Horseshoe Bend National Military Park

Cultural Landscape Report

February 2013
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Cover Image: Horseshoe Bend battlefield. NPS photo.

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Chief, Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Region — date

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Acting Regional Director, Southeast Region — date

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Foreword

Often in the National Park Service, we speak of the power of a place. Like many of the special places preserved and protected by the Service, Horseshoe Bend National Military Park speaks of the power of a place and its stories to move us, inspire us, provoke us, and yes, even empower us.

As you look over the now-peaceful landscape of the battlefield from the top of Cottonpatch Hill, it is difficult to fathom how this bucolic Alabama viewshed could hold power other than its inherent beauty. But nearly two hundred years ago, these rolling hills and woodlands were the site of a violent, bloody confrontation between the old and the new that marked the end of the power of the Creek Confederacy, the beginning of the state of Alabama, and the beginning of a process that marked the removal of native tribes in the Southeast. The battle of Horseshoe Bend directly resulted in the largest loss of Indian life in a single battle between natives and the United States Army. It also resulted in the loss of twenty- three million acres of Creek lands that would form part of the future state of Alabama and add to the existing state of Georgia. That March day would also give rise to the career of a future President of the United States. Andrew Jackson's success at Horseshoe Bend led him to a regular Army assignment as commander of the Seventh Military District – which included New Orleans. His election as President led us to redefine our ideas of government with the advent of "Jacksonian democracy." But for the Creeks and other tribes east of the Mississippi, including his Cherokee and Creek allies at Horseshoe Bend and Choctaw allies at New Orleans, his Presidency meant their final removal from their ancestral lands to unfamiliar lands in the West.

But it is not just Horseshoe Bend's stories and place that have power. The idea that Horseshoe Bend is a place that inspires and provokes us enough to want to preserve and protect it is a powerful concept. This idea was ingrained enough in several individuals in the mid-twentieth century that it empowered them to literally change the course of a river in order that we may appreciate and learn from the landscape today. The story of Judge C.J. Coley, Thomas Martin and other members of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association and their struggles to preserve this landscape gives us an appreciation for the true power of place.

Many people made this report possible. In a truly collaborative effort, the Southeast Region Cultural Resources Division and the interpretive staff at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park were instrumental in the researching, writing, and reviewing of the document, with especial emphasis on the contributions of Beth Byrd from the SER Cultural Landscapes Branch and Ove Jensen of the park interpretive staff. In addition to these dedicated NPS staff, Dr. Kathryn H. Braund of Auburn University, a recognized expert on Creek culture and a dedicated park partner has provided a great deal of research and knowledge to the story of Horseshoe Bend. We appreciate the contributions of all who have made this important aid in managing and preserving the resources at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park possible.

Doyle W. Sapp
Superintendent
Horseshoe Bend National Military Park
February 2013

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Introduction

Management Summary

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is a unit of the National Park Service (NPS) in Tallapoosa County, Alabama preserving 2,040 acres that include the site of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the last major battle of the Creek War. Horseshoe Bend contains the battlefield, the site of two Creek villages, and modern park facilities. The park is one of only four NPS sites primarily preserved for the history of the War of 1812 and was the first national park unit added in the state of Alabama.[1]

An Act of Congress on July 25, 1956, established Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (NMP) to commemorate the final decisive battle of the Creek War (1813-1814) that took place on March 27, 1814.[2] The Battle of Horseshoe Bend ended the war between the Red Sticks, a hostile faction of Creek Indians and the United States government. Along the Tallapoosa River, one-thousand Red Sticks, barricaded behind a log breastwork, defended a horseshoe-shaped peninsula against Andrew Jackson and his Tennessee militia, the 39th U.S. Regiment, and allied Cherokee and Creek soldiers. Prior to and during the battle, the refugee village of Tohopeka occupied the southern-most portion of the peninsula. The battle lasted only a day, but Tohopeka was destroyed and along with the remains of Newyaucau, south of the river, survive as archeological resources in the park.

Together the Horseshoe Bend battleground, archeological sites, and the Tallapoosa River compose a significant cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes are defined as geographical areas, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historical event, activity, or person, or that exhibits other cultural or aesthetic values.[3] This Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (HOBE) documents changes to the cultural landscape and provides treatment recommendations based on historic significance, integrity and the needs of contemporary park management.

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966 with documentation completed in 1976, Horseshoe Bend is significant under Criteria A as a site associated with events that have made a contribution to the broad patterns of American history and under Criteria D as a site yielding, or likely to yield, archeological information important to prehistory or history. The nomination states the period of significance as 1800-1899 (a generalized time frame used in early nomination forms). The contributing resources listed in the nomination include structural and archeological features from the historic era, the commemorative period, and the early twentieth century. Within the horseshoe-shaped curve of the Tallapoosa River is preserved the hallowed ground that brought an end to the Creek War and helped launch Andrew Jackson into national prominence.

The upcoming bicentennial of the battle prompted an assessment of the cultural landscape. The park has a small staff sharing collateral duties and no cultural resource management documents to date. The CLR for Horseshoe Bend NMP defines an overall treatment strategy and outlines specific recommendations for character-defining landscape features on the battlefield.

1 Horseshoe Bend National Military Park joins Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, and Fort McHenry National Monument and Shrine in interpreting key places in the history of the War of 1812.

2 Public Law 800-84th Congress Chapter 729, Second Session H.R. 11766. Congress authorized the park as a unit of the National Park Service (NPS). The NPS was designated to administer and develop the park including the construction and maintenance of roads, trails, markers, buildings, and other improvements.

3 Page, Robert R., Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan. *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998.

Study Boundaries

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is located in Tallapoosa County in east central Alabama. The park is accessed from State Highway 49 and encompasses 2,040 acres. Dadeville, the closest town, is twelve miles to the south and Alexander City, the county seat, is eighteen miles west. The park forms a roughly square shape with the southeast corner stepped back to align with the preexisting grid of adjacent land holdings. The cultural landscape addressed in this report consists of the entire park and includes the location of the battle that took place on March 27, 1814, the site of Newyaucau, and the approaches and positions of the U.S. troops before and during the battle.

The study area north of the Tallapoosa River consists of the battlefield, the Tohopeka village site, park housing, a maintenance area, the visitor center, a tour road and an interpretative trail. A small island, the position of Bean's militia during

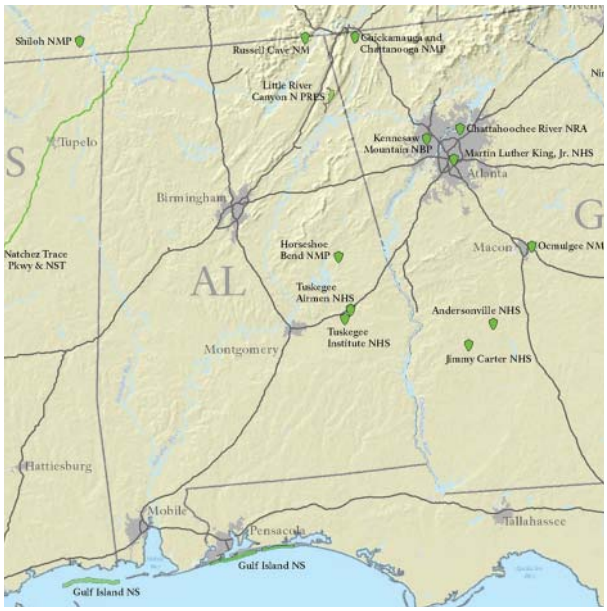

FIGURE 1. Regional location map.

the battle, is embraced by the river. The river also preserves the ruins of the Miller Bridge piers. To the south of the Tallapoosa, the site of Newyaucau village and the position of Coffee's defense are protected by the NPS with limited public access. Fire roads are interspersed under second-growth forests.

Historical Summary

Horseshoe Bend began as a natural landscape along the riverbank of the Tallapoosa and was first occupied over 1,000 years ago. For thousands of years before that, prehistoric people hunted, gathered, and traversed the land, eventually beginning cultivation and establishing trade routes and settlements. Though Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian cultures each occupied the bend over time, the historic Creek village Newyaucau was not established until 1777. This Muskogee town in the heart of Upper Creek territory was destroyed in 1813 during the Creek War.[4] Tohopeka was established as a refugee village on the opposite bank of the river. As white settlers pushed westward and in-fighting over methods of assimilation increased between factions of the Creek Nation, violence erupted. The Creek War began as a series of small engagements between Creeks that soon led to battles with white settlers and eventually, the Federal government. A massacre at Fort Mims in southwestern Alabama in the summer of 1813 pressed the U.S. into action.

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend occurred March 27, 1814, when Andrew Jackson led his Tennessee militia, the U.S. 39th regiment, and allied Cherokee and Creek fighters to positions surrounding the horseshoe-shaped peninsula against entrenched, warring Creek known as Red Sticks. A heavily defended breastwork at Tohopeka crossed the narrowest portion of the peninsula landscape and the Red Sticks defended the position against artillery fire throughout the morning. Cherokee fighters crossed the river in stolen canoes and attacked Tohopeka before Jackson's men advanced toward the barricade. A dual-attack from the front and rear carried the position for the United States and the Red Sticks suffered a disasterous defeat.

Horseshoe Bend NMP preserves the last major battle of the Creek War in which Jackson decisively ended the Creek resistance to westward expansion and assimilation. The park interprets the historic Creek nation, the changing relationships that led to the Creek War, and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Interpretation connects the battle to the Creek War within the context of the War of 1812 and the later career of Andrew Jackson.

The Treaty of Fort Jackson and cession of Indian land following the battle promised some rights to the remaining Creeks. However, white settlement only increased and in 1819, Alabama established statehood. The Horseshoe Bend landscape became

4 Historians suggest the village was named for the Treaty of New York signed in 1790. A New York loyalist may have travelled through the area and named the town prior to the treaty signing.

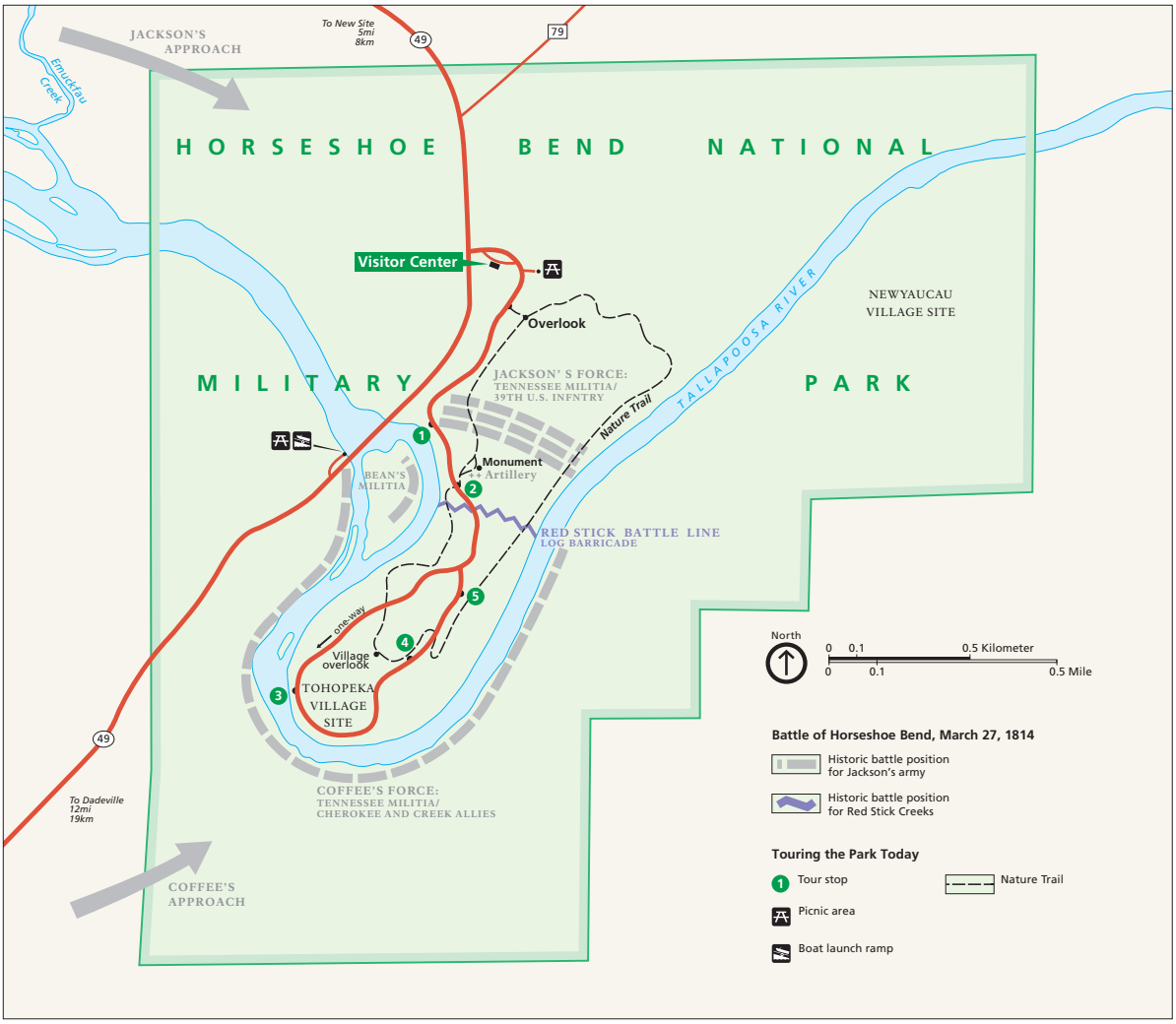

FIGURE 2. Park brochure map, HOBE.

farmland and remained in corn and cotton cultivation with some later mining operations, until the mid-twentieth century. Despite the historic significance of the site and a commemoration in 1914, Alabama Power proposed a dam project on the Tallapoosa River that would have flooded the battlefield and site of Tohopeka. Preservation edged out the hydroelectric project and the park was established in 1956.

The establishment of Horseshoe Bend NMP coincided with Mission 66, a National Park Service initiative to revitalize the system by updating and modernizing park facilities. The ten-year program ended in 1966 on the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS and focused on accommodating an increasing number of visitors. A visitor center, park buildings, and designed park tour road remain from this development period. The park continues to interpret the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

Scope of Work and Methodology

A cultural landscape report is a comprehensive document that records the historical development of a site over time, changes made to the landscape, and current landscape conditions. This principal guide to treatment records characteristics, features, materials, and qualities. The CLR examines

historic significance based on criteria used by the National Register of Historic Places and evaluates the integrity of extant character-defining features. Treatment articulates a long-term strategy for preservation and outlines recommendations specific to site management, stewardship, and immediate park needs.

Resources for this Horseshoe Bend CLR include park management documents, secondary historical resources, and ethnographical research. Because the battle took place on the western frontier of the nascent United States, written documentation of the period is scarce and gaps in the historical record remain. Letters from Andrew Jackson and his officers reveal valuable descriptions of the terrain that influenced the battle and the few, yet-illustrative details of the attack, casualties, and retreat.[5] Park staff provided nineteenth-century correspondence, later battle accounts, and a variety of resources that analyze and interpret the outcome of the battle.

Kathryn Braund, a Creek and Seminole historian, authored and edited several books and studies on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Creek that were invaluable resources. Two Special History Studies contracted by the park, *Warriors and Society in the Creek War and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend* and *Towns and the Creek War 1813-1814*, provided detail and context to the Red Stick story. Robbie Ethridge's *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* was vital to understanding Creek life leading up to and resulting from the Creek War. *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans 1812-1815* by Frank Owsley, Jr. pieced together the historic landscape within the context of war and described the Creek War campaigns.

Archeological reports from the 1960s and 1970s provided primary information on the subsurface remains of Newyaucau, Tohopeka, and the barricade site. Each report describes field work, discoveries, and collections, while the *Archeological Overview and Assessment* (2000) by the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) summarizes and clarifies all previous archeological research associated with Horseshoe Bend NMP. The *Overview and Assessment* details the physiography, geology, vegetation, and prehistoric settlement patterns, while synthesizing previous archeological work and assessing the research needs of the park. Other park documents include the *Mission 66 Master Plan* and a *Long Range Interpretative Plan*.

Southeast Regional Office (SERO) staff recorded existing conditions at the park in January and May 2010. The existing conditions of Horseshoe Bend include a written, graphic, and photographic record of the landscape. Current Geographic Information System (GIS) data provided the location of landscape features and a base map was annotated during field surveys with up-to-date conditions. The site map was created in Adobe Illustrator from GIS data, 2006 aerial photography, and field notes. The author recorded the cultural landscape with digital photography to provide a reference and comparison to earlier images.

The analysis chapter of the CLR identifies the landscape features and characteristics that convey the significance of the landscape and retain aspects of integrity. The historic significance of Horseshoe Bend was documented in 1976, though the National Register nomination covers only major monuments, nineteenth-century archeological sites, and the pier remains of Miller Bridge.[6] The analysis and evaluation chapter of the CLR provides the foundation for treatment recommendations. These recommendations are in accordance with National Park Service policy, including Director's Order 28, park management, and the *Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Cultural Landscapes*. Treatment recommendations provide guidance for the preservation and rehabilitation of the cultural landscape to address a myriad of park issues and the layered history of the site.

Summary of Findings

This CLR provides Horseshoe Bend with the identification of character-defining features, documents historic and existing conditions, and develops treatment recommendations to ensure the future protection of the park and its natural and cultural resources. The overarching treatment recommended for the historic landscape is preservation of all identified cultural resources.

5 Kathryn Braund, *Warriors and Society in the Creek War and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend*, Special History Study, 2003. p. 4-8. Braund describes the "official" accounts from Jackson and his army as uniform and biased, citing the prepared corroboration meant to justify and glorify the actions of the U. S. Army. Braund also notes that Creek accounts of the battle were passed down from a respected source, but not an eyewitness.

6 PMIS project 192899. The nomination is out-of-date and new archeological sites and additional historical contexts are needed to address the Miller Bridge piers.

Site History

This chapter examines the evolution of the cultural landscape and presents an overview of the history of Horseshoe Bend. The site history is based on archeological reports completed since the 1960s and secondary resources on Creek life, Andrew Jackson, and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. While no written documentation survives from the period before European contact, the details of daily life and landscape patterns uncovered during archeological survey and excavation provide an early history of the area. The writings of William Bartram describe the Creek people and landscape just before the end of the eighteenth century and census records, maps, and descriptions by United State Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins reveal the turmoil on the frontier leading up to the Creek War.[1]

Historic documents relating to the battle, such as military accounts, correspondence, and newspapers, though limited, identify important landscape characteristics. The documentation concerning the battle remains scarce, yet is crucial to understanding the landscape on March 27, 1814. Letters from Andrew Jackson to his family, Major General Thomas Pinckney, and Governor Willie Blount and a letter from General John Coffee to Andrew Jackson remain the primary, first-person accounts.[2] The Red Stick perspective on the Battle of Horseshoe Bend survives only in later accounts and archeological remains. This imbalance in the historical record has skewed the interpretation of the battle throughout history.

