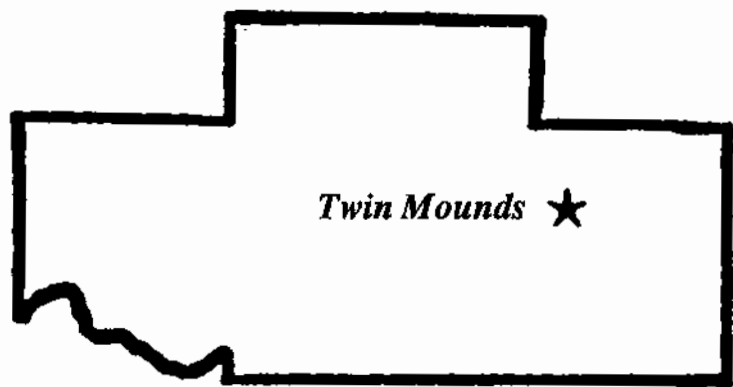


PAYNE COUNTY

Historical Review



VOLUME VIII

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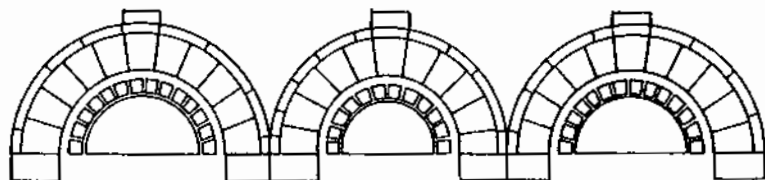
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PAYNE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Letter from the Author

I first became familiar with the Round Mountain(s) battlefield site controversy in the late 1960s while doing research for a Master's thesis on the Cherokee Indians in the Civil War. I read the articles in which Angie Debo and Muriel Wright expressed their viewpoints in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. I was immediately intrigued. Was Angie Debo correct in placing the location of the battlefield at the Twin Mounds? Or was it near the mouth of the Cimarron River as Muriel Wright insisted? I resolved to find out.

My first impression was that the battle was fought at the Twin Mounds. The excellent work done by Dr. Debo, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, and John Melton, combined with the physical debris found at the Twin Mounds, strongly pointed to the location of the battlefield there. What was lacking was a reference point. I began looking for an account of the battle which placed it so many miles from a known point.

My search was concentrated in two areas. I looked for written accounts of the battle and I checked old maps in an attempt to find trails in the Twin Mounds area. I checked the source materials in Oklahoma first. When searches of material

at Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, and the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma in Norman proved fruitless, I expanded my area of study.

I started studying the collections at historical societies and universities in surrounding states. I reasoned that since soldiers from these states fought in the Indian Territory they might have written home and told about their activities. I was correct in this surmise. On October 10, 1975, I struck paydirt. On that date I found a letter which located the battle of Round Mountain(s) at the Twin Mounds. It was from a Texas soldier named R. H. Jackson and was written to his father. The letter was dated November 24, 1861, and it appeared in the December 14, 1861, issue of the *Marshal (Texas) Republican*. Jackson placed the battle in the Creek Nation, on the Red Fork (Cimarron), 75 miles from Camp Wilson which was located on the north bank of the Arkansas River. I knew from my research that Camp Wilson was across from Conchartry which was located on the south side of the river at the present Tulsa-Wagoner County line.

A distance of 75 miles from Conchartry immediately eliminated a site near the mouth of the Cimarron as the location of the battle. But 75 miles as the crow flies from Conchartry would be a point near Stillwater. I thought Jackson was just a little off in his mileage. But he reported that Camp Wilson was within about 100 miles from Neosho, Missouri, which was correct. I finally realized that Jackson was reporting the distance travelled from the battlefield site to Camp Wilson. The Confederates travelled down the Cimarron and the Arkansas to return to Camp Wilson. The distance on this route was almost exactly 75 miles.

There was now no doubt that the battlefield site was at the

Twin Mounds. But I kept looking for further information. I checked sources in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas. I also ordered microfilm from other states besides Oklahoma. I had copies of maps sent from the National Archives. And I spent many hours driving in the countryside and checking the lay of the land. Since a group as large as Opothleyahola's needed water and bread, flat areas upon which to move, his route could be determined by exercising patience. I had to walk in and check a few places I could not drive. I believe that I have his movements determined.

It was about 1982 or 1983 that I found a map drawn by Samuel D. Irwin of the Twelfth Kansas Volunteers. I did not realize what I had at first. I knew that it was an excellent Indian Territory map and that it had a battle flag on a small tributary of the Red Fork (Cimarron). Although the date by the flag was November 1, 1861, I realized the flag was for the Battle of Round Mountain(s). But in relation to Polecat Creek the flag appeared to be far to the east of the Twin Mounds. Some time later, however, I looked at the map again and noticed that the course of Polecat Creek extended much too far to the west on the map. The courses of the other rivers were approximately correct. In relation to them the flag was much closer to the Twin Mounds than it was to the mouth of the Cimarron.

Irwin placed the flag west of the 97 degree line. The battle was actually about ten miles east of it. But the flag was in the general area of the Twin Mounds and was far up the river from its mouth.

With the realization that the map did indeed show the battle flag in the Twin Mounds area, I checked the course of the creek. It matches that of Salt Creek.

The pieces of the puzzle were now almost all in place. But

there still remained the question of why the Creeks had a tradition of a battle on the south side of the Cimarron near its mouth. It finally dawned on me that there was not one Battle of Round Mountain(s), but two. Opothleyahola had an eastern group who travelled on foot and horseback from his Little Deep Fork camp near the present Bristow to the mouth of the Cimarron. He and his warriors went to protect this group. They fought a skirmish at "a round end of a mountain" at the mouth of the Cimarron on November 8 or 9. They then returned to the Little Deep Fork camp and then went to the Twin Mounds where they fought the Battle of Round Mountains on November 19, 1861.

The pieces of the puzzle are now in place. The assistance and encouragement of Dr. Debo and Dr. Chapman was a great aid. Their help was greatly appreciated. If they and John Melton had not investigated the location of the battle, I would never have even been aware of the possibility of it being in Payne County. For them and for all of the citizens of Payne County, as well as those who just like to see the record set straight, I am glad that I was able to find conclusive evidence that the Battle of Round Mountains occurred at the Twin Mounds in Payne County.

by Charles Bahos

The Round Mountains Campaign

While doing research in the late 1960s on a Master's thesis on the Cherokee Indians in the Civil War,(1) the writer encountered the controversy over the site of the Battle of Round Mountain(s). He was immediately intrigued by it and decided to find out where it actually did occur. Was the Battle of Round Mountain fought near the mouth of the Cimarron River as advocates of this site proclaimed? (2) Or was the Battle of Round Mountains waged over twenty miles to the south southwest near the present Yale in Payne County? (3) Only a thorough investigation would reveal the answer.

Proponents of both sites agreed on most of the movements of Opothleyahola in 1861. He moved his people from a point near the present Eufala to a location near the present Okemah and then to what is now the Bristow area. After the Battle of Round Mountain(s) Opothleyahola's party crossed the Arkansas River near the present Cleveland, Oklahoma, then travelled downstream to Walnut Creek near the mouth of the Cimarron. From there they went up Walnut Creek, crossed over to Wildhorse Creek, and followed it to its mouth on Hominy Creek.

A second battle was fought at Chusto-Ta-lasah, (Caving Banks), on Bird Creek near the mouth of Hominy Creek. A third and decisive battle occurred about 3 1/2 miles west of Skiatook. It was fought at Chustenahlah,(Little High Shoals), and it resulted in the disintegration of Union power in the Indian Territory.

There is no disagreement on Opothleyahola's route to the Bristow area or his movements after he crossed the Arkansas River. But there is no consensus on his course between the two points. Did he lead his people in a northerly direction and battle near the present Mannford? Or did he turn northward and fight at the Twin Mounds which are located about four miles west of Yale? The Payne County Historical Society, led by Stillwater real estate agent John H. Melton and Drs. Angie Debo and Berlin B. Chapman of Oklahoma State University, presented a strong case for the Payne County site. Their contention was buttressed by contemporary documents and large amounts of battle-field-type debris which was found near the Twin Mounds.(4)

Other than Confederate field commander Douglas H. Cooper's written intention to keep his train near the Arkansas River, (5) no contemporary documents indicated that the battle may have been fought near Mannford. And there was little debris at the Mannford site. But the Payne County Historical Society did not have conclusive evidence that the battle was fought at the Twin Mounds. The writer decided to make a strong search to verify where the battle occurred. This article is the result of that search.

At the start of the Civil War the United States government abandoned its forts in the Indian Territory. By mid-May of 1861 all Union troops there had been withdrawn to Kansas.(6)

Consequently, the Confederacy gained control of the area. By the late summer of 1861 all of the Five Civilized Tribes except the Cherokee had signed treaties of alliance with the Confederacy and the Cherokees had declared their intention to do so. Many of the smaller tribes had also signed treaties with the Confederacy. (7)

Opposing this strong Southern flow was Opothleyahola,(8) leader of the Upper Creeks. After the war broke out he established a camp at North Fork Town near the present Eufala and gathered his followers there. (9) But Confederate power in the area became so strong that he soon moved his followers to a camp on the North Canadian River a few miles above Thlobthlocco which was near the present Okemah. They began arriving there about August 1. (10) More pro-Union adherents joined him there, swelling the population of the camp. A count of the refugee Indians, after they reached Kansas showed them to number over 7000. (11) A number of tribes were represented. They included the Creek, Chickasaw, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, Kichai, and Comanche. (12)

Such a large Union camp could not be ignored by Colonel Cooper. Before the war he had been the Choctaw-Chickasaw agent. (13) After he was appointed to command he kept a wary eye on Opothleyahola. Also watching Opothleyahola were the Confederate Indians who would aid Cooper if he needed assistance in dealing with the Upper Creek leader. A Confederate Creek regiment commanded by mixed-blood Colonel D. N. McIntosh was organized at the Creek Agency near the present Muskogee.

