cherokee Nation politics and, rather than continuing to lose their influence, chose to become individual political entities. Thus, they abandoned their eastern towns and sought suitable

territory west of the Mississippi River, ending up in Arkansas Territory, where they requested recognition from the United States as a sovereign nation. By 1839, the Treaty of New Echota led to the forced mass removal of the remaining Cherokees from their eastern homeland. Although the United States government had been the source of much of the pressure leading to removal, the Western Cherokees, known as Old Settlers, shouldered much of the blame for the fracture in the Cherokee Nation due to their voluntary relocation, weakening the greater tribe. Violence became commonplace, with bloodshed and revenge killings between bands of Cherokees increasing, and continue for several years.¹⁷

The Cherokee Nation continued to grow, with “full-blooded” Cherokees becoming outnumbered by their “mixed-blood” brethren. Among some American Indians, the terms full-blooded and mixed or half-blooded were a shorthand for those with either traditionalist or assimilationist

beliefs.¹⁸ The schism between them on the eve of war is well documented.¹⁹ In 1859, a large faction of full-blooded Cherokees, led by Old Settlers, incorporated as the secretive Keetoowah Society. “Kituhwa” was the original eastern settlement of the Cherokees (in present-day Swain County, North Carolina), and had served as a spiritual center for the Cherokee people. During the Civil War, some Keetoowah Society members who were soldiers were referred to as “Pin” Indians, due to the wearing of crossed straight pins on their lapels.²⁰

Favoring traditional Cherokee ways, values, and religion, the Keetoowah Society was opposed to domination of tribal affairs by mixed-blood Cherokees, additional

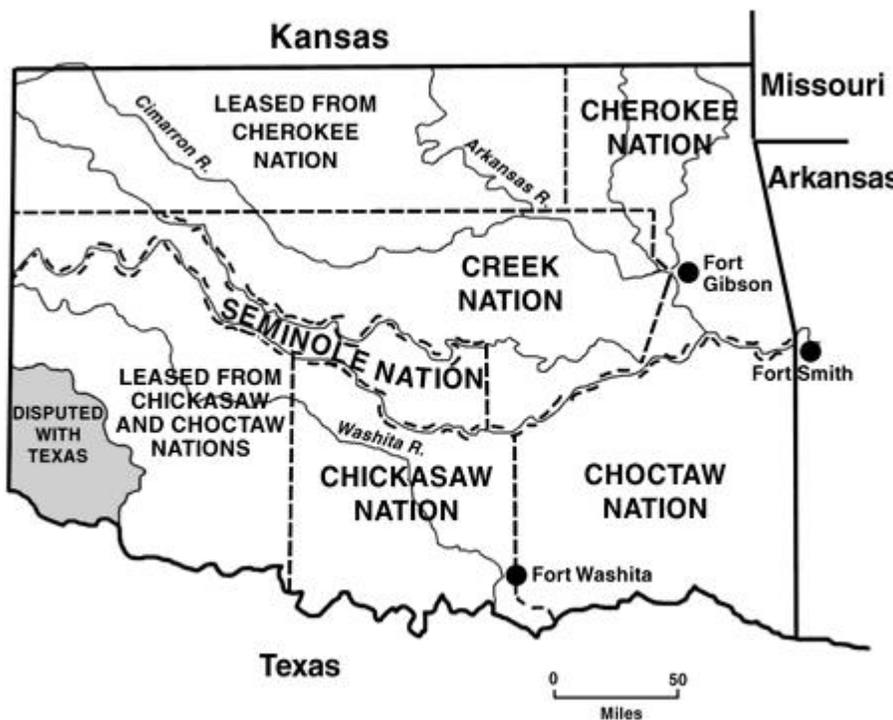


Figure 2: Map of Indian Territory at the outset of the Civil War

Long-existing internal divisions among tribes such as the Cherokee had intensified by the time of the Civil War, provoking them to reject or capitulate to either the Union or Confederate cause.

Cherokee

The Cherokee Nation, from its earliest history, was composed of many bands separated from one another by geographic features and language dialects, each band functioning separately from the others. The Cherokees did not unify under a single government until the British refused to continue trading unless the Cherokee

land cessions, and slavery. Those would become crucial points of contention in their Civil War alliances.²¹

Cherokee perspectives on slavery and tradition were diverse, but two factions of influential tribal members came to shape tribal allegiances and represent those who joined with either side in the Civil War. Cherokee Chief John Ross represented many traditional and “full-blood” Cherokees such as the Keetoowah, and had Union loyalties in spite of a sometimes contentious relationship with the United States government.²² He remarked to the *Arkansas Gazette* that the Union was a “shield of protection,” although if the Union were destroyed, the Cherokee Nation would “go where their institutions and their geographical positions place them—with Arkansas and Missouri.”²³ Ross, like many American Indians, was waiting to see which way the winds would blow.

Slaveholding and “mixed-blood” Cherokees led by Stand Watie formed their own faction, and had a secret society, the Knights of the Golden Circle, who were sympathetic to the Confederate rebels.²⁴ In July 1861, Stand Watie raised his own regiment called the First Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, a portion of whom fought with Confederate forces at the Battle of Wilson’s Creek, a major victory for the Confederate army. As a result of this victory, the majority of the Cherokee Nation, led by Ross, eventually committed to the Confederate cause after struggling to maintain neutrality. Despite this pledge of allegiance, Ross was a tepid supporter of the Confederacy. Ross later threw his support behind the Union cause, signing a treaty following his “capture” (by some accounts, pre-arranged, or a rescue) by the Union Army during the Indian Expedition of 1862.²⁵ Ross advocated for the Cherokees and his supporters from Washington D.C. and Philadelphia for the remainder of the war. Union sympathizing Cherokees eventually joined Indian Home Guard regiments, organized in Kansas where they sought refuge. During the Civil War, some 2,200 Cherokees fought in Union regiments; roughly two-thirds of the men from American Indian nations to serve the Union in the war were Cherokees.²⁶

Choctaw and Chickasaw

The Choctaws and Chickasaws fought together at Newtonia and elsewhere in the Civil War. Both strongly supported the Confederate cause. The years leading up to the Civil War were marked by relative prosperity and relatively high rates of slaveholding for both tribes in their new home in southeastern Indian Territory.

The homeland of the Choctaws was primarily in what is today southern and middle Mississippi, and portions

of Louisiana and western Alabama. The tribe refused to join with other tribes against the United States in the War of 1812, but this did not exempt them from the harsh forced removal between 1831 and 1834 under the Indian Removal Act. Roughly 4,000 Choctaws remained in the backcountry in Mississippi and approximately 12,000 were removed. Of those, a quarter is estimated to have perished along the “Trail of Tears” and a few thousand more upon reaching Indian Territory.²⁷ Those who survived in Indian Territory (the Western Choctaws) were able to prosper and established a new constitution, government, schools, and churches.²⁸

At the time of European contact, the homeland of the Chickasaw tribe was in northern Mississippi, eastern Arkansas, and western Tennessee and Kentucky, adjacent Choctaw lands. Although individual members joined both sides, the Chickasaws remained neutral in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Facing increased settlement pressure in the 1820s, some Chickasaw tribal members began migrating voluntarily to Indian Territory. The tribe was forced off their lands in 1837 under the Indian Removal Act, accepting a payment from the U.S. government to buy the westernmost portion of Choctaw land in Indian Territory for settlement.²⁹ For a period after their resettlement, they were a division of the Choctaw government.³⁰

Longtime neighbors and allies, the Choctaws and Chickasaws signed a treaty allying themselves with the Confederacy in July 1861. This followed the withdrawal of Union troops from Fort Washita in May 1861, who had effectively abandoned Indian Territory to Confederate interests.³¹ Douglas H. Cooper, an ardent Confederate supporter and later colonel and general, had been the Choctaw Indian agent and had influenced many Choctaws, eventually forming them into six units, some in combination with Chickasaws. Choctaw leader Tandy Walker served as his second-in-command with the rank of lieutenant colonel.³² Much of Choctaw and Chickasaw service was in Indian Territory, but Choctaws were also involved in some important engagements such as Pea Ridge.³³

Creek

Like the Cherokees, the Creek Nation was split between Union and Confederate allegiance in the Civil War, and like the Cherokees, many of the reasons stemmed from longstanding tribal divisions going back generations. The Creeks, also known as the Muscogees or Mvskokes, occupied a vast territory and had coalesced into two divisions by the turn of the 19th century: Upper Creeks

in northwestern Georgia, who had retained more of their traditional culture, and Lower Creeks in southeastern Alabama, who had adopted a more European way of life.³⁴ Tensions between the factions led to the Creek War of 1813–1814, also known as the Red Stick War. After removal to Indian Territory, these divisions remained, although both groups benefited from the plantation economy.³⁵ The divisions between the full-blood Upper Creeks and mixed-blood Lower Creeks once again became violent in the first major American Indian confrontations in the Civil War (Appendix D). Union-allied Upper Creeks served in the Indian home guards, including the Third Indian Home Guards, who fought at the First Battle of Newtonia.³⁶ It is unknown, however, if any were members of the regiment at the time of the battle.

Other Tribes

In addition to the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, members of other tribes fought both in regiments and as individuals in the Trans-Mississippi theater. Members of the Seminole, Osage, Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Quapaw tribes, among others, were living in the area. Although most embraced neutrality at first, their fortunes and futures were undoubtedly at stake in the war, leading tribes and individuals to declare their allegiances. Representatives of the Quapaw, Osage, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes signed treaties with Arkansas lawyer, Confederate Indian Agent, and future Confederate General Albert Pike; however, not all members of these tribes were loyal to the Confederacy.³⁷

It is difficult to ascertain from sources whether members of other tribes were involved in the First Battle of Newtonia. The service records of the Union Indian Home Guards identify two privates in the Third Indian Home Guard with the last name of “Shawnee,” which could be attributed to their tribal affiliation, but the records do not show when they served.³⁸ A generation before the Civil War, territory in southwestern Missouri had been set aside for the Shawnees and Delawares, though by the 1850s most were in Kansas.³⁹ Members of the Delaware tribe served in the Union’s 6th Kansas Cavalry, but evidently not until after the First Battle of Newtonia. Previously, those Delaware soldiers served in the Second Indian Home Guards, but in early September 1862, they went back to Kansas with their leader, Falleaf, for about a year before reenlisting.⁴⁰ This follows a larger pattern throughout the war on both sides of American Indian soldiers coming on and off of service rolls, making specifics of participation challenging to ascertain.

Enlistment and Service of American Indian Regiments

In addition to the tribal-specific nuances of alliance with the Union or Confederacy, several factors affected all the residents of Indian Territory and surrounding tribal holdings. As the Confederates negotiated treaties with Indian tribes and attempted to secure their allegiance to the Confederacy, the Union army, in need of troops and realizing they were surrounded by slave states and territories, withdrew from forts in Indian Territory in the spring of 1861.⁴¹ This withdrawal abdicated treaty commitments of protection, and left tribes more vulnerable to the wooing of the Confederacy, as many influential Indian agents were southerners.⁴² Many tribal members may have also taken umbrage with the decision of the U.S. government not to pay tribal annuities in 1861, for fear the monies would fall into Confederate hands.⁴³

Although Albert Pike could not obtain cooperation from some “full-blooded” American Indians such as those who supported Cherokee Chief Ross, he signed separate agreements with the Stand Watie faction of Cherokees, as well as the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and the Lower Creeks. Soliciting the military support of Indians preceded the negotiation of treaties to entice wide tribal enlistment. Douglas H. Cooper, future general and commander of the Confederate forces at the First Battle of Newtonia, is alleged to have begun enrolling Confederate troops from American Indian tribes as early as April 1861.⁴⁴ Promises of participation in the Confederate States Congress in Richmond, Virginia, were an incentive to join with the Confederates. Confederate regiments were composed of members of a single tribe, with the exception of the closely allied Choctaws and Chickasaws, who fought together. Many initially volunteered for service, but others were conscripted because of the treaties they signed with the Confederates or laws passed within their own nations.⁴⁵

Many Union allied tribal factions and individuals joined one of the three Union Indian Home Guard regiments, and while enlistment was largely American Indian, they were open to any Union-supporting resident of Kansas and Indian Territory, including whites, runaway slaves, free blacks, and those of mixed parentage.⁴⁶ All three regiments were of mixed tribal affiliation, though the First Indian Home Guards were predominantly Creeks and the Third Indian Home Guards were primarily Cherokees.⁴⁷ Enlistment was voluntary, and undoubtedly an attractive alternative to ineffectual destitution in the refugee encampments.

Table 1: Battles Involving American Indian Regiments

Battle Name	State	Date	CWSAC Battlefield Class
Wilson’s Creek	Missouri	August 10, 1861	A
Round Mountain	Indian Territory	November 19, 1861	D
Chusto-Talajah	Indian Territory	December 9, 1861	D
Chustenahlah	Indian Territory	December 26, 1861	B
Pea Ridge	Arkansas	March 6-8, 1862	A
First Newtonia	Missouri	September 20, 1862	C
Old Fort Wayne	Indian Territory	October 22, 1862	D
Cane Hill	Arkansas	November 28, 1862	C
Prairie Grove	Arkansas	December 7, 1862	B
Cabin Creek	Indian Territory	July 1-2, 1863	C
Honey Springs	Indian Territory	July 17, 1863	B
Middle Boggy Depot	Indian Territory	February 13, 1864	D
Poison Spring	Arkansas	April 18, 1864	C

American Indian forces participating

Confederate	Union	Confederate and Union	Confederate and Union-sympathizing Creek
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While rolls over the life of a regiment numbered in the thousands, only hundreds could be mustered at a time. Turnover was caused by casualties and desertions, but also by short-term absences without leave where soldiers left and later returned to service.⁴⁸ As mentioned above, American Indian soldiers on both sides in the Trans-Mississippi West took a more casual view of soldiery and service, often leaving their posts for periods to check on their homes and property, conduct unsanctioned raids, or to go hunting for food.⁴⁹ Toward the end of the Civil War, regiment numbers stabilized as soldiers’ homes and property were burned and destroyed and crops went unsown, and soldiers became dependent on the military for supplies and rations, meager though they were.⁵⁰

Civil War Battles Involving American Indian Military Units

At the Battle of Wilson’s Creek on August 10, 1861, Confederates prevailed, and with them, a contingent of Stand Watie’s First Cherokee Mounted Volunteers. The period immediately following this battle has been characterized as the high point of the tumultuous Cherokee-Confederacy relationship, as the Confederate

victory over the mismanaged Union army was so re-sounding as to give the Cherokees every indication that the Confederate cause would prevail.⁵¹

The majority of the Cherokee Nation led by Ross eventually committed to the Confederacy at a general assembly held August 21, 1861. Attempting to maintain tribal unity was Ross’s primary concern. Agreeing to Confederate terms promised great benefits to the Indian nation upon their victory. In addition to money owed to the tribe by the United States government, the Confederacy promised to enforce fugitive slave laws in Indian Territory and to allow Indian nations to join the Confederacy as independent states. Additionally, the agreement stipulated that Indian regiments would be used only in the defense of Indian Territory.⁵² Perhaps a harbinger of what was to come, the Confederacy was already defaulting on payments to the Cherokees by early 1862.⁵³

While Lower Creeks sided with the Confederacy, the Upper Creeks, led by Creek war veteran Opothleyahola, refused to be courted by the Confederacy and asked the Union for protection.⁵⁴ In late 1861, Opothleyahola led an exodus of entire families of Creeks, as well as a number of Seminoles, Kickapoos, Shawnees,

Delawares, Wichitas, Comanches, and several hundred former slaves, to Union-controlled Kansas. Douglas H. Cooper, the Choctaw agent who was at that time a colonel in the Confederacy, assembled a force of white and American Indian soldiers (Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles) to pursue the pro-Union Creeks.⁵⁵ After repulsing their pursuers at Round Mountain, Opothleyahola's band was defeated at Chusto-Talasa and decisively at the Battle of Chustenahlah on December 26, 1861.⁵⁶ The surviving pro-Union Creeks, starving, poorly clothed, and having lost their supplies and livestock in the fighting, continued to Kansas.⁵⁷ Assistance from the federal government upon their arrival was inadequate and their suffering was "inconceivably horrible" as they remained in temporary encampments in Kansas.⁵⁸ Although formal military organization was only on the Confederate side of this campaign, these battles were the first full-scale outbreaks of intertribal violence during the Civil War, and seem to have served as an outlet for American Indian divisions as much as serving a tactical purpose for the Confederacy.

The battle where Confederate forces first used large numbers of American Indian troops was the Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on March 6–8, 1862. It was a major engagement in the Trans-Mississippi theater and involved over 10,000 troops on each side of the battle. Among those soldiers on the Confederate side were General Pike's Indian Brigade, which included regiments of Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, as well as a regiment of the Texas Cavalry. Pea Ridge resulted in a Union victory, and with the exception of some later incursions including the First Battle of Newtonia, this battle secured Missouri for the Union for the following two years. It also signaled the growing instability of the Indian alliance with Confederate forces.⁵⁹ American Indian forces were not eager to fight outside of Indian Territory and some believed the orders to do so violated their treaties.⁶⁰

Two regiments of Cherokee soldiers, each representing different factions, fought for the Confederacy at the battle of Pea Ridge. Stand Watie's regiment of Mounted Rifles continued their zealous service for the Confederacy, but the other regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles under the command of Colonel John Drew was diminished by defections to the Union side following the Confederate defeat.⁶¹ Many of the defectors went on to join the Union Indian Home Guard regiments.⁶² This defection signaled a shift in the allegiance of much of the Cherokee Nation that had formerly been allied with the Confederacy and decisively split the Cherokees on either side of the Civil War.⁶³

One of the most contested aspects of American Indian involvement at Pea Ridge, and common to reports of Civil War battles involving tribal regiments, was the reported occurrence of scalping prisoners and other mutilations of the dead allegedly committed by American Indian soldiers. At Pea Ridge, it was recounted that 18 Union dead were found scalped and General Pike's order for the Indians to "fight in their own fashion" perhaps led to the "Indian savage" representation of any brutality that occurred.⁶⁴ Pike himself was horrified to learn of scalping reports and issued an order prohibiting the practice, sending a copy to Union General Curtis under a flag of truce. Rather than ameliorating the situation, his order was seen as corroborating the scalping claims.⁶⁵ No conclusive evidence shows how many were victims of pre- or post-mortem atrocities.⁶⁶ The issue remains unsettled.⁶⁷ The incendiary nature of these accusations of savagery led to reports in national newspapers, which tainted perceptions wherever tribal regiments fought.⁶⁸

Attention also turned to the issue of American Indian refugees in Kansas, who had virtually no supplies and were dying in droves.⁶⁹ They were willing to assist in retaking their homes. In addition, potential cost to the U.S. government of supporting the refugees in Kansas led to interest in an Indian expedition to return them to Indian Territory.⁷⁰ There was some trepidation about arming "loyal" Indians, perhaps because of the accusations of brutality at Pea Ridge.⁷¹ At the outset of the Indian expedition in June 1862, the Union sent 2,000 white troops and armed 3,000 Indians, forming the First and Second Indian Home Guards. They would "be used only against Indians or in defense of their own territory and homes."⁷²

At a skirmish at Locust Grove in late June 1862, in which the Union's First Indian Home Guard prevailed, Confederate Colonel Drew's Cherokee Mounted Rifles were decimated by a final round of defections. The number of defectors was so large as to provide a Second Indian Home Guard with enough men to spare to start a third regiment of Indian home guards.⁷³ The Third Indian Home Guard began operating immediately, but was not formally organized or recognized by the government until mid-September of 1862.⁷⁴ Other Cherokee regiments that remained loyal to the Confederacy showed little mercy for defectors, often killing them when captured in later battles.⁷⁵

Although the Union's Indian Expedition made early progress, infighting among the highest levels of Union command caused the effort to all but dissolve within a month. However, the organization of Union American

Indian regiments was a lasting result of the Indian Expedition. Like Confederate regiments, they were intended only for use in Indian Territory; however, the troops soon crossed into bordering states.