Early Settlement

The human history of Alabama spans thousands of years, revealing a long occupation of land along the Tallapoosa River. The river played an important role in prehistoric transportation and patterns of early land use. Together with the surrounding area, the landscape conveys the broader prehistoric cultural sequence of southeastern Indians living in middle Alabama. Early prehistory remains less documented than the events leading up to and immediately following the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, yet evidence remains of hunting, fishing, settlement, and agriculture.

Paleo-Indian occupation in what is present-day Alabama occurred between 10,000 and 8,000 BCE. Paleo-Indians traversed the region as nomadic hunters and gatherers, traveling in small bands and hunting large and small mammals. Mobile populations migrated seasonally and selected major river valleys to forage and hunt during the Pleistocene era. Paleo-Indians lived in extended families, interacting with nearby groups for mating and exchanging information. The central Tennessee Valley extending south into Alabama contains one of the largest archeological concentrations of Paleo-period projectile points, yet the sparse population and mobile lifestyle left no archeological record in the Horseshoe Bend landscape.[3] While little material evidence remains from this period, artifacts have been located in surrounding counties, including several fluted spear points, or Clovis points, identified in Randolph County, east of Horseshoe Bend.

Southeastern Indians during the Archaic period (8,000 BCE-1,000 BCE) succeeded the Paleo-Indians and developed more complex social organization. A major shift in the climate caused glaciers to melt and sea-level rise to end during this period, changing the composition of forests around Horseshoe Bend. At the start of the Archaic period, open spaces and coniferous forests were a habitat for large animals before gradually being

1 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War, 1813-1814.* Special History Study, National Park Service, Unpublished, 2005, p. 4. Braund also cites James Adair and Caleb Swan as period references.

2 All transcribed letters are available in .pdf format on the Horseshoe Bend NMP website. (www.nps.gov/hobe)

3 Elizabeth de Grummond and Christine Hamlin, Horseshoe Bend NMP *Archeological Overview and Assessment*, SEAC Accession No. 1316, National Park Service, 2000. p. 20.

replaced with oak-hickory forests. The extinction of large mammals at the end of the Pleistocene era left an abundance of water fowl and deer to be hunted. The atlatl, a tool developed by Archaic people, added leverage and accuracy to spear throwing. Localized hunting and advances in stone tool technology together helped support larger populations of Archaic Indians camped near the Tallapoosa River and other water sources. Bands of hunters increased in size during the Archaic period while hunting territories reduced in size, allowing for regional specialization.[4]

The Archaic period supported a less nomadic culture than the Paleo-Indian and trade networks developed alongside the beginnings of horticulture. The economy of Archaic groups shifted with social organization; meanwhile regional trade increased the spread of non-native plants and encouraged the beginnings of pottery production. Early experiments in cultivation began due to the diversity of the temperate hardwood forests and abundance of small fauna. This period is divided into shorter sub-periods based on projectile point styles identified by archeologists.[5] Evidence of Late Archaic settlement was discovered at Tohopeka and Newyaucau and one projectile point was identified from the Middle Archaic period.

The Woodland period (1,000 BCE- 900 AD) spans a cultural shift from the nomadic hunting and gathering of the Archaic period to the sedentary farming and mound-building culture of Mississippians that followed. While southeastern Indian culture was continuous, the transition between these two contrasting periods is based on changes in subsistence agriculture, trading, and social organization. The addition of crops and more efficient hunting and gathering techniques helped establish sedentary towns during the Woodland period. Beans, squash, and maize were grown on river floodplains. Woodland Indians established their own vessel form and produced ceramics with complex temper and decoration. Ceremonial earthworks were constructed and local trade included the exchange of non-native stones.

The establishment of villages and use of natural features typifies this period. Seasonal settlements favored forested floodplains in the summer and fall and uplands in the winter and spring. Woodland Indians began sociopolitical groups based on families and may have organized into chiefdoms or other forms of society. Woodland sites were surveyed in Lee, Randolph, and Tallapoosa counties in Alabama and included ceramics from the Alabama River, Chattahoochee River, and Crooked Creek complexes. Archeologists have not located any Woodland sites at Horseshoe Bend.

The Mississippians (900 AD- 1500 AD) marked the most complex culture group of southeastern Indians and expressed social organization in a hierarchy of sites, farms, and ceremonial centers. The Mississippians created massive earthen mounds throughout the Midwest and the Southeast, including great complexes at Moundville on the Tuscaloosa River and Kolomoki on the Lower Chattahoochee River. A reliance on harvests limited settlements to the floodplains near rivers. The Mississippians were highly organized within a chiefdom political system and shared iconography among different settlements, though warfare was common.[6] The area along the Tallapoosa was uninhabited for most of the Mississippian period, though early ceramics identified as Dadeville were located at Tohopeka by Charles Fairbanks and suggest the river may have been used seasonally.[7] During the Mississippian period, the bend on the Tallapoosa was within the region of the Lamar culture, identified by bold-incised pottery and complicated stamp decoration.

Historic Indians

Southeastern Indian tribes in the historic period included the Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Seminole, and Choctaw. The Creek were the predominant tribe in Georgia and Alabama and occupied land from the Atlantic Ocean to the Alabama River, including the present-day Horseshoe Bend NMP. Seminole tribes centered in south Florida, while Chickasaw and Cherokee bordered Creek lands to the west and north. To the west were the Chickasaw and Choctaw. Leading up to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the landscape along the Tallapoosa River was considered Creek.

4 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 21.

5 Ibid. (http://www.nps.gov/history/seac/outline/03-archaic/index.htm) Accessed June 3, 2010.

6 http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/outline/05-mississippian/index.htm. Accessed May, 2010.

7 deGrummond and Hamlin, p.32.

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Europeans began venturing into the hinterland of North America. Hernando DeSoto and his expedition that traversed the area between 1539 and 1542 brought an epidemic of disease that reduced the native population throughout the southeast.[8] These forays into areas yet unmapped by whites also captured Indians for slave trade. Raiders took women and children and sold them to traders bound for the West Indies. The result of such contact had a devastating effect on the native people.[9] The combination of disease and slavery drastically reduced the population during the historic period, created instability and ultimately reorganized regional alliances. Survivors banded into new tribes and the remainder of shattered groups integrated into what became known as the Creek. As a result, the Creek confederacy united to share beliefs and rituals common among the formerly disparate tribes.

Creek

During the seventeenth century, the English met Indians living along the Ocmulgee River, which the English called Ocheese Creek and over time began using the name "Creek" to refer to all groups living along rivers and streams in Georgia and Alabama.[10] The native people involved in the Creek War are more accurately known as the Muskogee, a name that refers to a common linguistic group used by several ethnicities. These Okfuska groups coalesced from descendants of the Mississippians and refugees of tribes surviving disease and slavery.[11] The network of Muskogee groups, unified by a similar language, included tribes of Muscogee, Hitchittee, Uchee, Alabama, and Coosada. The Muskogee confederacy functioned as a political unit roughly divided into two groups, known generally as the Upper and Lower Creek.

> [W]hile united in kinship, Upper and Lower Towns claimed different territory, held separate councils, and, as [an] Upper Creek headsmen noted, functioned as distinct "nations" or political bodies. Reflecting this geographic and political reality, the Coweta [and other groups] on the [lower] Chattahoochee came to be called the Lower Creeks, while towns on the Coosa and Tallapoosa watersheds [in northern Alabama] were generally known as Upper Creeks. [12]

The Lower Creek lived on the Chattahoochee River and along the Ocmulgee and Flint Rivers in today's Georgia. Their territory bordered Choctaw tribes along the Tombigbee River and extended south to the Gulf coast. Eight towns, Coweta, Cussita, Owseechee, Chehaws, Uchee, Apalachicola, Oconne, and Eufaule were located in this expansive territory.[13]

The Upper Creeks who settled in modern-day Alabama established a number of Okfuska towns. A French explorer inventorying towns identified the Alabama, Tallapoosa, Abeika, and Coweta areas. A later British explorer produced a similar inventory and these two corresponding town lists remain a primary source for Creek scholars. There is no consensus among historians as to the local distinctions between these groups, many with different ancestors, languages, and ethnic alliances, but Upper Creek towns along the Tallapoosa River included Muccolossus, Cunhutkee, Fushatchee, Coolome, Hoithlewaule, Ockfuskutchies, Otassee, Saugahatchie, Savanna, Tuckabatchee, Euchie, Tallassee, and Chavacleyhatchee.[14] Tuckabatchee was the mother town on the Tallapoosa River and together, the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama Rivers marked the heart of Upper Creek territory.

The information available on the Creek relies heavily on archeology and on the writings of naturalist William Bartram, Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins, and a few others.[15] Bartram recorded details of topography, vegetation, flood events,

8 De Soto traveled through central Alabama, but no record indicates he visited the Tallapoosa River valley.

9 Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. p, 24.

10 Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991. P. 5-6.

11 Ethridge, p 26.

12 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War,* p. 2-3.

13 Ibid., p.15-16. The Lower Creek held claim to land from Florida northward almost twelve hundred miles. Lower Creeks assumed land through a series of wars and from tribes overcome by disease.

14 Ibid., p. 8. The name, number and affiliation of towns recorded by Spanish, French, and English travelers varied. "Daughter" towns were often created from settlers leaving "mother" towns and displaced tribes.

15 Ibid., p. 4. Braund cites James Adair and Caleb Swan as primary sources in addition to the British Colonial Office Papers and papers of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

towns, people and language. Oral histories and ethnography compose a fuller picture of Creek life, though most information not recorded in the written record or material culture remains uncertain.

Creek Landscape

The historic landscape of Creek country stretched over 62,000 square miles.[16] In the decades leading up to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the natural landscape shaped the pattern of settlement and land use by Upper and Lower Creek tribes. While Creek territory encompassed several distinct physiographic provinces, a system of waterways defined the landscape. Creeks built towns and farmed along rivers, streams, and tributaries and relied on natural resources for food, shelter, and necessities.

The Temperate Broadleaf and Mixed Forest Biome of eastern North America spanned the Creek landscape with Horseshoe Bend situated in the transitional Southeastern Mixed Forest of the Piedmont and Fall Line.[17] Oak-hickory-pine forests dominated the landscape, while portions of Creek territory stretched east into the longleaf pine forests of the Coastal Plains and northwest into the Mesophytic Forest on the Appalachian and Interior Low Plateau. The ratio of dominant forest trees has changed since the eighteenth century and only a few stands of old-growth forest survive. Creeks utilized forests for building materials, fuel, and supplies.

Creek country supported diverse flora and fauna. White-tailed deer, wild turkey, beaver, otter, muskrat, fox, raccoon, squirrel, rabbit, polecat, bear, wildcats, and wolves were present in the historic period and even bison until they were hunted to extinction in the eighteenth century. There were also reptiles, amphibians, insects, and birds, including the now-extinct Carolina parakeet and the passenger pigeon.[18]

The forests provided hunting grounds for the Creek and the deer skin trade sustained their late eighteenth-century economy. Research by historians and ecologists reveals the prominent role of fire during the Creek era. Natural or man-made fires cleared the forest floor of debris and improved habitat for animals. A landscape cleared by fire resulted in open space for cultivation and nutrient-rich soils. There are some historic accounts of forests damaged by hurricanes or tornados with cleared areas or tree falls called, *hotali-huyan*, meaning wind-passing in Muskogee.[19]

The system of waterways in the Creek landscape included rivers, creeks, streams, and tributaries. Almost all Creek towns were located along a waterway and access dictated the location and siting of towns. Often waterways and Creek towns shared names, sometimes emphasizing characteristics like *weoka* "roaring water" or *wetemcau* "rumbling water" while other place names described topography or distinct features. Horseshoe Bend derived from *cholocco litabixee*, or "horse's flat foot."[20] The Creek used waterways for transportation and fished at shoals and waterfalls each spring and summer. Rivers and streams ran clear during the eighteenth century until the silt run-off from extensive nineteenth- and twentieth-century farming clouded the streams.

The juncture of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers provided an ideal combination of water access, fertile soils, and various natural resources for the Upper Creek. Settlement further south along the Alabama River was limited due to swamps on either side of the river and frequent flooding. Creek country spanned several ecosystems, but Upper Creek towns were clustered near the Fall Line and the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers.

Benjamin Hawkins described the land near Horseshoe Bend in his *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799*.

> . . .The soil is stiff, with course gravel, and in some places, stone. The trees are post oak, white and black oak, pine, hickory and chesnut, all of them. The whole is well watered, and the rivers and creeks have rocky beds, clad in many places with moss greatly relished by cattle, horses and deer, and are margined with cane or reed, on narrow strips or coves, of rich flats. . . .[21]

16 Ethridge, p. 32.

17 Ibid., p. 37.

18 Ibid., p. 41.

19 Ibid., p.40.

20 Ibid., p.33-34.

21 Benjamin Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years, 1798 and 1799*. Savannah, 1848. p. 19.

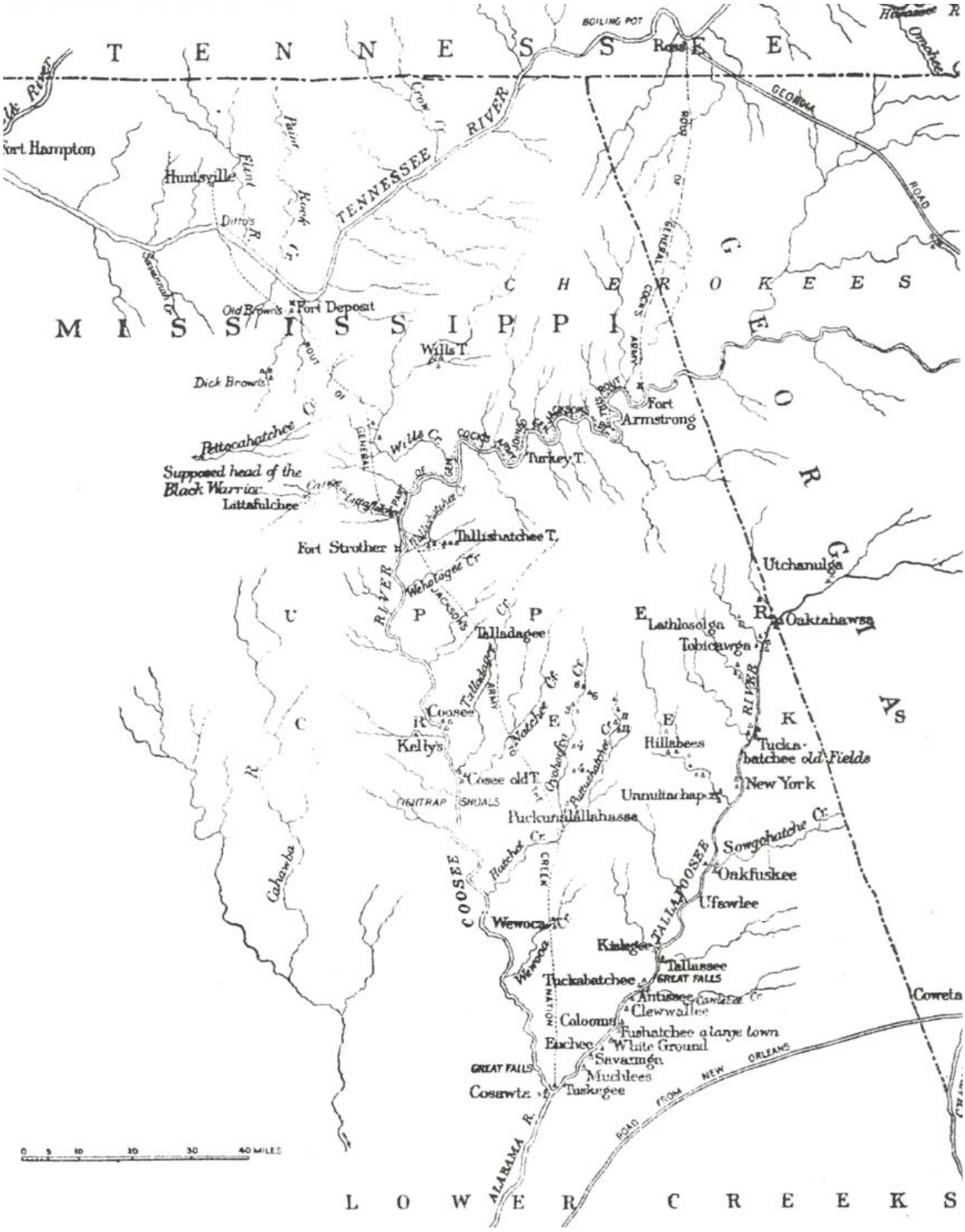

FIGURE 3. Upper Creek towns and battle sites (1813-1814) from the Archeological Overview and Assessment. Adapted from Swanton 1922.