In mid-August (14) a Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment was also ready to aid Cooper, (15) a Confederate Seminole battalion was being organized, (16) and Colonel John Drew, a prominent Cherokee, was raising a regiment for the Confed-

erate service. (17)

Colonel Drew's regiment was slow in forming due to the pro-Union sentiment of the Cherokee full-bloods who comprised its membership.(18) The threat of another Jayhawker invasion of the Cherokee Nation and another skirmish with the Kansans (19) was probably the main reason Colonel Drew could draw any volunteers.

But if Colonel Drew's regiment was not pro-Confederate, two independent Creek companies strongly were. One was assisting the Cherokees in building a fort on the Neutral Land in southeastern Kansas. This advance guard was watching for Jayhawkers. (20) Also watching for approaching Jayhawkers were the members of the other independent company which was commanded by James M. C. Smith. It was guarding the important settlement of North Fork Town (21) which was near the crossing point of the Texas and California Roads. The Texas Road ran from St. Louis through Springfield and into the eastern Indian Territory. It closely followed the present Highway 69, entering Texas near the present Denison. The California Road followed the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers across the Indian Territory and went on to Santa Fe and California.

One company of men was not enough to protect such an important strategic position as North Fork Town. Therefore part of the Confederate Creek regiment was posted in the area of the Creek Council Ground which was on High Spring Mountain about two miles north of Hichita.(22) This placed them in position between Opothleyahola and North Fork Town. And they were not far from the Texas Road.

On September 11, Colonel McIntosh wrote to Colonel Drew from the Council Ground. McIntosh was requesting assistance because Opothleyahola was threatening to attack

the Confederate Creek regiment.(23) Opothleyahola hoisted the Union flag and also threatened to attack North Fork Town. He sent notice for the women and children to leave there because he planned to sack and burn it. (24) The citizens took him at his word and found refuge in the Choctaw Nation. (25)

In late September or early October, Opothleyahola threats became ominous when delegates he had sent to Kansas to request aid returned (26) They brought a promise of assistance from federal officials in Kansas. (27) Encouraged, Opothleyahola prepared to engage the Confederate Creeks. He undoubtedly did not receive the aid of 6000 men as he claimed.(28) He was welcoming many runaway slaves into his camp. (29) But it is unclear if the slaves participated in the fighting. He reportedly had Negro men in arms.(30) But whether they participated in the fighting or not, Opothleyahola led his warriors eastward.(31)

The Confederate Creek regiment retreated across the Arkansas River and posted on Blue Creek, one and one-half miles east of Choska(32) in the present Haskell area. It is unclear how far Opothleyahola advanced. The letter which tells about the movement simply states that the members of the Confederate Creek regiment were informed that they must take up the line of march from Choska because their country had been invaded by Opothleyahola and his party, the small tribes, and Kansas ruffians.(33) Apparently Opothleyahola had been joined by some Jayhawkers although the number obviously was not very large.

Opothleyahola may have attacked North Fork Town. One letter stated that there were reports that North Fork Town had been burned to the ground. But the same letter also stated that there were reports that Fort Gibson had been burned down.(34) This was untrue. And there is no other indication of

an attack on North Fork Town. The large amount of Confederate activities there shortly afterward indicates that North Fork Town was still intact. But whether he attacked North Fork Town or not, Opothleyahola soon retreated. It does not appear that he was withdrawing because of the movements of the Confederate Creek regiment. He was probably more concerned about the organization of several Confederate regiments in northern Texas.(35)

As Opothleyahola withdrew, the Confederate Creek regiment advanced. On October 1 it was at the Council Ground.(36) On October 3 it was at Camp Pleasant(37) which was probably also called Camp Porter. It was undoubtedly named after Pleasant Porter, a prominent Creek. It was near the Council Ground.(38)

Opothleyahola soon threatened to make another move against the Confederate Creeks.(39) Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross sent delegates to try to settle the Creek feud.(40) But Ross' efforts were for naught. In mid-October Opothleyahola's party began making war on the Southern Creeks. They marched eastward again and began driving from their homes all of those Creeks who favored the South.(41) The Creek women and children fled to the Choctaw Nation(42) while Opothleyahola, with his forces augmented by more Kansas Jayhawkers,(43) advanced to the Creek Agency which was located near the present Muskogee. There he ordered the Confederate flag taken down and the Stars and Stripes put in its place.(44)

Colonel Cooper was unable to stem Opothleyahola's advance so Brigadier General Ben McCulloch of Texas, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi region, ordered a troop movement against Opothleyahola. Included in the expedition, which was organized at Fort Gibson, were

Colonel Drew's regiment, which was not yet up to full strength,(45) the Confederate Creek regiment, a battalion of the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment, 500 pro-Confederate Osages,(46) and Colonel Warren B. Stone's Sixth Texas Cavalry regiment.(47) Five other Texas regiments which were passing through the Cherokee Nation on their way to Camp Walker in northwestern Arkansas also halted to apply pressure on Opothleyahola.(48)

Overwhelmed by the force arrayed against him, Opothleyahola again retreated. But he did not go westward. He marched up the Verdigris, burning and laying waste the countryside as he went.(49) After he out-distanced his pursuers, Opothleyahola again returned to the secure area which he controlled farther west in the Creek Nation.(50)

Negotiations then began between the two warring Creek parties. On October 22 a council of delegates from the two factions met at Camp Porter.(51) No agreement was reached however, and another council was scheduled at Thlobthocco.(52)

Colonel Cooper undoubtedly knew that Opothleyahola did not plan to make peace. On October 23 Cooper issued a proclamation from his post at Camp Porter. It called on the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and the other inhabitants of the Indian Territory to form into companies and report to him immediately to resist an invasion of Confederate homes by "Federal Vandals."(53) Then Cooper took up the line of march westward with troops from the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment and the Confederate Creek regiment.(54)

On October 26 Colonel Cooper was reported as being 25 miles west of North Fork Town.(55) He was at Thlobthocco by the twenty-ninth.(56) But Opothleyahola was not there.

While Opothleyahola was pushing Cooper back during his advance to the Creek Agency, Opothleyahola's followers were moving northward. A new camp was established "at some point above the Big Pond near the head of the Deep Fork of the Canadian." (57) It was actually on the little Deep Fork. The Big Pond was north of the Deep Fork and was six or seven miles southeast of the present Depew. And the Deep Fork heads in the Oklahoma City area. The Little Deep Fork heads about seven miles northwest of Depew.

Colonel Cooper's task was becoming increasingly difficult. Opothleyahola sent another group of delegates to request federal aid from officials in Kansas. (58) In response, more Jayhawkers prepared to enter the Indian Territory. (59)

Some of Opothleyahola's followers pretended to return to their homes which were in the Confederate-controlled area. Actually, their purpose was not to quit the war effort but to secure their possessions and return to the area which Opothleyahola controlled. Their movement apparently began in September but it does not appear that Cooper became aware of its purpose until late October. (60)

Colonel Cooper was also having trouble controlling his Indian troops. On October 31 Confederate Creek leader Echo Harjo and others wrote to Cooper from their camp near Thlobthlocco. They told him they were going to march to Opothleyahola's camp on the next Friday. (61) This would be November 8. Cooper replied from Thlobthlocco on the same date and told them that the army would not be ready to march by November 6. (62) The reason for the discrepancy in dates is unclear.

While he was at Thlobthlocco Cooper sent a letter of safeguard to Opothleyahola ensuring him safe passage to Cooper's camp. (63) But Opothleyahola refused to come in so

Cooper moved his camp to Sell's Store which was on Brown's Creek about three miles southeast of the present Slick and a short distance north of the present Highway 16 crossing.(64) He was now only eight miles from Opothleyahola's camp which was located on the Little Deep Fork two miles east of the present Highway 48 crossing.(65)

Opothleyahola did not wait for Cooper to strike. In early November he began moving his non-combatants to the northwest up the Little Deep Fork.(66) Then he marched toward the Arkansas River.(67)

Cooper was also moving. In late October or early November General Albert Pike, Cooper's superior officer, ordered Cooper to move to Fort Gibson and "cover that route."(68) On November 5 Cooper was at Fisher's Store which was located a short distance northeast of the present Eufala. On that date he wrote to Colonel Drew from there and told him that General McCulloch had placed at his (Cooper's) disposal, Texas regiments which were then on the march for North Fork Town.(69) Then he marched northward to try to cut off Opothleyahola.(70)

It is uncertain when Colonel Cooper reached Fort Gibson but it was probably on November 6 or 7. An undated report from Fort Gibson stated that Colonel Cooper's regiment, (the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment), and Colonel William B. Sims' regiment, (the Ninth Texas Cavalry which was also sometimes called the Fourth Texas Cavalry), were on the way to that point.(71) Sims' regiment left Camp Reeves, Texas near the present Denison,(72) on October 31 and arrived at Boggy Depot which was located 14 miles southwest of the present Atoka, on November 7. Part of the regiment left on the twelfth, the remaining soldiers later left with the train.(73) Since it was reported moving toward Fort Gibson while

Cooper was, it is obvious that Cooper arrived there no later than the seventh. He did not stay there but moved to Camp Pike in the Creek Nation.(74) The location of Camp Pike is uncertain but it was undoubtedly near the Arkansas River west of Fort Gibson. Jayhawkers were reportedly coming down the Arkansas River,(75) and Cooper's orders were to stop them.(76) And he also wanted to protect his supply depot which was located at Choska.(77) Cooper formed his defense line along the Arkansas River in the Choska area. During the month of November he established a camp in the Concharty area(78)-and located another at Spring Hill.(79) Camp Pike was undoubtedly in this area. It was probably at Choska.

Colonel Cooper believed that 1000 Jayhawkers led by Dr. (Charles) "Jamison," (Jennison), had joined Opothleyahola.(80) The number was undoubtedly far smaller and Jennison was in the Kansas City area at the time.(81) But Cooper believed that an attack on his camp was imminent. On November tenth he reported from his position at Camp Pike that Opothleyahola and the Jayhawkers were near the Arkansas River.(82) On November 11 a Confederate soldier reported that Opothleyahola and a great many "Kansasits" or Jayhawkers with him had advanced to the Arkansas River.(83)

The most obvious route for Opothleyahola to take to reach the Arkansas from his Little Deep Fork Camp was across the broad, flat plain leading to the Choska area. But Cooper's letter to Cherokee Lt. Colonel W. P. Ross requesting him to march in the direction of "Coody's," which he supposed was on the California Road up the Arkansas, and get in the rear of the Kansas force,(84) indicates that Opothleyahola was farther upstream.