After defeat at the Battle of Pea Ridge in March, Confederate forces were alarmed at the inroads the Union was making in the Trans-Mississippi and, under reorganized leadership, they pressed their American Indian troops to fight outside Indian Territory in operations in Missouri and Arkansas. Forays north of the Confederate line in the Boston Mountains of Arkansas led to the First Battle of Newtonia on September 30, 1862. (For a description of the battle, see “The First Battle of Newtonia,” page 25.) American Indian regiments that fought in the First Battle of Newtonia for the Confederacy were the First Cherokee Battalion, the First Choctaw Regiment, and the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles. First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles made daring charges and the First Choctaw Regiment engaged the Union’s recently formed Third Indian Home Guards in a “desperate struggle.”⁷⁶ Ultimately, the Confederate forces prevailed.

The American Indian regiments played a major role in this battle, although the gains for the Confederacy ultimately proved minor and short-lived. Although nowhere near the level of exaggerated reports of Indian brutality at Pea Ridge, there were some accusations of scalping at Newtonia. General Pike, in a letter to the highest ranking Confederate general Samuel Cooper, wrote that “the dead of the enemy were scalped, I am informed by an officer who was there, in or after the engagement.”⁷⁷ Pike, who had long been an advocate for American Indians, opposed the use of American Indian troops outside Indian Territory as “unjust and cruel to them and impolitic in the extreme for [the Confederates].”⁷⁸ The accusation may simply have been a means to dissuade further use of American Indian regiments in the states. Allegations of scalping of the dead at Newtonia based on Pike’s letter appear in at least one influential source; the same account is dominated by a description of the significance of Indian participation.^{79A} An 1867 account notes that the American Indian soldiers at Newtonia were “restrained from all acts of violence on the dead.”^{79B} That the absence of such violence is noted is itself telling of suspicious attitudes toward American Indian soldiers.

American Indian participation at the First Battle of Newtonia earned praise from commanders on both sides and was held up as an example to dispel lingering doubts about American Indian effectiveness as soldiers. Confederate Douglas H. Cooper, who had much to

recount from the victory at Newtonia, wrote in letters to his superiors:

*The Indians, too, on that field vindicated their claim to equality with the best Confederate troops under a cannonade lasting with but little interruption from early in the morning until sunset. I feel proud to record the fact that the white troops themselves who were in the battle of Newtonia, and who behaved as well as troops ever did, awarded to the Choctaws the meed of praise for rendering the most effective service on that day.*⁸⁰

The Union’s Indian Office general files on the First Battle of Newtonia contain the following description of the American Indian contribution:

*The officers and soldiers of our own regiments now freely acknowledge [the Indians] to be valuable Allies and in no case have they yet faltered, until ordered to retire. The prejudice once existing against them is fast disappearing from our army and it is now generally conceded that they will do good service in our border warfare. . . . With our fifteen hundred Cherokee Warriors in the service of our government—we feel that every possible protection should be extended to them as a people.*⁸¹

These similar sentiments reflect a common theme in official reports by commanders commending their allies’ performance in battle. Although Newtonia undoubtedly raised the stature of the American Indian soldiers who fought there, in more difficult times the regard of American Indians as volatile or unreliable soldiers resurfaced. As the war continued, the relationship between tribes and their commanders on both sides soured, in both victory and defeat. Union General Blunt, who commanded a tri-racial force in the Trans-Mississippi West, remarked that he “would not exchange one regiment of negro troops for ten regiments of Indians.”⁸² The First Battle of Newtonia was a high point of Union and Confederate appreciation of American Indian regiments’ contributions; however, like the Confederate victory at Newtonia, it was not lasting.

News of the battle reached Cherokee Chief John Ross in the form of a letter from Third Indian Home Guard commander William A. Phillips. While the letter is now lost, the reactions of some high profile leaders suggest that the account of the First Battle of Newtonia

highlighted the critical role played by Union Indian soldiers, and requested further aid. The letter and the Union Indian conduct at Newtonia led to increased attention in Washington.⁸³ Ross, who was living in exile in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., used the occasion to write to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, both about the need for more horses and for a separate military department for Indian Territory—a gentle reminder that Indian Territory was the agreed-upon place for American Indian regiments. “. . . The effective strength of the Indians would be kept at home for the defence[sic] of their own country and not wasted in more distant fields,” he wrote of this proposal for a department for Indian Territory.⁸⁴

A department exclusive to Indian Territory was not formed, with the regiments sent on “discretionary” guard duty in early 1863, and it is also unclear if the regiment received the horses Ross requested.⁸⁵ However, Ross also showed Phillip’s letter to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who forwarded the letter to President Lincoln.⁸⁶ This led to the authorization of additional Indian Home Guard regiments. Organization of a fourth Indian Home Guard regiment was commenced but never completed.⁸⁷

The First Battle of Newtonia is notable for being the first Civil War battle in which organized units of regimental strength, composed of American Indians, were directed to fight against one another.⁸⁸ But it was not the last, nor the largest. The July 17, 1863, Battle of Honey Springs was a large battle and decisive Union victory that took place on what was then Creek Nation land in Indian Territory.

At the Honey Springs commissary depot along Elk Creek, Confederates were waiting for reinforcements to arrive to engage the Union at Fort Gibson, when Union forces decided to strike first. Combatants on the Union side, under Major General Blunt, included the First, Second, and Third Indian Home Guards, as well as the First Kansas Colored Infantry. On the Confederate side, under Brigadier General Cooper, regiments included the First and Second Choctaw Regiments, the First Cherokee and Choctaw Regiment, Colonel Stand Watie’s Cherokee Regiment, and the First and Second Creek Regiments.⁸⁹ Estimates of the size of each army were around 3,000 Union troops and between 3,400 and 5,100 Confederate, however, not all were armed and fit to fight.⁹⁰ The engagement began with artillery fire and advanced to hand-to-hand combat, ending in a Union victory. Many Confederate supplies were captured or destroyed—a setback for troops already low on supplies.

As a result of the battle, the Confederates no longer controlled Indian Territory north of the Arkansas River, which consisted largely of the Cherokee Nation. It also led to the Union capture of Fort Smith.⁹¹ Combined with other battles in Arkansas around that same time, the Union gained control of the Arkansas River, opening an important river supply line. Following the battle and resulting Union control, a wave of pro-Confederate Cherokees and Creeks fled the region, joining other refugees in Confederate-controlled areas. Honey Springs was the most significant battle of the Civil War involving American Indian forces on both sides.

Other battles and skirmishes in Indian Territory relied heavily on American Indian forces. Battles at Middle Boggy Depot and Poison Spring involved Confederate Indian regiments in the increasingly desperate spring of 1864. There were also informal expressions of Civil War tribal involvement, including a controversial instance of tribe-against-tribe brutality at the sacking of the Wichita Indian Agency on October 23–24, 1862.⁹² The Wichita Indian Agency, near Fort Cobb and staffed by Confederates, was established to receive Indians relocated from Texas reservations and to protect them from hostile tribes and white settlers.⁹³ A Union cavalry of Kickapoos, Delawares, and Shawnees descended on the Wichita Agency, burning it and killing the staff. The following day, the cavalry set upon the Confederate-allied Tonkawas encamped nearby, killing 137—almost half of the Tonkawa Nation. The incident was characterized by Confederate reports as “nothing more than a vicious massacre of other Indians and Confederate Indian agency personnel, perpetrated by Indian marauders and deserters from the Union army,” while the Union claimed it as a major victory.⁹⁴ The sacking of the Wichita Agency represented an incident of violence between tribes during the Civil War outside the definitions of battle. And indeed, it was outside the defined lines of battle that the most suffering was visited upon American Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West.

Post-War Outcomes for American Indians

American Indians who participated as soldiers in the war, from the northern and southern states as well as the Trans-Mississippi West, hoped to preserve their communities and way of life, while preventing additional loss of land and Indian removal.⁹⁵ Through their contribution, they significantly enhanced and fortified both the Union and Confederate armies.⁹⁶ However, their contributions are largely unheralded and, though small in overall numbers, the proportion of soldiers lost by the nations of Indian Territory was staggering.

For example, of the 3,530 men from the Indian nations to serve in the Union military, 1,018 died during their enlistment, either in battle, of wounds sustained therein, or of disease.⁹⁷ Tribes that allied themselves with the Confederate side were treated as defeated nations; however, tribes that allied with the Union were not rewarded as they might have hoped.⁹⁸

The consequences for refugees caught in the crossfire in and around Indian Territory were also profound. There was a great human cost to the Five Civilized Tribes, who lost a higher percentage of their citizens than any southern state in the war.⁹⁹ Refugees from the fighting taxed the resources of their communities, which were devastated throughout the war by raiding parties and encamped armies that consumed or carried off cattle, crops, and personal possessions.¹⁰⁰ The livestock and livelihoods of tribes in Indian Territory and other resettled lands suffered greatly as a result of the Civil War. Relief efforts were thwarted by corruption and the difficulty of moving goods to then-remote areas.

Thousands of civilians were displaced during the conflict, with Union sympathizers heading to Kansas and pro-Confederates seeking refuge in northern Texas.¹⁰¹ A census of Union Cherokees in 1863 showed that a quarter of children were orphaned, a figure that was likely similar for the Confederate Cherokees.¹⁰² Between 1860 and 1867, the Cherokee Nation lost a full third of its people, many to disease, starvation, and violence.¹⁰³ Weakened populations were susceptible to disease and impoverished communities relied on government assistance. The destructive effects of the war rippled through tribal communities for generations following the end of the Civil War.

Apart from those American Indians taking up arms as Union or Confederate soldiers, many American Indians were fighting further west on behalf of their own nations. While the eyes of the nation were fixed on the battles in the East, frontier hostilities continued, and were possibly more deadly during the Civil War than in any other comparable period.¹⁰⁴

Attacks on tribal sovereignty and the coveting of tribal lands were nothing new, but were intensified during and after the Civil War, in which American Indians joined in hopes of improving their chances of tribal survival. Instead, the war resulted in exacerbated internal divisions, decimated populations, and crushed economic structures.¹⁰⁵ For the American Indian participants in the Trans-Mississippi theater of the Civil War, there were no victors.

NEWTONIA BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

On the eve of the Civil War, Newtonia was a small village at the juncture of several regionally important roads leading to the larger towns of Neosho, Granby, and Sarcoxie. A traveler passing through town in 1859 described Newtonia as “a neat village with tasteful buildings.”¹⁰⁶ The 1860 census shows that 240 people received mail through the Newtonia post office, although these were primarily rural recipients, and the population of the village itself was less than half that number. An 1864 battle map of Newtonia displayed only 18 buildings.¹⁰⁷

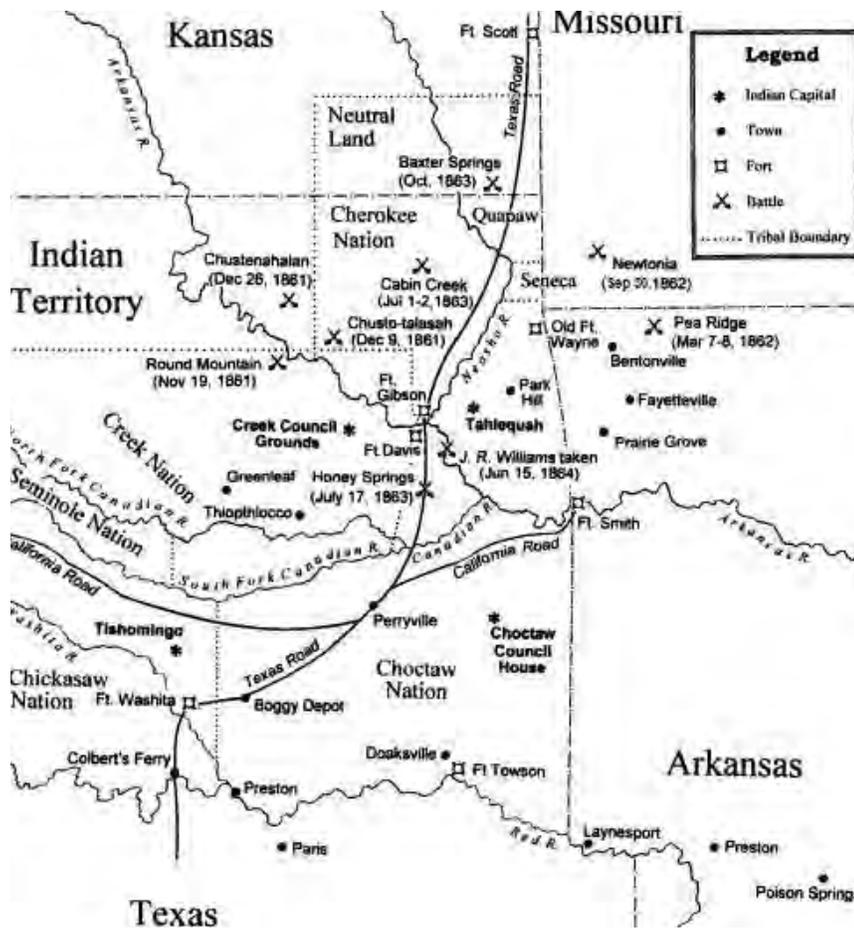


Figure 3: Indian Territory and the surrounding area during the Civil War

The Newtonia vicinity in southwest Missouri was settled by European Americans in the 1830s and was initially referred to as Oliver's Prairie. The site of Newtonia was granted to a man named Edward Dunn in 1840, although it is unknown if he ever occupied the land. It was not until 1851 that Mathew H. Ritchey, a prominent resident of Newton County, purchased the land and began to construct a home, which he completed in 1852. In addition to the house, known as the Ritchey Mansion, a three-story stone barn and stone fences were built across the road on property owned by Ritchey. These structures would later play a strategic role in both Civil War battles at Newtonia.¹⁰⁸

Ritchey laid out the town plat in 1854 and donated 13 lots for the construction of a school that would become the Newtonia Academy. He helped organize the first business in town, which was engaged in milling and merchandising.¹⁰⁹ The mill was an important feature of the village and later attracted the attention of Confederate forces.

The residents of Newton County, prior to the Civil War, could be described politically as "conservative Unionists," as some had Southern roots, held slaves, and opposed abolition, yet were still supporters of the Union. Mathew Ritchey, a native southerner and slaveholder from Tennessee, was also an ardent Union supporter.¹¹⁰ After the war began in the east and approached the Trans-Mississippi West, the Missouri State Guard commanded by Confederate General Sterling Price descended on southwest Missouri to drill and prepare troops for battle. The summer of 1861 saw poorly armed and mounted Confederate soldiers invading the area surrounding Newtonia, stealing horses and terrorizing area residents in their attempts to outfit themselves for war.¹¹¹

By fall 1861, Union forces controlled the Missouri state capital, then in Springfield. By early 1862, Price's army had been driven out of the state, but Confederate recruits had begun to pass through Newtonia attempting to increase the southern army forces. They were involved in minor skirmishes with Union soldiers, with the Ritchey barn reported to have been a place of refuge for both sides. Neither military force regularly occupied or controlled Newtonia through the summer of 1862, but a semipermanent Union outpost was set up in July 1862 to protect the town's strategic proximity to the Granby lead mines, and potentially prevent a Confederate invasion from Arkansas to the south.¹¹²

THE FIRST BATTLE OF NEWTONIA September 30, 1862

The booming of the cannon, the bursting of shells, the air filled with missiles of every description, the rattling crash of small arms, the cheering of our men, and the war-whoop of our Indian allies, all combined to render the scene both grand and terrific.

Col. Douglas H. Cooper, Confederate Army¹¹³

As food and forage for horses was becoming exhausted along the northern border of Arkansas, the Confederacy sought to take control of the fertile and mineral-rich area of southwestern Missouri, leading to the First Battle of Newtonia. Newtonia's location at a junction of important byways to Neosho, Granby, and Sarcoxie made it a crucial staging area. In addition to Granby's lead mines, the grist mill in Newtonia provided supplies to troops, making it an area of local strategic importance. At various times leading up to September 1862, both Union and Confederate forces had attempted to occupy Newtonia. By the middle of September, Confederate forces converged in the Newtonia vicinity.

Troops under Confederate Colonel Douglas H. Cooper had joined forces with the men of Colonel Joseph O. Shelby. By the time of the first battle, Newtonia was in Confederate hands and they had seized and were operating the grist mill. When alerted to Confederate activity in the area, Union troops under the command of General James G. Blunt began to consolidate in the area of Sarcoxie, 15 miles northeast of Newtonia. The CWSAC report summary of the First Battle of Newtonia describes the initial engagement:

On September 29th, Federal [Union] scouts approached Newtonia but were chased away. Other Federal troops gathered in nearby Granby at the lead mines, to which Colonel Cooper sent reinforcements. The next morning, Federal troops converged on Newtonia and fighting ensued early in the morning. The Federals began driving the enemy, but Confederate reinforcements arrived, swelling their numbers. The Federals gave way and retreated in haste. As they did so, additional troops appeared and helped to stem their retreat. The Federals renewed the attack, threatening the Confederate right flank.¹¹⁴

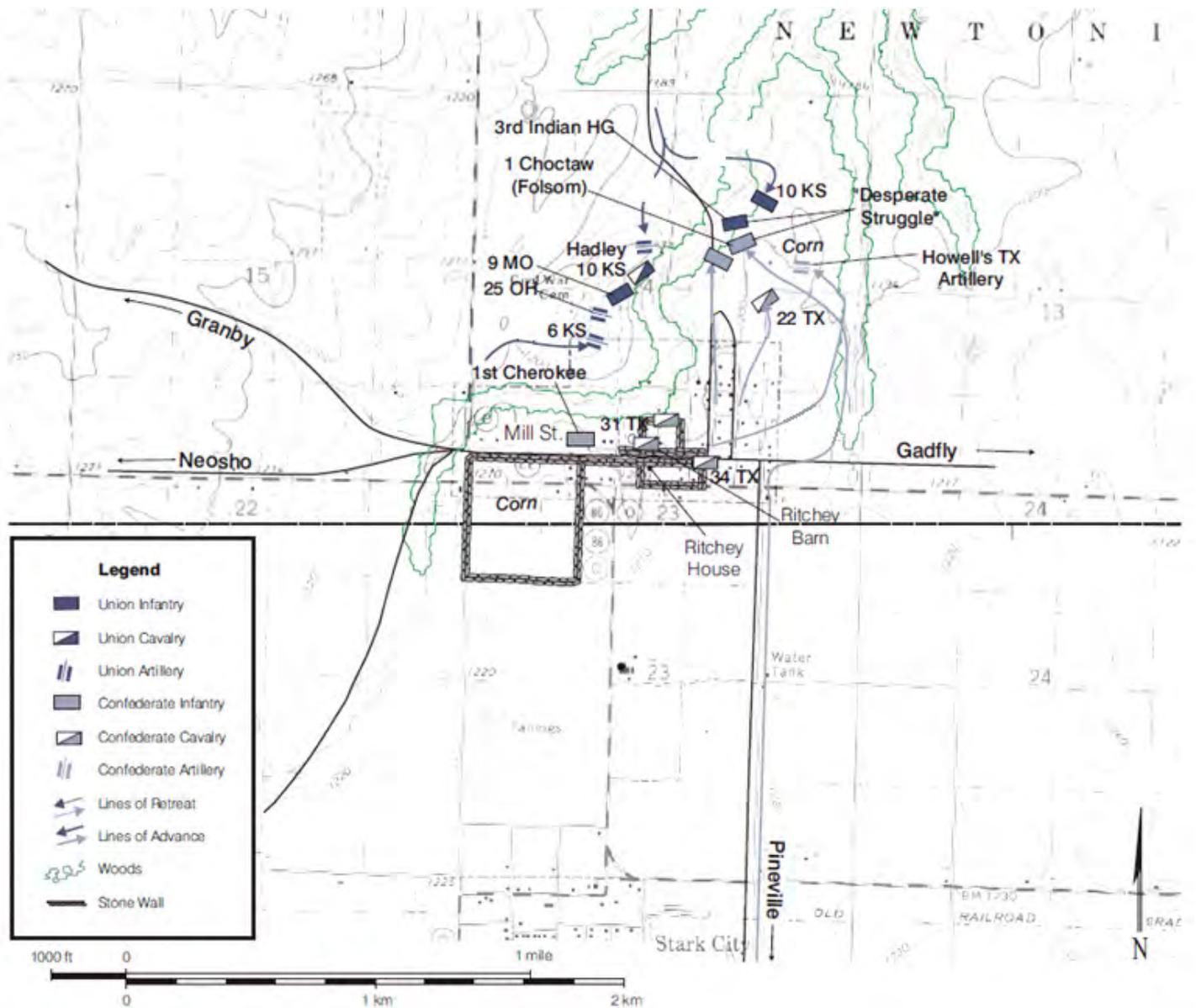


Figure 4: First Battle of Newtonia, September 30, 1862. Battle Positions and Engagements, 3:30 – 5:30pm.