> The Tal-la-poo-sa [sic] from its falls to its confluence with the Coosau [sic], about thirty miles, has some good flat land. The broken land terminates on its right bank, and the good land spreads out on its left. There are several pine creeks on this side, which have their source on the ridge dividing these waters from the Ko-e-ne-cuh. The land bordering them is rich; the timber large, and cane abundant. . ..[22]
>
> ...Sixty miles above the confluence of the Coosau with Tallapoosa, there is a high, waving limestone country settled by the Indians of Coo-sau, Au-be-coo-che nau-che and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. The settlements are generally on rich flat oaks, hickory, poplar, walnut, and mulberry. The springs are fine; there is cane on the creeks, and reed on the branches. The surrounding country is broken and gravelly. The land fit for culture, is generally the margins of the creeks, or the waving slopes form the high broken ground.[23]

Creek Towns

Creek towns identified as either war (red) or peace (white) and divided leadership of issues according to their affiliation. Though the dual organization of war and peace towns is not fully documented, historians believe this distinction lessened as the division between Upper and Lower Creek groups became more pronounced.[24] Separate towns had different ceremonial and administrative responsibilities and some evidence suggests that town affiliation may have changed related to competitions of ball play.[25] Creek later recognized towns as "mother" *talwa* and "daughter" *talofa*. Though the Muskogee language united several tribes across the confederacy, Creek identified with their town before the larger confederacy.[26] William Bartram described *talwa*, in great detail:

> All Creek *talwa* were distinguished by a number of public structures: the public square ground, the winter council house, and the chunky yard. In addition Creeks cultivated extensive corn fields along river valley flood plains as well as kitchen gardens—both unfenced. Matrilineal households were scattered irregularly along the periphery of the town's public spaces.[27]

The spatial organization of towns uncovered by archeologists reveals much about Creek social and political life. Upper Creek talwa had public buildings and squares for ceremony, political events and town council meetings. At the center of town, the square-ground was a sunken, level space with a place for fire in the center.[28] Buildings surrounding the square-ground formed an "enclosed" outdoor space. The Rotunda, or Great Winter House was located at one corner of the square-ground and had a central fireplace. Called a *tcokofa*, the shelter was used for winter sleeping quarters during the transitions related to the deerskin trade. Rectangular townhouses influenced by Shawnee construction techniques were located beyond the square-ground in the town.[29]

Smaller settlements, or *talofa* were located out of town or several miles away from the mother village and often had a series of houses settled by a few families without a common square-ground or council house.[30] Fields associated with *talofa* were likely used for cattle to avoid damage to town fields. Creek historians speculate that *talofa* located away from the primary village also allowed illicit trading far from the eyes of tribe leaders.[31]

Beyond all Creek towns an extensive system of trails and waterways linked the region. Hunting and grazing areas and cultivated fields surrounded towns, with fishing on nearby shoals and rocky streams. Creeks maintained habitat to lure deer and bear; harvested nut trees, herbs, and other plant materials; and visited faraway sites to access salt licks, clay pits, and mineral deposits.[32] Trails connected places far and near, used mostly as footpaths until horses were introduced. While the Chickasaw and Choctaw built fortified towns in the eighteenth century, no record mentions defensive works in Creek towns.

22 Hawkins, p. 22.

23 Ibid., p. 24.

24 Ethridge, p. 94.

25 Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, University of Nebraska Press, 1993. p. 7.

26 Ethridge, p.93.

27 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War*, p. 18.

28 Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, ed. *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, University of Nebraska Press, 1995. p. 154.

29 Ethridge, p. 97.

30 Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country,* p. 313-315. Hawkins mentions a council house at Upatoi.

31 Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, p. 145.

32 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War*, p. 18.

Estimates of the Creek population range from 12,000 to 20,000 just before the American Revolution. Based on a count of "gun men" or male warriors, Indian agents suggested that Creek towns had three to five additional people, i.e. women, children, and elderly, per gunman. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Creek population increased to 25,000 or 26,000.[33]

The American Revolution

The fight for American independence changed the landscape of the frontier. The revolution impacted the established deer skin trade and unsettled what organization there was between the white settlers and Indians. Southeastern Indians living peaceably prior to the fighting tried to remain neutral as war broke out. Creeks avoided involvement by moving into less populated areas, while others believed the British were more sympathetic to their land claims.[34]

The American Revolution disrupted trade between the Creek and British and Creeks were forced to use a system of newly established "factories" or trade posts operated by the French and Spanish.[35] This shift in trade alliances forecast future struggles, yet the revolution ended the significant influence of European powers on Indians of North America.[36]

A series of treaties began assimilation of Indian territory in the southeast after the war. In 1790, the Treaty of New York recognized friendly relations between the Creek and United States.[37] Alexander McGillivray represented the Upper and Lower Creek and Seminole in New York and Henry Knox signed as Secretary of War under President George Washington. The treaty ceded Creek lands in what is now eastern Georgia to the government and required Creeks to return runaway slaves and criminals; in return, Creek could enforce their land claims by punishing all trespassers.

Beyond official agreements and relative peace in Indian territories, white settlement in the independent United States continued to increase. The population of Georgia doubled in the first decade of the nineteenth century.[38] William Blount governed the territory south of the Ohio River from 1790 to 1796, when Tennessee was admitted to the Union. Two years later Mississippi territory was open. By 1803, the Louisiana Purchase opened the western frontier. The Natchez Trace and other popular transportation routes created easy ways to move toward and onto Creek land.

Benjamin Hawkins

As an agent of the United States to the Creek nation, Benjamin Hawkins led the program to acculturate southeastern tribes on the frontier. He worked with Muskogee groups in the 1790s with such success that George Washington appointed him to the post in 1796.[39] Hawkins disseminated American agricultural practices to the Creek Nation and tried to maintain peace as the Creek War began in 1813. Though Hawkins served as a mediator, he forwarded the agenda of the U.S. government.

Hawkins received the post after serving as a North Carolina senator and observing several peace negotiations, including the Treaty of New York. His personal interest in Indian life prepared him for his position and as an Indian agent he learned Muskogee, raised a family, and involved himself in tribal politics regularly. Agent to Four Nations, Hawkins' program to "civilize" the Creeks encouraged farming and herding programs, and advanced assimilation with economic development. Hawkins introduced agricultural tools, brought livestock and distributed looms, spinning wheels and other products.

Hawkins supervised a system of factories in the territory then known as the Old Southwest. The war had ended British trading companies in

33 Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 9.

34 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War*, p. 22.

35 Roy S. Dickens, Jr., *Archeological Investigations at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park*. Laboratory of Archeology, Department of Anthropology, Georgia State University, 1974. p. 33-34.

36 (http://www.nps.gov/revwar/unfinished_revolution/war_of_1812.html)

37 Treaty of New York, August 7, 1790. (http://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/newyork.htm) Accessed January 2011.

38 Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *American Indians and the War of 1812*, 2012. Unpublished manuscript for National Park Service's "War of 1812" publication.

39 David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996. p. 8.

Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Pensacola, and New Orleans, and allowed Americans to open trading posts in the interior.[40] The number of factories grew in response to the Revolution and introduced trade goods to local Indians with a formalized system of credit. The exchange of goods at factories, regulated by Hawkins, soon left Creek dependent on the outpost. The decline of the deerskin trade and increased reliance on trade goods left Creeks indebted to frontier settlers and relations deteriorated. This imbalance was exacerbated by growing cotton markets, which further increased the value of frontier land. Without regulation, the relationship between the Creek and U.S. government eroded.

During the Creek War, Hawkins organized the friendly Creeks under Major William McIntosh to aid the Georgia and Tennessee militias during their forays against the Red Sticks. After the defeat at Horseshoe Bend, hostilities in Georgia and Tennessee prevented Hawkins from moderating the Treaty of Fort Jackson in August 1814. He continued to work with Creeks until his death in 1816.[41]

Benjamin Hawkins was a pivotal figure in the period of Creek and U.S. relations prior to and during the Creek War. The influence of Hawkins led to assimilation of agricultural techniques and caused unrest within the Creek Nation. His writings remain a primary source for historians and capture the rare perspective of an Indian agent.

Newyaucau

In 1777, Creek Indians moved from Tukpafka on the Chattahoochee River in today's Heard County, Georgia, to the eastern bank of the Tallapoosa River to avoid involvement in the American Revolution.[42] The Creeks named the relocated Tukpafka -- Newyaucau-- named after New York, the location of the treaty between Creek chiefs and President George Washington.[43] The town extended along the southern bank of the Tallapoosa River, a mile or so northeast of the horseshoe-shaped peninsula, and was considered a "daughter town" or *talofa* to the larger settlement of Oakfuskee twenty miles downriver.

The Creek settlement likely included houses, agricultural fields and a square-ground. Newyaucau had approximately 85 houses and a "large old field".[44] Benjamin Hawkins wrote, "some of the people [of Newyaucau] have settled out from the town, and they have good land on the Inn-nook-fau creek which joins the right side of the river, two miles below the town," indicating the town had a good river crossing just north of present-day Montgomery.[45]

During the Creek War an excursion by the Georgia militia, not part of a major campaign, pushed into Creek territory toward the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa River. In December 1813, militia led by Major General David A. Adams burned Newyaucau.

> As soon as we were in a situation to meet the enemy, the line of march was formed and we proceeded near a small settlement containing eleven houses, known by the name of Mad Warrior's village, where the army was halted, and a small detachment sent forward to cut off such of the enemy as might be found there; not a single Indian was to be seen, tho' there were strong evidences of its having been recently evacuated. Finding some corn here, such persons as were most deficient supplied themselves; we then set fire to the buildings which contained several articles of property, proceeded to within three miles of Newyaucau [sic], and encamped without fire…[46]

By 1814, the Creek War left corn stores depleted and animals slaughtered throughout the region. The burning of Newyaucau, likely a foraging

40 Ethridge, Introduction.

41 Horseshoe Bend NMP website.

42 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 38. Swanton, p. 125, 203. The tribe traditionally associated with the Hillibee and Eufaula groups that settled nearby may have descended from the Coosa or Oakfuskee. This is not definitive, since documentation on settlements is fragmented and duplicative. Towns changed names, shifted to new locations, and used names of former settlements.

43 Braund, *Towns and the Creek War*, p.22. Historians suggest the name Newyaucau may be revisionist. The town may have been named by a New York loyalist or later associated with the Treaty of New York (1790).

44 Ibid., p. 26.

45 Hawkins, p. 46.

46 Letter from Major General David A. Adams to Governor Peter Early, Headquarters, Monticello, December 24, 1813. *Georgia Military Affairs*, Vol. III, (1801-1813) in the collections of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

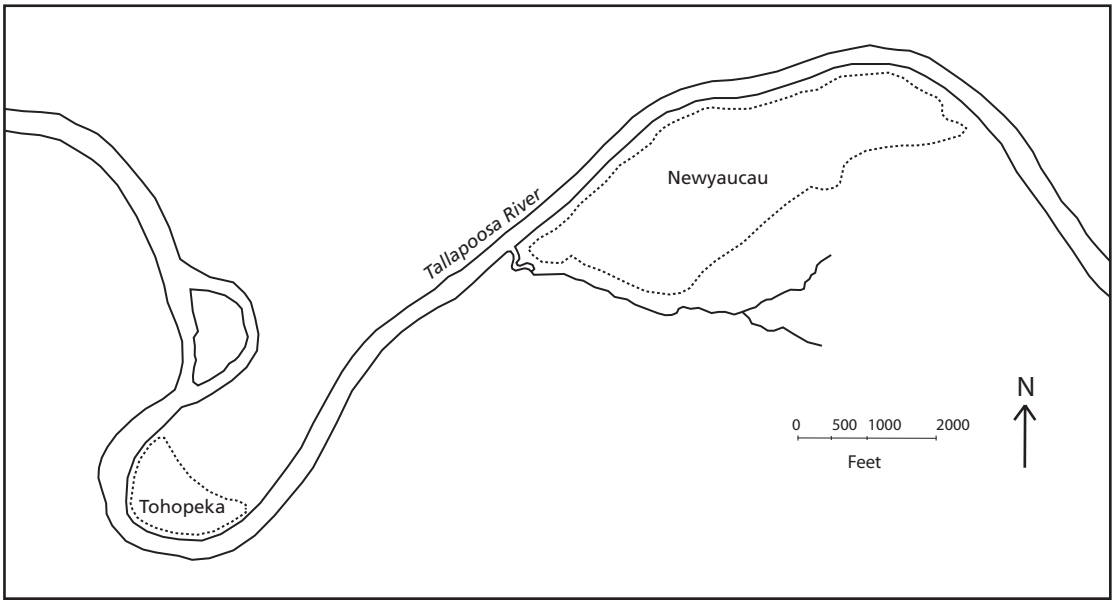

FIGURE 4. Site of Creek towns along the Tallapoosa River near Horseshoe Bend.

excursion by the Georgia militia, destroyed the remaining corn crop planted in 1814. Creeks abandoned Newyaucau and relocated to the refugee village at Tohopeka.

Although the occupation of Newyaucau was brief (1777-1813), the remains of the Creek town survive in the archeological record. Historians note that the "large old field" described by Hawkins indicates cattle herding, rangeland or crop cultivation. Archeology at Newyaucau uncovered a storage pit reused for trash and a smudge pit with Creek pottery, bottle glass, musket balls, metal artifacts, glass beads, and plant and animal materials.[47] Ceramic analysis characterized the town as a "permanent, family-structured" Creek settlement.[48] Later survey work identified Dadeville ceramics and Archaic period artifacts. House sites and features identify Newyaucau, but additional archeology is needed to define the boundaries and extent of the village.

Red Sticks

The rise of the Red Sticks within the Creek confederacy was part of a religious and political revolt led by Tecumseh, who was known as the "Shawnee Prophet." Combined with the pressures of a declining deerskin trade, assimilation programs, and encroaching frontier settlement, the rise of the Red Stick movement began internally and ultimately created a sharp division within Creek society. The civil war that began among Muskogee groups soon became the impetus for the Creek War and led to Creek involvement in the War of 1812.

The "Red Stick" name may have derived from the red talwas and the practice of counting sticks to determine the date to begin battle. The name may also refer to the red-painted clubs reserved for war. Some 7,000 to 9,000 dissenting Creeks joined together under the leadership of William Weatherford, known as Red Eagle, and the war leader Menawa to form the Red Stick faction. Benjamin Hawkins listed eight hostile towns on the Tallapoosa River, though factions of Red Sticks banded together from throughout the Creek territory.[49]

Red Sticks from the Upper Creek aligned with British interests while many Lower Creek led by William McIntosh opposed the war.[50] As Red Stick factions coalesced, chiefs were overthrown,

47 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 42.

48 Ibid., p. 48.

49 Ibid., p. 39.

50 James W. Holland. *Victory at the Horseshoe: Andrew Jackson and the Creek War.* Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1968. Revised and reprinted 2004. p. 37.

animals slaughtered, and towns divided. The dissent became a true civil war in the Creek confederacy.

Tecumseh

The first decade of the nineteenth century witnessed erratic weather, record temperatures, drought, and hurricanes. In the fall of 1811, the so-called Great Comet was visible around the world; and in the winter of 1811-1812, a series of four great earthquakes, ranging as high as 8.8 on the Richter scale, rocked the central Mississippi valley. Agricultural life made the Upper Creek acutely aware of the natural world and provoked new interpretations of these extreme events. The social and political changes within the Creek Nation coincided with these drastic natural events.

In 1811, following the comet sighting, Tecumseh, a Shawnee with a Creek mother, and a skilled orator, traveled through the southeast exhorting the tribes to resistance and linking the appearance of the comet with a plan of retribution. The earthquakes provided additional proof to some of the tribes of the validity of Tecumseh's arguments. Tecumseh connected the symbolic phenomenon with an urgency to rise up against the white man. This movement contributed to the revolt of the Red Sticks.

Prior to Tecumseh's tour, trade competition and the introduction of liquor and new disease affected many Creek.[51] Tecumseh's tour called for a renouncement of American ways and urged the Creek to discard farm implements and slaughter their livestock. He preached that horses and cows were the tools of white men and encouraged mass slaughtering of animals, even at the detriment of their food supply.

Tecumseh proposed a unified pan-Indian confederation and solidarity against the sedentary ways of the white settlers.[52] He toured several towns spreading a message of confederacy and tried to convince the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw to join the Red Sticks in revolt. Tecumseh believed revenge was necessary to reverse the civilization forced upon Indians by Benjamin Hawkins, the United States government, and others.[53]

While historians credit the Red Stick revolt in part to Tecumseh and the natural phenomena of 1811-1812, the causes of the Creek war remain complex. Tecumseh's influence brought unity and political cooperation between the Shawnee and Creek as they faced westward expansion of the United States. The prophetic religion of Tecumseh gained support as Creek life changed.[54] His prophecy influenced the rebellion and brought attention to the religious beliefs of the Red Sticks.

War of 1812

The War of 1812, fought between the nascent United States and Britain, was considered by some to be the second war for independence. Following the American Revolution and the 1793 Treaty of Paris, tensions between the British and French escalated. The consequences of the Napoleonic Wars coupled with arguments over shipping finally led to war with the United States.[55] The War of 1812 had three fronts: warships at sea, land and naval battles in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, and Creek allies in the Old Southwest. The Creek War became part of a more complex, international struggle to preserve American liberty.

After 1803, naval loyalties were dictated by the war between Britain and France with each country pressuring the new United States to assist their cause. British ships forbade trade with neutrals and "impressed" U.S. sailors into service.[56] American merchants struggled following an embargo in 1807 and resisted joining the British to blockade the French. An invasion from Canada with the support of Indian alliances fully committed the United States to war with Britain. The years of expansion, accommodation, and conflict after the revolution left many tribes in the midwest eager to support the British. On the American frontier, British, Spanish, and French settlers each used their influence to

51 John Sugden, "Tecumsah's Tour of Indian Country, 1811-1812" in *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 10, No. 4, Autumn 1986. p. 275.

52 Martin, p. 118.

53 Holland, p. 7.

54 Braund, *Towns and Creek War*, p. 37.

55 "The Unfinished Revolution" in *The American Revolution: Lighting Freedom's Flame. (*http://www.nps.gov/revwar/unfinished_revolution/war_of_1812.html) Accessed June 3, 2010.

56 Ibid.

pursue their rivalries and created alliances with individual tribes.[57]

The Creek War started as a Creek civil war, but became a fight between the United States and a portion of the Creek nation that related, in part, to the broader war. Tribal divisions caused by the pressures of westward-looking white settlers, the assimilation programs of Benjamin Hawkins and others, and Tecumseh's campaign for a pan-Indian alliance helped influence the Red Sticks to revolt. Other related factors helped make the Creek War unavoidable, including a new Federal road connecting Augusta and New Orleans and the loss of hunting grounds as displaced tribes and clans encroached from the west and south. The multi-faceted revolt merged into the already complex alliances fighting the United States.

The general campaigns through the south did little to deter the Creek and only provoked more rebellion. The frontier expansion by Tennesseans and Georgians helped to incite mistrust and competition over land in the Creek Nation and threats of Spanish, Chickasaw, and Cherokee involvement furthered aggravated the divided Creeks. The British relied on Creek support and promised guns, ammunition, and aid to helpful groups.[58] Their influence centered on Pensacola and Mobile. Overall, the tensions in the southeast became intertwined in the struggle between the United States and Europe.

Federal Road

After the Louisiana Purchase, a federal road in the Old Southwest territory was proposed from Augusta, Georgia to the Port of New Orleans. The road, intended for the postal service, was to become a military highway similar to the Natchez Trace which connected Nashville, Tennessee and the Mississippi River. The Federal Road became a source of conflict as the proposed route bisected Creek country and determined the location of factories and towns. The need for a reliable route of transportation for commerce and the protection of forts fell into line with the policies of the government.