Colonel Cooper did not contest Opothleyahola's advance but instead abandoned his Arkansas River defense line and

withdrew to the Illinois River. From there he dispatched a messenger to the Ninth Texas Cavalry regiment which was stationed at North Fork Town. The messenger arrived on the night of the eleventh with Cooper's orders for the regiment to come to his assistance. A detachment of 500 men of the regiment left North Fork Town early on the morning of the twelfth and arrived at Cooper's camp about midnight, much to the relief of the Indians who fired their guns and made many demonstrations of joy upon the regiment's arrival. "North Texas," a member of the Ninth Texas Cavalry regiment who wrote a good description of the campaign for the *Paris* (Texas) *Press*, reported that the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment and a Creek regiment and battalion commanded by Colonel D. N. McIntosh were with Cooper.(85)

The distance from North Fork Town to Colonel Cooper's camp was variously reported as being from 65 to 75 miles.(86) This would be in the Tahlequah area. Cooper was at Camp McCulloch which was located near Park Hill, a few miles south of Tahlequah.(87) "North Texan" stated that after arriving at Cooper's camp the Texas detachment rested two days. Then, on the fifteenth, they joined 1000 Indians in pursuit of Opothleyahola.(88) Cooper reported from Camp McCulloch on the fourteenth that he planned to leave there early the next morning.(89)

Colonel Cooper's route took him through Fort Gibson. "North Texan" reported that "after resting two days and preparing six days rations, and ordering Col. Sims to bring our train up to that point, Gen. [sic] Cooper with one thousand of the most effective Indians and our command started on the 15th in pursuit of the enemy."(90) "That point" was Fort Gibson. Colonel Sims took the train on a route from North Fork Town to Concharty.(91) This would have taken him

through Fort Gibson but not Camp McCulloch. It would appear that Cooper moved from Camp McCulloch to Fort Gibson on the fourteenth. "North Texas" stated that the command reach Opothleyahola's abandoned Little Deep Fork camp on the seventeenth, moving a distance of about 57 miles in three days.(92) Fifty-seven miles is close to the distance from Fort Gibson to Opothleyahola's abandoned camp. Camp McCulloch was about 85 miles from his Little Deep Fork camp.

Opothleyahola's Little Deep Fork camp was abandoned. After spending the night in the vicinity the Confederates resumed the march on the eighteenth. They left the last settlement and followed Opothleyahola's trail in a northwesterly direction.(93) The route was up the Little Deep Fork. It was the only smooth passage through which the wagons of Opothleyahola's caravan could traverse the rough terrain in the area.

The Confederates were shadowed by Union Indian vedettes as they moved up the Little Deep Fork. The vedettes were seen in front to the right or left. Particularly vexing to the Confederates was a vedette who rode a white horse and nearly always appeared on the Confederates' left flank. His mount easily outran the Confederate horses and no bullet touched him although many shots were fired his way. The Confederates began to believe that he was an enchantment.(94)

The command marched 30 miles on the eighteenth. "North Texas" reported that it camped on "the head waters of the Red Fork."(95) The camp was on one of the creeks in the present Cushing area. Of course these creeks are not actually the headwaters of the Cimarron, which was called the Red Fork of the Arkansas River in that period. But some of the early maps show a short stream in the area of the Cimarron.

The Confederates may have had one of these maps. But whether they did or not, “headwaters” certainly indicates a location some distance above the mouth of the river.

The Confederates followed Opothleyahola’s trail north-westward to the Twin Mounds area. But Creek oral traditions maintain that the Union Indians went through Sapulpa.(96) A journey from the Bristow area via Sapulpa to the mouth of the Cimarron would be almost 45 miles. This distance eliminates a site near the mouth of the Cimarron as the location of the battle. A distance of 30 miles on the Sapulpa route would be nowhere near the Cimarron. And it would be in the Arkansas River drainage system. The tradition does not seem to fit the fact.

The reported lack of settlements encountered on the march also indicates a more westerly route. Sapulpa was not the only Creek habitation on Polecat Creek. Tuskegee was also located on that stream.(97) It is clear that Opothleyahola was moving through an area that was at least partly settled.

On the night of the eighteenth the Confederate Creek leaders slipped across the Cimarron and entered Opothleyahola’s camp. They may have been attempting to make a reconciliation but the Union Indians proclaimed war.(98) The Confederate Creeks returned to their camp with Colonel Cooper still unaware of their mission.(99)

On the morning of the nineteenth Colonel Cooper sent his soldiers out to scour the countryside. It was his policy to disperse his men and capture all the escaped slaves he could find.(100) He did capture some prisoners on the south side of the river but it is uncertain if they were escaped slaves or not. They told him that a portion of Opothleyahola’s party was near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, on their route toward Walnut Creek where a fort was being erected.(101)

There has been much confusion about the location of Walnut Creek. Proponents of a site near the mouth of the Cimarron have claimed the fort which Cooper referred to was old Fort Arbuckle. The remnants of this post were about ten miles below the Walnut Creek which empties into the Arkansas River a short distance above the mouth of the Cimarron.(102) But Cooper was referring to Walnut Creek, Kansas. This settlement was near the junction of Walnut Creek (also called the Whitewater River and the Stinking Fork of the Arkansas)(103) and the Arkansas River. Opothleyahola was almost due south of it. He told his people to go there if they were defeated and scattered. That is what they did after their defeat at Chustenahlah.(104) And a fort was being built there. It was the farthest southwest of the chain of seven forts which Brigadier General James H. Lane, commander of Union troops in Kansas, ordered built across the southern part of the state in the fall of 1861.(105)

After the prisoners were interrogated, Cooper's force crossed the river.(106) It is not known at what time of day the crossing was made. But it was not too late in the day because after reaching the north side of the river the Confederates searched for Opothleyahola. Being unable to find him, they turned eastward to return to their train,(107) which was in the Concharty area.(108) But the enemy was soon reported to be within five or six miles and advancing. Cooper's men immediately countermarched and rode ten miles to the enemy's camp.(109)

It is clear that these movements could not have been made near the mouth of the Cimarron. Even if a site near the present Mannford is considered, there is still not enough room for these movements to have been made in the area. If Colonel Cooper's men had ridden to a point ten miles east of the

Mannford site they would have crossed the Arkansas River. But no mention of the Arkansas is made in any report of the battle with the exception of an account written forty years later by A. W. Sparks, a veteran of the Ninth Texas cavalry. Sparks told of crossing the Arkansas shortly before the battle. But he did not mention the Red Fork.(110) All contemporary accounts place the battle near the Red Fork. Sparks obviously had the two rivers confused.

The Confederates entered Opothleyahola's camp shortly before sundown and found it abandoned.(111) Sparks remembered that the camp was along two creeks which came together in a V.(112) This would be the junction of Salt Creek and the stream which runs at the foot of the embankment upon which the Twin Mounds sit.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws and four Texas companies camped on Opothleyahola's abandoned campsite(113) in the prairie below the mounds. Several Texas companies and the Confederate Creeks pursued Opothleyahola's scouts for about two miles.(114) The scouts disappeared in the timber skirting a creek "upon which it was afterwards ascertained the forces of Hopoeithleyohola were encamped."(115) This would be Salt Creek. Lieutenant-Colonel William Quayle, who was in charge of the detachment sent after Opothleyahola's scouts, sent a group of men to scour a point of timber on the right and try to find out where the scouts had gone.(116) This point is on the loop of Salt Creek near the place where Highway 18 turns from a southeasterly-northwesterly direction to a north-south course again.

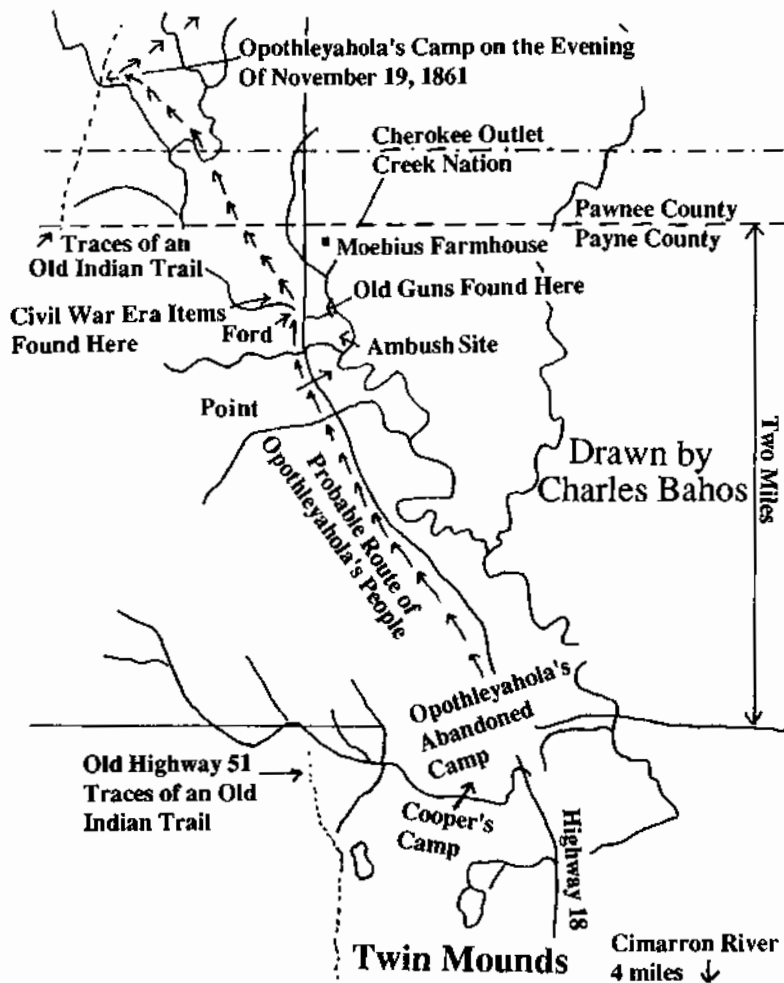
The remainder of the detachment crossed the creek which Highway 18 passes over just south of Salt Creek. When the Confederates came out on the "high prairie" between the two creeks they saw the vedette on the white horse. He was posted

some distance from the Confederates and equidistant from the two creeks. The Texans charged after the vedette as he headed straight for the junction of the two creeks. As he rode he set the prairie on fire, cutting off the Confederates' direct retreat to the south. The vedette reached the junction. When the Confederates were within forty or fifty yards of Salt Creek, Opothleyahola's men, who were hidden behind its bank, released a volley of balls and arrows.(117) It was a perfect ambush. The vedette had ridden out of the line of fire. The Confederates' direct line of retreat was cut off by the fire and the steep, high banks of the creek on the south. They were in a bottleneck. And it was now just about sundown. The light from the fire turned the Confederates into illuminated targets while their opponents were hidden in the semi-darkness.(118)