Among those engaged in the battle on the Confederate side were the First Cherokee Battalion, the First Choctaw Regiment, and the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles. On the battlefield, the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, commanded by Colonel Cooper, met the Third Indian Home Guards. The battle resulted in a Confederate victory. Both sides lost heavily in numbers of horses, but soldiers were reported to have “stood fire well.”¹¹⁵

Around 4:00 p.m., the Confederate-led First Choctaw Regiment arrived at Newtonia, around the same time as Colonel Phillips’s Pin Indians had advanced on the town undetected. Phillips’s regiment opened fire on

the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, whose numbers were bolstered by the First Choctaw Regiment commanded by Colonel Sampson Folsom.¹¹⁶ This clash of American Indian regiments was characterized by a Union observer as a “most determined fight. . .in regular Indian style,” drawing to a close with a retreat by the Union troops once they had run out of ammunition.¹¹⁷ Newly arrived Confederates stopped that attack and eventually forced the Union forces to retreat again. Pursuit of the Union troops continued after dark. When the Confederate artillery opened up on the Union forces, the retreat turned into a rout. Some of the Union soldiers ran as far as Sarcoxie.

A recent account of the battle synthesizing historical and archeological evidence describes that critical battle moment at Newtonia in the afternoon:

At this point the Confederate situation became dire. . . Cooper's next surprise came in the form of Federal Native American troops under Phillips, who had quietly advanced south up the drainage of the Newtonia Branch into Spring Branch, and were now taking cover in the rail fences and thickets of the plum orchards north of the mill. Here they began a "withering" small-arms fire into Walker's Confederate [First Choctaw and Chickasaw] Regiment, which formed Cooper's immediate right flank.

During this telling moment, additional Confederate reinforcements arrived, as the 1st Choctaw Regiment of Colonel Sampson Folsom reported to Cooper. . . Cooper immediately ordered Folsom to attempt to flank Phillips' Home Guard. This was accomplished by Folsom moving out due east on Gadfly Road, then turning north through a cornfield (Figure 4). The maneuver was successful in surprising the Yankee Pins, and a "desperate struggle" ensued. . .¹¹⁸

Later, the First Choctaw Regiment and the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles charged the Third Indian Home Guard, causing them to retreat "back up the drainage under cover of the Union artillery."¹¹⁹ This was the turning point in the battle, and when expected Union reinforcements had not arrived, a Union retreat was ordered. The Confederates pursued them up the Sarcoxie Road corridor until after nightfall, at which point Confederate forces returned to Newtonia.¹²⁰

While remote from the larger Eastern and Western theaters, the First Battle of Newtonia was not isolated from a larger offensive that brought the Confederacy closest to military victory in the Civil War. The spring of 1862 had seemed to promise an early victory for the Union, following successes at Pea Ridge in the Trans-Mississippi, Shiloh in the Western theater, and a position just 7 miles from the Confederate capital of Richmond in the East. But the Confederates made gains in the late summer and early fall of 1862 across the 1,100-mile front of the war from east to west. Battles like Second Manassas in the Eastern theater, Munfordville in

the Western theater, and operations north of the Boston Mountains in the Trans-Mississippi, of which Newtonia was part, brought the Confederate military position to a high water mark by early fall of 1862. Confederate forces nationwide were unable to hold the offensive advantage for long. Between the Confederate defeat at Antietam on September 17 and at Perryville, Kentucky, on October 8, their advantage dissolved.¹²¹

Confederate control of Newtonia was short-lived. Union forces from Fort Scott, Kansas, and Springfield, Missouri, gathered with those in Sarcoxie immediately following the defeat at Newtonia on September 30. The Union forces descended on Newtonia on October 4 with a barrage of artillery fire. Aside from skirmishing, the Confederates retreated upon learning that they faced a vastly superior force.¹²² The Union established a garrison at Newtonia that remained for the next two years.¹²³ The somewhat scattered Confederate forces withdrew to northwest Arkansas. Confederate correspondence reveals that poorly supplied forces, American Indian and white alike, suffered from lack of food and proper clothing, and were otherwise "rapidly becoming unfit for service."¹²⁴ The victory had been a glimmer of hope for the Confederacy in southwest Missouri, but it was fleeting; Confederate forces were expelled within a week. The Confederate army would not have an organized presence in Missouri again until 1864.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF NEWTONIA October 28, 1864

We met the enemy in this place this evening, and General Blunt, in advance, immediately engaged him. General Sanborn, with his command, soon joined the advance, and the rebels were again routed with heavy loss.

Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, Union Army¹²⁵

After the short-lived victories in the Trans-Mississippi theater in 1862, the Confederate army did not have a sustained organized presence in Missouri again until the fall of 1864. Following the fall of Vicksburg the previous summer and subsequent Union control of the Mississippi River, the Trans-Mississippi had been cut off from the war in the East. The defensive victory of Confederate troops in the Red River Campaign in Louisiana and the Camden Expedition in Arkansas buoyed their hopes in what otherwise was a period devoid of victory for Confederate troops in any theater.¹²⁶



Figure 5: Map of Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864

In September 1864, Confederate commanders saw what they considered an opportunity to attack St. Louis, Missouri, and generally disrupt the Union war effort. Trans-Mississippi commanders engaged perhaps the expedition's greatest advocate, General Sterling Price, for the task.

The military goals of the expedition, also known as Price's Raid, were to create a diversion to relieve pressure on Confederate armies in the East, capture federal weapons and support materials stockpiled at St. Louis, and to rally Confederate sympathizers in Missouri as new

recruits. As a Missourian and politician, General Price, who had served Missouri as a congressman and governor before the war, was primarily interested in establishing Confederate rule in Missouri to help win back the state for the Confederacy.¹²⁷ He also hoped to influence the 1864 presidential election away from Lincoln.¹²⁸

Price was not the first to launch an invasion of Missouri since Confederate forces were driven out in 1862. Small cavalry efforts by General Marmaduke and Colonel Shelby in 1863 had met with defeat.¹²⁹ Price's effort, however, was to be a full-scale assault. He organized

three divisions under the command of Marmaduke, Shelby, and Major General James Fagan. Although the force of 12,000 troops was impressive in size, about one-third of his men were unarmed irregulars. Price hoped that sympathizers in Missouri would provide the weapons he could not capture along the way.¹³⁰

Missouri in the Civil War was a state ravaged not only by formal battles, but guerilla warfare. The vigor of guerilla forces may have had some part in convincing Price and others that there were more in Missouri with Confederate leanings than was actually the case. Whatever their sympathies, Missourians lived in fear as “. . . every day brought its news, not alone of battle and skirmish, but of wholesale arson and pillage. . .,” a condition that reached its apogee with Price’s invasion.¹³¹

Price’s army crossed from Arkansas into Missouri on September 19, and initially gained ground. On September 27, Price attacked a much smaller Union force at Fort Davidson at the terminus of the Ironton railway in a rich mining district. Confederate forces assaulted the fort and the outnumbered Union forces repeatedly, and inflicted many casualties in some of Price’s strongest regiments. After holding off the Confederates, the Union forces successfully escaped the fort that night under the cover of darkness. As a result of the defeat, Price decided that St. Louis was out of reach and turned instead toward the capital of Jefferson City. Once Price learned that Jefferson City had been reinforced, he turned toward Kansas City, skirmishing with pursuing Union forces along the way. The force was encumbered by a long and slow-moving supply train. Price’s hopes that he would be supplied in Missouri by Confederate-leaning citizens were overly optimistic and supplies ran low as his men were attacked by Union forces and Union sympathizers.¹³² By the time Price reached the Kansas City vicinity, his losses in battle, disease, and desertion had reduced his forces to 8,500 men.¹³³

Outside Kansas City, two Union armies, one led by Major General Samuel Curtis and the other by General Alfred Pleasonton, closed in on Price. Curtis had amassed a force of regulars and militia members numbering 20,000.¹³⁴ Despite a rear guard action by Shelby and his “Iron Brigade,” Price was soundly defeated on October 21–23, 1864, at the battles of Westport and Byram’s Ford.¹³⁵ These two battles provided the decisive defeats that extinguished any remaining hope of Confederate success in Missouri.

Although defeated, Price was not yet captured. To save the battered remnants of his army, Price ordered a rapid march southward from Westport toward Arkansas, crossing into Kansas. The Union army pursued and inflicted additional losses. On October

28, Price’s retreating army entered Newtonia, chasing off the Union garrison that had been in place since shortly after the First Battle of Newtonia and killing the commanding officer.¹³⁶ The Confederates set up camp south of town along Pineville Road. Soon after, federal troops surprised the Confederates and engaged them just southwest of the Ritchey Mansion.¹³⁷ Shelby’s division engaged and held the federals, covering the rest of Price’s Army in retreat toward Indian Territory. The Second Battle of Newtonia was over very quickly, as more Union reinforcements arrived and convinced General Shelby to retreat with his remaining men.

Both sides claimed victory at the Second Battle of Newtonia. The Union army had forced the already retreating Price farther south, but they clearly missed an opportunity to achieve a decisive victory by not surrounding Price and forcing his surrender. The Confederate stalling action against superior numbers of Union forces was considered a success, even though the battle ended in Price’s retreat. Because the battle continued the hasty retreat of Confederate forces from their already foiled expedition and Newtonia remained in Union hands, it was undoubtedly a Union win.

The Second Battle of Newtonia turned out to be the final battle of the Civil War in Missouri. Price pushed his ragged army south to Arkansas where it continued to disintegrate, and his remaining forces continued eventually into Indian Territory and Texas. Although Union forces eventually pursued Price, they quickly abandoned the effort. Newtonia was garrisoned by Union troops for seven more months until the war ended the following April.¹³⁸

The townsfolk of Newtonia cared for the wounded and buried the dead from this battle as they had the last. Main buildings of the town survived the battle unscathed, but civilians were impacted both by the loss of food and the suffering of the wounded and dead, both human and animal. There were no more formal “set piece” battles in Missouri for the remainder of the war, but conflict continued in the form of guerilla skirmishes and raids that characterized much of the Civil War experience for Missouri’s citizens.¹³⁹

The battle at Newtonia has been assessed by historians as having a “direct and decisive influence” on the campaign, and indeed the battle drove the remainder of Price’s force, already in flight, from the state of Missouri.¹⁴⁰ The battle, however, was not a decisive event in the outcome of the campaign. The death knell for Price’s expedition sounded with the defeats at the battles of Westport and Byram’s Ford.

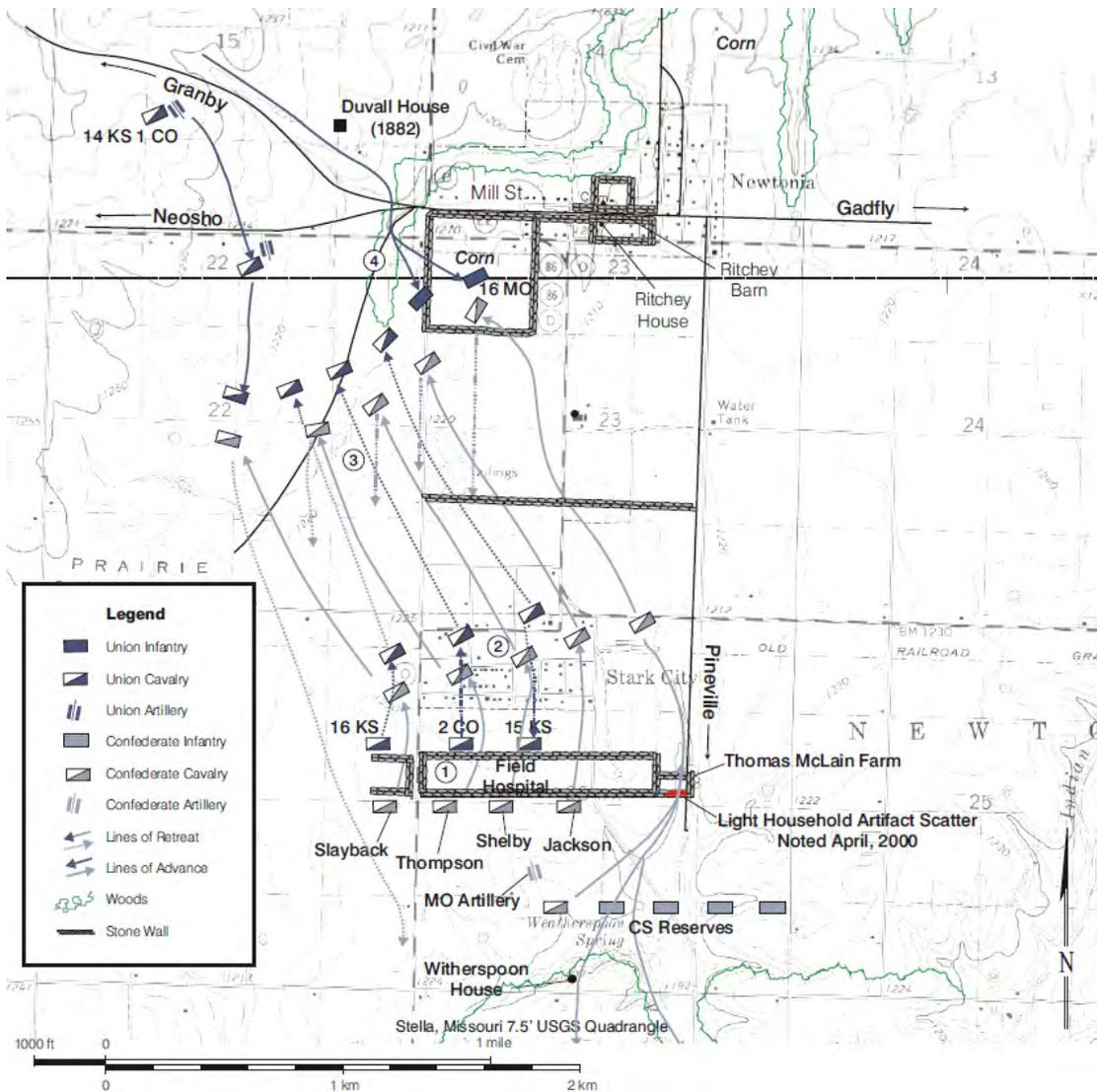


Figure 6: Second Battle of Newtonia, October 28, 1864. Battle Positions and Engagements, about 2:00 – 5:30pm.

Just as both sides claimed victory at Newtonia, the impact of Price’s Missouri Expedition as a whole was assessed differently by both sides. The Union forces saw it as a victory for holding the state for the Union, and terming it a “raid” downplayed the threat it posed after the fact. The expedition did have an effect on the 1864 elections, but it was the opposite of what Price intended, as Missourians voted overwhelmingly for Lincoln. Price and his commanders, in their official correspondence, made it seem more effective than it was, downplayed their losses and unmet objectives, and declared the campaign a success since Price was able to escape with his force nominally intact.¹⁴¹ Though it could claim to have met its objective to distract Union forces that might have turned their attention elsewhere, the incursion into Missouri did not succeed in capturing many strategic

assets or rallying widespread support.¹⁴² The reasons for the failure of the expedition were manifold, with unfortunate decisions made based on protecting an encumbering wagon train, faulty intelligence, and political motives that worked at cross-purposes with military goals.¹⁴³

Whether viewed as an abject failure or simply less successful than hoped, it is difficult to place Price’s Missouri Expedition in precise context within the Civil War as a whole, or assess its impact. Undoubtedly, it does not compare in influence to campaigns of the same year with broader ramifications, such as the Franklin-Nashville campaign, or the Atlanta campaign. Some historians have asserted that Price’s Expedition in fact delayed the fall of Mobile, Alabama, and Sherman’s march to the sea.¹⁴⁴ Some have

listed it as “major.”¹⁴⁵ Many historians have viewed it as having little impact.

It is also difficult to compare Price’s Expedition to other, similar actions. The closest corollary may be the Camden Expedition of March 23 to May 2, 1864, in Arkansas—a Union offensive launched as a component of the Red River Campaign that ended in failure.

CHAPTER 3: EXISTING CONDITIONS

THE FIRST BATTLE OF NEWTONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT

The site of the First Battle of Newtonia is at the junction of Highways 86 and M in Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri. Prior to the 20th century, the site contained open agricultural fields intermixed with scattered wooded lots and a small stream. Residential and agricultural buildings dominated the landscape, but nearly all were replaced by structures built in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The community today is similar to its historic footprint, population size, and layout. Most of the prominent geographical and natural features that played major roles in the battle still exist. The “First Battle of Newtonia Historic District” was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2004 at the state level of significance.¹⁴⁶ The nomination includes eight contributing resources that played major roles in the battle: (1) the battlefield; (2) the Ritchey Mansion, (3) Ritchey family cemetery, (4) barnyard, and (5) barn site; (6) Civil War cemetery; (7) the Neosho Road; and (8) the Newtonia Branch Stream.

The Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association, a nonprofit preservation group, owns the Ritchey House and 25.5 acres of core battlefield land out of 152.3 acres in the NRHP district. The organization also serves as caretaker of the Civil War cemetery in Newtonia. Much of the land the Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association owns is covered by dense vegetation but is slowly being restored to an open agricultural landscape.