57 Teaching with Historic Places, Horseshoe Bend. (http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/54horseshoe/54facts1.htm)

58 Martin, p. 25.

Burnt Corn Creek

In February 1813, Creeks returning home from a visit with the Shawnee, misinformed that fighting had begun, killed white settlers.[59] Those responsible were sentenced to death and executed. The Red Sticks retaliated by killing the executioners and destroying their villages and livestock.[60] The unrest among Red Stick Creeks prompted a group to travel to Pensacola, the capital of Spanish-ruled West Florida, to trade for much-needed weapons and ammunition in the summer of 1813.

Peter McQueen and Jim Boy, known as High Head Jim, led the Red Sticks to Pensacola to obtain guns and supplies and while there, ransacked the home of James Cornell. They terrorized his servants and stole his wife to sell into slavery. After procuring arms, ammunition, and horses, the Red Sticks began their return trip home. An overnight stop at Burnt Corn Creek on July 26-27, 1813, brought a surprise attack by waiting settlers angry over the unjustified killings. Colonel James Caller and a Mississippi militia of 180 men ambushed the Red Sticks. With their new provisions (100 horses carrying ammunition), they fought back and at one point during the fight the white settlers took the advantage. The Americans began dividing up the ammunition and guns until the Red Sticks fought back again, turning the tide of the battle.[61]

The battle at Burnt Corn Creek was a significant victory for the Red Sticks and was considered the start of the violence of the Creek War. National focus remained on the Canadian front and the War of 1812, but news of the escalating hostility started to reach Washington. The fight at Burnt Corn Creek spread rumors of Red Stick activity throughout the Old Southwest and while most accounts were exaggerated, opposition among the Creek intensified. The warring group began planning to overtake forts after their success at Burnt Corn Creek.

59 Holland, p. 7.

60 Arthur F. Perkins. *Boundary Investigation Report for Horseshoe Bend NMP (Proposed)*, National Park Service, 1957, p. 10.

61 Frank L. Owsley, Jr. *Struggle for the Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815.* Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981. Reprinted, 2000. p. 30-33.

FIGURE 5. Depiction of the massacre at Fort Mims, 1813. The New York Public Library, Digital Gallery. (http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?809022) from Evert A. Duyckinck, *History of the War for the Union: civil, military & naval.* New York: Johnson & Fry. Illustration by Alonzo Chappel.

Fort Mims

The involvement of the U.S. in Indian affairs escalated in the summer of 1813. A massacre at Fort Mims propelled the Creek War from a civil war between Creek factions to a war between the United States and the Red Sticks. A makeshift fort built by pioneer farmer Samuel Mims was located forty miles north of Mobile on Lake Tensaw in what was then part of Mississippi Territory. Construction of the fort began in July 1813 to provide a small outpost for protection. Fort Mims was built for local white settlers, Indians, and slaves and viewed as a necessity in the wake of the fighting at Burnt Corn Creek.[62] Major Daniel Beasley commanded a small militia of 120 men to guard the stockade fort, but Fort Mims remained poorly defended and uncompleted throughout the summer.

The night of August 30, 1813, no patrols or watch were on duty and a gate was left open despite slaves at the fort warning of Red Stick activity in the area. Major Beasley sent 40 militia men to defend a post at Pierce's Mill, one mile away.[63] Meanwhile, the young slaves were whipped for giving a false report. Later that night, the Red Sticks attacked. William Weatherford (Red Eagle) led an organized assault with Paddy Welsh, a prophet leader of the Red Sticks. The approaching Indians entered through the open gate and diverted the fort residents, then captured the portholes to fire into the interior of the fort. Maj. Beasley was shot during the raid, leaving the fort without a commanding officer. The settlers hid in and behind buildings, and held a partial wall of the fort as defense for part of the fight. The Red Sticks set fire to the structures within Fort Mims, burning many women and children alive.[64] Though the portholes behind the wall were occupied by Red Sticks, some missing posts allowed a few to escape.[65] The massacre at Fort Mims killed the entire remaining population, women and children included. Graphic descriptions revealed the horror of the final hold-out and eventual deaths of the Fort Mims settlers.

The attack fueled fear and revenge among settlers in the area and enraged the nation after news of Fort Mims reached newspapers. The Red Sticks retreated to swampland in present Autauga County and expected a swift response from white settlers. The "retaliatory vengeance" was slow, but Andrew Jackson rallied troops.[66] Fort Mims marked a new focus on the unrest in the Old Southwest and the start of national involvement in the Creek War. By the fall of 1813, the massacre at Fort Mims had triggered a coordinated, offensive attack on Red Stick towns.

In the late nineteenth century, Fort Mims contributed to the savage imagery associated with American Indians. The barbarous attack translated into a direct assault on Americans and became part of the popular consciousness and negative perception of Indians. The accounts and drawings from Fort Mims were some of the only period documents referenced by scholars and defined the historiography of the late nineteenth century.

The Creek War

After Fort Mims, governors sent agents and scouts to gauge Indian alliances on the frontier. Red Sticks

62 Mary Ellen Cummings and Caroline Gebhard. "Treaties and Memorials: Interpreting Horseshoe Bend National Military Park: in *The Public Historian*, Vol. 18, No. 4. Representing Native American History, Autumn 1996. p.25. Some accounts include one hundred African-Americans at Fort Mims.

63 Owsley, p. 35.

64 Ibid., p. 38.

65 Owlsey says 20-40 of the 247 men women and children escaped. Holland suggests the number is between 30-50.

66 *Nashville Whig*, September 21, 1813.

FIGURE 6. Creek War engagements. NPS map.

tried to persuade the Chickasaw and Cherokee to join their revolt, but most sided with the United States. The government began coordinating armies across the region and enlisted loyal Indians for their cause. President James Madison appointed Major General Thomas Pinckney to lead the Tennessee and Georgia militias against the Red Sticks.[67]

The strategy of the United States following the attack at Fort Mims centered on the heart of Creek country. The Creek War was fought primarily in present-day Alabama and Mississippi, despite forays into hostile territory by neighboring militia. Four armies planned to attack the Red Sticks from opposing directions, moving toward the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. Georgia troops led by Major General John Floyd attacked from the southeast and the Third Regiment of U.S. Regulars with troops from the Mississippi Territory followed the Alabama River north. General John Cocke commanded an east Tennessee militia and Andrew Jackson led troops from west Tennessee. Both Tennessee militias headed south with plans to merge under the command of Jackson. This strategy included building forts and roads as the armies advanced, meanwhile destroying Creek villages and crops along the way. The U.S. anticipated a quick defeat, but official communication, supply shortages, and turnover delayed the campaigns.[68]

General Ferdinand Claiborne led the Mississippi militia and won a decisive skirmish fought between canoes in October 1813. His troops joined the Third Regiment in November to attack Holy Ground, the Creek village of William Weatherford.[69] The campaign throughout the fall successfully captured towns and constructed U.S. forts along the lower Alabama River. More importantly, Claiborne separated the hostile Red Sticks from their Spanish allies in Pensacola.

The Georgia militia under Maj. Gen. John Floyd struggled with inadequate rations, poor training, and an overturn in enlistments, but constructed Fort Mitchell on the lower Chattahoochee River in November 1813. The Georgians used the fort as a launching point and raided the countryside, burning Newyaucau and other towns, before fighting at Autosse in late November. Despite last-minute changes to the plan of attack, the American forces managed to disperse the Red Sticks near Calabee Creek.

On January 27, 1814, the Red Sticks won the Battle of Calabee, another engagement along the creek. The Georgia militia returned to Fort Mitchell, worried the enemy would cut off their vital supply line.[70] The invasions by the Georgian and Mississippian militias into Creek country encouraged the Red Sticks more than hindering them.[71] They retreated back to Fort Mitchell where they once again suffered from a lack of rations and expiring enlistments. Friendly Creeks threatened to join the hostile faction if the Georgians did not share their crops for winter.

Andrew Jackson and the Tennessee militia provided the initial invading force after the attack on Fort Mims, supported by Col. John Coffee's

67 Owsley, p. 43-45. Madison first supported Governor David B. Mitchell of Georgia to lead the militia, but withdrew his support once Mitchell resigned his position as governor. Later, Pinckney oversaw all Creek War operations from his command of the Sixth military district. Brigadier General Thomas Flournoy controlled the Seventh military district from New Orleans which overlapped areas of Creek country.

68 Ibid., p. 44-45.

69 Ibid., p. 45-48.

70 Ibid., p.51-61.

71 Holland, p.8.

cavalry regiment of Tennessee volunteers. A call to arms in late September recruited almost 1,000 men to Camp Good Exchange near Nashville. On October 4, Coffee reached Huntsville and, amid rumors of attack, joined Jackson to march to Fort Deposit in present-day Lowndes County. Jackson planned to blaze a trail from Fort Deposit to the Coosa River and fought at Talladega on November 9, 1813, earning a victory that almost ended the war. The Creek faction suffered heavy losses and many escaped due to uncoordinated attacks by Maj. Gen. John Cocke's East Tennessee division and a group of allied Cherokee. They returned to Fort Strother and could not follow up the Talladega victory.

A misunderstanding between General Cocke and Andrew Jackson led to the Hillabee massacre and

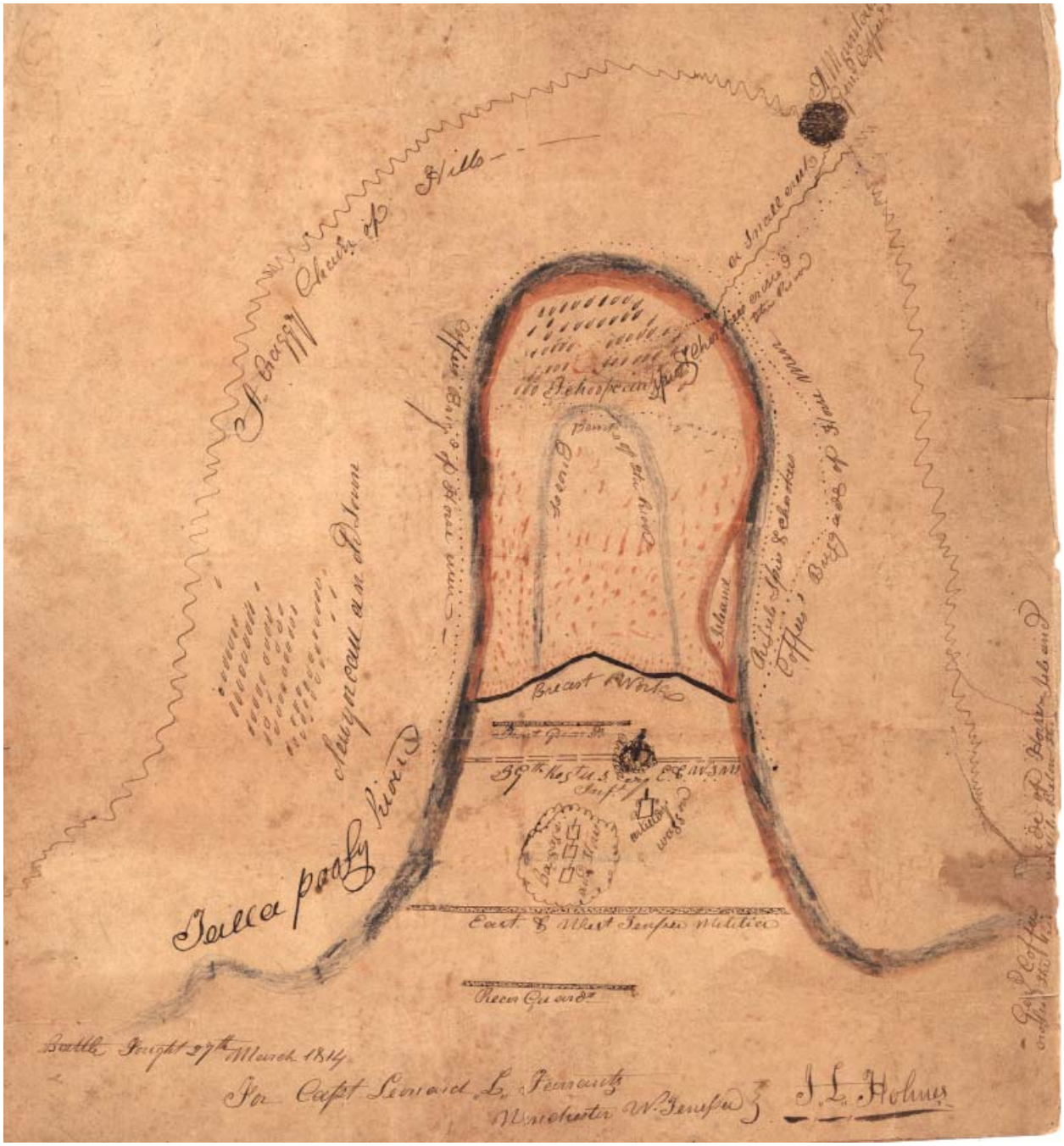

FIGURE 7. "A Map of the Battle Fought 27th March 1814, for Capt. Leonard L. Tarrants". Reprinted with permission from the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

the consequences of that encounter in turn, led to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. While Jackson negotiated peace with a faction of Red Sticks Cocke attacked Little Oakfuskee and Genalga, two Hillabee towns. On November 18, 1813, Cherokee soldiers led by Cocke captured hostile Creeks and burned over 100 houses.[72] The timing of the attack-- during a meeting to discuss surrender-- outraged the Red Sticks. The Hillabee massacre forced the war to continue with new vengeance at Horseshoe Bend.

Fort Strother

In the late fall of 1813, Jackson returned to Fort Strother. His troops lacked supplies and became increasingly disobedient as military terms started to expire. Throughout the winter, Jackson dealt with "mutinous" ranks and mounting desertion. The old volunteers returned to Nashville, Tennessee, in December and troops from the Tennessee brigades returned home in January.

After a winter of desertion and turnover, Jackson faced low morale. He warned, "any officer or solider who flies before the enemy without being compelled to do so by superior force…shall suffer death."[73]

While Jackson stalled at Fort Strother between major campaigns, Georgian and Mississippian troops attacked at Tallasee and Autosee. Andrew Jackson and the U.S. militia attacked at Emuckfau Creek on Janaury 22, 1814, and routed a band of Red Sticks. Two days later at the Hillibee town of Enotochopco, they could not overtake the warring Creeks. After the two small battles, Jackson awaited reinforcements to begin a third campaign. He received new recruits and his attention turned toward Tohopeka.

Battle of Horseshoe Bend

Refugees from Oakfuskee, Oakehoga (Oakchaya), Newyaucau, Hillabee, Fish Pond and Eufalee (Eufaula) inhabited the village of Tohopeka several months before the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Red Sticks joined from surrounding Upper Creek towns and built defenses. Menawa, the second chief of Oakfuskee and a military leader joined

72 Owsley, p. 66.

73 Holland, p. 22.

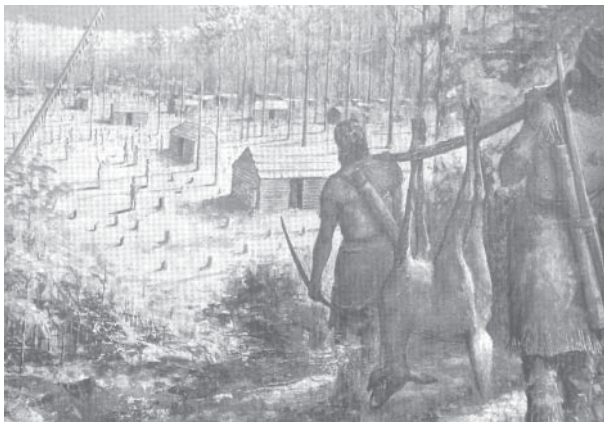

FIGURE 8. Artistic interpretation of Tohopeka. HOBE Archives.

the Red Sticks at Tohopeka. They did not evacuate women and children as was the common practice, suggesting they were ready to make a last stand.[74] On the eve of the battle, around 1,350 Red Sticks and their families occupied Tohopeka.

In December 1813, construction began on a log barricade. The Creeks built a fortification that stretched 300-400 yards across the narrowest portion of the horseshoe-shaped peninsula, isolating Tohopeka at the southernmost tip. Jackson described the scene to Governor Willie Blount after the battle:

> This bend resembles in its curvature that of a horse shoe, and is thence called by that name among the whites…Across the neck of land which leads into it from the North, they had erected a breast-work, of greatest compactness and strength—from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of port-holes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall, manifested no less skill in the projectors of it, than its construction: an army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of this peninsular, thus bounded by the breast-works includes, I conjecture eighty or a hundred acres.[75]

The occupation of a fortified Tohopeka during the winter of 1813-1814 suggests the landscape was scoured of all available building material, food, and firewood prior to the battle. The cleared landscape in front of the barricade was likely

74 Dickens, p. 54.

75 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount. Fort Williams, March 31, 1814.

FIGURE 9. *Battle of Tohopeka* from John Frost, *An illuminated history of North America, from the earliest period to the present time*. New York, 1856. New York Public Library Digital Gallery (http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?808943)

dotted with stumps left from the removal of tree trunks used during its construction. No graphic descriptions of the breastwork survive; however, primary and secondary references illuminate some important similarities.[76] The standard Creek defensive construction was not unique to this battle; however, it may have been a legacy of the Mississippian period.[77] No archival documentation remains from Tohopeka leading up to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

Jackson's scouts determined the breastworks, which had been too strong to break through during their campaign in January, was the point of attack. From Fort Strother, Jackson prepared to advance on Tohopeka. Governor Blount and Judge Hugh Lawson White sent the U.S. 39th Regiment, previously bound for New Orleans, to Fort Strother under the command of Colonel John Williams.

The troops amassed at Fort Williams prior to the battle under Andrew Jackson's command. A combined force with allied Creek and Cherokee soldiers began staging on March 24, 1814. A third of Jackson's force was mounted. The 52-mile march from Fort Williams through the wilderness began two days later. Jackson's men marched to within six miles of the bend and set up camp in a square with brush and trees as a crude, defensive wall.

On March 27, 1814, the army set out at 6:30 in the morning. Rumors circulated that other Oakfuskees would attack and John Coffee led 700 mounted soldiers and 600 Indians (500 Cherokee, 100 friendly Creek) to cross the river two miles below the bend at an island ford. This detachment included William Russell's spies and was meant "to surround the bend in such a manner, as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river."[78] The troops then turned upstream to prevent any retreating Creek from crossing near the bend. Coffee lined a mounted brigade a quarter-mile from the river as a defense. To the east, Captain Eli Hammond's men posted along the river and to the west of the allied Indians. Surrounding the Red Sticks was a priority, though rumors of attacks from other towns left a portion of Coffee's men pointed south defending against attack.