The Confederate Creeks returned to the main camp at the first fire. The Texans tried to stand and fight but they were heavily outnumbered. The Union Indians began flanking movements to surround the Texans but they fought their way out of the bottleneck and then turned southward toward the main camp. Lieutenant-Colonel Quayle, hearing the firing, went to the scene and directed the retreat. He was hit by a ball but was not injured, the ball having spent its force. The firing continued as the Texans fell back to the main camp.(119)

It appears that most of the Confederate casualties occurred during the fighting in the bottleneck. Captain Charles Stewart of Company I, Titus County, Ninth Texas regiment was killed there.(120)

Civil War-type debris has been found at the ambush site. Old guns have been found on Salt Creek a short distance east of the Highway 18 crossing.(121) The late Henry Moebius, whose family homestead contains the land upon which the ambush was staged, found a Civil War era powder flask on his



property.(122) Captain M. J. Brinson of Company D, Tarrant County, Ninth Texas Cavalry regiment, reported the loss of five powder flasks in the battle.(123) The powder flask which Henry Moebius found had the letters "W.S." scratched on it.(124) On Captain Brinson's company muster roll was a W. B. Self.(125) The flask that Henry Moebius found was probably lost by Self. And Wayne Tharp, the nephew of Mrs. Moebius and an acquaintance of the writer, has recently uncovered more Civil War era items on Salt Creek a short distance west of the Highway 18 crossing. Among the items he found there were an axehead, part of an old canteen, a bent ramrod, and a ball which was flattened on one side. These items indicate there may have been skirmishing for control of the ford just west of the bridge. This ford remains visible today.

The battle continued at the main camp in darkness so inky black that the fighting was conducted by firing at the flash of the enemy's rifles.(126) The Confederates maintained their position in the prairie. Some of Opothleyahola's men flanked the Confederate position and fired into it from the rear which was on the south side of the Confederate position. Part of the Confederates faced about and returned the fire. Soon it was all over as Opothleyahola's men retreated to their camp.(127)

Since he was unaware that Opothleyahola had withdrawn his force, Colonel Cooper formed his men into a hollow square on the prairie. Every fourth man held the horses. The rest of the men were placed on foot outside the horses.(128) Colonel Cooper then sent out about 50 Choctaws and Texans to examine the ravine in front and on the flanks.(129) This ravine is the depression through which the creek at the foot of the mounds runs. The south side of Cooper's position was now the front. The last enemy fire came from that direction. When he

turned his men to face it he made a change of front. When the probing party reported the results of their search to Colonel Cooper, he told the men to go back to normal camping procedures.(130)

On the morning of the twentieth the Confederates proceeded in battle array to attack Opothleyahola's camp which was about three and one half miles to the northwest in the Cherokee Nation. As they approached it they saw ponies, oxen, and cattle grazing and smoke rising from campfires. They prepared for battle but Opothleyahola had gone.(131) He had bought time for his retreat by leaving the stock and twelve wagons, a buggy which Cooper claimed belonged to Opothleyahola, camp equipage, and provisions including flour, sugar, coffee, and salt.(132) The Indians took the ponies, cattle, wagons, and a large amount of provisions. Most of the booty was destroyed.(133)

Colonel Cooper reported his losses as six killed and four wounded. He estimated Opothleyahola's loss at 110 killed and wounded.(134) This figure seems greatly exaggerated because the Confederates were ambushed and much of the fighting took place in the dark.

The Confederates spent the twentieth burying their dead. The body of Captain Stewart was conveyed several miles and buried in a grave which was covered with flat stones.(135) In the fall of 1940 a county road grader uncovered human bones and a sword on the east-west section road about a mile and a half southwest of the Twin Mounds.(136) This is probably the place where the Confederate dead were buried. Several skulls were uncovered there. This corresponds with the reported five killed in Colonel Cooper's official report of the battle.(137) The distance of about four miles between the ambush site and place where the bones were found matches the reported

conveyance of Captain Stewart's body for several miles from the site of the ambush. The presence of the sword also indicates this was probably Confederate burial place. Many Confederate officers carried swords.

Colonel Cooper began marching his force eastward on the twenty-first.(138) He did not report his route back to his train at Concharty.(139) But he indirectly gave it when he wrote in a November 27 letter that Opothleyahola's forces started a rumor that "we came across and murdered a party of Cherokees" on the expedition.(140) This shows that Cooper followed a route near the Cherokee-Creek line. He undoubtedly returned down the Cimarron which ran close to the line. After reaching the Arkansas River he also continued down it. The Arkansas almost paralleled the Creek-Cherokee border to Tulsey Town. From there he followed the Arkansas to Concharty.

Opothleyahola's route after the battle is a little more difficult to trace. In an 1868 statement made by three Cherokees and three Confederate Creek leaders, D. N. McIntosh, James M. C. Smith, and Tim Barnett, it was reported that following the battle Opothleyahola crossed the Arkansas and moved down to the Horseshoe Bend, Cherokee Nation, near Skiatooka's settlement.(141) Skiatooka lived near the present Osage, across the Arkansas River and a short distance downstream from the present Cleveland. (142) The Horseshoe or Big Bend as it was also called is the bend within which Cleveland is located. Opothleyahola's camp was on Scanlon Creek which empties into the Arkansas across from Cleveland.

There can be no doubt that the bend at Cleveland was the Big Bend. After Opothleyahola marched down the Arkansas River and then crossed over to Hominy Creek it was reported

that he was near the Big Bend. (143) When Opothleyahola was encamped at Chustenahlah on Hominy Creek, three and one half miles west of the present Skiatook, Colonel Cooper planned to march to the Big Bend and approach Opothleyahola from the rear(144) on a "tributary of the Verdigris."(145) The bend at Cleveland was west and to the rear of Opothleyahola's position.

Following the battle of Chustenahlah, Colonel Cooper chased Opothleyahola to the Kansas line. On his return trip down the Arkansas he reached the Big Bend in two days. He reached Tulsey Town by making a forced march on the third day.(146) The bend at Cleveland is about two-thirds of the distance from the Kansas line to Tulsa, excluding the two huge loops in the present western Osage County. Cooper undoubtedly cut across the neck of these loops and stayed on the California Road. Colonel Cooper reported that a trail led from Bird Creek to the Big Bend and that another ran from Keys settlement on the Caney River to the Big Bend.(147) Old maps show a trail leading from a point on Bird Creek near the present Skiatook to the bend at Cleveland. They also show a trail leading from a point near the present Bartlesville on the Caney River to the bend at Cleveland. Keys settlement was on the Caney River in the Bartlesville area.(148)

What route did Opothleyahola follow from his Salt Creek camp to the Arkansas River? The most logical answer is a northeasterly movement to the closest point on the Arkansas. This nearly straight line route would have taken him past the present Meramec and down Ranch Creek to its mouth. The terrain was smooth and contained the water needed for the caravan. The task of moving it was enormous. Aside from people and wagons, it also included a great number of animals. Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Lane of the Third (South Kansas-

Texas) Cavalry regiment reported that the Confederates captured 1100 horses, 90 yoke of oxen, 500 beef cattle, and 600 sheep at Chustenahlah.(149) Another Confederate report stated that there were 10,000 (more or less) dogs with Opothleyahola's party.(150) And many household possessions were carried along on the journey. Even featherbeds were taken on the trip.(151)

Such an entourage was naturally slow moving. It was about November 24 or 25 before Opothleyahola crossed the Arkansas River. On November 25 Colonel Drew, who was at Camp Coody near the present Nowata, reported he had just received a letter written in Cherokee telling of the battle. The letter was from a scout who was stationed on the Arkansas,(152) probably in the Big Bend area. Such letters were delivered by messenger. This rapid method of delivery makes it safe to assume that Opothleyahola did not cross the Arkansas before the 24 or 23 at the earliest. The scout undoubtedly sent or took the letter himself as soon as he made contact with Opothleyahola's party after it crossed the river. Even if the messenger took two days to travel the approximately 50 miles to Colonel Drew and deliver the letter (which is highly unlikely), it could have been written no earlier than the twenty-third. That would be the earliest date on which Opothleyahola could have crossed the Arkansas.

It is about 15 miles from Opothleyahola's Salt Creek campsite via Ranch Creek to the Arkansas River. His party took at least five days to travel this distance. This means that they were moving three miles or less a day. This would be in line with the travel time from the Little Deep Fork camp to the Twin Mounds. From the time Opothleyahola's caravan left the Little Deep Fork camp (November 5),(153) until it reached the Salt Creek site was a maximum of fifteen days.(154) The

distance was about 40 miles, making an average of a little less than three miles moved each day. Moving such an assemblage, which was probably the largest wagon train in American history, took time and space. When the federal troops who evacuated the Indian Territory passed through Leavenworth, Kansas, in May of 1861, the procession was nearly a mile in length. And it contained only about 1000 people.(155) Opothleyahola's group was six or seven times as large.(156) It would have covered some distance and its slow pace would have made a movement to Black Bear Creek and down it to the Arkansas River impossible in the time frame provided. This rules out the possibility of the bend west of Cleveland being the Big Bend. Opothleyahola did not have time to strike the Arkansas above this bend southeasterly and still reach points downstream on three days.

But there was enough time for Opothleyahola to reach the Twin Mounds area by November 18. And there is further evidence that the battle was fought there. There is no terrain in the area near the mouth of the Cimarron which matches Sparks' description. But it fits the Twin Mounds area.(157) The Confederate Creek leaders called the battle "Round Mountains,"(158) a clear reference to the Twin Mounds.