The Ritchey Mansion, which is individually listed in the National Register at the local level of significance, was built by the founder of the community, Mathew H. Ritchey.¹⁴⁷ Constructed of handmade bricks using slave labor, it was completed in 1852. The house was surrounded by a stone fence on the south side of Neosho Road (now called Mill Street). Ritchey Mansion played a major role in the first battle, as it was a key defensive position for the Confederates and later served as a Confederate field hospital.

The Ritchey barn and surrounding barnyard, located directly across Mill Street from the mansion, was also used as a Confederate defensive position, as well as an artillery position. The barnyard encompassed 2.5 acres, was surrounded by a stone fence, and was used for cover by the Confederate forces, particularly the

31st Texas Cavalry and the First Cherokee Battalion, as they fired upon attacking Union forces. The barn was dismantled in the late 19th century, but archeological surveys have shown this as the place where much of the fiercest fighting took place during the First Battle of Newtonia. The site is now covered by trees and brush.

The Civil War cemetery is about 2,000 feet north of Mill Street. The site was used by Union forces to bombard Newtonia during the battle, and later became the resting place for some of the dead. Burial dates range from before the Civil War to present day. Nine stones can be identified as belonging to Union soldiers, including that of Captain Robert F. Christian, who was killed in 1864 during the Second Battle of Newtonia. The bodies of 20 Union soldiers were removed from the cemetery in 1869 and placed in the National Cemetery in Springfield, Missouri.

The Ritchey family cemetery is just west of the mansion. The oldest identifiable marker is that of Mathew Ritchey’s first wife, who died in 1855. There are a total of 38 known gravesites, with six of them in a separate area marked only with nameless stones. The cemetery is in the area where some of the heaviest fighting is thought to have occurred.¹⁴⁸

Mill Street, or historic Neosho Road, runs from east to west through the length of the town of Newtonia. Approximately 1,000 feet of Mill Street are included in the battlefield boundary of the historic district, from the junction of State Highway M to the edge of the Ritchey Mansion property. Fighting extended to the eastern edge of modern day Newtonia and probably farther east. In intermittent places along the length of Mill Street, a natural berm can be seen marking the width of the original lane. At the time of the battle, Mill Street was the southern boundary of the town of Newtonia. It was lined with a stone wall on either side (no longer extant), which played an integral part in the outcome of the battle by providing an excellent defensive position for Confederate forces.

Newtonia Branch Stream, which runs northeast from just south of Mill Street, served as an important water source and a defensive line throughout the battle. The spring was fought over continually. The stream is dry during much of the year and over the years increased use has lowered its water level.



Unidentified Union Indian soldier, collection of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (NPS)

In 2002, Congress requested an update to the 1993 CWSAC "Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields." The draft "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri" was prepared by the NPS American Battlefield Protection Program in 2011. The update involved the resurvey of the 384 battlefields of the 1993 report, which included both battles at Newtonia.¹⁴⁹ The resurvey considered a much larger area than the boundaries of the existing National Register historic district, and identifies additional lands as being potential additions to the district. Of the lands surveyed at Newtonia, the report notes that:

Portions of the battlefield landscape have been altered, but most essential features remain. Residential development along Highway 86, agribusiness associated with large-scale corn production, and the construction of chicken houses continue to diminish the integrity of the historic landscape, but these land use changes are slow to occur.¹⁵⁰

Boundary

For the purposes of this evaluation, the boundary under consideration will be the current National Register historic district of 152.3 acres that encapsulates the core of the fighting and the major actions taken by American Indian regiments¹⁵¹ (Appendix C). This boundary was selected "after the completion of two archaeological surveys and a preservation plan. The nominated acreage includes areas identified by both archaeological surveys including artillery positions, locations of stone walls, locations of historical buildings, battle lines and troop movements."¹⁵² It should be noted that the recent update by the American Battlefield Protection Program to the CWSAC Report advises that National Register boundaries of this district have the potential to be expanded to encompass additional lands.¹⁵³

THE SECOND BATTLE OF NEWTONIA HISTORIC SITE

The Second Battle of Newtonia site is roughly between the villages of Newtonia and Stark City in Newton County, Missouri, and is listed in the National Register at the state level of significance. There are small portions of the approximately 560-acre battlefield in both towns, but the majority lies between them. Missouri Highway 86 bounds much of the site on the east and north and County Route O / Starling Road bisects the site from north to south, forming the east boundary and part of the north boundary. The site contains four contributing resources that played major roles in the fighting: (1) the battlefield, (2) the cornfield, (3) the artillery ridge where the 1st Colorado Artillery Battery positioned its cannon, and (4) old Granby Road.

The battlefield covers nearly one square mile and almost all is in private ownership and in agricultural use. There are 20 noncontributing resources consisting of 20th century buildings (including residences and commercial properties). Because the buildings are in small groupings along the extreme edge of the battlefield, their visual impact is minimal.

The cornfield is primarily south of the Newtonia city limits. The intersection of County Route O / Starling Road and Mill Street forms the northwest corner of what was the Ritchey cornfield during the battle; the road alignment is the same today. The extant field is smaller today than it was in 1864 and Highway 86 has impacted its visual appearance; however, it remains easily discernible.

The Artillery Ridge site where the 1st Colorado Artillery Battery positioned its cannon is nearly 1 mile northwest of the center of the battlefield, in proximity to Granby Road and approximately 1,000 feet west of County Road O and 2,000 feet north of Highway 86. The slight rise of the ridge is recognizable and is covered with grass mixed with forest and undergrowth.

An element of strategic importance in both the First and Second Newtonia Battles was the road system to and from Newtonia, which at the time of the battles extended radially from the village to nearby Granby, Neosho, and Pineville. These older roads, important for the location of troop movements and positions, were overhauled in the Newtonia township by 1870.¹⁵⁴ The old Granby Road originates near the northwest corner of Newtonia and proceeds northwest through the general area of Artillery Ridge. Although the actual road no longer exists, its path is recognizable. Granby

Road was used by both sides to enter and leave the vicinity of Newtonia.

It is worth noting that there has been “no systematic appraisal of the subject site’s potential for historical archaeological remains, although it could conceivably retain a subsurface component dating to the 1864 battle.”¹⁵⁵

The draft CWSAC Report Update prepared by the American Battlefield Protection Program chronicles the resurvey of the battlefield called “Newtonia II.” Like its assessment of the first battle, the report explores additional acres for potential National Register listing.

Boundary

For the purposes of this evaluation, the boundary under consideration will be the current National Register site of 560 acres, which encapsulates the core areas of fighting in the Second Battle of Newtonia¹⁵⁶ (Appendix C). This boundary was selected “after the completion of two archaeological surveys and a preservation plan for the 1862 and 1864 Civil War battle sites. The boundaries were determined with reference to the surveys as well as historical accounts of the battle and a concern to preserve the site’s ability to convey its historic associations.”¹⁵⁷ It should be noted that the recent update by the American Battlefield Protection Program to the CWSAC Report advises that the National Register boundaries of this battle have the potential to be expanded to encompass additional lands.¹⁵⁸

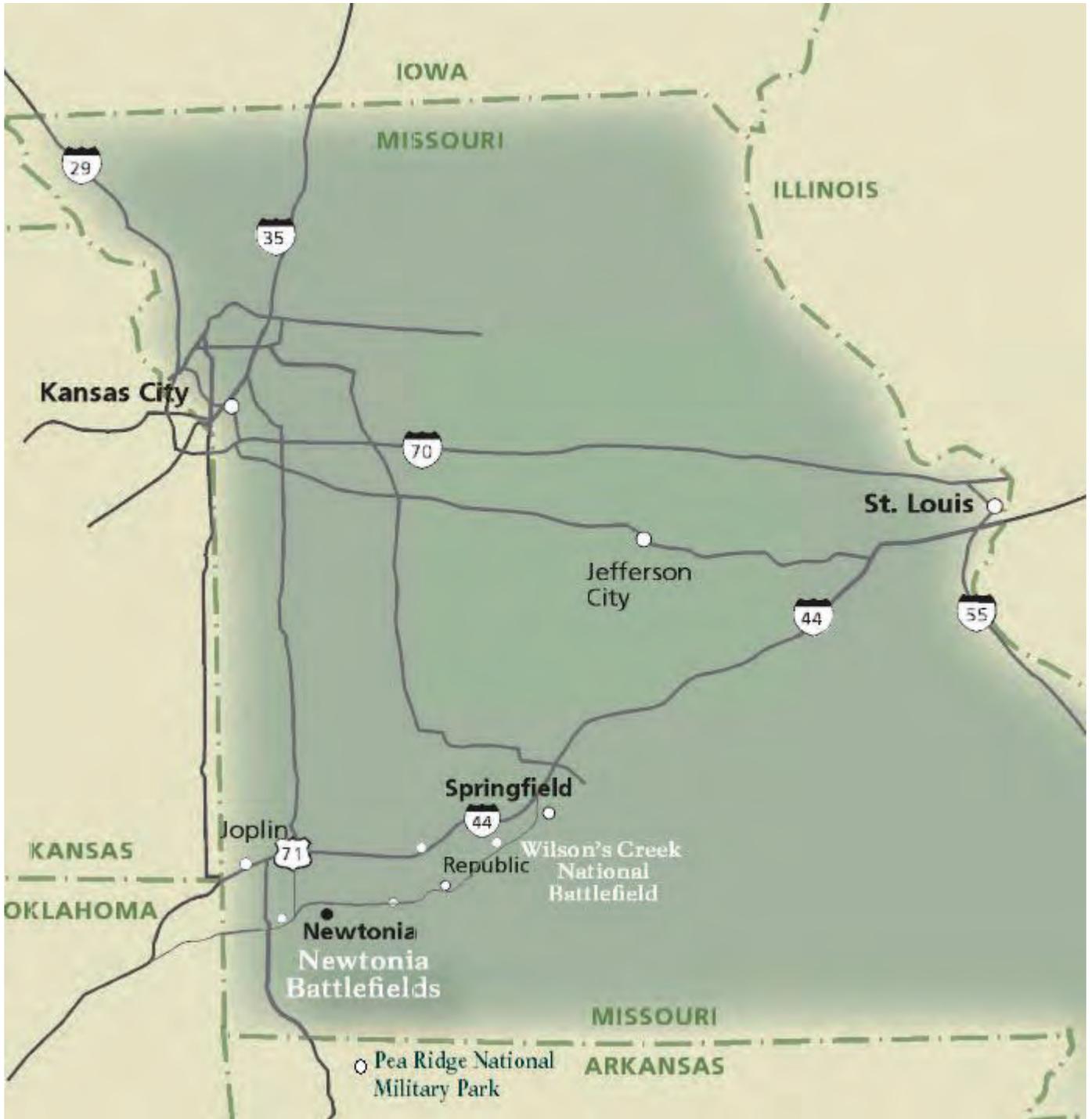


Figure 7: Location of the Newtonia Battlefields in Missouri

CHAPTER 4: CONSIDERATION FOR INCLUSION IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

NEW UNIT ANALYSIS

The legislation directing the National Park Service to undertake the Newtonia Battlefields Special Resource Study, Public Law 110-229, instructs the National Park Service to:

- (1) evaluate the national significance of the Newtonia battlefields and their related sites; and
- (2) evaluate the suitability and feasibility of adding the battlefields and related sites as part of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield or designating the battlefields and related sites as a unit of the national park system.

In this section, the Newtonia Battlefields will be evaluated against criteria for new units of the national park system. When specifically authorized by an act of Congress, the National Park Service is responsible for conducting studies of potential unit additions to the national park system, and for transmitting the results of these studies to the Secretary of the Interior and Congress. These special resource studies rely on the criteria for inclusion (Appendix E) to evaluate these potential new areas.¹⁵⁹ To be considered eligible for designation as a potential new area, a proposed addition to the national park system must meet the following criteria:

1. **Significance:** For cultural resources, significance is evaluated using the National Historic Landmark criteria (Appendix B). Determinations of an area’s national significance are made by NPS professionals in consultation with scholars, experts, and scientists.
2. **Suitability:** A property is considered suitable if it represents a resource type that is not currently represented in the park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another agency or entity. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the type, quality, quantity, combination of resources present, and interpretive and educational potential.
3. **Feasibility:** To be considered feasible, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of the

resources and to accommodate public use. The area must have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Other important feasibility factors include land ownership, acquisition costs, current and potential use, access, level of local and general public support, and staff or development requirements.

4. **Need for Direct NPS Management:** Even if a resource meets the criteria of significance, suitability, and feasibility, it will not always be recommended that a resource be added to the park system. There are many excellent examples of important natural and cultural resources managed by other federal agencies, other levels of government, and private entities. Evaluation of management options must show that direct NPS management is clearly the superior alternative.

In this chapter, the criteria for inclusion are applied to the Newtonia Battlefields. Each criterion is evaluated in sequence. If a criterion is not met, only a summary assessment will be given of subsequent criteria.

SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of the significance evaluation is to determine whether or not the Newtonia Battlefields qualify as “nationally significant” in terms of the established criteria for National Historic Landmarks (NHL) (Appendix B).¹⁶⁰ National significance can be ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation’s heritage. Properties are evaluated for exceptional value through a reasoned comparison of the property to themes of national importance and to similar properties nationwide. They must also possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Nationally significant cultural resources must satisfy at least one of the following specific criteria:

Criterion 1: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an

understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

Criterion 2: Associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

Criterion 3: Represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

Criterion 4: Embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

Criterion 5: Are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

Criterion 6: Have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light on periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

The significance of the Newtonia Battlefields will be evaluated separately, as they were different battles in separate campaigns occurring years apart. Both battles will be evaluated under NHL criterion 1: sites that are associated with or represent significant events or that outstandingly represent the broad national patterns of United States history.

- The First Battle of Newtonia will be evaluated under Criterion 1 for its ability to represent patterns of our national history, as representative of American Indian participation in the Civil War.
- The Second Battle of Newtonia will be evaluated under Criterion 1 as a representative battle of General Sterling Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864, a campaign to reclaim Missouri and distract Union forces that resulted in 11 battles in that state and Kansas.

Before assessing the significance of each battlefield, it is important to understand previous evaluations of the battlefields by the National Park Service and the evaluation methods used. The nomination of each to the National Register for significance at the state level was discussed in "Existing Conditions" (Chapter 3). The following section will address the work of the American Battlefield Protection Program and the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission with the Newtonia Battlefields and Civil War battlefields nationally.

American Battlefield Protection Program and the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission

The Civil War Sites Advisory Commission was created by Congress to issue a report, completed in 1993, on the status of Civil War battlefields nationwide. There were more than 10,000 armed engagements during the Civil War. Using military significance as a determining factor, the list was narrowed down to 384 sites encompassing "virtually all of the principal land battles that were of special strategic, tactical, or thematic importance to local operations, campaigns, theaters, or to the war as a whole."¹⁶¹ The battlefield class ranking system used for the 384 Civil War battle sites is as follows:

- Class A:** having a decisive influence on a campaign and a direct impact on the course of the war
- Class B:** having a direct and decisive influence on their campaign
- Class C:** having observable influence on the outcome of a campaign
- Class D:** having a limited influence on the outcome of their campaign or operation but achieving or affecting important local objectives¹⁶²

In addition to assessing the importance of battles within the Civil War as a whole, the CWSAC Report documented historic integrity in four tiers: good, fair, poor, and lost (fragmented battlefields that have lost integrity). Based on battlefield class and integrity, the report assigned a preservation priority to each site.

In 2011, the American Battlefield Protection Program updated the CWSAC Report to identify preservation opportunities and reflect changes in conditions and threats from the 1993 report. The update reassessed

integrity using a more descriptive four-tier system. Unchanged from the 1993 CWSAC Report are the battlefields included in the survey and the battlefield class given to each.

The First Battle of Newtonia (called Newtonia I by the CWSAC Report) is listed as a Class C battlefield. The Second Battle of Newtonia (called Newtonia II by the CWSAC Report) is listed as a Class B battlefield. The CWSAC Report Update assessed both as having conditions in the second tier, described as when “portions of landscape have been altered, but most essential features remain.”

A battlefield class other than A does not preclude national military significance. However, neither battle at Newtonia was militarily significant enough for the battlefield to meet NHL criteria for its impact in the course of the Civil War from a military or strategic standpoint. The CWSAC evaluation of battlefields “deals only with military significance and does not limit the potential for a site to be significant in additional thematic areas.”¹⁶³

The First Battle of Newtonia Historic District

In considering the First Battle of Newtonia in the thematic area of American Indian participation in the Civil War, it was first necessary to develop a context. The historic context (Chapter 2) explains the major aspects of that story. The participation of American Indian soldiers in the Civil War stemmed from internal and external influences, and had effects on tribal structures and stability, particularly for the Five Civilized Tribes and others settled in and around Indian Territory. These effects continued for generations, shaping the futures of the tribes involved and Indian Territory itself. For this reason, American Indian participation in the Civil War can be considered part of the broad national pattern of U.S. history.

Although there has been no theme study of sites representing American Indian involvement in the Civil War, the sites of key battles where they participated are described in the historic context.¹⁶⁴ This pattern of historical events is not the basis for designation of any current National Historic Landmarks.¹⁶⁵ Sites representative of the theme as a whole might represent the diversity of tribes involved on both sides of the war, speak to intertribal divisions, and illustrate the impact that the Civil War had on tribal communities.

Further guidance for the evaluation of NHLs explains that:

*The events associated with the property must be outstandingly represented by that property and the events be related to the broad national patterns of U.S. history. Thus, the property’s ability to convey and interpret its meaning must be strong and definitive and must relate to national themes. The property can be associated with either a specific event marking an important moment in American history or with a pattern of events or a historic movement that made a significant contribution to the development of the United States.*¹⁶⁶

The First Battle at Newtonia was part of the pattern of American Indian participation in the Civil War. There was a diversity of tribes involved at Newtonia, with members of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and potentially Shawnee and other tribes taking up arms. The question is whether the events at the First Battle of Newtonia outstandingly represent that theme. In order to be considered a representative site, that site should also be exceptionally important compared to similar properties within that theme.¹⁶⁷

As discussed in the historic context, there were a number of battles involving American Indian troops (Appendix D) as well as many smaller skirmishes. Three battles similar to the First Battle of Newtonia are also related to American Indian participation in the Civil War and maintain good integrity: Chustenahlah, Pea Ridge, and Honey Springs. The engagements were of consequence to or representative of the American Indian fortunes in the war, and provide a comparative analysis.

The Battle of Chustenahlah in Indian Territory on December 26, 1861, was the culminating battle in a conflict between newly regimented Confederate-allied American Indians and Union-sympathizing refugees seeking protection in Kansas. Although Chustenahlah does not represent a clash between American Indians formally allied with both the Confederacy and the Union, it represents how longstanding tribal divisions were exacerbated by the Civil War, and their violent outcomes. In addition to split factions of Creeks, many in newly formed Confederate regiments, the battle also involved members of other tribes. The battlefield at Chustenahlah also represents the devastation that the Civil War caused in American Indian communities, as displaced women, children, and the elderly were killed in battle or died of exposure and disease. The site was evaluated by the American Battlefield Protection Program in their CWSAC Report Update as having a

landscape little changed. No land associated with the battle has yet been nominated to the National Register and the integrity has not been closely examined.¹⁶⁸

The Battle of Pea Ridge, fought in northwest Arkansas, was the most militarily influential battle in which American Indians participated. While their involvement was not decisive in the course of the battle, their participation and resultant rumors of brutality there had the greatest hold on the military and popular imagination. Union leaders had abandoned Indian Territory at the outset of the war, and though they recoiled at the reported scalping, they were impressed by the “hordes of Indians” fighting for the Confederacy at Pea Ridge and reconsidered their plans for an expedition into Indian Territory as a result.¹⁶⁹ Pea Ridge, fought from March 6–8, 1862, was a large battle and a Union victory that suppressed any major Confederate threat to Missouri. Although it involved regimented American Indians only on the Confederate side, in addition to its importance in the war, the participation of tribal soldiers influenced perceptions of them by officials and the public. The battlefield is protected and the events are commemorated at Pea Ridge National Military Park, and it maintains a high degree of integrity.