Lieutenant Jesse Bean occupied the island due west of the peninsula in the Tallapoosa River. Gen. John Coffee reported on the battle:

> I ordered Lieutenant Bean to take possession of the Island below with forty men, to prevent the enemy's taking refuge there, which was executed with promptitude, and which had a very happy effect, as many of the enemy did attempt their escape to the Island, but not one ever landed, they were sunk by Leut. Beans command ere they reached the bank and that few was killed the instant they landed—[79]

76 MacKenzie, p. 38. Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Reinterpretation of the Creek Indian Barricade at Horseshoe Bend*, Unpublished. p. 101. Park archives. Period maps note the zigzag form of the barricade and a written account mentions "five large logs with two ranges of port holes". Waselkov concludes the barricade protected the Red Sticks from the front and rear and the front wall consisted of a single row of horizontal laid logs with clay chinking and two rows of portholes. Fraising further defended the front barricade and a trench and logs reinforced a bank of earth along the southern edge.

77 *Long Range Interpretative Plan*, Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, April 2004.

78 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney. Battleground, March 28, 1814.

79 Brig. Gen. John Coffee to Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson. Fort Williams, April 1, 1814.

Jackson hoped to fix his enemy, then attack. He led 2,000 infantry and a small battery of one three-pounder and one six-pounder gun to a small hill north of the barricade. By mid-morning, he began to fire at the fortified breastworks, continuing for two hours:

> . . .at half past ten oclock A.M. [sic] I had planted my artillery on a small eminence, distant from its nearest point about eighty yards, and from its farthest, about two hundred and fifty; from whence I immediately opened a brisk fire upon its centre.[80]

The cannon, fired from the elevation known today as Gun Hill, was unsuccessful at breaking the fortified defense. Meanwhile, several men swam across the river and took dugout canoes from the barricaded Red Sticks. A group of Cherokee started swimming across the 120 yard stretch of the Tallapoosa River and were soon followed by Captain William Russell's spies, Colonel Gideon Morgan and his men, Major John Walker, and thirty others. The canoes were used to ferry Coffee's men across the river to attack Tohopeka directly. Gen. Coffee described Jackson's artillery from across the river:

> The firing of your cannon and small arms in a short time became general and heavy, which animated our Indians, and seeing about one hundred of the Warriors and all the squaws and children of the enemy running about among the huts of the village, which was open to our view, they could no longer remain silent spectators. . .[81]

Captain Eli Hammond's company of rangers moved to the east and defended the riverbank opposite Tohopeka. As the Cherokee and others attacked and burned Tohopeka, the heaviest fighting moved north to the high ground in the center of the peninsula. During this rear attack, the Red Sticks suffered severely. There is no written record of the Red Stick defense. The turning point of the battle occurred as the Cherokee and spies advanced toward the breastwork from Tohopeka and Jackson began a direct charge to the south. Coffee repositioned his forces to continue defending the south side of the river. He reserved

FIGURE 10. Menawa, a Creek warrior, 1837. McKenney and Hall. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Reproduction # LC-USZC4-2952.

a portion of his men for the possibility of an Oakfuskee attack.

Jackson began a frontal assault at 12:30 pm. A drum roll prompted a surge forward by militia from East and West Tennessee. Men "hailed. . .with acclamation" the call to storm the breastworks and the U.S. 39th Regiment advanced.[82]

> ". . .the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded and has seldom been equaled by troops of any description. . .Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes, in which many of the enemy's balls were welded to the bayonets of our musquets [sic], our troops succeeded in gaining possession of the opposite side of the works."[83]

When the 39th finally breeched the barricade, the close-range crossfire became hand to hand combat. Sam Houston received an arrow wound to the thigh and two rifle balls entered his shoulder.

80 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount. Fort Williams, March 31, 1814.

81 Brig. Gen. John Coffee to Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson. Fort Williams, April 1, 1814.

82 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney. Battleground, March 28, 1814.

83 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount. Fort Williams, March 31, 1814.

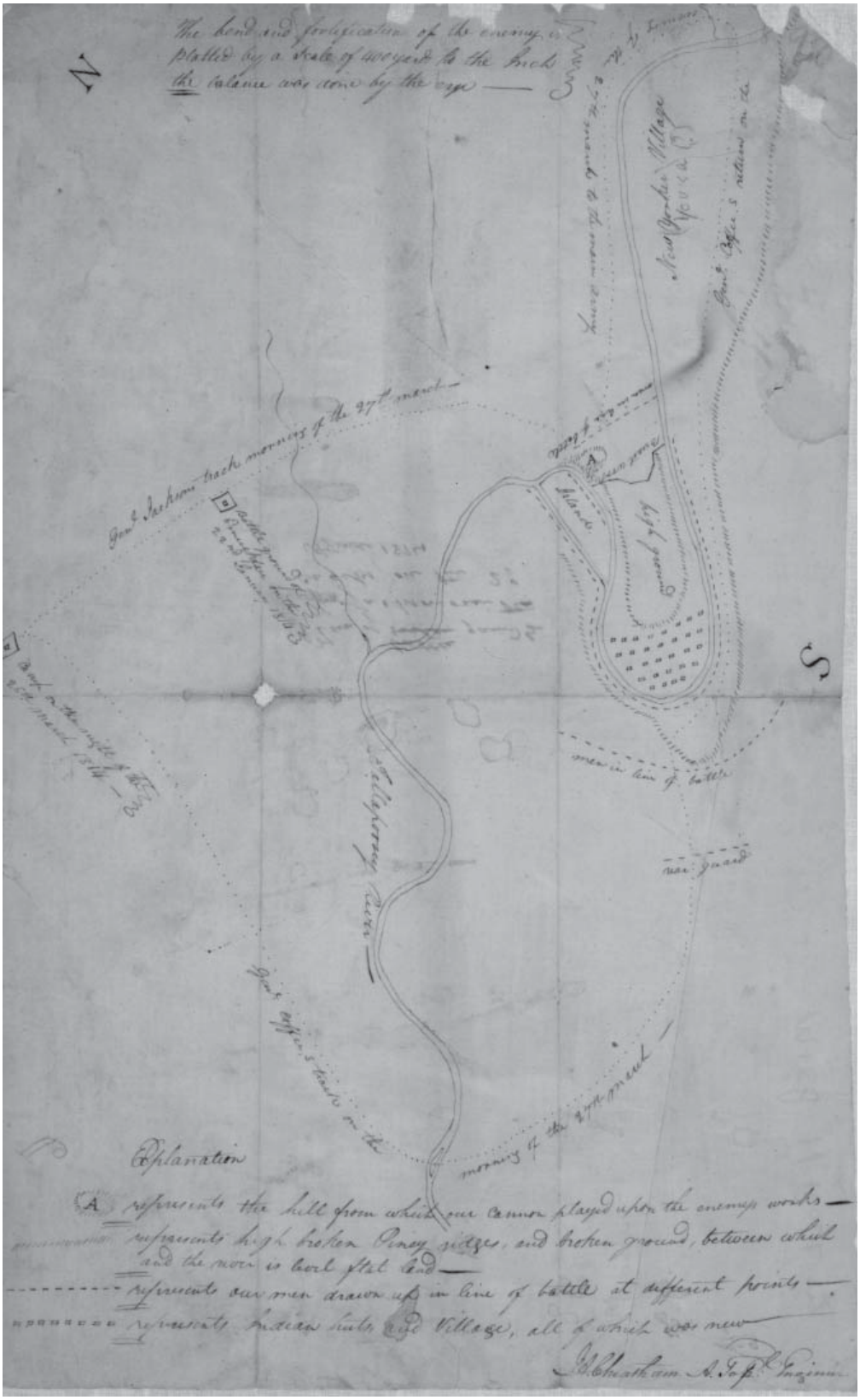

FIGURE 11. Cheatham map, National Archives and Record Administration.

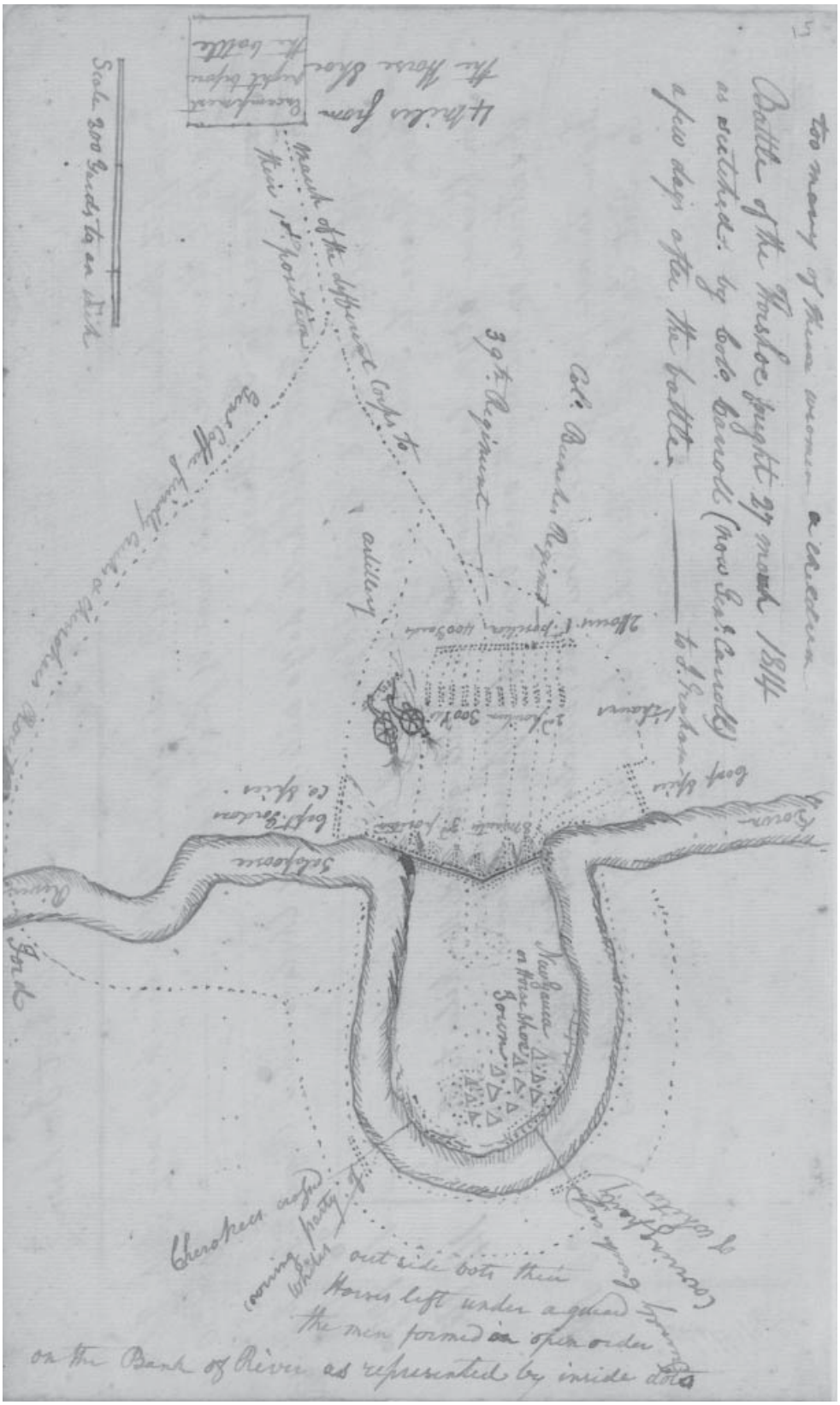

FIGURE 12. William Carroll map. Reprinted with permission from the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

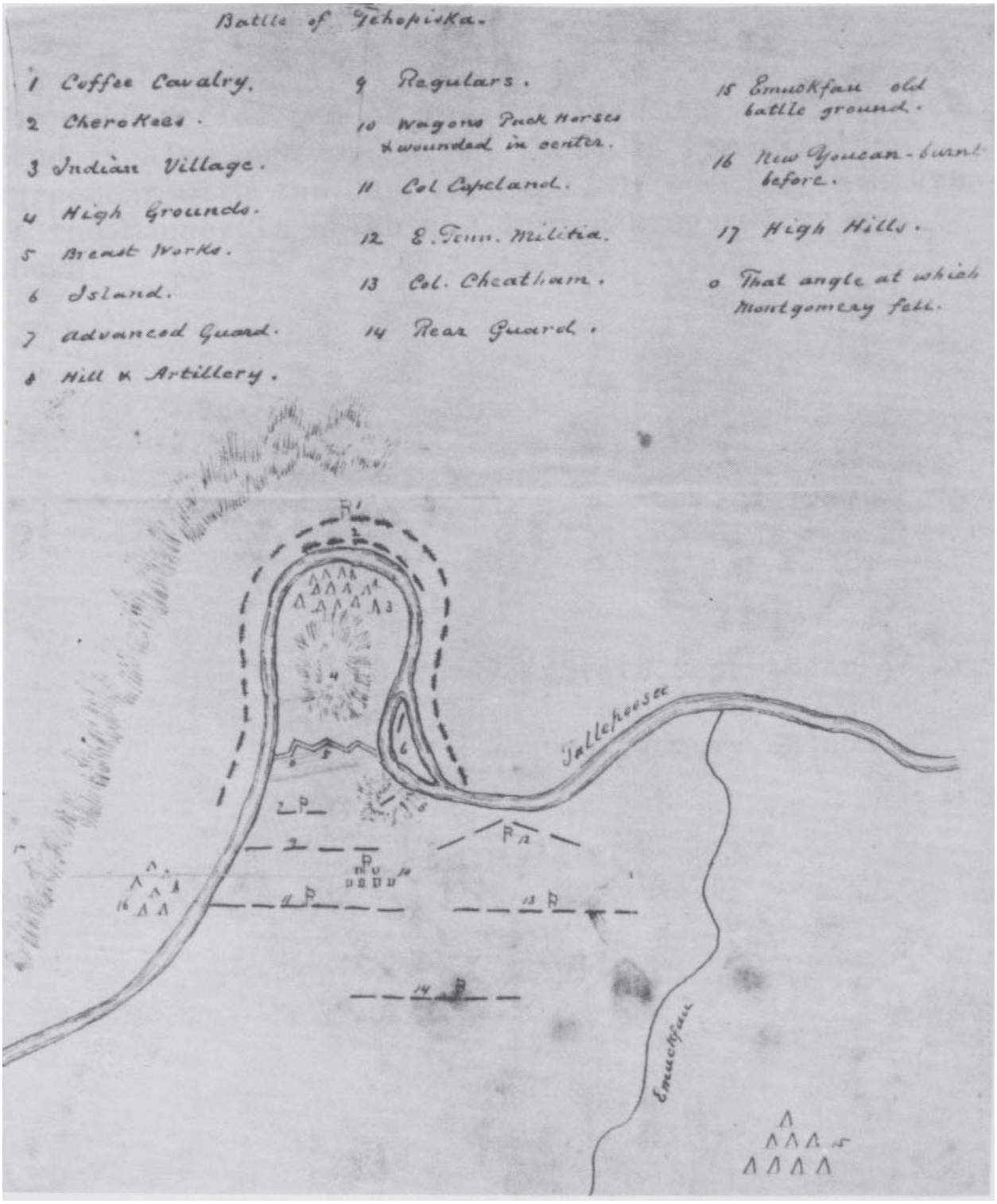

FIGURE 13. Andrew Jackson map of the "Battle of Tehopiska [sic]" from the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 1814. Reprinted with permission from The Tennessee Historical Society.

Major Lemuel P. Montgomery lost his life amid arrows, spears, tomahawks, swords, and gunfire. The dual-sided attack raged throughout the afternoon until the fighting ended around 3:30 pm. Though heavy fighting tapered off, the firing and slaughter continued until it was suspended by darkness. The features standing at the time of the battle, namely the breastworks and structures at Tohopeka, were burned after the battle.

Some accounts of the battle include details of Red Sticks hiding in caves near Tohopeka along the

Tallapoosa River. Jackson described the morning after the battle, "…we continued to destroy many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river until we were prevented by the night….we killed 16 who had been concealed."[84] In the 1970s, archeologists investigated potential cave sites, but did not locate any area that warranted further exploration.[85]

The Red Stick casualties were overwhelming. Monahee and two other prophets were killed and many others were driven into the river.[86] Menawa, leader of the Red Sticks, was injured on the battlefield, but escaped by canoe later that night. His name, Hothlepoya, meant Crazy War Hunter and he was shot several times and left for dead before fleeing to the river after the battle ended. The American side took roughly 300-350 women and children as prisoners from the battlefield.[87] The survivors joined Major William McIntosh to return to Big Warrior River, though most went to Huntsville with friendly Creeks. The official count of the Red Stick casualties was 557 dead; but may have been as high as 800.[88]

Jackson lost 49 men at Horseshoe Bend and the battle left 154 wounded. The Cherokees fighting with the U.S. troops suffered 18 killed and 36 wounded and the allied Creek five killed and eleven wounded. The attack on the barricade led by the 39th Regiment resulted in the most casualties, with seventeen killed and 55 wounded.[89] After the battle, Horseshoe Bend was abandoned. The outcome of the battle reflected the three-to-one disadvantage faced by the Red Sticks and the advantages the additional U.S. troops, allies, and artillery provided. The river, intended as an escape, became a trap for the rebelling Creek warriors.

84 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney. Battleground, March 28, 1814.

85 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 8.

86 "I feel warranted in saying that from two hundred & fifty to three hundred of the enemy was buried under water and was not numbered with the dead that was found –" Brig. Gen. John Coffee to Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson. Fort Williams, April 1, 1814.

87 Early nineteenth-century warfare, particularly on the frontier remained different than the Civil War or even modern warfare. Only women and children were taken prisoner.

88 Holland, p.27.

89 Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount. Fort Williams, March 31, 1814.

FIGURE 14. Treaty with the Creeks,1814, published 1847. New York Public Library Digital Gallery (http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?808965)

At 7 pm, Gen. John Coffee marched his troops north to the site of Newyaucau and crossed the Tallapoosa River west of the former Creek village. The reunited army then left the battlefield and returned to Fort Williams by the afternoon of March 31. At Fort Williams, Jackson, Coffee, and others reported to Governor Blount, corresponded with loved ones, and documented the battle. The maps and letters from the days immediately after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend provide the primary American documentation of the events. The official account of the battle is uniform in detail from all of Jackson's men, and noted scholar Braund points out that the control of information may have led to the glorification and justification of Jackson's actions.