Two letters which were written by Confederate soldiers shortly after the battle also verify the Twin Mounds site. One was written from Camp Wilson on November 24, 1861. A Confederate soldier named R. H. Jackson wrote to his father and told him the battle occurred 75 miles from Camp Wilson on the Red Fork in the Creek Nation.(159) Camp Wilson was located on the north bank of the Arkansas River across from Concharty.(160) Seventy-five airline miles from Concharty would actually be a point near the present Stillwater. But when the distance is measured on Cooper's return route down the

Cimarron and the Arkansas it is almost exactly 75 miles from the Twin Mounds to Concharty. And proof that the writer knew his mileage is shown by the fact that he gave his location as within about 100 miles of Neosho, Missouri.(161) A site near the mouth of the Cimarron is obviously too close to be correct.

The second letter was written from Choska on December 23, 1861. The writer's first name was Thornton and he signed the letter "T. B. M."

In this letter to his mother he stated that the Battle of Round Mountain was fought about five miles north of the Red Fork of the Arkansas.(162) The prairie at the foot of the Twin Mounds is about five miles north of the Cimarron.

These two letters completely eliminate a site near the mouth of the Cimarron as the place where the battle was fought. Sparks' account also eliminates a site near the mouth. He remembered that Opothleyahola's abandoned camp was six or eight miles north of the river.(163) It was actually five. A site five miles north of the Cimarron and in the Creek Nation could not be anywhere near its mouth. Virtually all of the area north of the Cimarron from its mouth to a point ten miles west was in the Cherokee Nation. But the place where Opothleyahola was found was the ambush site. It was about two miles north of the main battle site and was in the Creek Nation. That would make the ambush site in the Creek Nation at a point seven miles north of the Cimarron. The Salt Creek site by the Highway 18 crossing is seven miles north of the Cimarron. From the present Oilton area to its mouth the Cimarron's course is less than seven miles from the old Cherokee-Creek border. That means the battle had to occur west of there. There can be no doubt that it did.

Further confirmation that the battle was not fought near

the mouth of the Cimarron is found in a manuscript of John Ross. It reported that he sent a Cherokee delegation composed of James McDaniel, Porum, and Cabbin Smith to confer with a messenger from Opothleyahola. On the eighteenth of November a conference was held on the western border of the Cherokee Nation.(164) The Creeks told the Cherokee delegates that Opothleyahola wanted peace and would enter the Cherokee Nation as advised by his Cherokee brethren.(165) That he actually did so is confirmed by his later outcry that he was attacked by the Confederates while camping in a place selected by John Ross.(166)

It is clear that Opothleyahola was camped in the Cherokee Nation near the Creek border at the time of the battle. And it is also evident that he was moving from the Creek Nation to the Cherokee Nation on the eighteenth or nineteenth. The presence of still-smoking fires at Opothleyahola's recently abandoned camp indicates that the movement may not have started until the nineteenth.(167) A movement from Twin Mounds prairie to a point on Salt Creek just across the Cherokee-Creek line could have been made during this time. Colonel Cooper reported that the ambush occurred on the creek upon which Opothleyahola was encamped. Since Opothleyahola always kept his warriors between his people and the enemy his camp had to be more than seven miles north of the Cimarron. If Opothleyahola had been in the area near the south of the Cimarron he would have had to cross the Cimarron and move over seven miles in two days or less. It would have been impossible for him to do that. River crossings took time. And he would not have had his people strung out in a river crossing with Confederate troops approaching. The fact is, he was already north of the river at the foot of the Twin Mounds. He made a short movement up Salt Creek into the

Cherokee Nation. The remains of the wagons which Opothleyahola left behind after the battle(168) were discovered by settlers in the late nineteenth century. Other camp-type items were found at the same location, just north of the old Cherokee-Creek line on Salt Creek.(169) This was Opothleyahola's campsite at the time of the battle.

The location of the Battle of Round Mountain(s) at the Twin Mounds is also confirmed by a map drawn by Samuel D. Irwin of the Twelfth Kansas Volunteers. (The writer discovered it in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.) Drawn some time before the summer of 1863, this fine Indian Territory map is far more detailed than any previously discovered. All of the major Civil War battles up to the summer of 1863 are shown. They are all close to their actual location with the exception of Chustenahlah. And it is in the right place on Hominy Creek. The bends of the creek shown at the battlefield location on the map corresponds almost exactly with the bends of the creek where the actual battle took place. Irwin just misjudged the length of the creek. He may have thought it extended into Kansas because Colonel Cooper pursued Opothleyahola to the Kansas line.(170)

Irwin placed the Round Mountain(s) battle flag far up the river. He put it west of the 97 degree mark when it actually should have been a short distance east of it. But he placed the battle flag on Salt Creek. The course of the creek with the battle flag is identical to that of Salt Creek. No creek which ran from the Cherokee Nation into the Cimarron east of Salt Creek has a similar course. The creek is shown entering the Cimarron on the third major hump of the river. The first hump is the one near Mannford. The second is the general course of the river from the mouth of Cottonwood Creek near Mannford to a point southwest of Oilton. And the third is the one which Salt

Creek enters.

Among all the records of Round Mountain(s), one final bit of evidence ties Opothleyahola to the Twin Mounds site. Pieces of fine china and crockery were found at the Salt Creek campsite just north of the Cherokee-Creek border.(171) Opothleyahola's people took china and crockery with them on their exodus. Lieutenant Colonel Lane reported that when the Confederates overran the Union camp at Chustenahlah, fine china and crockery were among the household items Opothleyahola's fleeing people left behind.(172)

It is readily observable that many sources verify that the Battle of Round Mountain(s) was fought at the Twin Mounds. A map, letters, official reports, remembered accounts, the Confederate Creek leaders' statement, and debris verify it occurred there. But where did the tradition for a battle near the mouth of the Cimarron originate? The map drawn by Special Indian Agent John T. Cox at Fort Gibson in 1864(173) originally focused attention on a site near the mouth. It is the only source which maintains that the battle was fought on the north side of the Cimarron near its mouth. It is not confirmed by documentary records and virtually no battlefield-type debris has been found near the mouth of the Cimarron.

The oral traditions of the Creek Indians place the battle near the mouth but on the south side of the Cimarron. These traditions are apparently based on the movements of that portion of Opothleyahola's people at the Thlobthlocco camp who returned to their homes in the eastern Creek Nation, secured their possessions, and went out.(174) Their route is shown on the Cox map. While Opothleyahola pushed the Confederates eastward, his people who had returned to their homes left the North Fork Town area and went up the North Canadian and Deep Fork Rivers to the mouth of Sandy Creek.

They followed it northward and then cut overland to Opothleyahola's Little Deep Fork camp. They then moved northward. The Cox map shows that they moved from the Little Deep Fork camp to a point on Polecat Creek near Sapulpa and then to the mouth of the Cimarron.(175) This route would have taken them northward up Rock Creek, then across the ridge and down Rowland Creek. They would have turned southeastward up the creek which flows into Rowland Creek from section 26, T17N, R9E. From its head they would have crossed the ridge into Section 25 and followed the creek which led westward from it to Polecat Creek. From that point their route would have taken them down Polecat Creek and up another Rock Creek to its head at Round Mountain Prairie in the southwestern corner of the present Tulsa County. Here they struck the Dawson Road and followed it northward to the mouth of the Cimarron.

This group was undoubtedly moving toward the Big Bend to rejoin Opothleyahola after he moved the rest of his people around Confederate forces. They probably took the eastern route because Opothleyahola could help them sooner if they were threatened. It was only a slightly shorter distance than the Twin Mounds route but its zigzag nature was much closer to Opothleyahola's camp. And he could shorten the distance by cutting up the Dawson Road or Little Polecat Creek.

On November 5 Opothleyahola started moving the remainder of his people, under escort, up the Little Deep Fork.(176) Then he and his warriors apparently went to aid his people who had taken the eastern route to the Cimarron. He was probably as concerned about a band of Jayhawkers coming down the Arkansas River as he was about the Confederates. Jayhawkers had entered the Cherokee Nation at the request of the Cherokee government(177) which did not wish

to enter a Confederate alliance. But the Jayhawkers killed Cherokees and took their stock.(178) And the Jayhawkers the Cherokees defeated at Claremore Mound were driving off Cherokee stock.(179)

It is unclear where Opothleyahola joined the eastern caravan but it may have been before it reached Round Mountain prairie. One Creek tradition maintains that it was here that the Confederates caught up with and attacked Opothleyahola's warriors as they accompanied the caravan.(180) This tradition holds that the skirmish was called the Battle of Round Mountain because it was fought near the knoll by that name which sits on the southwestern side of the prairie.(181)

According to another tradition the battle was fought six miles to the north at the "round end of a mountain" overlooking the Cimarron-Arkansas junction.(182) This would be at the old town of Keystone. This site is now covered by the water of Lake Keystone. But the end of the Arkansas-Cimarron drainoff dividing ridge, (the "round end of a mountain"), is still visible. This elevated land form is called the Dawson Ridge.

The data of this skirmish is uncertain but it was probably no later than the ninth of November. On the tenth Colonel Cooper reported from his Camp Pike position that Opothleyahola was contemplating attacking his camp with 1000 Jayhawkers who were near the Arkansas River. (183) On the eleventh a Confederate soldier at North Fork Town reported that Opothleyahola was on the Arkansas and the Jayhawkers were with him.(184) This information was undoubtedly conveyed by a messenger Cooper had sent to North Fork Town requesting assistance. The messenger left Colonel Cooper at midnight on the night of the tenth or eleventh.(185) Since it

would have taken a messenger some time to ride from the mouth of the Cimarron to the Choska area and inform Cooper of the skirmish it probably occurred on the ninth or possibly the eighth.

After the skirmish Opothleyahola apparently ventured a short distance down the Arkansas and then returned to his Little Deep Fork Camp. Colonel Cooper's rapid retreat to Camp McCulloch indicates that Opothleyahola at least made a feint down the Arkansas. And Sparks remembered that Opothleyahola was pressing Cooper "up the river." Sparks' regiment's position at North Fork Town indicates the river was the Deep Fork. But contemporary sources reveal that at this time the campaign was being conducted on the Arkansas. Sparks reported the detachment marched "up the river" to aid Cooper (when he was at Camp McCulloch). Sparks stated that Cooper was hard pressed by Opothleyahola and his "Yankee," (Jayhawker), allies.(186) It is known that at this time they were on the Arkansas. The detachment moved northeastward and crossed the Arkansas on its movement to aid Colonel Cooper.