The First Battle of Newtonia in southwest Missouri on September 30, 1862, can claim a number of firsts with respect to American Indian participation in the Civil War. It was the first battle of the Civil War involving full tribal regiments of American Indians on both sides (Appendix D). Some sources indicate that it was the only instance of tribal regiments pitted directly against each other in full-scale battle as directed by the Union and Confederate armies outside Indian Territory.¹⁷⁰ The battles of Prairie Grove and Cane Hill in Arkansas were other instances of tribal regiments on both sides of a battle. A distinction appears to be that American Indian troops did not face each other directly in hand-to-hand combat at Prairie Grove and Cane Hill, as they did at First Newtonia. That the regiments on both sides were enticed to fight each other outside of Indian Territory for the first time is also notable.

Despite the initial intentions of keeping American Indian regiments confined to Indian Territory, Confederate regiments had already participated in the battle at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in the spring of 1862; the Union Indian Home Guards operating in Indian Territory would eventually be drawn out as well.¹⁷¹ Tribal participants on both sides of the war were interested in protecting their homes, but they also sought to persuade the government of their loyalty in hopes of ensuring favorable treatment, if not the very survival, of their

tribe.¹⁷² Commanders looked to make the most of troops organized from the Trans-Mississippi, and pressed their advantages without consideration of promises to keep American Indian troops in Indian Territory. Given that tribal regiments existed under both Confederate and Union commands, it was inevitable they would eventually meet in combat. Given the motivation to prove their loyalties, it is not surprising that American Indian forces were willing to cross the line from Indian Territory into Missouri and Arkansas.

The First Battle of Newtonia does not appear to have been instructive for Confederate or Union commanders as to how and where to deploy Indian forces in battle. It was, however, the beginning of a change in thinking about where to use Indian troops who had ceased to be home guards. As an early 20th century historian of American Indians in the Civil War, Annie Heloise Abel wrote:

*Federals and Confederates had alike resorted to [the participation of the Indians in the Battle of Newtonia] for purposes other than the red man's own. The [Union] Indian Expedition had now for a surety definitely abandoned the intention for which it was originally organized and outfitted. As a matter of fact, it had long since ceased to exist. The military organization, of which the Indian regiments in the Federal service now formed a part, was Blunt's division of the Army of the Frontier and it had other objects in view, other tasks to perform, than the simple recovery of Indian Territory.*¹⁷³

The participation of American Indian regiments at Newtonia in 1862 reflected a shift in the way such units were used. It does not appear that the events at Newtonia substantially influenced the alliances of American Indians. Unlike other early battles and skirmishes, Newtonia may have hardened Indian allegiances to either the Union or Confederacy. It did, however, temporarily affect the regard of American Indian troops as soldiers and a fighting force. Action accounts praising their conduct on both sides made the First Battle of Newtonia something of a high water mark in the attitudes of Union and Confederate forces in the way American Indians were viewed by their commanding officers. American Indian troops were recognized as critical to the outcome of the battle.

The hand-to-hand nature of some combat in the First Battle of Newtonia between American Indian factions

illustrates the reality of the American Indians' situation. Hand-to-hand combat was a hallmark of American Indian battle as opposed to long-range arms, was particularly applicable in close quarters, and had been employed by American Indian troops allying with the Americans, French, and/or British throughout the history of North American conflicts.¹⁷⁴ However, the gruesome proximity of fighting in the first full-scale battle between American Indian regiments at Newtonia does not seem to have affected the larger conflict.

The Battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863, was a battle in which American Indian soldiers fought in regiments on both sides, alongside a minority of white soldiers from various states, and the First Kansas Colored Infantry on the Union side. The battle took place in what was at the time the Creek Nation and the result of the battle had direct consequences for the control of Indian Territory. Following the battle, the Confederates no longer controlled Indian Territory

north of the Arkansas River.¹⁷⁵ It is listed in the National Register at the national level of significance.¹⁷⁶ A larger study area for Honey Springs was evaluated by the American Battlefield Protection Program in their CWSAC Update, which noted that the condition was in the first tier: "land use is little changed."¹⁷⁷ Because of its wide range of tribal involvement and the consequences for control of Indian Territory, Honey Springs is among the most important battles not only for American Indian participation in the Civil War, but also for the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West.

In addition to battlefields, sites like Fort Gibson, Oklahoma (then Indian Territory); Fort Scott, Kansas; and Fort Smith, Arkansas; were also critical in the movements of American Indian troops in the Civil War. Other nonbattlefield sites also represent American Indian participation. A full NHL theme study may research these sites, but that is outside the scope of this study.

Integrity

The site of the First Battle of Newtonia retains a high degree of historic integrity. Many important features of the battle still remain, with the exception of the Ritchey barn and its surrounding rock wall. The Ritchey Mansion still stands, the Newtonia Branch is in the same location, and the town of Newtonia itself is laid out the much same and is of similar size today as it was in the 1860s. The Ritchey barn, barnyard, and surrounding stone wall are not extant, but the sites have been identified archeologically. That area is now open field with some undergrowth; modern intrusions, such as a house, have been removed.



Casualties on the field at Honey Springs, from R.M. Peck's "Wagon-Boss and Mule-Mechanic", serialized in the National Tribune, 1904.

The First Battle of Newtonia (also called Newtonia I) was noted by the CWSAC Report in 1993 to have good integrity, which rates battlefield integrity as good, fair, poor, or lost. The ABPP update to the CWSAC Report, noted that its condition was such that “portions of landscape have been altered, but most essential features remain.”¹⁷⁸ It is assessed as having the potential for comprehensive battlefield preservation by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission and the draft CWSAC Report Update.

Significance Conclusion: First Battle of Newtonia

Like many battlefields, the site of the First Battle of Newtonia has as historic assets not only the remaining cultural landscape that influenced the course of the battle, but also the stories and history of why it was fought. Both are well preserved at Newtonia. It is possible to gain an appreciation or understanding of the American Indian participation in the Civil War through the site of the First Battle of Newtonia. However, the battles of Chustenahlah, Pea Ridge, and Honey Springs outstandingly represent the story of American Indians in the Civil War. All three of these battles that involved American Indian regiments were more influential in the Civil War and more influential in American Indian participation than was the First Battle of Newtonia. It is the opinion of the National Park Service that the First Battle of Newtonia site does not represent the story of American Indians in the Civil War as well as similar sites, and thus does not appear to meet the criteria for national significance under National Historic Landmark criteria.

The Second Battle of Newtonia Site

Price’s Missouri Expedition of 1864 was the final organized incursion by the Confederacy into Missouri, and while it did not threaten to seize Missouri from Union control, it was a tactical distraction in the Trans-Mississippi theater with attendant political motives. In order to evaluate the Second Battle of Newtonia site as representative of Price’s Missouri Expedition, first the campaign must be considered to represent “a pattern of events or a historic movement that made a significant contribution to the development of the United States.”¹⁷⁹ That the results of Price’s Missouri Expedition were acute and devastating in many quarters of Missouri and minimally in Kansas is beyond a doubt. But the impacts of the campaign on the national scale have had differing historical interpretations.

Analyzing the effects of Price’s Expedition, historian Albert E. Castel in his book on Price took a dim view of the national effects of the expedition, saying “the plain fact of the matter was that the Confederate Trans-Mississippi was too isolated and too weak to inflict significant damage on the Northern enemy or to influence in any important way the course of the war.”¹⁸⁰ Castel identified Mine Creek, Kansas, as the last great battle of the Civil War west of the Mississippi, with Wilson’s Creek being the first.¹⁸¹ Moreover, Castel noted that in the Trans-Mississippi theater overall, “Confederate armies were small in numbers, poorly equipped, badly officered, and rarely victorious. Furthermore, they could at no time decisively influence the overall course of the war, whereas at all times they were subject to what happened elsewhere.”¹⁸²

Claims by Price’s commanders that the expedition diverted troops from Union efforts in the East were true, diverting about 9,000 soldiers and delaying the fall of Mobile. Although it may have delayed the fall of Mobile and some other events in the western and eastern theaters of the Civil War, it did not prevent them. Price’s Expedition did not sway the 1864 presidential election the way he had hoped; if anything, his actions there increased support for Lincoln.¹⁸³ Although the Expedition was influential, it does not appear that the outcome of the campaigns, both military and political, at all hinged on Price’s actions.

Several prominent histories written to date share an assessment that Price’s Missouri Expedition did not have much effect on the outcome of the national conflict; however, some historians hold that Price’s Expedition was a major campaign. The 1993 CWSAC Report recommendations include the study of the Second Battle of Newtonia, noting that Price’s Missouri Expedition of 1864 is a major campaign in the Civil War (identified in Table 4 of the report). To quote:

The National Park Service is urged to seek appropriations to undertake a study of the campaigns and themes identified in Table 4 that the Commission believes are major gaps in the National Park System’s protection of Civil War battlefields... The point the Commission wishes to make is that the campaigns and themes identified in Table 4 are of great importance. The National Park Service should study the best way to preserve and interpret the associated key sites. This might be through addition to the National Park System in some cases. But it might

*equally be done through financial and/or technical assistance to the state of local government park authority if they have a serious commitment to preserving the battlefield. Given the availability of data collected by the Commission, we recommend the National Park Service conduct a special resource study to look at all of the issues and sites shown in Table 4 as a group. . .*¹⁸⁴

The Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, a commission composed of historians, recommended the Second Battle of Newtonia for further study, but did not draw any conclusions about its national significance. The commission identifies 27 separate campaigns during the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi theater. Of those, four have either National Historic Landmarks or national park system units commemorating them.¹⁸⁵ While this is not complete or comprehensive coverage, it would seem that the Trans-Mississippi theater is well represented by sites designated as nationally significant.

If Price's Expedition is considered a nationally significant pattern of events in the nation's history, the Second Battle of Newtonia site would need to be shown as representative of the campaign. Price and his forces were on the run for the majority of their time in Missouri. The Second Battle of Newtonia is representative of that, as well as the final portions of the campaign when Price's army was shedding supplies and soldiers exiting Missouri following Westport and Byram's Ford. The battle did not mark a critical turn of events in the campaign.

For the purposes of comparative analysis, the other Class B battle site of Price's Expedition is Fort Davidson, also known as Pilot Knob. It was there that Price's forces had their first battle, and their first major loss, of the campaign. Fort Davidson was a decisive battle, leading to the loss of many of Price's most able soldiers and causing him to abandon the St. Louis objective of his expedition. The American Battlefield Protection Program concluded in its update to the CWSAC Report that although the battlefield is altered and fragmented, the fort and some essential features remain.¹⁸⁶ As a representative battle, though lacking the high integrity of the Second Battle of Newtonia, Fort Davidson was more significant to the campaign and representative of its aims and shortcomings.

Sterling Price has been noted as a Confederate general of significance, however, it is unlikely that the Second Battle of Newtonia would be considered nationally

significant under Criterion 2 for its association with Price as a historic figure, because he is already represented by other nationally significant properties.¹⁸⁷ The character of Price as an independent commander is commemorated in the Camden Expedition Sites National Historic Landmark. Additionally, Price held important commands at Pea Ridge and Wilson's Creek (both national park system units), and at the Siege and Battle of Corinth (a National Historic Landmark).¹⁸⁸

In yet another view, it could be considered that Price's Expedition is important as an example of the destitution and hardship in which soldiers in the Trans-Mississippi toiled. There does not appear to be any aspect of the Second Battle of Newtonia site that would represent that fact to a greater degree than the many other Trans-Mississippi engagements in which ill and hungry men lived and died desperately on the field of battle.

Integrity

The contributing resources of the Second Battle of Newtonia are still extant, and the site retains a high degree of integrity. The course of the battle from the initial advance of Union forces to the final withdrawal by the Confederates can be understood. The gentle ridge northwest of Newtonia where Union artillery was situated (Artillery Ridge) is clearly visible, as is the cornfield site where Shelby's dismounted cavalry engaged Blunt's men. The area of the Second Battle of Newtonia is still a farm field, as was its use in 1864, and has remained consistently in agricultural use. The springs in the area that provided water and shelter for both sides (Weatherspoon Spring, Shannon Springs, and the Newtonia Branch) still exist today. The town of Newtonia today is similar in population than at the time of the battle and retains its rural agricultural setting.

The Second Battle of Newtonia (also called Newtonia II) is noted in the ABPP update to the CWSAC Report to have the potential for comprehensive preservation.¹⁸⁹ It has the best integrity of any site of Price's Missouri Expedition.¹⁹⁰

Significance Conclusion: Second Battle of Newtonia

Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864 was a major campaign in the Trans-Mississippi; however, not all campaigns were critical in the outcome of the war nationally. The consensus of a number of historians is that it did not have an exceptional national impact. Even if Price's Expedition could be considered nationally significant, the Second Battle of Newtonia in itself does not convey

the important elements of Price's Expedition as a whole. Therefore, it is the opinion of the National Park Service that the Second Battle of Newtonia site does not meet NHL criteria.

Significance Conclusions Summary

In the military context of the Civil War, neither of the battles at Newtonia had an impact at a national level. In examining the First and Second Battles at Newtonia in different thematic contexts (American Indian participation and Price's Expedition, respectively), both battles reveal themselves to be good and well-preserved examples. The First Battle of Newtonia, does not appear to rise to the same level of national significance for its representation of American Indian participation in the Civil War as other battle sites. The Second Battle of Newtonia site, although maintaining a high level of integrity, was a minor battle and is not as representative of Price's Missouri Expedition as other sites. Each has been recognized as important at the state level in the National Register and retains a high degree of integrity. However, the National Park Service finds neither battle appears to possess the significance required to meet National Historic Landmark criteria when compared with other battlefield sites exemplifying their respective themes.

SUITABILITY

Because neither the First nor Second Battle of Newtonia meets the standard as defined by NPS *Management Policies 2006* for national significance, this section will provide only a cursory consideration of the suitability of both battles. In order to be considered suitable, a potential area must represent a resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not protected for public enjoyment by other units of the federal government, tribal, state, or local governments, nonprofit organizations, or private entities. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type.

The First Battle of Newtonia will be examined in the context of sites protecting and interpreting the history of American Indians in the Civil War. The suitability of the Second Battle of Newtonia site will be described briefly in the context of sites related to Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864.

First, this section will lay out the larger context of Civil War battlefields in the national park system and Civil War sites in the Trans-Mississippi West. Then, other protected and publicly interpreted sites that represent American Indian participation in the Civil War will be described individually. Finally, a comparative analysis will compare the First Battle of Newtonia site to the other comparably managed sites.

Civil War Battlefields in the National Park System

The Civil War is well represented within the national park system. Over 70 parks have resources relating to the story of the Civil War to some extent and 21 of those parks protect Civil War battlefields as their primary resource. Two of these battlefield parks—Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and Pea Ridge National Military Park—will be addressed in greater detail below.

Civil War Sites in the Trans-Mississippi West

In addition to national park system units that tell the story of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West, state parks protect and interpret battlefields, forts, and other sites. Several Missouri state parks, as well as state parks in Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, preserve the story of the Civil War in their respective states. Those relating to the themes of American Indians in the Civil War and Price's Missouri Expedition will be enumerated and described below.

Sites Protecting and Interpreting the History of American Indians in the Civil War

Several battlefields that saw American Indian participation in the Civil War are preserved and interpreted for public enjoyment by federal and state governments. Most of these areas were battles involving tribes at regimental strength. As noted in the foregoing significance analysis, nonbattlefield sites were also part of the story of American Indians in the Civil War, most notably forts or encampments where soldiers were mustered and civilians sought refuge.

Pea Ridge National Military Park, Garfield, Arkansas

Although the battle of Pea Ridge took place in Arkansas, the fight was over the fate of Missouri. Pea Ridge National Military Park protects the battlefield and associated historic structures and artifacts, and is one of the most well-preserved battlefields in the United States. Two regiments of Cherokees fought there for the

Confederate army, which lost the battle. Pea Ridge was the most important battle militarily in which American Indian regiments fought, but their impact on the course of the battle was not decisive. However, their participation was influential—from a strategic standpoint, the participation of American Indian Confederate regiments influenced Union forces to raise American Indian regiments of their own, and allegations of scalping garnered national press coverage. The site protects 4,300 acres, and the integrity of the battlefield as a whole was characterized by the American Battlefield Protection Program as “portions of the landscape have been altered, but most essential features remain.”¹⁹¹ The role of American Indians in the battle has been identified as a significant aspect of the park, and interpretation of that topic is being expanded.¹⁹²

Honey Springs Battlefield Park, Checotah, Oklahoma

The battle at Honey Springs was the most important Civil War battle in Indian Territory and utilized American Indian regiments representing several tribes on both sides of the battle, in addition to white and African American regiments. Over 1,000 acres of battlefield land are protected and interpreted at this state historic site, with approximately four-fifths of the National Historic Register district designating the battlefield.¹⁹³ It is listed in the National Register at the national level of significance and was evaluated by the American Battlefield Protection Program in their CWSAC Update Report as having good integrity.¹⁹⁴ The Oklahoma Historical Society interprets the battlefield, and with assistance from the nonprofit Friends of Honey Springs, tells the story of the battle through 55 interpretive signs along six walking trails. The site has a visitor center, and managers have received assistance from the American Battlefield Protection Program in generating plans for the site.¹⁹⁵

Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park, Prairie Grove, Arkansas

The December 7, 1862, battle at Prairie Grove was a strategic victory for the Union that established Union control in northwest Arkansas. While American Indians were part of the forces on both sides, unlike the First Battle of Newtonia, they did not meet in combat. The First, Second, and Third Indian Home Guards took part in the battle on the Union side; however, Confederate American Indian forces had been sent to cover a Union retreat from Cane Hill and were not in combat.¹⁹⁶ The battle of Prairie Grove is preserved and interpreted

at Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park. The battle took place on over 3,000 acres, over 800 of which are included in the park.¹⁹⁷ Hindman Hall, the site’s visitor center and museum, features a panel on American Indian troops.¹⁹⁸

Fort Scott National Historic Site, Fort Scott, Kansas

Fort Scott is a unit of the national park system whose purpose is to preserve, protect, and interpret nationally significant historic resources related to the opening of the West, the Permanent Indian Frontier, the Mexican-American War, Bleeding Kansas, the Civil War and the expansion of railroads. It was at Fort Scott that many refugees sought shelter and aid, and the First and Second Indian Home Guards and other troops were outfitted for their unsuccessful campaign to retake Indian Territory and restore Union-sympathizing American Indians to their homes in the summer of 1862.¹⁹⁹ An interpretive theme at Fort Scott is diversity, and the mustering of American Indian troops and refugees are topics in interpretive programs, though not in exhibits. The site is currently redeveloping their Civil War exhibit.²⁰⁰ The 17-acre site includes 20 historic buildings.