Documentation

Several maps survive from the period immediately following the battle and convey the spatial organization of the cultural landscape.[90] A comparison of historic maps identifies similar details of the battle, yet reflects different perspectives. These historic representations denote Tohopeka, the breastworks, battle lines, and the Tallapoosa River and provide valuable information for the understanding of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

90 Historic research included a citation of an unpublished sketch map of the *Battle of Horseshoe Bend of Tallapoosa River, 27th March 1814* by Robert Houston McEwen located at the Library of Congress. A map by Hugh Ervin is held by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MA98.0171 (a)).

A map attributed to John A. Cheatham (Figure 11), a topographical engineer, illustrates the positions of Jackson's men including the approaches, camp site, and previous battleground along Emuckfau Creek. Cheatham included a narrative explanation on his map noting "the hill from which the cannon played upon the enemy works" as well as representations of the "high broken Piney ridge and broken ground, between which and the river is [borl?] flat land". Dotted lines "represent our men drawn up in line of battle at different points" and "Indian huts and village, all of which was [sic] new." The map also delineates the retreat of General Coffee after the battle and the site of New Youka [sic] Village. The Cheatham map represents Tohopeka with thirty evenly spaced squares in five parallel lines at the end of the peninsula. The breastwork has two straight ends with a concave angle to the south.

J. L. Holmes produced a color map for Capt. Leonard L. Tarrants that detailed the horseshoe peninsula.[91] The illustration notes features including, "a craggy [line?] of hills" surrounding the peninsula on the south side of the Tallapoosa River and the artillery position known today as Gun Hill. The map stylizes troop positions, with a bold line marking the front guard, and double lines marking the 39th Reg. U.S. Inf., the E. & W. Tennessee militia, and the rear guard, all led by Jackson. A dotted line denotes the route of Gen. Coffee's brigade of horsemen that crossed the river southwest of the battlefield and circled back to occupy the riverbank south of the site of Newyaucau. The map represents the "old town" and Tohopeka with a series of small ovals. A "small creek" is noted across the river from the Tohopeka and another dotted line marks the crossing site of the attack from Russell's spies and the Cherokees. The breastworks on the map show an angled barricade, curving slightly toward Tohopeka with a bold black line. This information confirms written accounts described by Andrew Jackson and other post-battle maps. The Holmes map generally marks the position of the Red Sticks with a scattered arrangement of red dots and dashes south of the barricade. Immediately behind the breastwork, the Red Sticks force appears concentrated.

A map by Col. William Carroll (Figure 12) marked the positions of the Unites States troops on a scaled map (200 yards to an inch). Although the Carroll map incorrectly labels Tohopeka as "New Yauca" the notations provide a timeline of events corresponding to troop positions. The first position, some 400 yards north of the barricade, was held for two hours and a second position, 300 yards from the defense, was held for one-and-a-half hours. The map notes the third position directly in front of the barricade was held for eight minutes. The locations of two artillery guns west of the second battle line are sketched as intricate cannons on the map. Wheels, carriages, and smoke are drawn in detail.

A map without an identifiable author, commonly referred to as the Jackson map (Figure 13), numerically marks landscape features and troop positions. The map depicts the peninsula in the Tallapoosa River with dashed lines to mark the positions of the Coffee cavalry, Cherokees, advanced guard, regulars, Col. Copeland, East Tennessee militia, Col. Cheatham, and the rear guard. The map notes the Emuckfau Creek battleground, Newyaucau, and the "Indian Village" (Tohopeka) with clusters of triangles. An additional feature of the Battle of Tehopiska [sic] map not shown on other period maps is a cluster of squares to the rear of the regular troop position representing wagons, pack horses, and the location of the wounded.

After the Battle

After the battle, the destruction of Red Stick towns continued as many men kept fighting, unsure that the war was over. A few hostile groups held out for months, despite the loss at Horseshoe Bend. Red Stick leaders were left to surrender Creek leadership and face certain death, surrender to Jackson and face certain death, or flee to Florida.[92] Many were ready to fight again at Hickory Ground, until Jackson led men to the banks of Coosa River only to find the Red Sticks fleeing to Pensacola.

The Red-Stick Creek had no towns to return to and many foraged an empty landscape and hid in cane swamps. Famine was widespread and refugees burdened existing Lower Creek towns and Spanish Florida. Andrew Jackson noted the "misery and

91 The boundary report for Horseshoe Bend refers to this map as the Coffee map, but no documentation supports this label. The map is scaled 400 yards to an inch.

92 Braund, *Towns*, p. 50.

FIGURE 15. Engraving of the Treaty of Fort Jackson depicting Andrew Jackson and William Weatherford. Reprinted with permission from the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

wretchedness" of the remaining Creeks. In 1825, the government reported only 37 Upper Creek towns and 18 Lower Creek towns.[93] The impact of war on the Creek Nation is still little interpreted at the park.[94]

On April 15, 1814, Georgia troops arrived to secure Creek territory. General Pinckney and Benjamin Hawkins sent Tennessee troops back to Fort Williams and were designated to negotiate a treaty. Pinckney maintained open lines of communication between Tennessee and Fort Jackson and quashed any isolated uprisings from bands of Red Sticks in the area.

Treaty of Fort Jackson

On August 9, 1814, following the surrender of Red Sticks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, General Jackson signed the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Known as "Mad Dog Jackson" or "Old Mad Jackson" during the Creek War, the success at Horseshoe Bend resulted in Jackson's appointment to the U.S. army. The promotion of Andrew Jackson allowed the treaty, previously delegated to Pinckney and Hawkins, to be negotiated under his command. The treaty re-established peace between the Creeks and the U.S. and transferred over 20 million acres of "unsettled" Creek land to the government.

93 Ibid., p. 56.

94 *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, Horseshoe Bend NMP, Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, April 2004, p. 35.

FIGURE 16. Detail of the 1906 Dadeville USGS quad map.

The articles of the treaty included the cession of an L-shaped tract of land between Georgia and the present Mobile, Alabama, and stipulated the new boundary of the Creek Nation. Other provisions included the U.S. demand that Creek must not communicate with any British or Spanish outpost or garrison and must return all persons and property to the government. The treaty stipulated that the U.S. could establish federal roads, military posts, and trading houses. A condition of surrender allowed Creeks to use the existing corn crop in the fields.

The Treaty of Fort Jackson brought an official end to the Creek War. Though the Fort Mims attack expanded a civil war into one with national consequences, the war remained defined by the struggles within the Creek Nation. Before the war ended, Jackson went on to define his career as a military leader in New Orleans. The War of 1812 did not end until the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814, and the outcome of the Creek War helped influenced negotiations, giving U.S. bargaining terms.[95]

The Legacy of Andrew Jackson

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend ended the major fighting of the Creek War and established Andrew Jackson's military reputation. Based on the victory at Horseshoe Bend and successful signing of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, President James Madison promoted Jackson to Major General of the (southern) 7th Military District. His subsequent command and defeat of the British at the Battle of

95 Martin, p. 17.

New Orleans on January 8, 1815, brought fame and a national political career. The war hero legacy of Horseshoe Bend and New Orleans helped elevate Andrew Jackson to his national post, despite no formal military education. These early successes of Jackson shaped the postwar perspective on the War of 1812. In 1829, he became the seventh President of the United States.

Jackson's strained relationship with southeastern Indians begun during the Creek War continued during his presidency. Between 1816 and 1840, tribes including Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, signed more than 40 treaties with the U.S. ceding their land. Jackson set a policy during his inaugural address in 1829 to relocate eastern Indians and the following year the Indian Removal Act passed Congress. Between 1830 and 1850, about 100,000 American Indians living east of the Mississippi moved west. Through a combination of coerced treaties and military force, the U.S. Army brutally relocated Creeks, Cherokee and others to a new home in Oklahoma. An estimated 3,500 Creeks died in Alabama alone on their westward journey.[96]

Alabama

Just five years after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Alabama became a state. The Creek land cession by the Treaty of Fort Jackson comprised three-fifths of the new state.[97] In 1837, the removal of Creeks had begun, though settlers from Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina began populating the state while it was still a territory. Initially, settlers farmed land near former Creek towns along major rivers and sent crops to Mobile and Apalachicola, Florida, to sell in European markets. Soils in the Piedmont attracted settlement along the Tallapoosa in the 1830s and, similar to Georgia, a pattern of small, isolated farms defined the area. In the nineteenth century, the success of cotton transformed the size and character of many farms in Alabama.

A ferry operated across the Tallapoosa River connecting the road network near the former battlefield. An 1885 map identifies Glenns Ferry at the site of the present-day Highway 49 crossing, yet

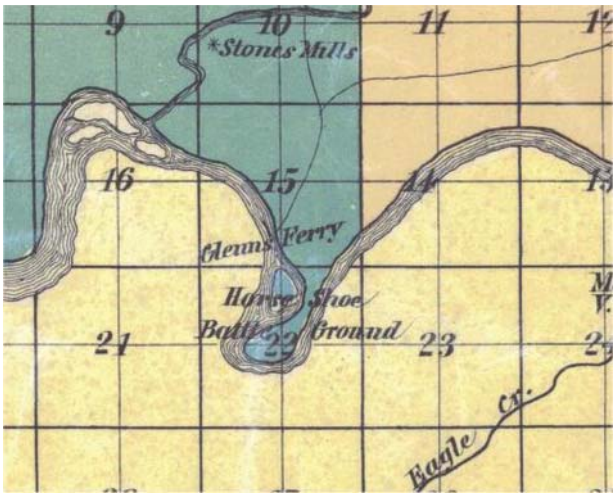

FIGURE 17. Detail from Tallapoosa County map, 1885. Courtesy of the Prentice and Allen report, SEAC.

FIGURE 18. Vickers family at Miller ferry on the Tallapoosa River. HOBE Archives.

shows a road only on the north side of the river.[98] The Miller family began operating the ferry around this time and continued to do so until a bridge was constructed in 1908, spanning the river just north of the bend. The historic road leading to the ferry remains as an elevated roadbed in the floodplains and a sunken road trace in the uplands.

During the nineteenth century, central Alabama supported a variety of agricultural crops with cotton the dominant state crop prior to the Civil War and continuing to lead agricultural markets until the Second World War. "The Cotton State" cultivated almost four million acres of cotton in the 1800s. Alabama continued growing cotton despite the introduction of the boll weevil in 1911, though emphasis shifted to agricultural education

96 http://www.nps.gov/history/seac/outline/09-beyond/index.htm

97 *Resource Management Plan*, p. 1.

98 Allin and Prentice, *Trip Report on Site Condition Assessments*, SEAC Acc. 2566, August 2012. Draft. p. 64.

FIGURE 19. 1938 aerial of Horseshoe Bend. HOBE Archives. Note the extent of cleared land on and adjacent to the peninsula.

and scientific studies to help with the pest's eradication.[99]

Sharecropping and tenant farming replaced enslaved labor after the Civil War. In 1910, tenant farmers and sharecroppers operated almost sixty percent of the 5,000 farms in the area of Horseshoe Bend.[100] A recent archeological survey uncovered over sixteen new sites in the park, many of which are historic homesteads, moonshine stills, or chimney ruins.[101]

The Tallapoosa floodplains yielded wheat and oats in addition to corn and cotton.[102] In the 1930s, terracing became popular and the Tallapoosa County Terracing Association formed to defray the individual costs to farmers.[103] Fire changed the immediate landscape and new pine seedlings replaced lost timberlands.

Beyond agricultural crops, products related to industry provided jobs to many in central Alabama. Textile mills in Alexander City and Tallasee employed many before the boll weevil arrived. The Horseshoe Bend landscape was mined for sand and gravel in the twentieth century and when the park was established, twenty acres of land were planted in corn and cotton and a gravel pit remained at the site.[104]

Miller Bridge

The construction of Miller Bridge began in May 1907, connecting the riverbanks of the Tallapoosa at the site of Miller ferry. Until the bridge was constructed, the ferry was the only connection between Dadeville and New Site. The bridge, which was set on stone piers and had a

99 Encyclopedia of Alabama: Agriculture in Alabama, (http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-1396), accessed October 27, 2011.

100 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 37.

101 Allin and Prentice, *Trip Report on Site Condition Assessments*, p. 1-3. Historic maps from 1906 and 1909 helped focus archeological investigations.

102 Park staff suggested cane may have been grown near the maintenance building. Conversation with Ove Jenson, May 5, 2010.

103 MacKenzie, p. 21.

104 *Mission 66 Master Plan*, Foreword.

FIGURE 20. Construction of MIller covered bridge, c.1907. HOBE Archives.

wooden, covered span, retained the Miller name. Nora E. Miller owned the ferry landing site and contributed to the effort to improve the road from Horseshoe Bend to Dadeville. Miller, a member of the Alabama Good Roads Association, raised money and support as part of a statewide campaign and later received recognition for her role.[105] W. H. Wynn and his son Will built the bridge for $13,896 utilizing stones from the north riverbank to create five piers. Locally harvested heart pine timber formed the lattice town truss and since nails were costly, 1600 wooden pegs were used in the bridge. The Miller Bridge included weatherboards and a wood shingle roof. At the time of its construction, the bridge spanning 858' was the longest covered bridge in Alabama. A tin roof replaced the shingles at some point and despite plans to possibly restore the failing bridge, it collapsed on June 23, 1963.[106]

Commemoration of the Battle

In 1907, the Alabama state legislature formed a commission to commemorate the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Led by the governor, Braxton Bragg Comer, the Horseshoe Bend Battle Commission petitioned Congress to establish a military park and erect a monument on the battlefield.[107] The commission began preparations for the centennial, and in 1909, recommended a memorial to Congress in lieu of a military park.[108]

The planned Horseshoe Bend centennial coincided with the broader movement of battlefield preservation. Battlefields were preserved as hallowed places and monuments were constructed to commemorate the historic events. Preservation aimed at marking significant sites and developing a coherent cultural identity in American history.[109] During the battle anniversary, the Daughters of 1812 placed a granite monument, the first placed on-site that commemorates the significance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. In August 1918, the Alabama legislature authorized $5,000 for the marker and placed the Congressional monument at Gun Hill. At some point prior to the establishment of the park, the Congressional monument was enclosed in a chain-link fence to prevent vandalism.[110]

The centennial held at Horseshoe Bend on July 4, 1914, marked a state-wide celebration with distinguished speakers, tours, and a mock battle between the 52th Alabama State Militia Company G from Opelika and Company H from Alexander City. A committee arranged transportation to avoid damage to the state highway and the crowd numbered between 8,000 and 10,000. Some 2,000 people camped on the battlefield in the shade of the hardwood trees.[111] Judge Clinton Coley, who went on to help establish the park, attended the centennial ceremony as a young boy.[112]

Alabama Power

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (NMP) was established as a direct result of a threat to the cultural landscape. Alabama Power began purchasing property along the Tallapoosa River in the early 1920s in hopes of damming the river downstream to create a hydroelectric plant. The power company received a license from the Federal Power Commission to create a dam which would have flooded the entire peninsula of Horseshoe

105 Ibid.

106 Park files, Miller Bridge folder.

107 Thomas Martin. *The Story of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park,* 1959. p. 5.

108 *Ceremonies Attending the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and Dedication of the Park Visitor Center, Friday March 27, 1964.* Denver Service Center eTIC, 407/D29,p 36.

109 National Register Bulletin 40. P. 3.

110 Arthur F. Perkins. *Boundary Investigation Report for Horseshoe Bend NMP (Proposed),* National Park Service, 1957. Appendix III, Illustration 2. September 3, 1956.

111 Paul Ghioto, *Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend*, August 1978. Park files.

112 *Ceremonies*, p. 1-4.

FIGURE 21. Construction of Highway 49 bridge next to Miller covered bridge, c. 1955. HOBE Archives.

FIGURE 22. Crowd at dedication ceremony in *Ceremonies*. DSC eTIC, 407/D29. p. 20.

Bend and saved only the elevated ground near the monuments.[113]

Thomas W. Martin, President of the Alabama Power Company, visited the battlefield in 1923 and halted the project, recommending preservation of the battlefield. Through Alabama Power Company, he cancelled licenses with the Federal Power Commission and the Alabama Public Service Commission.[114] In June 1955, Martin formed a non-profit corporation and soon the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association launched efforts to establish a national military park. [115]

The power company owned 560 acres centered on the horseshoe peninsula and Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association worked with the state to acquire the surrounding tracts. The 5.1-acre plot previously donated by Nora E. Miller for the monuments was added to land holdings for the potential park. All land assembled by Alabama Power was donated to the United States government.

Other improvements in Tallapoosa County occurred during the preservation effort. A modern concrete bridge was constructed in 1955 to replace the covered Miller Bridge. The improvement to local highways helped bring tourism to the battlefield.

Establishment of the Park

An Act of Congress on July 25, 1956, established Horseshoe Bend National Military Park on the Tallapoosa River. The chosen boundary protected the historic core battlefield, allowed for a scenic background, and included land for necessary park facility buildings. A boundary report described the park as, "wooded with 20 some acres of the higher plateau in cultivated fields of corn and cotton. The forest is a mixed pine and hardwood regeneration, with a rather dense cover of hardwoods and brush, including vines and brambles, in the lower flood plain."[116] The report mentions a large scar, several acres in size, left from a gravel pit operation and the need for vista clearing to restore the battlefield appearance.[117] A Presidential Proclamation by Dwight Eisenhower in 1959 officially created the park.

The dedication ceremony of Horseshoe Bend NMP occurred during the sesquicentennial of the battle on March 27, 1964. The ceremony to dedicate the visitor center featured distinguished speakers from Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, the National Park Service, the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, and the Cherokee Nation. Alabama Congressman Albert Rains represented the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association to honor Chairman Thomas Martin, Thomas D. Russell, C. J. Coley and the other trustees for their commitment to creating the park. Elbert Cox, the

113 Martin, p. 6.

114 *Ceremonies,* p. 31.

115 Ibid., p. 18.

116 Perkins, p. 1.

117 Ibid., p. 2, 6. The park boundaries encompassed Section 13, 14, 15, 22, and 23, Township 23 north, Range 23 east and a few adjacent acres.

FIGURE 23. Aerial of Horseshoe Bend peninsula and the Tallapoosa River, c.1960s. HOBE Archives. Note the agricultural use of the peninsula, the pattern of forested vegetation, and the system of farm roads.

NPS Southeast Regional Director, addressed the crowd:

> In fact this commemoration will go on and on, from day to day, from year to year, in the unfolding development and operation of this Park. For Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is a dedicated place—with special meaning for those who cherish the American heritage of liberty and freedom.