Opothleyahola wasted no time in conducting an Arkansas campaign against Colonel Cooper. He quickly returned to his Little Deep Fork camp and went to protect his people at the Twin Mounds. The Confederate Creek leaders stated that Opothleyahola's trail from the Little Deep Fork camp to the Twin Mounds was a week or more old.(187) Actually the warriors' trail was about a week old. If they returned on the same trail they followed to the mouth of the Cimarron they would probably have reached the Little Deep Fork camp by the eleventh or twelfth. It is even possible they arrived there on the tenth. Opothleyahola's people's trail was more than a week old. They left the Little Deep Fork camp on the

fifth.(188) The time frame fits. The Confederates began following the trail up the Little Deep Fork on the eighteenth.(189)

Opothleyahola's movements are known after he returned to his Little Deep Fork camp. But what happened to those who "went out?" Following the skirmish they crossed the Arkansas and followed the Dawson Road two and one half miles downstream to old Fort Arbuckle.(190) Opothleyahola undoubtedly went with them, causing Colonel Cooper to think Opothleyahola was making a move down the Arkansas. But Opothleyahola did not go farther. He returned to the "round end of a mountain" and then to his Little Deep Fork camp, undoubtedly following the route upon which he had advanced to the mouth of the Cimarron. There was not time for him to move down the Arkansas and return to his Little Deep Fork camp and still leave a trail a week or more old.

The people at old Fort Arbuckle dug four caves for protection and made their stand. The "round mounds" of earth piled up over these caves is the source of still another battle tradition in the area of the mouth of the Cimarron. This tradition also maintains that the battle occurred at the "round end of a mountain," at old Keystone. But according to its advocates it was named after the mounds at the fort.(191)

According to Creek tradition the old men, women, and children were soon sent eastward. Then they turned northward where they camped for some time.(192) It is obvious they joined the Lochapokas who lived at Tulsey Town. They then moved north in late November to join Opothleyahola. Those who stayed at the fort remained there for almost a month before rejoining Opothleyahola.(193) This amount of time fits in with Opothleyahola's movements. He did not return to the area until the end of November. When he did they moved

down the north side of the Arkansas River and joined him.(194) This means that they also turned north at Tulsey Town and entered Opothleyahola's ranks at Camp McDaniel at the mouth of Hominy Creek. Opothleyahola did not reach Camp McDaniel until about December 4.(195) Once again the time frame is correct. They later participated with Opothleyahola in the "Big Battle,"(196) the Battle of Chustenahlah.

It is obvious there was a skirmish at or near the mouth of the Cimarron on November eighth or ninth. But was it fought at Round Mountain or the "round end of a mountain?" The probable answer is both. Rock Creek splits into three branches about two miles east of Round Mountain. Those who "went out" and Opothleyahola's warriors probably took the northern branch because it was the shortest and had the least incline. The Confederates probably took the southern branch in an attempt to avoid detection. This movement would have brought them onto Eight Mile Prairie (197) about one mile south of Round Mountain. As they then moved northward toward Opothleyahola they would have come over the hill which is about three-fourths of a mile south of Round Mountain. One Creek tradition holds that they came over this hill and fought Opothleyahola's warriors at the south end of Round Mountain Prairie.

What probably happened is that fighting occurred there between the Confederates and Opothleyahola's rear guard. Opothleyahola undoubtedly left a detachment on Round Mountain Prairie. This position would have allowed them to watch for the enemy on both the Rock Creek trail and the Dawson Road. If this action did occur the rear guard was soon forced to retreat and join the main force at the "round end of a mountain" where the main battle occurred.

This was a small skirmish. Opothleyahola reportedly lost

three men at the “round end of a mountain.” The identity of the attackers is unclear. One account states that they were “southern Indians.”(198) They could have been members of the Creek units commanded by Colonel D. N. McIntosh. They could have fought at the mouth of the Cimarron on the eighth or ninth and reached Camp McCulloch by the twelfth. If the skirmish occurred on the tenth, which is highly unlikely, it would have been virtually impossible for them to reach Camp McCulloch by the twelfth. The other possibility is that the Creek militia attacked Opothleyahola. Its movements during this period are unknown. It is highly unlikely that the attackers were members of the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment, Cooper always kept them with him. He did not participate in the skirmish at the mouth of the Cimarron. Whoever Opothleyahola’s attackers were, they probably marched up the Arkansas River from Concharly, and then up Polecat and Rock Creeks to Round Mountain Prairie.

Opothleyahola was a military genius who was an expert at choosing battle sites. But he was of advanced age and although he participated in the fighting,(199) he had a younger assistant who helped direct his warriors. This assistant was known as the “Little Captain.”(200) Who was this “Little Captain?” Victor M. Rose provided the answer in Ross’ *Texas Brigade*. He stated that the youthful lieutenant who helped Opothleyahola conduct the fighting was Halleck Tschustenuga.(201)

It is clear that the Union Creeks were involved in two distinct skirmishes in November of 1861. The first, and smaller of the two, was fought at the mouth of the Cimarron during the second week of the month. Colonel Cooper did not participate in this battle at the “round end of a mountain” but Opothleyahola did. The second and larger battle occurred at the Twin Mounds. Both Colonel Cooper and Opothleyahola

were involved in it. This skirmish is the one recorded in the *Official Records of the Rebellion*.(202)

The evidence is conclusive. The Battle of Round Mountains which was fought on November 19, 1861, occurred at the Twin Mounds near Yale in Payne County.

ENDNOTES

(1) Charles L. Bahos, "John Ross, Unionist or Secessionist in 1861?" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of History, the University of Tulsa, 1968).

(2) Wright, Muriel H. "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report on the Battle of Round Mountain," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 39(Winter 1961), 3552-397.

(3) Debo, Angie, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," 1861, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 27(Summer 1949), 187-206. Debo, Angie. "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 41(Spring 1963), 70-104.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 14, 1861, Box 43 Vol. 97, Grant Foreman Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Hereafter cited as Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(6) *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 648. Hereafter cited as O. R.

(7) O. R., Series IV, Vol, I, pp. 426-443, 445-466, 513-527, 542-554. *Proceedings of the Cherokee Convention, August 21, 1861*, John Ross Papers, Folder 61-29 Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla-

homa. Hereafter cited as Gilcrease Ross Papers.

(8) This Creek leader's name has been spelled a variety of ways. This spelling was chosen because it seems to be the one most commonly used. He signed his name "Hopothyurholur." (Opothleyahola to John Ross, September 14, 1861, Folder 61-30, Gilcrease Ross Papers). His English name was Gouge. (*Little Rock [Arkansas] Daily State Journal*, January 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

(9) WPA Project S-149, James Scott; Joe M. Grayson, September 24, 1937, Archives and Manuscript Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

(10) The National Archives (Washington), Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Choctaw, C676/1868 (Enclosure), Statement relative to the Exodus of Ho-poith-la-yo-ho-la and his followers from the Creek and Cherokee Country in the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862 Cited hereafter as "Statement." Copies of this statement are in the Payne County Historical Society Collection at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City.

(11) In the spring of 1862 a federal official in Kansas reported there were 7600 refugee Indians in southern Kansas. (*Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual report, 1862*, p. 157, George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, April 21, 1862). Some of these refugees may not have come north with Opothleyahola but the vast majority did. It seems certain that at least 5000 or 6000 people were with him. (*Ibid.*, p. 157, and p. 137, W. G. Coffin to William P. Dole, October 15, 1862).

(12) George W. Collamore reported there were members of eleven tribes in the assemblage. They were the Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, Quapaw, Euchee, Kichai, Delaware, Ioni, Caddo, Wichita, and Cherokee. (*Ibid.*, p. 157).

(13) O. R., Series I, Vol. III, p. 614.

(14) C. H. Marshall to Dear Friend, August 11, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foremen Collection. D. N. McIntosh to John Drew, September 11, 1861, *Ibid*.

(15) O. R., Series I, Vol. III, p. 620.

(16) *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, August 24, 1861, p. 1, col. 5.

(17) O. R., Series I, Vol. 3, pp. 690-691, 693-694.

(18) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, pg. 17. John Drew to Douglas H. Cooper, November 20, 1861, Box 43, Vol. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(19) In late June or early July an Arkansas cavalry company ambushed a party of Jayhawkers "on the Neosho River in the Indian Country." (*Austin [Texas] State Gazette*, July 20, 1861, p. 2, col. 3). In late July the Cherokees fought a pitched battle against a group of invading Jayhawkers who had positioned themselves on Claremore Mound in the present Rogers County. (*Van Buren [Arkansas] Press*, August 7, 1861, p. 2, col. 4. *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, August 13, 1861, p. 1, col. 7. *La Grange [Texas] True Issue*, August 29, 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

(20) *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, August 10, 1861, p. 1, col. 5.

(21) Estep, Raymond. "Lieutenant William E. Burnett Letters: Removal of the Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 39(Spring 1961). 40-41.

(22) Statement. George Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 55.

(23) D. N. McIntosh to John Drew, September 11, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(24) *Van Buren (Arkansas) Press*, October 16, 1861, p. 1,

col. 7.

(25) *Shreveport (Louisiana) Daily News*, October 31, 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

(26) D. N. McIntosh to Albert Pike, October 3, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97 Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(27) Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Col, 1915), pp. 245-47.

(28) D. N. McIntosh to Albert Pike, October 3, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97 Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(29) D. N. McIntosh to John Drew, September 11, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 98. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(30) Copy of a "Letter from a 'distinguished citizen of the Choctaw Nation' to the editor of the Arkansas Telegraph," in the *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 16, 1861. Grant Foreman Collection, Creek Civil War, Archives and Manuscript Division, Oklahoma Historical Society. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereafter cited as Creek Foreman Collection, OHS.

(31) *Van Buren (Arkansas) Press*, October 9, 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) *Ibid.*

(34) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, October 19, 1861, p. 2, col. 2.

(35) *Ibid.* October 12, 1861, p. 1, col. 3.

(36) Statement.