Fort Gibson Historic Site, Fort Gibson, Oklahoma

Fort Gibson, called Fort Blunt for a period during the Civil War, was in use beginning in 1824 as an outpost during the process of Indian Removal until 1857.²⁰¹ Reactivated during the Civil War, the fort was the launching point for Union forces in the Battle of Honey Springs and the campaign against Fort Smith, and housed and protected American Indian soldiers. By 1863, thousands of Cherokees and other American Indian refugees were living in the vicinity under the protection of Union forces.²⁰² The Oklahoma Historical Society preserves and interprets Fort Gibson, where Civil War era earthworks remain. The site also includes several buildings, a reconstructed stockade, and a visitor center. The site is a designated National Historic Landmark.

Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, Republic, Missouri

Wilson’s Creek was the first major battle of the Civil War west of the Mississippi, and is now commemorated at Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, which protects 2,141.26 acres of battlefield. Enabling them to gain control of southwestern Missouri, the battle was a victory for the Confederate forces, which included a small number of Cherokees. The impact of American

Indians was limited in battle, but the display of strength by the Confederates helped convince many Cherokees to commit to their cause. The battlefield retains strong historic integrity, but because the participation of American Indians in the battle of Wilson's Creek was relatively minor, this site does not strongly represent the theme. However, interpretation of early involvement of American Indian troops is possible.

Other Sites

Another battle where American Indian soldiers were involved on the Confederate side was Cabin Creek in Oklahoma. Ten acres of battlefield are protected at Cabin Creek, in partnership between the Oklahoma Historical Society and Friends of Cabin Creek, Inc. Over 750 acres of the Cane Hill battlefield in Arkansas is protected by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at Ozark National Forest. The battlefield has good integrity, but is not managed or interpreted as a battlefield, so cannot be considered a comparative site.

The Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in Eads, Colorado, was authorized in 2000 to recognize the atrocity at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864, which was connected to military operations against American Indians in the West.²⁰³ Thematically, the site has connections to the experience of groups of American Indians west of Indian Territory during the Civil War, although it is tangentially related to the theme of American Indian participation in the Civil War.

Summary

There are a number of battlefield and fort sites that currently preserve and interpret key aspects of the theme of American Indian participation in the Civil War. Honey Springs and Pea Ridge are particularly important and could be considered nationally significant for this theme. Portions of the sites of both battles are protected for public enjoyment.

While there are no sites dedicated to the story of American Indian participants in the Civil War, the sites described above preserve related resources where key elements of the story can be told and have the interpretive and educational potential to do so. Thus, the First Battle of Newtonia Historic District is of a resource type already protected by the National Park Service and state parks. No site currently comprehensively explores the story of American Indians in the Civil War; however, the comparable sites above have the resources and story as well as interpretive and educational potential to do

so. The National Park Service finds that the First Battle of Newtonia site would not be a suitable addition to the national park system because it would duplicate resource protection and visitor use opportunities found in comparably managed areas.

Sites Protecting and Interpreting the History of Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864

Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864 was an effort to distract from the war in the Western and Eastern theaters and rally material and political support for the Confederacy. Price and his forces cut a wide swath across Missouri and ultimately into Kansas, fighting 11 battles in the campaign. Of these, Fort Davidson and Mine Creek are protected and interpreted by state agencies.

Fort Davidson State Historic Site, Pilot Knob, Missouri

The battle at Fort Davidson was the first in Price's Expedition, and marked an inauspicious start to the effort, as many of Price's best soldiers were lost in what was ultimately deemed a victory for the outnumbered Union troops defending the garrison. The 77-acre site's resources include the earthworks, two Confederate burial trenches, and a visitor center that interprets the story of the battle and its context within the Civil War. Other portions of the battlefield are managed for natural resource conservation. The City of Ironton owns and manages as the Shepherd Mountain Natural Area Park 600 acres within the ABPP study area for the battle.²⁰⁴ Portions of the study area are managed by federal agencies at the Mark Twain National Forest and Pilot Knob National Wildlife Refuge.

Mine Creek State Historic Site, Pleasanton, Kansas

The battle at Mine Creek was a major blow to the remains of General Price's forces following the battles at Westport and Byram's Ford (see below.) The battle resulted in heavy losses and the capture of two of Price's Confederate Brigadier Generals. The Mine Creek State Historic Site preserves approximately 280 acres of battlefield and includes a visitor center.

Other Battlefields of Price's Missouri Expedition

The most significant battles of General Price's Missouri Expedition were those where his army met defeat at Westport in present-day Kansas City, Missouri, and at Byram's Ford on the Big Blue River to the south. While

the sites supersede the Second Battle of Newtonia in importance to Price's Expedition, they possess little integrity. Urban development has rendered the integrity of Byram's Ford "poor" and the integrity of Westport "lost."²⁰⁵ However, both battlefields are interpreted, and Byram's Ford protected in part. Approximately 133 acres of battlefield at Byram's Ford were acquired and preserved by the Monnett Battle of Westport Fund based in Overland Park, Kansas, and are now a Kansas City park called Big Blue Battlefield Park. The Monnett Fund also operates The Battle of Westport Visitor Center and Museum in Swope Park, and offers a 32-mile auto tour of places the battle occurred.

Summary

Two of the 11 battles of Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864 are protected and interpreted, and offer the perspective of the campaign's early stages at one site and late stages at the other. While battlefield integrity may not be as strong as at the Second Battle of Newtonia, the battle at Fort Davidson in particular is illustrative of the goals and shortcomings of the campaign. Because other areas representing Price's Missouri Expedition of 1864 are protected for public enjoyment, the addition of the Second Battle of Newtonia to the national park system would duplicate existing visitor use opportunities, and therefore cannot be considered suitable.

Suitability Conclusions

The First Battle of Newtonia site is a resource type and represents a story and themes found at several sites of comparable quality and historic character that have the interpretive and educational potential to interpret American Indian participation in the Civil War. It is unlikely that the Second Battle of Newtonia would be considered suitable for inclusion given that other sites more important in Price's Missouri Expedition are preserved and interpreted for the public. Therefore, the National Park Service finds that neither battle at Newtonia is a suitable addition to the national park system.

FEASIBILITY

Because neither the Newtonia Battlefields nor either battle site individually meets the standard as defined by NPS *Management Policies 2006* to be a significant addition to the national park system, feasibility will not be evaluated.

NEED FOR DIRECT NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MANAGEMENT

Because neither the Newtonia Battlefields nor either battle site individually meets the standard as defined by NPS *Management Policies 2006* to be a nationally significant addition to the national park system, the need for direct management of the sites by the National Park Service will not be evaluated. However, if need for direct NPS management of the Newtonia Battlefields had been addressed, the study would have considered current management, the alternative described in this study (see below), and the potential for local, county, and/or state management as a historic park in determining whether or not direct management by the National Park Service would have been a clearly superior alternative to these management options.

NEW UNIT CONCLUSION

The First Battle of Newtonia Historic District and the Second Battle of Newtonia Historic Site do not appear to meet the criteria for national significance under NHL standards. Both sites would be unlikely to meet the suitability criterion as new units of the national park system because there are other sites where effective protection and public enjoyment of similar resources are possible. Thus, feasibility and direct need were not evaluated. The National Park Service concludes that neither of the Newtonia Battlefields meets the standard as defined by law and policy to be considered eligible for designation as a new unit of the national park system.

BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENT TO WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD ANALYSIS

The legislation directing the National Park Service to undertake the Newtonia Battlefields Special Resource Study, Public Law 110-229, instructs the National Park Service to “evaluate the suitability and feasibility of adding the battlefields and related sites as part of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield or designating the battlefields and related sites as a unit of the National Park System.” This chapter will evaluate the suitability and feasibility of potential for inclusion in Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield.

The process of determining the suitability and feasibility of adding an area to an existing national park system unit is called a boundary adjustment study. The study will state the criteria for boundary adjustments; then review the Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield enabling legislation, park purpose, resources, and values; and finally apply the criteria for boundary adjustments to the battlefields and related sites at Newtonia.

Criteria for Boundary Adjustments

The criteria for a boundary adjustment are found in NPS *Management Policies 2006*, section 3.5 (Appendix F). The proposed area must meet at least one of the following conditions:

1. Protect significant resources and values, or enhance opportunities for public enjoyment related to park purposes.
2. Address operational and management issues, such as the need for access or the need for boundaries to correspond to logical boundary delineations such as topographic or other natural features or roads.
3. Otherwise protect park resources that are critical to fulfilling park purposes.

All recommendations for boundary changes must also meet **both** of the following two criteria:

1. The added lands will be feasible to administer, considering their size, configuration, and ownership; costs; the views and impacts on local communities and surrounding jurisdictions; and other factors such as the presence of hazardous substances or nonnative species.
2. Other alternatives for management and resource protection are not adequate.

Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield: Enabling Legislation, Park Purpose, Significance, Resources, and Values

Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, originally called Wilson’s Creek Battlefield National Park, was established by Public Law 86-434 on April 22, 1960. The law directed the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands “comprising the Wilson’s Creek Battlefield near Springfield, Missouri, and any other lands adjacent to such site which in his opinion are necessary or desirable to carry out the purposes of this Act.” The act does not explicitly address the purpose of the park, other than to say Wilson’s Creek should be set aside “as a public park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States.”²⁰⁶

The act has been amended twice, first to change the name to Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield (Public Law 91-554, December 16, 1970), and second for the acquisition of 615 additional acres adjacent to the park (Public Law 108-394, January 20, 2004). Neither of the legislative changes included language about the purpose of the park.

A purpose statement developed by NPS staff offers the most comprehensive summary of the park’s preservation and educational purpose. It was developed in 2003 during the general management plan process based on a review of the enabling legislation and the professional expertise of national battlefield staff, NPS historians, and other subject matter experts.

*The purpose of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield is to commemorate the Battle of Wilson’s Creek, preserve the associated battlefield, and interpret the battle within the context of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West.*²⁰⁷

Following the acquisition of a new museum collection, the significance of the national battlefield was amended in planning documents to address the substantial artifacts from the Civil War Trans-Mississippi theater.²⁰⁸

Significance statements describe the distinguishing resources and characteristics that set a park unit apart in a regional, national, and sometimes international context. Those developed include:

- Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield is significant as the site of the second battle of the Civil War and the first major battle west of the Mississippi River.

- Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield is the site of the death of General Nathaniel Lyon, the first Union general killed in the Civil War. Lyon’s death focused national attention on the potential loss of Missouri to the Confederacy.
- The rural character of Wilson’s Creek evokes the setting experienced by the combatants.
- The artifacts and archival records in Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield museum collections represent a nationally prominent and comprehensive documentation of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West.²⁰⁹

Applying the Criteria for Boundary Adjustments

As noted above, the Newtonia Battlefields would have to meet one of the first three conditions, and both of final criteria to be considered an adequate area for addition to the existing Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield.

1. Protect significant resources and values, or enhance opportunities for public enjoyment related to park purposes

Of the first three conditions for a boundary adjustment, this is the most compelling one for considering the battlefields at Newtonia. Because the battles at Newtonia are different from one another thematically, each of the battles, separately as well as the total study area, was considered.

Beginning with Wilson’s Creek and ending with the Second Battle of Newtonia, 27 battles were fought in Missouri during the Civil War, the third-highest number of battles in any state. While all Missouri battles are united by their context within the war as a whole and within a highly contested and divided state, neither of the battles at Newtonia directly resulted from the battle of Wilson’s Creek.

Occurring over a year later, the First Battle of Newtonia, significant for its American Indian involvement, has a minimal relationship to the presence of a small Confederate-allied American Indian force at Wilson’s Creek. As the involvement of American Indians at Wilson’s Creek is not a fundamental part of the story of that battle, the involvement of American Indian troops at a subsequent battle offers only slight enhancement to an interesting, though not essential, aspect of the Battle of Wilson’s Creek.

The final full-scale engagement of the Civil War in Missouri, the Second Battle of Newtonia, also cannot be said to protect significant values or enhance public enjoyment related to the purpose of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield. While as the final battle it provides a bookend to the story of the Civil War in Missouri, the story of the Second Battle of Newtonia does not, in and of itself, illustrate the importance and influence of the battle of Wilson’s Creek. The inclusion of this Second Newtonia in Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield would therefore not appreciably enhance the public enjoyment or understanding of the battle of Wilson’s Creek or its context within the Trans-Mississippi theater.

As a pair, the Newtonia Battlefields encompass several aspects of the Civil War unique to the Trans-Mississippi West: battles involving full regiments of American Indian soldiers occurred in no other theater, and the nature of Price’s Missouri Expedition, in conception and execution, was shaped by a landscape of total devastation and a populous with mixed loyalties. Staff at Wilson’s Creek believes this Trans-Mississippi theater context could be interpreted with the story of the battle of Wilson’s Creek. However, the addition of the Newtonia Battlefields to the boundary of Wilson’s Creek does not appear to protect any resources or values that contribute to the significance of Wilson’s Creek as defined above. Nor do the Newtonia Battlefields offer a significant opportunity to enhance public enjoyment related to stated park purposes, which are defined as the protection and interpretation of the battle at Wilson’s Creek. While the addition of the Newtonia Battlefields could further illustrate the broader context of the Trans-Mississippi West, the relationship of both battles at Newtonia to Wilson’s Creek is just as strong as dozens of other battles in that theater over the course of the war. Furthermore, addition of land to the boundary of the park from other battlefields in general would have a limited ability to enhance the understanding of Wilson’s Creek in the context of the Trans-Mississippi West.

Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield enabling legislation would need to be amended to include a substantial change in park purpose in order to support the addition of additional battlefields tangentially related to the battle of Wilson’s Creek.

2. Address operational and management issues such as the need for access or the need for boundaries to correspond to logical boundary delineations such as topographic or other natural features or roads

Because of its remote location relative to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, the addition of the battlefields at Newtonia does not fulfill any boundary needs or correspond to logical boundary delineations. The addition of the Newtonia Battlefields does not address any current operational or management issues.

3. Otherwise protect park resources that are critical to fulfilling park purposes.

Again, because of its remote location, the addition of the Newtonia Battlefields to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield would not protect any of the park's resources.

In addition to at least one of the three conditions above, both of the following two criteria must be met for an area to be found suitable and feasible for addition to a park's boundary. Because none of the three criteria above were met, these will be described only briefly.

The added lands will be feasible to administer, considering their size, configuration, and ownership; costs; the views and impacts on local communities and surrounding jurisdictions; and other factors such as the presence of hazardous substances or non-native species.

The study area for the Newtonia Battlefields encompasses 712.3 acres. Ownership of the majority of the study area is private. The Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association owns 25.5 acres of land that they would likely have a favorable view of NPS stewardship of their property. The staff at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield have had an ongoing professional relationship with the Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association.

There are considerations that do not in themselves make the addition of the Newtonia Battlefields infeasible, but are very labor intensive. The Newtonia Battlefields are approximately 50 miles from Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. The management and administrative support over that distance with existing resources could be challenging and time consuming. The time and expense of travel for both personnel and equipment during the initial phases of the Newtonia Battlefields would add additional costs to Wilson's Creek in terms of budget and efficiency. Many parks of large area administer parcels at similar distances from their main offices, but if funding levels remain constant, stretching them to include administration and improvement of a satellite area at the Newtonia Battlefields could limit the effectiveness of management. The cost of acquiring new equipment and a facilities maintenance building at Newtonia would also be a consideration.

Taken with the issue of distance, the cost in both time and budget allocation makes the administration of the Newtonia Battlefields by Wilson's Creek National Battlefield an arrangement of questionable feasibility.

If the Newtonia Battlefields in Republic were added to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, the community would see few impacts. Visitation could increase gradually over time.

Consultation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service determined that the study area is not critical habitat for any listed species. While there has been no investigation of potentially hazardous substances, the study area is and has historically been agricultural and residential, making the presence of major hazardous substances unlikely.

Other alternatives for management and resource protection are not adequate. Current land ownership does not ensure the protection of resources in all areas at the Newtonia Battlefields. As noted above, 25.5 acres of the Newtonia Battlefields are owned by the non-profit Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association. Additional land ownership by the Newtonia Battlefields Preservation Association and easements on agricultural land could protect resources, but funds for both are scarce. Management by the State of Missouri or another agency or group may be adequate, but there is no possibility for either, so they cannot be considered alternatives.

Boundary Adjustment Conclusion

Because the Newtonia Battlefields, either separately or as a pair, do not meet any of the three conditions for boundary adjustment, the addition of the Newtonia Battlefields to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield would not be suitable. The National Park Service finds that the Newtonia Battlefields would not be appropriate for addition to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

CHAPTER 5: OPTIONS FOR MANAGEMENT

The legislation directing the NPS to undertake the Newtonia Battlefields Special Resource Study requested that NPS:

- (5) *consider alternatives for preservation, protection, and interpretation of the battlefields and related sites by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local governmental entities, or private and nonprofit organizations; and*
- (6) *identify cost estimates for any necessary acquisition, development, interpretation, operation, and maintenance associated with the alternatives referred to in paragraph (5).*

In a special resource study, potential methods and means for protection and interpretation of a resource are addressed in management alternatives. Options for management can identify possible managers other than the NPS and partnership opportunities. For this study, the NPS considered but dismissed three options and analyzed two options which would include no new management or ownership by NPS.



Cherokee Braves flag, collection of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (NPS)



Ritchey Mansion, Newtonia, Missouri, 2010 (NPS)

OPTIONS CONSIDERED BUT DISMISSED

New NPS Unit

The new NPS unit option would not be reasonable since the Newtonia Battlefields do not meet the criteria for new units set forth in law and policy. Therefore, this option and associated cost estimates were not considered or developed.

Boundary Addition to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

Adding the Newtonia Battlefields to the existing Wilson's Creek National Battlefield was found not to meet the criteria for a boundary adjustment, and thus would not be a reasonable option to consider. (See "Boundary Adjustment to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Analysis", page 36.) Therefore, this option was not considered and no associated cost estimates were developed.

Affiliated Area

A study area is eligible to be an affiliated area of the national park system if the resources (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) will be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) if NPS can be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the nonfederal management entity." (See Appendix E.) Affiliated area status was considered but dismissed because neither battle at Newtonia was found to be significant or suitable as an addition to the national park system.

TOPICS CONSIDERED BUT DISMISSED

Environmental Compliance

Since this study concludes that the resources associated with the First and Second Battles of Newtonia do not meet the criteria for potential designation as a unit of the national park system, no federal action is anticipated. Therefore, no further analysis will be prepared.

Potential Impacts of Inclusion or Designation

The legislation authorizing this study requested that it “analyze the potential impact that the inclusion of the battlefields and related sites as part of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield or their designation as a unit of the national park system is likely to have on land within or bordering the battlefields and related sites that is privately owned at the time of the study is conducted.” Since the Newtonia Battlefields do not meet the criteria for designation as a unit of the national park system or as a boundary addition to Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, the potential impacts of such designation will not be explored.

OPTIONS FOR MANAGEMENT

Option A: Continuation of Current Management (No Action)

This option assumes that current ownership by private entities and the non-profit NBPA would continue. Given that the soils around Newtonia are rich and development pressures have subsided somewhat in recent years, in a continuation of current management scenario, much of the land within the NRHP boundaries of both battles would likely continue to be cultivated or remain undeveloped. It is possible that development pressure from nearby Neosho could threaten the battlefields in the future.