At the time Horseshoe Bend was established, other War of 1812 sites were also being preserved. The Chalmette Monument, begun in 1840 but not completed until 1908, commemorated Andrew Jackson and the Battle of New Orleans.[118] A monument to Oliver Hazard Perry commemorating the Battle of Lake Erie was completed in 1915. These sites today are part of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve and Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, respectively. Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is the only NPS site to preserve the site of a major battle of the Creek War. The Alabama Historical Commission owns and operates Fort Toulouse/Fort Jackson near Wetumpka and in partnership with the Fort Mims Restoration Association operates the Fort Mims site.[119]

In 1963, the Miller Bridge collapsed and the wooden sections were removed. The bridge piers remain in place and were included in the historic district later designated in 1976. In the early planning of the park, recommendations included a parking pull-off for visitors interested in the old covered bridge remains.[120]

118 LCS ID 021368.

119 Alabama Historical Commission (http://preserveala.org/fortmims).

120 Perkins, p.6.

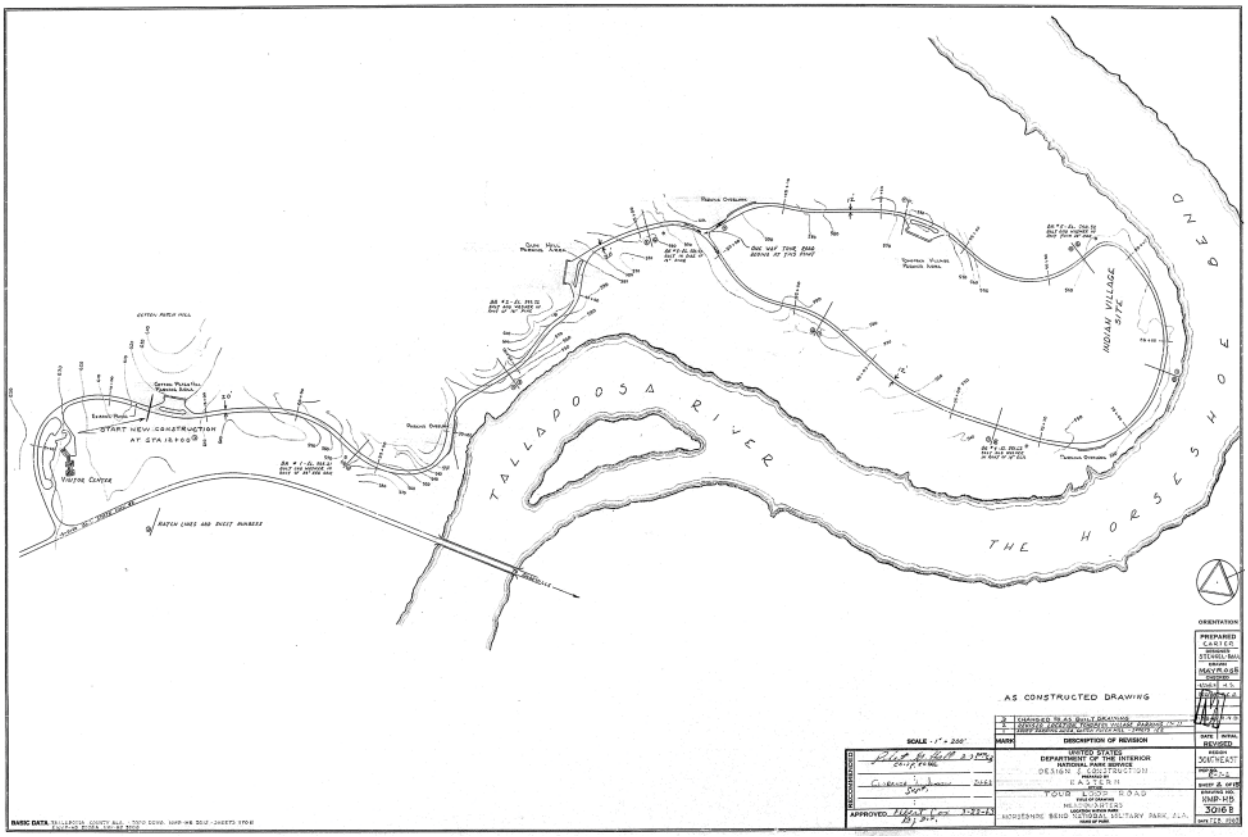

FIGURE 24. Tour Loop Road and Parking Areas, Horseshoe Bend NMP, Feb. 1963. Denver Service Center eTIC 407/3016

Mission 66

Horseshoe Bend NMP became part of the national park system amid Mission 66, a ten-year capital improvement program that brought new roads, trails, and utilities. After the Second World War, unprecedented numbers of Americans visited national parks. This heavy visitation, combined with an extended period of low Congressional funding, prompted the NPS to propose a capital-improvement program that coincided with its fiftieth anniversary. The Mission 66 initiative modernized and expanded facilities, prompting construction of new visitor centers, campgrounds, comfort stations, maintenance buildings, and employee residences to upgrade poor conditions and meet the demands of the postwar era.[121]

The expansion of the park system in the 1950s included several historical areas. Under-represented themes, including the nineteenth-century Battle of Horseshoe Bend, were added to the system during Mission 66. This was part of a larger trend to diversify the story of American history represented at park service sites. While many existing parks also received new plans, the *Horseshoe Bend Master Plan: Mission 66 Edition* remains the sole planning document of the park.[122]

The Mission 66 plan for Horseshoe Bend NMP identified the condition of the newly established park and outlined plans for a new visitor center, three interpretive shelters, roadway signs, an ethno-botanical trail, park housing, and a maintenance area.[123] The master plan limited visitor amenities to those "essential and necessary" and did not include proposals for a campground, picnic ground, or concessionaire. A

121 Ethan Carr. *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007. p. 3-15.

122 Carr, p. 321. A 1992 Resource Management Plan for Horseshoe Bend (407/D13) addressed the status of cultural and natural resource management.

123 *Mission 66*, Vol. I, Chp. 1, p. 8. The shelters were to be located at Jackson's artillery position on the hill, the "toe" of the horseshoe and site of the Indian village, and the site of the breastworks where Maj. Lemuel Montgomery lost his life. These shelters were to tie into other exhibits and markers at the park. NPS policy stated all structures existing at the time of acquisition should be removed, yet the plan suggested the Miller Bridge be restored and maintained.

cooperative association was suggested to support interpretation.

The *Mission 66 Master Plan* found the Horseshoe Bend NMP boundaries adequate to preserve the battlefield and it also prioritized areas within the park for interpretation. The plan emphasized the historic significance of the site and noted that natural features should be of secondary concern.

The visitor center was originally planned for Cotton Patch Hill to take advantage of the elevation and battlefield view. The *Mission 66 Master Plan* considered an observation platform connected to the visitor center as well as space for administrative offices, exhibit space, and an assembly room. However, the visitor center was built near the entrance of the park in 1963-64 in order to preserve the core battlefield.

The master plan called for interpretive shelters to highlight Jackson's artillery position, Tohopeka, and the point along the barricade where Major Lemuel Montgomery lost his life, while the ethnobotanical trail was to describe the names and uses of flora used by the Creeks and early settlers. Guidelines for interpretation on the south side of the Tallapoosa included a supplemental parking area to view the Miller Bridge with signage and a trail to interpret the role of Coffee's men in the battle. The plan suggested interpretation at the site of Newyaucau, pending archeological research. A selection of interpretive shelters were planned to have audio tours.[124]

An immediate need identified in the *Mission 66 Master Plan* was historical research. The new park required more scholarly research on the Creek War, Horseshoe Bend, early Indian cultures, the Anglo-French controversy, and the frontier east of the Mississippi.[125] Previous work "was more journalistic than scholarly" and the Mission 66 plan recommended archeological research to enhance interpretation.

Beyond interpretation, the Horseshoe Bend peninsula where the primary battle occurred received preferential treatment, followed by the area south of the Tallapoosa River. The landscape was mostly wooded during the 1960s with twenty acres of the higher plateau planted in corn and cotton. The plan addressed landscape management with selective clearing and vista cutting and recommended the vista between the visitor center and breastworks location remain open. The area south of the breastworks would revert to forest. Although the plan called for the addition of adjacent land northwest of the park near Emuckfaw Creek, no such acquisition occurred.[126]

> [The] natural features have remained, or have returned, much the same: the spectacular bend in the river, the eminence on which Jackson mounted his feeble artillery, and a re-growth of trees—together these and other natural landmarks, set a scene wherein mental recreation of the battle is fostered."[127]

Initial stabilization project work began on the site proposed for the new visitor center. A gravel pit used for mining material was filled in and reseeded in 1962 immediately northeast of Cotton Patch (Miller) Hill.[128] The area was graded and planted with donated pine trees to prevent erosion. The new visitor center was built along Highway 49. A concrete boat ramp was built in the fall of 1964.[129]

National Register Listing

The Mission 66 initiative coincided with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 and historic park resources were administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places at the time. In 1976, the park followed up by documenting the entire park as a historic district, noting contributing features including the Congressional monument, the Daughters of the War of 1812 monument, the Miller Bridge piers, Tohopeka, New Youka [sic], and the site of the barricade. The National Register nomination lists Horseshoe Bend Battlefield as nationally significant with Areas of Significance as Archeology-Historic, Conservation, and Military and a period of significance from 1800-1899. The date range references the broad century-long

124 Carr, p. 189.

125 *Mission 66*, Vol. I, Chp. 1, p. 5.

126 Ibid., p. 3.

127 Ibid., p. 2.

128 *Construction Report: Erosion Control and Ground Improvement, Miller Hill, May 1963*. Denver Service Center eTIC 407/D20.

129 Denver Service Center eTIC 407/D24.

designations initally used in National Register nominations.

Lemuel Montgomery Grave

In 1972, the park reinterred Maj. Lemuel Purnell Montgomery, a member of the 39th regiment, at the base of Gun Hill. The new burial included the addition of a grave marker and new fence. Montgomery was moved from a grave site in Dudleyville, Alabama.[130] A brief report in the park archives addresses the reinterment, but does not provide details on Major Montgomery. The grave was added to the other monuments at Gun Hill, expanding the commemoration of the site.

Archeology

Though local collectors explored the area around Horseshoe Bend and years of plowing likely upended countless prehistoric artifacts, a series of formal archeological investigations began once the park was established. Several surveys and excavations by universities and NPS staff led to the identification the Tohopeka and Newyaucau villages and the location of the barricade site. The archeology confirmed the exact position of the most important landscape features surviving from the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Other archeology included compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and examination of twentieth-century resources. The park still retains the potential to yield further information at these sites and unexplored areas.

Fairbanks

In 1961, Charles H. Fairbanks led Florida State University (FSU) students in an archeology field school to uncover the location and form of the Red Sticks barricade, find the extent of the Tohopeka Village, and locate Newyaucau Village.[131] Though later extensions to his original trenches revealed two circular burned areas in 1964, Fairbanks concluded that archeology could not identify the remains of the barricade.

The students expanded initial test pits to ten by ten feet units during Fairbanks' archeological work at Tohopeka where vegetation allowed for open workspace.[132] The team uncovered two ceramic complexes at Tohopeka yielding Dadeville ceramics, an early Mississippian type, and ceramics dating to the Creek occupation. The field school uncovered four features, two later determined to be trash pits.

Fairbanks' exploration of Newyaucau included surface collection along the Tallapoosa River on a level, pasture terrace partially planted with corn and cotton. The students collected artifacts and opened three trenches to discover two Creek features. One trench yielded both a trash pit that had once been a storage pit and a pit filled with burned corncobs. This smudge pit may have been used for scraping pottery. The artifacts from the trash pit included European goods such as glass, beads, and muskets balls dating to the eighteenth century and Creek pottery and faunal remains. Fairbanks also noted a "discolored circular area" evident in aerial photographs that he suggested was a town house in the Creek village.

The Archeological Overview and Assessment (2000) notes the details and incongruities of Fairbanks excavations, yet concludes the success of the archeology project. Though Fairbanks did not locate the barricade, he did identify the extensiveness of Newyaucau (not the boundaries).

Hinsdale

The construction of the park tour road necessitated archeological monitoring in the fall of 1964. Glen L. Hinsdale, Park Historian, observed discolorations below the surface as the equipment graded the road. Though Fairbanks concluded that no evidence of the breastwork remained, Hinsdale wrote, "He is unquestionably accurate about the barricade not being present where he looked."[133] Hinsdale reported:

130 "Reinternment of Major Lemuel P. Montgomery at Horseshoe Bend NMP" Manuscript, SERO Library, 1972.

131 Charles H. Fairbanks, "Excavation at Horseshoe Bend" in *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. XV, No. 2, June 1962. p. 41.

132 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 40-42.

133 George C. Mackenzie, *The Indian Breastwork in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend: Its Size, Location, and Construction. Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Alabama.* Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service. November 1969. p.32

> . . .On the eastside of the road, soil profiles in the bank clearly indicate extensive deposition of both the native clays and topsoil, which is in direct opposition to Fairbanks report. About 50 feet from the discolored soil deposit, in the same cut, and on virtually the same elevation . . .a grader laid bare a circular soil profile marking the location of a burned tree stump. The **top** of this color discontinuity was about two feet below present ground level on that site.[134]

George C. Mackenzie, an NPS Historian, published Hinsdale's suspicion about the barricade remains. The historic battle maps only indicate relative position and based on the 1960s topography did not convey the exact position. The deposition of two feet of soil above the burned feature suggests that erosion or agricultural grading did not obliterate any remainder of the barricade feature. Mackenzie quotes extensively from the Hinsdale report in his book, but the original report has not been located. [135]

Dickens

Roy S. Dickens and students from Georgia State University (GSU) conducted archeology during the summer of 1973. The team examined the same areas as Charles Fairbanks in addition to the site of caves thought to be used by escaping Red Sticks. The field school also conducted an underwater survey of the Tallapoosa River. Investigations by Dickens supported previous archeology and later published a comparison of the ceramic artifacts of Newyaucau and Tohopeka. Dickens' findings suggested a "temporary, warrior-refugee" character to Tohopeka in contrast to the "permanent, family-structure" of Newyaucau.

Dickens chose nine areas above the one hundred-foot contour line to excavate at Tohopeka.[136] Full-scale excavation concentrated in four areas with Dadeville ceramics predominant in most locations (A, B, and C) and historic Creek artifacts clustered in one area (D). Tohopeka yielded hundreds of post-molds, a large Dadeville storage pit, "liner burned depressions" and one Creek-period pit. The archeology suggests an intensive, if seasonal, occupation during the Mississippian period with house sites identifiable though the pattern of artifact distribution.

Dickens and his GSU students confirmed the location of the Red Sticks' barricade through remote sensing and direct excavation. Dickens aligned aerial photographs with historical maps and resources to target soil resistivity and metal detector surveys. The results directed his graded-trench excavations and revealed a shallow ditch with linear depressions at the barricade site. A regular line of post-molds (for stakes) survived north of the barricade. The barricade alignment excavated by Dickens' crew matched the east end of the historical Cheatham map.

Newyaucau was overgrown during the 1973 field season and Dickens focused a shovel test pit survey on the central portion of the village identified by Fairbanks. Fire roads provided the only site access and Dickens used harrow trenching to remove plowzone soils without disturbing sub-surface features. The survey revealed a scattering of post-molds and small features along with Dadeville ceramics, charcoal samples, Archaic flakes, a rifle barrel, an anvil stone, and an atlatl fragment.[137] A Creek borrow pit and other features marked historic disturbances to Archaic and Mississippian period deposits, however, Dickens concluded that modern plowing and erosion affected the overall site.

Two students conducted underwater archeology in the Tallapoosa River as part of the GSU field school. A systematic study of the river explored five areas with one-hundred-foot metal detector sweeps and visual inspection. Archeologists found a nineteenth-century metal trap and modern trash in the river just north of the Highway 49 Bridge. The students concluded that if period artifacts existed, they would be deeply buried. Heavy siltation from twentieth-century agriculture impacted the other survey areas and the findings were inconclusive.

Dickens and his students explored the peninsula for caves suspected of hiding escaping Red Sticks after the battle. During Hinsdale's tenure at Horseshoe Bend (and included in his site report

134 Mackenzie, p.33. from Hinsdale report. Hinsdale report unavailable at HOBE, SEAC, or SERO.

135 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 42, 60.

136 Ibid., p. 42-50. The elevation was chosen to avoid land impacted by erosion.

137 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 48. Dickens report does not mention the Archaic flakes in the artifact summary.

about the barricade findings), local residents recounted the location of dugout caves along the river floodplain. The farmers at Horseshoe Bend pointed out the undisturbed east bank remains in a steep embankment two-thirds from the bottom. The cave-features recorded by Hinsdale and examined by the superintendent and other park staff included a twenty foot depression with signs of deposition at ground-level.[138] Dickens determined the site did not need further examination.

Recent Archeology

After research archeology concluded at the park, smaller projects continued in association with construction, storm events, compliance, and other immediate needs. In 1991, Ken Wild tested an area north of the visitor center prior to the construction of new park housing. Shovel test pits yielded only modern artifacts and disturbed soil. Wild also examined artifacts donated to the park and concluded that some may have been from the period of European contact.[139] While investigating the supposed site of the donated artifacts, Wild noted "grave like holes" but did not record the location or descriptions of the artifacts.[140]

In 1992, John Cornelison of the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) tested an area for a proposed new telephone utility line and found disturbed soil. The shovel test pits followed Highway 79 into the park and continued on the west side of Highway 49 to a fork in the planned utility area near the maintenance area. Following the negative results of the survey, clearance for the lines was granted.[141] Cornelison also tested two spoil piles thought to be related to the 1991 artifacts identified by Ken Wild, but the site revealed no information. In 1996, Cornelison returned to Horseshoe Bend to assess wind damage from Hurricane Opal that overturned over one hundred trees in the park. Several areas were examined and no artifacts were deemed significant.

In 2000, the Southeast Archeological Center published an archeological overview and assessment which summarizes in detail the previous archeology at Horseshoe Bend and assesses the quality of field methods, documentation, artifact analysis, and research. The report describes collections in detail and recommends historic themes for further research. The Overview and Assessment is the most current park document that addresses the cultural landscape and synthesizes the archeological resources at Horseshoe Bend within the framework of the cultural resource management in the National Park Service.

A 2012 inventory of archeological sites in the park added over sixteen new sites to the Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS) database. Richard Allin and Guy Prentice of SEAC surveyed the park to locate twentieth-century homesteads identified on historic maps from 1906 and 1909. They mapped several sites with GPS and updated condition assessments for existing sites.