(37) D. N. McIntosh to Albert Pike, October 3, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(38) Statement. Sam'l Chekote (by J. M. Perryman) to John Drew, October 21, 1861, and (Douglas H. Cooper) to Moty Kanard, October 21, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease

Foreman Collection.

(39) Moty Kanyard and Echo Harjo to John Drew, October 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Papers.

(40) John Ross to Moty Kanard, October 8, 1861, Folder 61-62, and John Ross to Opothleyahola, October 11, 1861, Folder 61 Gilcrease Ross Papers.

(41) *McKinney (Texas) Messenger*, October 18, 1861, p. 2, col. 2. The Confederate Creek Indians were destroying Union Creek Indians homes during this period. (WPA Project S-149, Indian-Pioneer History Collection, Vol. 9, p. 72, James Scott; Joe M. Grayson, September 24, 1937. Archives Manuscript Division, OHS). It appears that destruction was widespread on both sides during this period,

(42) *Shreveport (Louisiana) Daily News*, October 31, 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

(43) J. S. Murrow to (Bro. Horady?), October 1861?, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection. This letter was apparently undated and it appears that Grant Foreman put the date with a question mark after it. Other events mentioned in the letter are from the October 1861 period.

(44) *New Orleans Daily Delta*, October 24, 1861, p. 3., col. 5.

(45) *Shreveport (Louisiana) Daily News*, October 31, 1861, p. 2, col. 3. John Drew to Douglas H. Cooper, November 20, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(46) *Little Rock (Arkansas) True Democrat*, October 17, 1861, p. 2, col. 5.

(47) *McKinney (Texas) Messenger*, October 18, 1861, p. 2, col. 2. Victor M. Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade, Being a Narrative of Events Connected with its Service in the Late War Between the States* (Louisville, Kentucky: Printed by the Courier-Journal, 1881), p. 36.

- (48) John Ross to Opothleyahola, October 11, 1861, Folder 61-44 Gilcrease Ross Papers.
- (49) Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade*, p. 37.
- (50) Statement.
- (51) Sam'l Chekote to John Drew, October 21, 1861, and Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, October 22, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.
- (52) Statement.
- (53) *Marshall (Texas) Republican*, November 30, 1861, p.1, col. 6. The reason why Cooper did not specifically mention the Choctaws is unknown.
- (54) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 2, col. 4. Echo Harjo and others to Douglas H. Cooper, October 31, 1861, Creek Foreman Collection, OHS.
- (55) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 4.
- (56) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, October 29, 1861, Creek Foreman Collection, OHS.
- (57) Statement.
- (58) *Emporia (Kansas) News*, January 11, 1862, p. 1, col. 2.
- (59) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.
- (60) D. N. McIntosh to Douglas H. Cooper, October 27, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97 Gilcrease Foreman Collection.
- (61) Echo Harjo and others to Douglas H. Cooper, October 31, 1861 Creek Foreman Collection, OHS.
- (62) Douglas H. Cooper to Moty Kanard and Echo Harjo, October 31, 1861. *Ibid.*
- (63) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, October 29, 1861, *Ibid.*
- (64) Statement. Wright, Muriel H., and Fischer, LeRoy

H., "Civil War Sites in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 44 (Summer 1966), 17.

(65) A confederate veteran reported that Opothleyahola's camp was six or eight miles from Colonel Cooper's camp. (A. W. Sparks, *The War Between the States as I Saw It* [Tyler, Texas: Lee and Burnett Printers, 1901]). p. 30, The broad flat, open area on the Little Deep Fork two miles east of camp. And the map drawn by Special Indian Agent John T. Cox shows Opothleyahola's camp to have been just about due north of Sandy Creek which is due south of the flat, open area two miles east of Highway 48.

(66) Statement. Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 5, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97 Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(67) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

(68) *New Orleans Daily Delta*, November 7, 1861, p. 3, col. 5.

(69) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 5, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(70) J. Eberle to?, undated, *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 2, col. 1.

(71) *Ibid.*

(72) *Dallas Herald*, September 25, 1861, p. 1, col. 3.

(73) Copy of a letter from "North Texan" to "Mr. Editor," November 24, 1861, in the *Paris (Texas) Press*, undated, Creek Foreman Collection, OHS. Hereafter cited as "North Texan."

(74) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection. A better known Camp Pike was later established in the Choctaw Nation near the present Stigler. (Wright, "Colonel Cooper's

Report," 377). And many of the full-blood Cherokees of Colonel Drew's regiment camped at the Cherokee Albert Pike's residence in Tahlequah District. (John Drew to John Ross, December 16, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection). This location may also have been called Camp Pike.

(75) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection

(76) *New Orleans Daily Delta*, November 7, 1861, p. 3, col. 5.

(77) *Van Buren (Arkansas) Press*, October 31, 1861, p. 2, col. 7.

(78) *Dallas Herald*, December 11, 1862, p. 1, col. 2.

(79) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 27, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(80) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(81) *Emporia (Kansas) News*, November 23, 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

(82) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(83) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97,

(84) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(85) "North Texan."

(86) *Ibid.*, Sparks, *War between the States*, p. 23. *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

(87) Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Report," 380.

(88) "North Texan." Wiley Britton, whose account of the Civil War in the Indian Territory contains some inaccuracies,

reported the expedition left Fort Gibson on November 15. (Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border, 1861-1865*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891, p. 166.) On this point he was probably correct.

(89) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 14, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(90) "North Texan." There is a discrepancy in the number of Indians with Cooper. "North Texan" reported that 500 Texans also were in the campaign. But Colonel Cooper reported a total of 1400 Confederate men participated in the campaign. (O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, 5).

(91) "North Texan." O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 7.

(92) "North Texan." Fifty-seven miles from Fort Gibson would be a point near Cooper's abandoned camp at Sell's Store. Opothleyahola's abandoned camp was about eight miles farther northwest. It is possible that Colonel Cooper left Camp McCulloch on the fourteenth. The three day figures point to that and Sparks remembered it that way. (Sparks, *War Between the States*), pp. 23-27.

(93) Statement. Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 30.

(94) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 32.

(95) "North Texan."

(96) Russell, Orpha. "Ekvn-hv' lwce, Site of Oklahoma's First Civil War Battle," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 29(Winter 1951-52), 405-06.

(97) An old map shows "Tuskega" on upper Polecat Creek. George Shirk placed it 15 miles northwest of the present Okmulgee which would still be a point on Polecat Creek. (Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names*, p. 210) Beth "North Texan" and Sparks (Sparks, *War Between the States*, p.27), stated the route to the battle was through an unsettled area. Creek settlements extended to near the mouth of the Cimarron

as early as 1845. A rumor that the Osages were massacring Creeks in the area caused the Creeks to seek refuge on the Verdigris River. (Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, [Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933], p. 223). The Creeks may not have returned to the area near the mouth of the Cimarron for some time.

An 1850 report stated the Creek and Cherokee settlements on the line between the two nations went about 40 miles west from the northeastern corner of the Creek Nation. (Rister, Carl Coke, and Lovelace, Bryan W., "A Diary Account of a Creek Boundary Survey, 1850," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 27(Autumn 1949), 269. This would be in the Tulsa Area. The area beyond that was reported to be the Comanche and Osage hunting grounds. (*Ibid.*). But if the Creeks did vacate the area near the mouth of the Cimarron, they returned.

In 1855 it was reported that the Reverends Robert M. Loughridge and William H. Templeton of Kowetah mission were preaching the gospel to 25,000 people scattered over a 100 square miles. (J. R. Ramsey to Reverend Leighton Wilson, July 16, 1855, Roll Number One, Box 6, Volume 1, Microfilm M No. 77, American Indian Correspondence, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa). This shows that Opothleyahola was passing through a settled area when he led his warriors from his Little Deep Fork Camp to the mouth of the Cimarron. The Sac and Fox Indians reportedly found chimneys of old Creek settlements on Euchee Creek in the present Cushing area when they moved there in 1869. (Debo, "Location of Battle of Round Mountains," 95). The writer found no contemporary record showing pre-Civil War Creek settlement in this area. He did find a January 1862 letter which reported that the western portions of the Creek Nation were ruined. Only the Gilcrease Foreman Collection). But there is

no known record of of pre-Civil War Creeks settlements between the present Depew and Cushing areas.

(98) Moty Kanard and Echo Harjo to John Ross, November 25, 1861, Gilcrease Ross Papers..

(99) "North Texan."

(100) Copy of a "Letter from a 'distinguished citizen of the Choctaw Nation' to the editor of the Arkansas Telegraph," in the *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 16, 1861, Creek Foreman Collection, OHS.

(101) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 5.

(102) Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Report," 387-88.

(103) Old maps show Walnut Creek was there. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. 161, Pt. III of *James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), p. 245.

(104) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 13.

(105) *Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative*, October 9, 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

(106) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 5.

(107) "North Texan."

(108) O. R. Series, I, Vol. 8, p. 7.

(109) "North Texan."

(110) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 31. Sparks' confusion on sequence of rivers encountered is further shown by his reporting seeing the Stinking Fork of the Arkansas (Walnut Creek) on the expedition. The Confederates were not in that area until they were on another expedition over a month later. (O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 13).

(111) "North Texan."

(112) Sparks, *War between the States*, p. 33.

(113) "North Texan."

- (114) *Ibid.* Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 35. O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 14.
- (115) O. R. Series I, Vol. 8, P. 7.
- (116) Debo, "Location of Battle of Round Mountains," 73.
- (117) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 33
- (118) *Ibid.* pp. 34-35.
- (119) "North Texan."
- (120) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 34. Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade*, 49.
- (121) Debo, "Location of Battle of Round Mountains," 72.
- (122) *Ibid.*, 101-102 Copy of a letter from Homer L. Knight to John Melton, November 10, 1961. Henry Moebius found the powder flask about one-eighth of a mile northeast of his farm house. (Affidavit of Henry Moebius in The Claim of Payne C. B. County to the site of the First Civil War Battles found in Indian Territory. Payne County Historical Society Collection, OHS.
- (123) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 14.
- (124) Debo, "Location of the Battle of Round Mountains," 102.
- (125) Muster Roll Number 112, M. J. Brinson, Captain, Company D, Tarrant County, Adjutant General's Record Group (401), Texas State Library, Archives Division, Austin, Texas.
- (126) *Dallas Herald*, December 18, 1861, p. 4, col. 1.
- (127) "North Texan."
- (128) *Ibid.* O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 6.
- (129) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 6.
- (130) "North Texan."
- (131) *Ibid.*
- (132) O. R. , Series I, Vol. 8, p. 6.
- (133) "North Texan."