The 25.5 acres of land currently held by the Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association (NBPA) would continue to be administered by that group. The ABPP’s CWSAC Report Update records that eight of these acres are publically accessible: five acres at the Civil War Cemetery, and three at the Ritchey Mansion. Currently the Ritchey Mansion is open for tours on an ad hoc basis, and there are some interpretive panels on the mansion property explaining troop positions and movements. Funds may be raised through grants or donations

to purchase additional lands or begin some projects outlined in the Vision Plan. The American Battlefield Protection Program would continue to provide assistance to the NBPA. Both battlefields continue to be eligible for the ABPP’s land acquisition funding through Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF) Civil War Battlefield Acquisition Grants.

A concern of the NBPA members is that as an aging grass-roots organization, they may not have sustained ability or momentum to preserve and interpret the Newtonia Battlefields, though in recent years, interest in the battles has grown.

Agricultural land in and around the Newtonia Battlefields is eligible for the Farm and Ranch Land Protection Program easement program through the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The program requires matching funds, and an easement holding entity. This program has been used to protect battlefield land in southwestern Missouri at Wilson’s Creek and Carthage, but to date the program has not been used at Newtonia. Other agricultural easement programs exist in the region and could be explored by landowners as a way to preserve open battlefield land.

Option B: Continuation of Current Management with Enhanced Interpretation and Collaboration with Other Sites

In addition to current management and existing programs described above, there is the option to enhance interpretation of American Indian participation in the Civil War at Newtonia and coordination between sites responsible for those resources. In the suitability analysis (page 32), the NPS found that while elements of the American Indian participation story and preserved and interpreted elsewhere in the national park system and by other entities, no site currently endeavors to interpret that theme comprehensively. Because no one site represents all elements of the American Indian participation in the Civil War story, no one site is better suited to interpret this theme than others. Newtonia and all sites identified in the suitability analysis as relating to this theme would likely benefit from enhanced interpretation. Sites protecting relevant resources could collaborate to enhanced interpretation of the American Indian Civil War participation story. This collaboration could also involve scholars and tribal representatives in developing interpretive materials.

While well documented in histories, the story of American Indian participation in the Civil War is not used to contextualize events at the locations of associated historic events to the degree it could be. The internal struggles and divided loyalties should supplement information the military role played by tribal regiments, and the socioeconomic and demographic changes to the American Indian nations wrought by the Civil War's extreme desolation should be noted as an important and devastating consequence. The many written sources on the topic cited in Chapter 2: Historic Context can provide a basis for broader interpretation.

Enhanced coordination and interpretation would require no new legislation. Costs associated with this option would be in the form of staff time at sites involved in collaboration, as well as printing costs and similar expenditures for the development of interpretive materials. These costs would be minimal.

The legislation authorizing this study asks the National Park Service to “consider the findings and recommendations contained in the document entitled “Vision Plan for Newtonia Battlefield Preservation” and dated June 2004, which was prepared by the Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association.” The Vision Plan is a set of actions including battlefield conservation, development of interpretive materials, and the development of a visitor center. The plan also recommends documents such as a master plan, historic structures report, and cultural landscape report to guide future management and restoration. The recommendations are the result of carefully considered professional work by volunteers and consultants and reflect the sound and responsible stewardship of the NBPA. These recommendations could be implemented under Option A or Option B.



Ritchey family cemetery, Newtonia, Missouri, 2010 (NPS)

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IMAGE CREDITS

- Figure 1: National Park Service (USGS Base Map).
- Figure 2: Adkins and Jones.
- Figure 3: Gray & Pape, Inc., figure 9.
- Figure 4: Lardas, 8.
- Figure 5: Foster, Buck T., 1564.
- Figure 6: Gray & Pape, Inc., figure 10.
- Figure 7: National Park Service (Denver Service Center).

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: PUBLIC LAW 110-229, SECTION 321

Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008

PUBLIC LAW 110-229—MAY 8, 2008

SEC. 321. NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY, NEWTONIA CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELDS, MISSOURI.

(a) SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a special resource study relating to the First Battle of Newtonia in Newton County, Missouri, which occurred on September 30, 1862, and the Second Battle of Newtonia, which occurred on October 28, 1864, during the Missouri Expedition of Confederate General Sterling Price in September and October 1864.

(b) CONTENTS.—In conducting the study under subsection (a), the Secretary shall—

- (1) evaluate the national significance of the Newtonia battlefields and their related sites;
- (2) consider the findings and recommendations contained in the document entitled “Vision Plan for Newtonia Battlefield Preservation” and dated June 2004, which was prepared by the Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association;
- (3) evaluate the suitability and feasibility of adding the battlefields and related sites as part of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield or designating the battlefields and related sites as a unit of the National Park System;
- (4) analyze the potential impact that the inclusion of the battlefields and related sites as part of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield or their designation as a unit of the National Park System is likely to have on land within or bordering the battlefields and related sites that is privately owned at the time of the study is conducted;
- (5) consider alternatives for preservation, protection, and interpretation of the battlefields and

related sites by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local governmental entities, or private and nonprofit organizations; and

- (6) identify cost estimates for any necessary acquisition, development, interpretation, operation, and maintenance associated with the alternatives referred to in paragraph (5).

(c) CRITERIA.—The criteria for the study of areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System contained in section 8 of Public Law 91-383 (16 U.S.C. 1a-5) shall apply to the study under subsection (a).

(d) TRANSMISSION TO CONGRESS.—Not later than three years after the date on which funds are first made available for the study under subsection (a), the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report containing—

- (1) the results of the study; and
- (2) any conclusions and recommendations of the Secretary.

APPENDIX B: 36 CFR § 65.4 NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK CRITERIA

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation are listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectural historians, archeologists and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation’s resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

- (1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or
- (2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or
- (3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

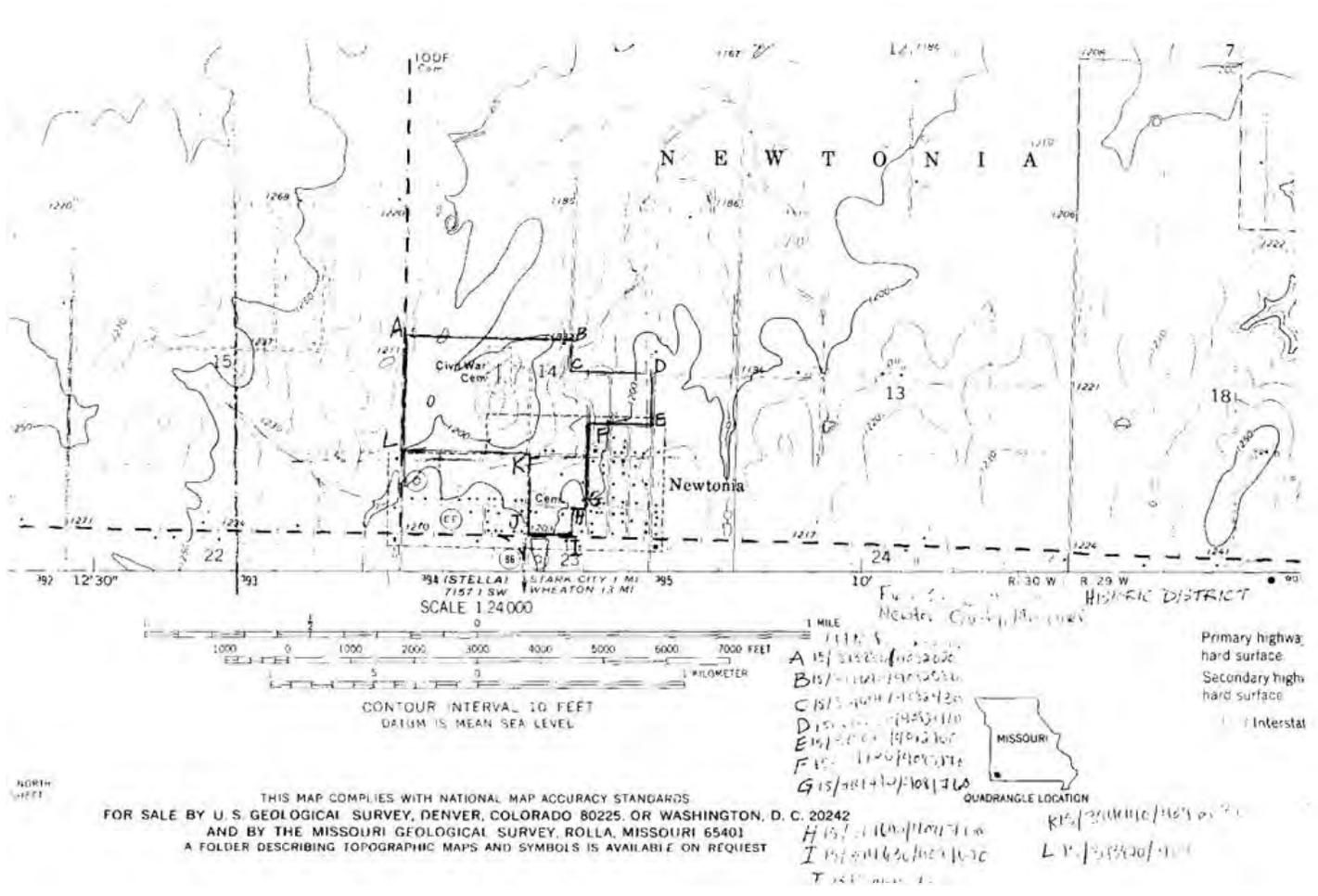
- (4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- (5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or
- (6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within the following categories:

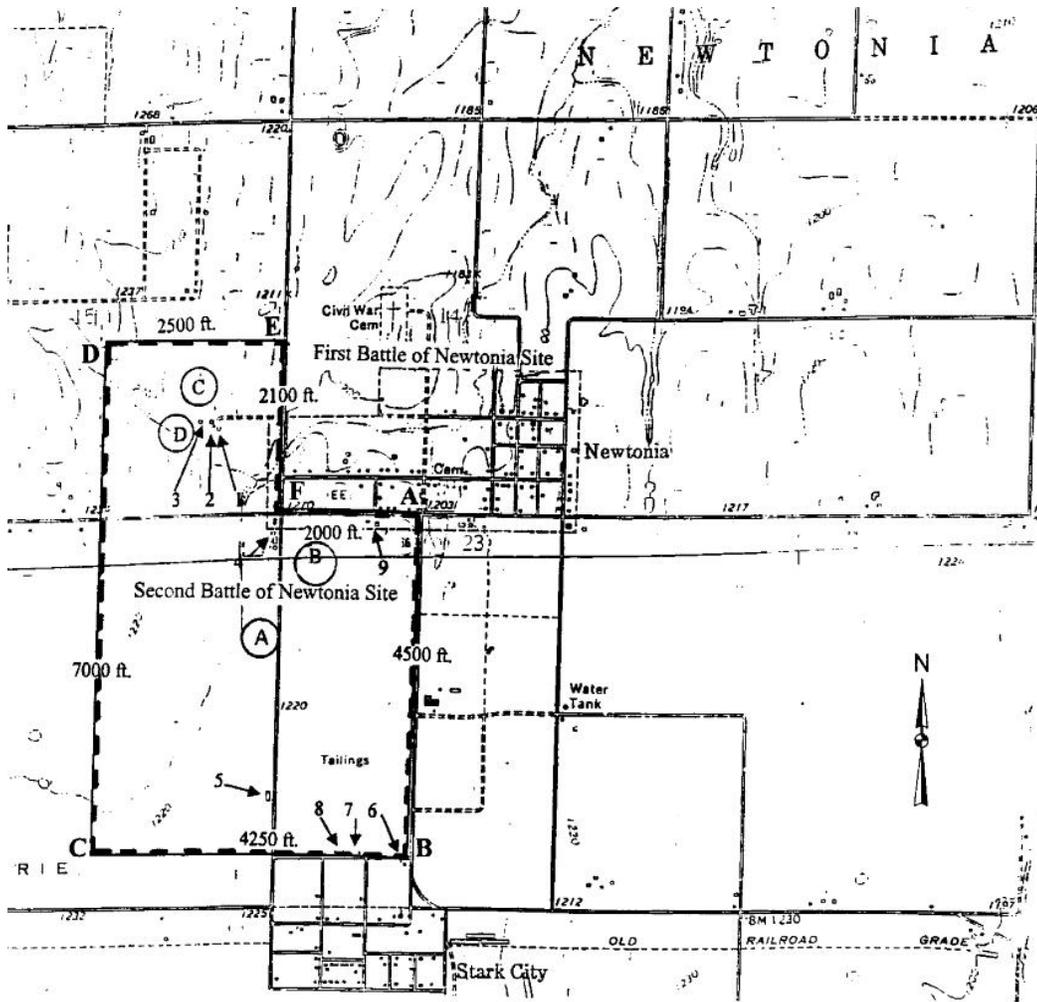
- (1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- (2) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation’s history and the association consequential; or
- (3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation’s history and the association consequential; or

- (4) A birthplace, grave or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or
- (5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or from an exceptionally significant event; or
- (6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or
- (7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or
- (8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

APPENDIX C: MAPS OF NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES BOUNDARIES



1. First Battle of Newtonia Historic District²¹²



2. Second Battle of Newtonia Historic Site²¹³

APPENDIX D: BATTLES INVOLVING AMERICAN INDIAN REGIMENTS

This is a chronological list of battles in which organized units of American Indian soldiers were participants. This list only includes battles listed in the CWSAC Report. There were many smaller engagements and skirmishes involving organized American Indian forces, and still others that involved individual tribal members.²¹⁴

Battle Name	State	Date	CWSAC Battlefield Class
Wilson’s Creek	Missouri	August 10, 1861	A
Round Mountain	Indian Territory	November 19, 1861	D
Chusto-Talasa	Indian Territory	December 9, 1861	D
Chustenahlah	Indian Territory	December 26, 1861	B
Pea Ridge	Arkansas	March 6-8, 1862	A
First Newtonia	Missouri	September 20, 1862	C
Old Fort Wayne	Indian Territory	October 22, 1862	D
Cane Hill	Arkansas	November 28, 1862	C
Prairie Grove	Arkansas	December 7, 1862	B
Cabin Creek	Indian Territory	July 1-2, 1863	C
Honey Springs	Indian Territory	July 17, 1863	B
Middle Boggy Depot	Indian Territory	February 13, 1864	D
Poison Spring	Arkansas	April 18, 1864	C

American Indian forces participating

Confederate	Union	Confederate and Union	Confederate and Union-sympathizing Creek
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CWSAC Battlefield Class:

Class A: having a decisive influence on a campaign and a direct impact on the course of the war.

Class B: having a direct and decisive influence on their campaign

Class C: having observable influence on the outcome of a campaign

Class D: having a limited influence on the outcome of their campaign or operation but achieving or affecting important local objectives²¹⁵

APPENDIX E: NPS MANAGEMENT POLICIES 2006: 1.3 CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress, and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the President, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for units of the national park system and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must (1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, (2) be a suitable addition to the system, (3) be a feasible addition to the system, and (4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject-matter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (*Code of Federal Regulations*).

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential

- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the National Park Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role, and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing

opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as "affiliated area." To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area's resources must (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the nonfederal management entity. Designation as a "heritage area" is another option that may be recommended. Heritage areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area's importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

APPENDIX F: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MANAGEMENT POLICIES 2006: 3.5 BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENTS

The boundary of a national park may be modified only as authorized by law. For many parks, such statutory authority is included in the enabling legislation or subsequent legislation that specifically authorizes a boundary revision. Where park-specific authority is not available, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, as amended, provides an additional but limited authority to adjust boundaries.

The act provides for boundary adjustments that essentially fall into three distinct categories: (1) technical revisions; (2) minor revisions based upon statutorily defined criteria; and (3) revisions to include adjacent real property acquired by donation, purchased with donated funds, transferred from any other federal agency, or obtained by exchange. Adjacent real property is considered to be land located contiguous to but outside the boundary of a national park system unit.

As part of the planning process, the Park Service will identify and evaluate boundary adjustments that may be necessary or desirable for carrying out the purposes of the park unit. Boundary adjustments may be recommended to

- protect significant resources and values, or to enhance opportunities for public enjoyment related to park purposes;
- address operational and management issues, such as the need for access or the need for boundaries to correspond to logical boundary delineations such as topographic or other natural features or roads; or
- otherwise protect park resources that are critical to fulfilling park purposes.

If the acquisition will be made using appropriated funds, and it is not merely a technical boundary revision, the criteria set forth by Congress at 16 USC 4601-9(c) (2) must be met. All recommendations for boundary changes must meet the following two criteria:

- The added lands will be feasible to administer considering their size, configuration, and ownership; costs; the views of and impacts on local communities and surrounding jurisdictions; and other factors such as the presence of hazardous substances or exotic species.

- Other alternatives for management and resource protection are not adequate.

These criteria apply conversely to recommendations for the deletion of lands from the authorized boundaries of a park unit. For example, before recommending the deletion of land from a park boundary, a finding would have to be made that the land did not include a significant resource, value, or opportunity for public enjoyment related to the purposes of the park. Full consideration should be given to current and future park needs before a recommendation is made to delete lands from the authorized boundaries of a park unit. Actions consisting solely of deletions of land from existing park boundaries would require an act of Congress.

APPENDIX G: PUBLIC COMMENT REPORT

Public comment is an important part of the special resource study process, providing an opportunity for the National Park Service to understand resources and communities around them in new ways. The earliest phase of public input for a project is called public scoping, and seeks to draw out concerns or additional information the public may want to contribute before specific plans are created for public review. The National Park Service sent newsletters describing the SRS process with a postage-paid comment card to approximately 125 recipients, sent press releases to dozens of news outlets, and invited the public to a meeting on July 8, 2010, to hear about the SRS process and gather public comment.

In requesting public input, we asked the following questions:

1. What kinds of experiences do you want to have at the Newtonia Battlefields? What do you think would need to be done at the site, if anything, to facilitate these expectations?
2. Do you have ideas or concerns about preserving and interpreting the Newtonia Battlefields? What are they?
3. Which organizations do you think should be involved in preserving and interpreting the Newtonia Battlefields? What should they do?
4. Do you have any other ideas or comments you would like to share with us?

The National Park Service received 18 written comments in the form of comment cards, letters, and submissions to the NPS Planning, Environment, and Public Comment (PEPC) website.²¹⁶ Dozens attended the public meeting at the Newtonia Community Center in July, many of whom participated in a question and answer discussion during which the National Park Service posed the prompts above.

Support: Though there were a small number of commenters, they all sounded supportive of an NPS role at Newtonia. One commenter believes that there is strong local support for the preservation of the battlefields.

The Importance of Newtonia: Many commenters responded that they believed the battlefields should be recognized nationally. Some described the battlefields as “unique” and noted that there should be recognition to the part American Indians played in the Civil War.

One noted the symmetry of the National Park Service protecting the first and last battle of the Civil War in Missouri. Benefits of national recognition were noted as increased tourism, and several commenters also expressed that the interpreted battlefields would be a useful teaching tool for area educators.

Experiences at the Newtonia Battlefields:

Experiences at Newtonia that commenters suggested were interpreters in period dress, battle reenactments, and reenactments of period events such as balls and galas. Several commenters suggested that the site could be a research center for the American Indian experience in the Civil War. One commenter noted that it is difficult to discern the location of the battlefields. Suggestions for things that would need to be done to facilitate the experience of the battlefields included regular hours of operation, long term care and maintenance, display materials, video and live interpretation. A further restored Ritchey Mansion, more archaeological investigation (e.g., to locate the site of the grist mill), and the construction of a visitors center were also suggested. One commenter wanted to see the site developed into something similar to Pea Ridge National Battlefield Park. There was one suggestion that the stone barn that once stood opposite the Ritchey Mansion and played a role in the fighting at Newtonia be reconstructed.²¹⁷ A commenter urged that interpretation not be bogged down by “dry facts.”

Organizational Involvement: Commenters suggested the involvement of the following groups in preserving and interpreting the Newtonia Battlefields: the National Park Service, Newtonia Battlefields Protection Association, the Newton County Tourism Council, the Joplin Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Newton County Commission, Newton and Jasper Counties, the Missouri Department of Tourism, the Village of Newtonia, local, state, and national legislators, local historians, and the Inter-Tribal Council of Native Americans. Many commented on the good work and dedicated stewardship of the NBPA.²¹⁸

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

¹ Formally known as “An Act To Improve The Administration of the National Park System by the Secretary of the Interior, and to Clarify the Authorities Applicable to the System, and for Other Purposes 1970 (84 Stat. 825)”

² It should be noted that a recent assessment for the NPS American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) identified larger areas of Potential National Register (PotNR) boundaries for both battles. These expanded boundary suggestions do not constitute a formal determination of eligibility by the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places and were therefore not used for this study.

³ U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2009 American Community Survey, <http://www.census.gov/acs>.

⁴ See CWSAC Discussion on page 26.

⁵ Appendix A.

Chapter 2

⁶ Larry Wood, *The Two Civil War Battles of Newtonia* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010), 19-22.

⁷ Sometimes spelled “Matthew” or “Ritchie.”

⁸ American Battlefield Protection Program, “Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign,” <http://www.nps.gov/hps/abpp/battles/bycampgn.htm>.

⁹ John Ross, Proclamation from Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, May 17, 1861. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross, v.2 1840-1866* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 470.

¹⁰ Rex T. Jackson, *A Trail of Tears: The American Indian in the Civil War* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2004), 45.

¹¹ Laurence A. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians In the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 186.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹³ Wood, 33.

¹⁴ Hauptman, 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁶ David A. Cornsilk “Footsteps: History of the Keetowah Cherokees.” Cherokee Observer. <http://www.chero-keeobserver.org/keetoowah/octissue97.html> (accessed December 20, 2010).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Mark A. Lause, *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 29.

¹⁹ An in depth exploration of factional disputes can be found in Patrick N. Mingos, *Slavery in the Cherokee Nation: The Keetowah Society and the Defining of a People 1855-1867* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003)

²⁰ Lisa Larue, Correspondence with NPS, November 2, 2011.

²¹ Cornsilk.

²² It is worth noting that though Ross represented the “full-blood” traditionalist faction, he himself was one eighth Cherokee and a slaveholder (Lause, 29).

²³ A.J. Langguth, *Driven West: Andrew Jackson and the Trail of Tears to the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 389.

²⁴ *Ibid.* To further highlight the non-literal shorthand of the “full-blood” and “mixed-blood” terms, it is also worth noting that Stand Watie, leader of the “mixed-blood” assimilationist faction of the Cherokee was in fact full-blooded (Lause, 29).

²⁵ Hauptman, 49; Lause, 74.

²⁶ W. Craig Gaines, *The Confederate Cherokees: John Drew’s Regiment of Mounted Rifles* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 124.

²⁷ Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 375.

²⁸ Clara Sue Kidwell, “Choctaw,” *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia> (accessed February 23, 2011).

²⁹ Carl Waldman, *Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes*, 3rd edition (New York: Checkmark Books, 2006), 61.

³⁰ Kidwell.

- ³¹ Daniel Leistman, "Choctaw Indians," *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 435.
- ³² Greg O'Brien, "Chickasaw Indians," *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 433.
- ³³ Leistman, 436.
- ³⁴ Theodore Isham and Blue Clark. "Creek." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia> (accessed March 7, 2011).
- ³⁵ Thom Hatch, *The Blue, The Grey, and The Red: Indian Campaigns of the Civil War* (Stackpole Books, 2003), 4.
- ³⁶ Marybelle W. Chase, *Indian Home Guards Civil War Service Records* (Tulsa, OK: M.W. Chase, 1993), front matter.
- ³⁷ Gaines, 26-27.
- ³⁸ Chase, 150-151.
- ³⁹ Laurence Hauptman. Correspondence with NPS, June 23, 2011.
- ⁴⁰ Hauptman, 35.
- ⁴¹ Hauptman, 25.
- ⁴² Wiley Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, MO: F. Hudson Publishing, 1922), 10.
- ⁴³ David Williams, *Bitterly Divided: The South's Inner Civil War* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 212.
- ⁴⁴ Annie Heloise Abel, *Slaveholding Indians Vol. 1: The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 207.
- ⁴⁵ Hauptman, 49.
- ⁴⁶ Lause, 64.
- ⁴⁷ Minkes, 137.
- ⁴⁸ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 252.
- ⁴⁹ Mark Lardas, *Native American Mounted Rifleman, 1861-65* (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 22.
- ⁵⁰ Lardas, 23-25; Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 261-264.
- ⁵¹ Abel, *Slaveholding Indians Vol. 1: The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 215.
- ⁵² Hauptman, 48.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 391.
- ⁵⁴ Hatch, 7-8.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields," (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1993), www.nps.gov/hps/abpp/battles/ok003.htm (accessed February 7, 2012). Hereafter cited as "CWSAC Report."
- ⁵⁷ Hatch, 21.
- ⁵⁸ Abel, Anne Heloise. *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 81. Abel describes the refugees, "chiefly Creeks...[and] representative[s] of nearly every one of the non-indigenous tribes of Indian Territory," as being in an almost inconceivable state of destitution. She also notes the efforts of the unscrupulous to profit from the situation. It was difficult to surmise how many refugees there were, since the numbers were inflated to exact more aid, and thus offer more opportunities for graft.
- ⁵⁹ Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian in the Civil War, 1862-1865* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 1.
- ⁶⁰ Hatch, 22; Gaines, 77.
- ⁶¹ Hauptman, 48.
- ⁶² Michael A. Hughes, "First Cherokee Mounted Rifles," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia> (accessed February 24, 2011).
- ⁶³ Langguth, 392.
- ⁶⁴ Langguth, 399.
- ⁶⁵ Alvin M. Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1991), 322.
- ⁶⁶ Langguth, 399.
- ⁶⁷ Langguth, 399; Josephy 322; Anne J. Bailey, *Invisible Southerners: Ethnicity in the Civil War* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 39.
- ⁶⁸ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 33. The Cherokee National Council put itself on record in opposition to what had occurred, stating soon after the battle, "The war . . . should be conducted on the most humane principles which govern the usages of war among civilized nations, and that it be and is earnestly recommended to

the troops of this nation in the service of the Confederate States to avoid any acts toward captured or fallen foes that would be incompatible with such usages.”

⁶⁹ Nichols, 47-48.

⁷⁰ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 91-100.

⁷¹ Minkes, 136. Lincoln himself opposed arming and using Indian troops early in the war.

⁷² David A. Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1978), 51.

⁷³ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 132.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷⁵ Ganies, 121.

⁷⁶ Edwin C. Bearss, “The Army of the Frontier’s First Campaign: The Confederates Win at Newtonia,” *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. LX, 4 (1966), 315.

⁷⁷ United States War Department. *The War of Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), Series I, Vol. 13, 894. Hereafter cited as “OR,” as commonly abbreviated for “Official Records.”

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

^{79A} Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 195.

^{79B} Edwards, *Shelby and His Men: Or, the War in the West*, 89.

⁸⁰ OR Series I, Vol. 13, 336. December 15, 1862.

⁸¹ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 195, Footnote 527. Quotation from Carruth to Coffin, October 25, 1862, enclosed in Coffin to Dole, November 16, 1862, Indian Office General Files, Southern Superintendency 1859-1862.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 265.

⁸³ Lause, 77.

⁸⁴ John Ross to Edwin M. Stanton, November 8, 1862. Moulton, 520-521.

⁸⁵ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians, Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 250. The Union Indian Home Guard regiments were detached from the Army of the Frontier and assigned to “discretionary” service in Indian Territory. Interestingly, the Confederate Army set up a Division for Indian Territory within its Trans-Mississippi Department in early 1863 (*Ibid.*, 243-244). Though these relatively independent entities operated in Indian Territory, they were always subservient to the needs of commands in the states (*Ibid.*, 253).

⁸⁶ John Ross to William A. Phillips, November 8, 1862. Moulton, 525.

⁸⁷ Fredrick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of Rebellion* (Des Moines, IA: The Dyer Publishing Company, 1908), 253.

⁸⁸ Wood, 29.

⁸⁹ Charles R. Freeman, “The Battle of Honey Springs,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume 13, No. 2 (June, 1935), 155.

⁹⁰ Ralph Jones, “Honey Springs, Battle of,” *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia> (accessed February 23, 2011).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Hauptman, 27-28.

⁹³ National Park Service, “Soldier and Brave – Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings – Fort Cobb” http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/soldier/sitec13.htm#93 (accessed January 19, 2011).

⁹⁴ Hauptman, 28.

⁹⁵ Hauptman, 186.

⁹⁶ Abel. *The Slaveholding Indians, Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 143.

⁹⁷ Gaines, 124.

⁹⁸ Hauptman, 187.

⁹⁹ Langguth, 396.

¹⁰⁰ Greg O’Brien, “Chickasaw Indians.” *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 433.

¹⁰¹ Bailey, 41-42.

¹⁰² Gaines, 124.

- ¹⁰³ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hatch, x.
- ¹⁰⁵ James L. Huston, "Civil War Era." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia> (accessed February 28, 2011).
- ¹⁰⁶ Wood, 11.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 14-15.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 13.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 13-14.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., 15. Matthew Ritchey served the Union-supporting Missouri Militia as a paymaster with the rank of Major during the war. His son and fellow Newtonia resident James M. Ritchey became a Cavalry Captain in the Missouri Militia shortly before the First Battle of Newtonia, having served in the Union secret service earlier in the war.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid., 16.
- ¹¹² Ibid., 17.
- ¹¹³ OR, Series I, Vol. 13, 297.
- ¹¹⁴ CWSAC Report, 82.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., 194.
- ¹¹⁶ Wood, 83.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., 84.
- ¹¹⁸ Gray & Pape, "A Preservation Plan for the Civil War Battlefields of Newtonia, Missouri" (Cincinnati, OH: Gray & Pape, Inc., 2000), 71.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid., 72.
- ¹²¹ Edwin C. Bearrs, Correspondence, November 14, 2011
- ¹²² Wood, 92-97.
- ¹²³ Gray & Pape, 72.
- ¹²⁴ Letter from Col. Shelby to Gen. Marmaduke, October 27, 1862. OR, Series I, Vol. 13, 979-980.
- ¹²⁵ OR, Series I, Vol. 53. 302.
- ¹²⁶ Cyrus Ashbury Peterson and Joseph Mills Hanson, *Pilot Knob: the Thermopylae of the West* (New York, NY: The Neale Publishing Company, 1914), 24.
- ¹²⁷ Albert E. Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 253.
- ¹²⁸ Wood, 137.
- ¹²⁹ Wood, 107.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid.
- ¹³¹ Peterson and Hanson, 18.
- ¹³² Buck T. Foster, "Price, Sterling (1809-1867)," *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 1562.
- ¹³³ Wood, 109.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid.
- ¹³⁵ Castel, 235-237.
- ¹³⁶ Wood, 116-117.
- ¹³⁷ Wood, 126-128.
- ¹³⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Second Battle of Newtonia Site. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register #04000698, 2004, Section 8, Page 13.
- ¹³⁹ Gray & Pape, 78.
- ¹⁴⁰ Civil War Sites Advisory Commission. "Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Technical Volume II: Battle Summaries." National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1993. <http://www.nps.gov/hps/abpp/battles/tvii.htm> (accessed December 20, 2010). As described in Chapter X, "Newtonia II" is listed as a Class B battlefield.
- ¹⁴¹ OR, Series I, Vol. 53.
- ¹⁴² Castel, 252. "From a strategic standpoint the most that can be properly claimed for Price's thrust into Missouri is that it employed troops who otherwise would have stood idle."
- ¹⁴³ Castel, 254.
- ¹⁴⁴ Walter Busch, Correspondence with NPS, April 12, 2011.
- ¹⁴⁵ CWSAC Report, 32.Table 4.

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¹⁴⁶ National Register of Historic Places, First Battle of Newtonia Historic District. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register #04000697, 2004.

¹⁴⁷ National Register of Historic Places, Ritchey, Mathew H., House. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register #78003399, 1978.

¹⁴⁸ National Register of Historic Places, First Battle of Newtonia Historic District. Section 7, 2-3.

¹⁴⁹ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri." Final Draft, March 2011, 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁵¹ National Register of Historic Places, First Battle of Newtonia Historic District.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Section 10, 27.

¹⁵³ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri."

¹⁵⁴ Gray & Pape, 12.

¹⁵⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Second Battle of Newtonia Site. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register #04000698, 2004, Section 10, 20.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri."

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¹⁵⁹ This criteria is outlined in *NPS Management Policies 2006*, and draws its legal basis from Public Law 91-383 §8 as amended by §303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391).

¹⁶⁰ Though the evaluation of national significance in a Special Resource Study applies NHL criteria, the findings are not a formal determination of NHL eligibility. NHL determinations are the authority of the Secretary of the Interior.

¹⁶¹ CWSAC Report, 16.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁶³ CWSAC Report, 16.

¹⁶⁴ There are other, non-battlefield sites that also represent American Indian participation in the Civil War.

¹⁶⁵ Honey Springs is likely eligible for NHL designation, but an issue with landowner consent has prevented its formal NHL consideration thus far. The Camden Expedition Sites NHL, which includes the battle of Poison Spring, is significant for its military history.

¹⁶⁶ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete a National Register Registration Form," 1999.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Oklahoma." May 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Nichols, 48.

¹⁷⁰ Wood, 29.

¹⁷¹ Nichols, 49.

¹⁷² Trevor M. Jones, "Indian Brigade (1862-1865)." *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 1030; Hauptman; Bailey; et al.

¹⁷³ Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians, Vol. 2: The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 195-196.

¹⁷⁴ Lyle Sparkman, communication with Bethany Henry, memorandum of September 24, 2011.

¹⁷⁵ Jones, Ralph.

¹⁷⁶ National Register of Historic Places, Honey Springs Battlefield. Rentiesville vicinity, McIntosh County, Missouri, National Register #70000848, 1970.

¹⁷⁷ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, "Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: State of Oklahoma," May 2010, 14.

¹⁷⁸ Note that ABPP's condition finding was based on an evaluation of the ABPP-designated Study Area, some 2,600 acres, including 152.3-acre area listed in the National Register. The larger ABPP Study Area has been cut by Highways EE and O (with associated commercial growth), and impacted by development closer to Granby. The National Register area, taken by itself, has excellent integrity.

¹⁷⁹ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete a National Register Registration Form.”

¹⁸⁰ Castel, 255.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid., 285.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 252.

¹⁸⁴ CWSAC Report, 41.

¹⁸⁵ The Camden Expedition is represented by the Camden Expedition Sites NHL, and Wilson’s Creek, Pea Ridge, and Sand Creek campaigns are represented as NPS units at their eponymous battlefields.

¹⁸⁶ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri.” Final Draft, March 2011, 19.

¹⁸⁷ Edwin C. Bearss and James H. Charleton, “Camden Expedition Sites,” National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1993), 20.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri”, 7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.; CWSAC Report, 32.Table 4.

¹⁹¹ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri”, 17. ABPP’s integrity assessment of the Pea Ridge battlefield is based on the ABPP-designated Study Area, some 9,800 acres, more than twice the land protected within the NMP.

¹⁹² National Park Service, Pea Ridge National Military Park, “Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement” (July 2006), 6. One of the park’s four significance statements in this document is “Pea Ridge was the first major engagement outside Indian Territory in which troops from the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek Nations fought for the Confederacy.”

¹⁹³ Karen Hanna and R. Brian Culpepper, “Honey Springs Battlefield Park: 1997 Master Plan Report” (Fayetteville, AR: The Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies,

University of Arkansas, 1997). ABPP had provided funds for land acquisition at Honey Springs. See Appendices C and D in National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Oklahoma”, 46-47.

¹⁹⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Honey Springs Battlefield. Rentiesville vicinity, McIntosh County, Missouri, National Register #70000848, 1970; National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Oklahoma,” 14.

¹⁹⁵ Hanna and Culpepper.

¹⁹⁶ Alan Thompson, Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park, Correspondence with the NPS, July 21, 2011.

¹⁹⁷ Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, “Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields. Technical Volume I: Appendices,” 92; Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Staff. “Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park.” *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*. <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1253> (accessed July 21, 2011).

¹⁹⁸ Thompson.

¹⁹⁹ National Park Service, Fort Scott National Historic Site, “Forgotten Warriors”, <http://www.nps.gov/fosc/historyculture/forgotten-warriors.htm> (accessed June 21, 2011)

²⁰⁰ Kelley Collins, Fort Scott National Historic Site, Correspondence, May 10, 2011.

²⁰¹ Oklahoma Historical Society, “Fort Gibson,” <http://www.okhistory.org/outreach/military/fortgibson.html> (accessed July 21, 2011).

²⁰² Hauptman, 42.

²⁰³ Acquisition of a sufficient amount of land has not yet occurred, and the NPS is working in partnership towards establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre NHS.

²⁰⁴ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Study on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri,” 5.

²⁰⁵ Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, “Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields. Technical Volume I: Appendices,” 191-192.

²⁰⁶ Public Law 86-434, April 22, 1960.

²⁰⁷ National Park Service, Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, “General Management Plan Amendment / Environmental Assessment / Assessment of Effect for the Civil War Museum and Addition Lands” (July 2007), 4.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 5

²¹⁰ National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. “Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields: State of Missouri.”

²¹¹ See <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/grants/LWCF/LWCFAcquisitionGrants.htm> (accessed February 7, 2012).

Appendices

²¹² National Register of Historic Places, First Battle of Newtonia Historic District. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register # 04000697, 2004.

²¹³ National Register of Historic Places, Second Battle of Newtonia Site. Newtonia, Newton County, Missouri, National Register # 04000698, 2004.

²¹⁴ CWSAC Report; Dyer; Jackson, 113.

²¹⁵ CWSAC Report, 16-17.

²¹⁶ <http://parkplanning.nps.gov>

²¹⁷ Note that NPS policy states that “no matter how well conceived of executed, reconstructions are contemporary interpretations of the past rather than authentic survivals from it” and NPS will only reconstruct a building in special circumstances. National Park Service, Management Policies 2006, Section 5.3.5.4.4, 72.

²¹⁸ A commenter was concerned about the age of NBPA members and suggested that the future of the organization “may not be very bright” unless there is NPS involvement, suggesting little confidence that it can attract new members.



As the nation’s principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historic places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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Newtonia Battlefields Special Resource Study

Newtonia, Missouri