The Round Mountains Campaign

While doing research in the late 1960s on a Master's thesis on the Cherokee Indians in the Civil War,(1) the writer encountered the controversy over the site of the Battle of Round Mountain(s). He was immediately intrigued by it and decided to find out where it actually did occur. Was the Battle of Round Mountain fought near the mouth of the Cimarron River as advocates of this site proclaimed? (2) Or was the Battle of Round Mountains waged over twenty miles to the south southwest near the present Yale in Payne County? (3) Only a thorough investigation would reveal the answer.

Proponents of both sites agreed on most of the movements of Opothleyahola in 1861. He moved his people from a point near the present Eufala to a location near the present Okemah and then to what is now the Bristow area. After the Battle of Round Mountain(s) Opothleyahola's party crossed the Arkansas River near the present Cleveland, Oklahoma, then travelled downstream to Walnut Creek near the mouth of the Cimarron. From there they went up Walnut Creek, crossed over to Wildhorse Creek, and followed it to its mouth on Hominy Creek.

(134) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, pp. 6-7.

(135) Sparks, *War Between the States*, pp. 36-37.

(136) Debo, "Location of Battle of Round Mountains," 102.

(137) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 7.

(138) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 37.

(139) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 7.

(140) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 27, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(141) Statement. The bend on the Arkansas River just above the mouth of the Cimarron was called the "Great Bend" or "Grand Bend." (Matthew Arbuckle to John H. Eaton, February 16, 1830, Box 28, Vol. 54, pp. 118-119, and John Rogers et al to Lewis Cass, May 14, 1834, Box 23, Vol. 38, p. 224, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(142) Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Report," 366.

(143) I. P. Evans to Emma Evans, December 5, 1861, Folder 279, John Drew Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art. *New Orleans Daily Delta*, December 21, 1861, p. 3, col. 5.

(144) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 12.

(145) Britton, Wiley, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, Missouri: Franklin Hudson Publishing Company, 1922), p. 42. Hominy Creek is actually a tributary of Bird Creek which is a tributary of the Verdigris.

(146) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 13.

(147) *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

(148) (John Drew?) to Lt. Col. [W. P.] Ross, November 25, 1861, and John Drew to Douglas H. Cooper, November 28, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(149) *Galveston (Texas) Tri-Weekly News*, January 21, 1862, p. 2, col. 1. O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 4.

- (150) Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade*, pp. 44-45.
- (151) *Galveston (Texas) Tri-Weekly News*, January 21, 1861, p. 2, col. 1.
- (152) (John Drew?) to Lt. Col. (J. J.) Diamond, November 25, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.
- (153) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 5, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection. *Report of the Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, p. 22. S. M. Rutherford to Elias Rector, November 10, 1861. In Box H 9, Envelope Number 158, Rare Book Room, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art. ---
- (154) Manuscript of (John Ross), about November 25, 1861, Folder 61-55. Gilcrease Ross Papers.
- (155) *Leavenworth (Kansas) Daily Times*, June 1, 1861, p. 2, col. 1.
- (156) *Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1862*, p. 157, George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, April 21, 1862, and p. 137, W. G. Coffin to William P. Dole, October 15, 1862.
- (157) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 33.
- (158) Statement.
- (159) *Marshall (Texas) Republican*, December 14, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.
- (160) In December of 1861, J. P. Whit of Robertson County, Texas, left Colonel Sims' camp, Camp Wilson, and travelled to Dallas. He told the editor of the *Dallas Herald* that Camp Wilson was on the Arkansas River 40 miles above Fort Gibson. (*Dallas Herald*, December 31, 1861, p. 1, col. 2.) On November 24 "Gris" wrote the editor of the *Dallas Herald*, and reported he was in camp on the Arkansas River 25 miles west of Fort Gibson. He stated he was a member of Captain M. J. Brinson's company, Company D. He also described the

Round Mountain(s) battle but did not give its location. (*Dallas Herald*, December 18, 1861, p. 4, col. 1.) Captain Brinson filed his official report on November 25. He gave his location as Camp Wilson. Colonel Cooper reported he reached his train at Concharty on November 24. (O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 7.) Concharty was about 27 miles northwest of Fort Gibson. Brinson was with Cooper in the Concharty area. These reports place Camp Wilson on the north side of the Arkansas River across from Concharty. Camp Wilson was on the flat field in the bend of the Arkansas just east of where the Tulsa-Wagoner County line crosses it. Concharty was just across the river.

(161) *Marshall (Texas) Republican*, December 14, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

(162) Thornton B. M. to Dear Mamma, December 23, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Papers.

(163) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 32.

(164) Manuscript of (John Ross), about November 25, 1861, Folder 61-55 Gilcrease Ross Papers. The conference was probably held in the Big Bend area.

(165) *Ibid.*

(166) Rolla Express, January 27, 1862, p. 4, Col. 2.

(167) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, p. 5.

(168) "North Texan."

(169) Debo, "Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," 203-205.

(170) O. R., Series I, Vol 8, p. 13.

(171) Debo, "Location of the Battle of Round Mountains," 101.

(172) *Galveston (Texas) Tri-Weekly News*, January 21, 1861, p. 2, col. 1.

(173) Debo, "Site of the Battle of Round Mountains," 188.

(174) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 27,

1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(175) The timing of the movements of this group can be conjectured by looking at available information and estimating its rate of travel. In late September a resident of North Fork Town reported there was a party of Creeks moving north. (Report [of the Reverend J. S. Murrow] for the quarter ending September 30, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 93, Gilcrease Foreman Collection.)

This was probably the group who secured their possessions and went out. If it was, they turned northwestward and moved to Opothleyahola's Little Deep Fork camp and then moved on to the mouth of the Cimarron. They would have covered the approximately 125 mile distance from North Fork Town to the mouth of the Cimarron in about 40 or 45 days. This would be in the neighborhood of three miles a day which is about the same rate at which Opothleyahola's other party travelled. At this rate the eastern group would have left the Thlobthlocco camp about the second week of September. Opothleyahola's eastern thrust in late September protected his people's move northwestward up the Deep Fork. When the Confederate Creeks retreated to Choska Opothleyahola withdrew from the area. But when the Confederate Creeks advanced to Council Hill in late September or early October (Statement) Opothleyahola again moved forward to protect his people. While his warriors were providing cover the group at Thlobthlocco was also moving northward. They probably passed near the present Boley and then moved down Walnut and up Sandy Creeks on their way to the Little Deep Fork Camp.

It is unclear if both groups were at the Little Deep Fork camp at the same time. Opothleyahola's western group had crossed the Deep Fork by October 27. (D. N. McIntosh to Douglas H. Cooper, October 27, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Fore-

man Collection). His eastern group was at the mouth of the Cimarron by November 10 (Clarksville Texas Standard, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.) A pace of about three miles a day would make their departure date from the Little Deep Fork camp about October 25 The western group may have reached there by that time. The two groups may have been together at the Little Deep Fork camp for a few days.

(176) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 5, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97, Gilcrease Foreman Collection. *Report of the Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, p. 22, S. M. Rutherford to Elias Rector, November 10, 1861. In Box H9, Envelope Number 158, Rare Book Room, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

(177) *LaGrange (Texas) True Issue*, September 27, 1861, p. 1, col 7.

(178) *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, August 10, 1861, p. 7, col. 4. *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, August 10, 1861, p. 1, col. 4.

(179) *Van Buren (Arkansas) Press*, August 7, 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

(180) *Tulsa Tribune*, November 10, 1939, p. 12, Cols. 1-5.

(181) *Ibid.*

(182) Russell, "Ekvn-hv' lwuce," 403

(183) Douglas H. Cooper to W. P. Ross, November 10, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(184) *Clarksville (Texas) Standard*, November 23, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

(185) "North Texan."

(186) Sparks, *War Between the States*, p. 23.

(187) Statement.

(188) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, November 5,

1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection. *Report of the Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, p. 22. S. M. Rutherford to Elias Rector, November 10, 1861. In Box H9 Envelope Number 158, Rare Book Room, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

(189) "North Texan." Statement.

(190) Russell, "Ekvn-hv'Iwuce," 403.

(191) *Ibid.*, 404.

(192) *Ibid.*, 403.

(193) *Ibid.*

(194) *Ibid.*, 406.

(195) Douglas H. Cooper to John Drew, December 4, 1861, Box 43, Vol. 97. Gilcrease Foreman Collection.

(196) Russell, "Ekvn-hv'Iwuce," 403.

(197) *Tulsa Tribune*, November 10, 1939, p. 12, Col. 4. Eight Mile Prairie is the clear area extending from the northern end of the Arkansas-Cimarron dividing ridge to a point eight miles south. This prairie is now somewhat overgrown.

(198) Russell, "Ekvn-hv'Iwuce," 403.

(199) Rose, *Ross' Texas' Brigade*, p. 43.

(200) *Tulsa Tribune*, November 10, 1939, p. 12, Cols. 3-4.

(201) Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade*, p. 43.

(202) O. R., Series I, Vol. 8, pp. 5-7.

Inquiries

Did Grandma say her kinfolk were kin to Pocahontas? Most of us are trying to find out for sure. The Oklahoma and Texas chapters of Pocahontas Trails Genealogical Society (PTGS organized in 1983) has a purpose of uniting those persons interested in the pursuit and study of genealogy, especially those interested in Pocahontas and/or her ancestry, to collect all available materials on this subject, and make it available to members through quarterly newsletters.

Those interested in membership should contact Mrs. Susan Bradford, Route 2 Box 40, Mangum, Oklahoma 73554, (405) 679-3865.

Can you please assist me in finding out if there is a Payne Family Reunion in Oklahoma. I have heard about 200 persons attend and wonder about where and when it meets and how I might obtain more information.

My interest is in Jobol Payne, who was born 1788 in Virginia and died in 1850 in Barren County, Kentucky.

Please send information to Mrs. Valera Goesling, Box 785, St. Johns, Arizona 85936.

Payne County Historical Society
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