Recent Park Developments

At the time the park was nominated to the National Register, the landscape resembled the historic battlefield scene. The 1976 nomination describes the district:

> …presently maintained to approximate as nearly as possible its appearance at the time of the battle. Land once used extensively by settlers for cultivation of corn and cotton is being allowed to return to timber as it originally existed. Terraces have largely disappeared. The natural reforestation of the woods is encouraged to replace the timber cut by the settlers for lumber and to succeed the loblolly pines subsequently planted and harvested for pulpwood. The scars left on the terrain by sand and gravel pit operations have diminished as a result of vegetative growth. Clearings are maintained where Creek Indians had cleared the timber.[142]

Numerous additions to the park have modernized the visitor experience and improved facilities for park staff. The maintenance building was renovated in 1975.[143] In 2005, the adjacent restroom building was added west of the visitor

138 Mackenzie, p. 35.

139 deGrummond and Hamlin, p.50.

140 Ibid., p.66.

141 Ibid., p.51.

142 National Register nomination, Horseshoe Bend Battlefield, February 11, 1976.

143 *Renovation of Maintenance Building*, Denver Service Center eTIC 407/80000.

center and the original visitor center building was made universally accessible. The extant tour stop shelters replaced the Mission 66 interpretive shelters in 2005. In 2011, the entrance road, tour loop, and boat ramp road were repaved.[144]

In the 1990s, staff identified additional historic resources within the park boundaries. The park, Alabama State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and the Cultural Resource Division of the Southeast Regional Office examined two brick chimney sites, a series of rock piles, and an abandoned section of state highway 49. Due to the established period of significance for the park and lack of historic integrity, the resources were found ineligible for the National Register.[145] In 1992, an infestation of pine-post beetles impacted several mature trees at Horseshoe Bend.

A 1992 Resource Management Plan (RMP) outlined baseline information related to the natural and cultural resource management at the park. The plan included a checklist for necessary documentation and several action items to implement at Horseshoe Bend, specifying the need for a cultural landscape report. The RMP identified twelve natural resource and sixteen cultural resource project statements. The list focused on seven primary needs: a resource specialist to address on-going problems, a basic inventory of natural resources, protection from threats of vandalism, theft, and illegal hunting, elimination of the pine beetle infestation, preservation of river quality, compilation of archeological and historical data, and acquisition of lands known to be part of Newyaucau.

Since the RMP was published, HOBE has completed or initiated several recommended projects. The Fire Management Plan was written in 2010 and natural resources have been inventoried as part of the NPS Vital Signs Monitoring program.[146] The preparation of this CLR and a concurrent Scope of Collections Plan as well as the completion of two Special History Studies by Kathryn H. Braund have advanced the cultural resource management goals of the park in recent years. A rehabilitation of the museum exhibits occurred in 1995 in collaboration with Harpers Ferry Center and the Archeological Overview and Assessment was completed in 2000.

A *General Management Plan* (GMP) for Horseshoe Bend has not been completed and the Mission 66 Master Plan remains the only park management document. In 2004, Harpers Ferry Center completed a Long Range Interpretative Plan that focused interpretation planning into park themes, visitor experiences, and recommended a range of services, media, programs, and outreach.[147] The park is working toward a Foundation Statement to focus the core mission of the park and create a basis for planning decisions. This planning project will help articulate the fundamental values and important resources of Horseshoe Bend.

144 *Final Construction Report, Resurfacing and Rehabilitation of Entrance, Tour Loop, and Boat Ramp Road, including Parking Areas and Pullouts, 2011*. Denver Service Center eTIC 407/107529.

145 Correspondence Kirk Cordell to Lawrence Oaks, Alabama SHPO. June 28, 1995.

146 *Inventory and Monitoring Program Status Report 2012, Horseshoe Bend NMP,* I&M Program, Southeast Coast Network, NPS, 2012.

147 *Long Range Interpretive Plan*.

Existing Conditions

The existing conditions chapter provides a detailed description of extant landscape features that compose the cultural landscape and define the historic character of Horseshoe Bend NMP. The battlefield includes features that survive from the prehistoric and historic periods as well as modern amenities associated with the Mission 66 initiative. Recent park development that contributes to or influences the treatment of the landscape is also documented. This chapter records the current condition of the landscape with features that retain integrity, were added over time, and potentially impact the site. The narrative text, site map, and contemporary photographs provide a baseline inventory and comparison to the historic landscape.

Landscape characteristics are tangible and intangible aspects that influenced, or resulted from, the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Characteristics such as spatial organization and natural systems and features convey the period of significance.[1] The topography, circulation, buildings and structures, and small-scale features remain from the eras of nineteenth-century commemoration and twentieth-century park development. Little commercial or residential development near the park has helped preserve the battlefield and surrounding landscape.[2] Archeological sites, land use, vegetation, and vistas and views are described in detail and complete the existing condition assessment of the overall cultural landscape. Landscape characteristics associated with each feature are described below.

Natural Resources

The geology of Horseshoe Bend centers on the Tallapoosa River with the name Tallapoosa meaning "pulverized rock." The terrain forms a landscape of rolling hills and stream valleys situated at the juncture of the Piedmont region and southern terminus of the Appalachian Mountains. The geology of south-central Alabama includes hills of schist, granite, and gneiss with small streams emptying into the Tallapoosa River. The Tallapoosa, which joins the Coosa to become the Alabama River some forty miles southwest of Horseshoe Bend is edged with rich river shoals as the elevation grades from high limestone country to the coastal plain.

The banks of the Tallapoosa River support an oak-hickory forest. Loamy and sandy soils, prone to erosion, include Toccoa, Chewacla, and Buncombe soils.[3] The extensive farming at Horseshoe Bend depleted the topsoil, though the nearby Hillabee schist deposit once produced stones used by prehistoric groups.[4] The existing forests within the park support species of oak, pine, and deciduous trees. Overstory trees include loblolly pine (*Pinus taeda*), shortleaf pine (*Pinus echinata*), red oak (*Quercus rubra*), white oak (*Quercus alba*), tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) and hickory (*Carya sp.*) on ridges in the park. On the bottomlands, American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*), maple (*Acer sp.*), dogwood (*Cornus sp.*), sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*) and common persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) are midstory species while Christmas fern (*Polystichum acrostichoides*), Chinese privet (*Ligustrum sinense*), Japanese honeysuckle (*Lonicera japonica*) grow alongside grasses and sedges.[5]

Tallapoosa River

The Tallapoosa River winds through the park for 3.5 river miles from the northeast park boundary, around the horseshoe-shaped peninsula to the northwest park boundary. The river begins in

1 Agricultural farming and production changed the vegetation at Horseshoe Bend, though the *Mission 66 Master Plan* indicates, "…the natural features have remained, or have returned, much the same..." The Master Plan also mentions the re-growth of trees in the landscape. *Mission 66 Master Plan*, Vol. I, Cpt. 1, p.2.

2 *Mission 66 Master Plan*, Vol. I, Cpt. 1, p. 3.

3 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 13.

4 Ibid., p. 14.

5 Fire Management Plan draft, Horseshoe Bend NMP. p. 8.

FIGURE 25. Tallapoosa River. NPS photo.

Paulding County in northwest Georgia and flows southward, joining the Coosa River to become the Alabama River before emptying into Mobile Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. The stretch of the Tallapoosa within Horseshoe Bend NMP is about 100 to 150 yards wide with shallow rapids ranging from two to six feet in depth.[6] The current river depth just downstream from the bend ranges from two to twenty feet.[7] The river is dammed above and below the park and the flow varies depending on rainfall and scheduled releases. Underwater archeology in the 1970s did not recover any artifacts or features in the river due to thick deposits of accumulated silt from decades of agriculture. The Tallapoosa River retains the same route it did in 1814 and today is used for recreational boating and fishing. The fresh water supports shad, bass, minnows, crappie, darters, catfish as well as toads, newts, salamanders, turtles, and snakes.[8]

The Tallapoosa, although dammed, is a natural feature within the park and receives drainage from smaller creeks and outlets. Other natural features include the shoreline, though previous archeology did not locate the site of the "caves" noted in the historical record.

Bean's Island

In the Tallapoosa River, a small fifteen-acre island sits west of the horseshoe peninsula. The natural landform remains uninhabited and managed as a natural resource by the park. This island was the position of Lieutenant Jesse Bean's militia during the battle and may contain archeological

FIGURE 26. Bean's Island across the Tallapoosa River from Tour Stop #1. NPS photo.

6 Dickens, p. 280.

7 Ibid. Measurements taken during underwater archeology were unreliable over fifteen feet.

8 Park Species List, Fauna.

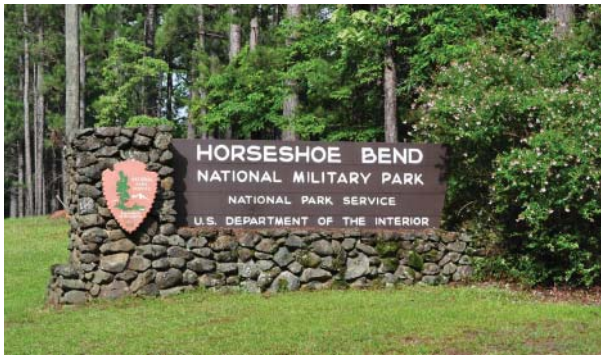

FIGURE 27. Entrance sign to park. NPS photo.

information. There is no direct public access to the forested island.

Cultural Resources

State Highway 49

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is accessed by State Highway 49, which crosses the northwestern corner of the park. The two-lane asphalt road is a state route and the primary means for distant and local travelers to reach Dadeville, Alabama.[9] The highway crosses the river on a modern bridge built in 1955. North of the bridge, Highway 49 provides access to the visitor center, battlefield, maintenance area, and park housing. A boat ramp and parking area are located south of the bridge to the west of the highway. A single row of mature pine trees lines the east side of the road south of the river, likely planted in the 1960s during realignment of the highway or a later road improvement project.

At the southern and northern park boundaries, entrance signs welcome visitors to the park. The wooden block-cut signs are supported by L-shaped rubble fieldstone bases with the National Park Service arrowhead attached. The signs remain unchanged since their original installation in the 1960s.

Miller Bridge Piers

The stone piers remaining from the historic covered Miller Bridge survive in the Tallapoosa River immediately west of Highway 49. The piers (LCS HS-3) are listed in the National Register and remain in ruinous condition. Four stone piers and two concrete abutments survive ranging

FIGURE 28. Boat ramp below Highway 49. NPS photo.

from fair to poor condition. The southern-most pier is almost 35 feet tall with battered sides and a portion of the concrete bridge substructure surviving atop the field stone. The middle piers are partially collapsed with loose stone piled at the base. The piers are spaced evenly across the width of the river and once supported a wooden covered bridge removed in 1963. The existing Miller Bridge remains are accessible only by boat and are in need of stabilization.

Boat Ramp

The boat ramp provides access to the Tallapoosa River west of the highway. A small parking lot, interpretive sign, and a few, scattered picnic tables are located under the bridge and near the historic concrete abutment. The concrete boat ramp is open to the public and slopes gradually to the river bottom. A ferry landing that predated the covered Miller Bridge was likely near this site.

Visitor Center area

The visitor center is located east of the highway in the north-central section of the park. A one-way driving loop with angled parking veers south from the entrance road. The 1964 visitor center is a one-story tan brick structure with clerestory windows. The building has two wings, forming an obtuse angle. The east wing, originally designed for maintenance, is currently used for offices and an auditorium. The main wing of the visitor center includes a front desk, bookstore, restrooms (closed to the public), and an open entryway with museum exhibits in the western-most space.

The visitor center retains elements of its Mission 66 architecture with the original building footprint,

9 *Mission 66 Master Plan*, Vol. I, Chp. 2. p.2.

FIGURE 29. Horseshoe Bend visitor center. NPS photo.

window spacing, and interior lighting.[10] The gable roof is shingled with brown wood and dark brown gutters align at a regular interval along the front and rear facades. A tan brick retaining wall blocks the rear of the visitor center from view; a design feature intended to hide the original utilitarian use of the east wing of the building. The retaining wall curves to form a gate behind the structure and encloses a work yard, now used for employee parking.

An outdoor waiting area connects the visitor center to the restroom building added in 2005. The covered breezeway between the visitor center and restrooms opens to southern views and has benches built into the brick columns. The restroom matches the massing, brick type, and roofline of the visitor center and has a row of five small, square windows below the eaves. The restroom compliments the architecture of the visitor center with similar tan brick, rooflines, and massing. The two buildings remain unattached, yet are close enough to appear as though part of the same complex. The restrooms include parallel rows of men and women's facilities and a small utility closet.

FIGURE 30. Restrooms. NPS photo.

Concrete sidewalks lead from the parking lot to the visitor center and restroom. The circulation system funnels visitors from the parking lot to stairs and a ramp on either side of a brick planter.A replica cannon and carriage is positioned at the main visitor entrance and a modern receptacle for trash and recycling is located on the sidewalk nearest the

10 The Horseshoe Bend visitor center was only listed in the appendix of Sarah Allabeck's *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type,* National Park Service, 2000.

FIGURE 31. Entrance Area. NPS photo.

FIGURE 32. Overview of picnic area. NPS photo.

FIGURE 33. Horseshoe Bend picnic shelter. NPS photo.

parking lot. A flagpole and brick retaining walls are also located in front of the visitor center.

Picnic Area

The picnic area at Horseshoe Bend is located east of the visitor center and includes two shelters, and scattered picnic tables. The picnic area is accessible from the tour road and via a footpath leading from the visitor center parking lot. The shelters and tables are located under a canopy of

FIGURE 34. Picnic area grills, tables, and trash cans. NPS photo.

FIGURE 35. Picnic area from parking lot. NPS photo.

pine trees which create an open understory. Each shelter has a concrete slab foundation, wood frame construction, and a standing-seam metal roof painted brown. Modern trash cans and recycling containers are located in the center of the picnic area as well as two grills and a spigot. Aluminum picnic tables are placed under the shelters and scattered throughout the picnic area.

A low, brown concrete-block wall east of the picnic area edges the gravel parking lot. A concrete sidewalk connects the parking lot to the nearest picnic shelter with a ramp for universal accessibility. The picnic parking area is a gravel lot with two mature pine trees growing in the middle of the space and parking curbs edging the lot. The forest to the north of the picnic area has an open understory.

Park Tour Road

The park tour road leads visitors from the visitor center on a loop with five stops highlighting points of interest in the landscape. The asphalt-paved road circulates vehicles on an interpreted tour

FIGURE 36. Park tour road. NPS photo.

FIGURE 37. North end of nature trail. NPS photo.

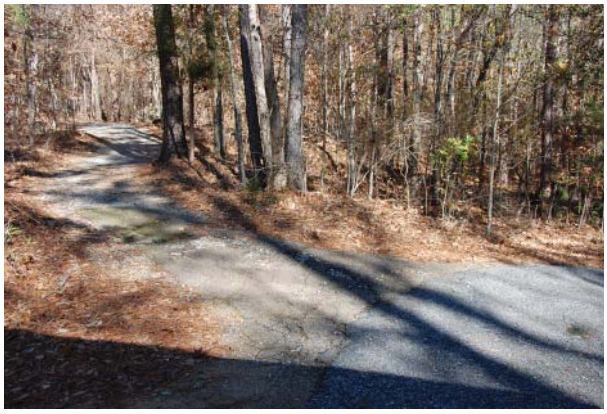

FIGURE 38. Nature trail near Tohopeka. NPS photo.

of the battlefield and completes a one-way loop through the horseshoe-shaped peninsula. Along the roadside areas where the slope pitches away, large stone rubble prevents erosion from road run-off and concrete gutters channel drainage into intermittent streams. A brown park sign at the beginning of the tour indicates a "commemorative area" reminding visitors to respect the hallowed battlefield. Shortly after the final tour stop south of Gun Hill, the loop road reconnects to become two lanes and continues back to the visitor center and highway 49. Each tour stop includes wayside exhibits and pull-off or designated parking.

Nature Trail

A 2.8-mile nature trail circumscribes the horseshoe peninsula, beginning and ending at the Cotton Patch Hill overlook. The trail was originally established to highlight Creek life and interpret the ethno-botanical history of Horseshoe Bend. The trail includes several wooden bridges and boardwalks in areas of low elevation and modern benches along the route. The start of the trail follows the ridge from the high-point of Cotton Patch Hill and descends east to the river.[11] The trail continues south and borders the north bank of the Tallapoosa River before looping westward and gaining elevation to highlight the site of Tohopeka at tour stop four. The trail makes one switchback through the woods before turning northwestward and winding around to Gun Hill. The nature trail is a compacted dirt and gravel footpath, with eroded areas supplemented with extra gravel.

The route of the trail highlights the diversity of flora and fauna at Horseshoe Bend NMP, which includes not only riparian environments along the river, but forested portions of the park adjacent to the maintained core of the battlefield. Vegetation includes river birch and native grasses on the floodplain and oak-hickory forests on the western half of the peninsula. Maintained open space is regularly mowed in areas where the trail crosses the tour road and near the barricade site.

Cotton Patch Hill

Cotton Patch Hill marks the highest elevation within the park boundaries and a location along Andrew Jackson's approach the morning of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. In the twentieth century, the high ground was terraced and planted with cotton. The knoll topography that currently exists creates an overlook with views south from a modern interpretative shelter to the barricade site and peninsula. An asphalt path circuitously winds along the tree line and provides access to the Cotton Patch Hill overlook. The trail continues through scattered pines to join the nature trail.

11 Cotton Patch Hill is the 20th century name for the elevated position from which Jackson began his attack.

FIGURE 39. Interpretive shelter at Cotton Patch Hill. NPS photo.

FIGURE 40. Trail to Cotton Patch Hill. NPS photo.

FIGURE 41. Wayside exhibit at Cotton Patch Hill parking lot. NPS photo.

At the crest of Cotton Patch Hill, the vista faces south and reveals a long, open field with a representation of the barricade in the distance. Gun Hill is visible at the tree line to the west and the surrounding woodlands are maintained as a natural resource. The horizon reveals two distinct wood lines, indicating the location of the river in the distance. The overlook allows visitors a vantage point to see the horseshoe from a distance, meanwhile emphasizing the isolation of the once-barricaded peninsula and the advantage Gun Hill afforded Jackson's men. Although Cotton Patch Hill was extensively graded and restored when the park was established, the landscape still conveys the overall spatial organization of the battlefield. The cleared landscape on and near the overlook also reveals the previous agricultural use of the site.

The open field stretching south in front of the Cotton Patch Hill shelter is leased to a local farmer, Robert Earl Cotney, for a seasonal hay crop. The arrangement between Mr. Cotney and the park requires the field to be mowed or harvested by a certain date and reduces the required seasonal

FIGURE 42. View from tour stop overlook of modern Highway 49 bridge and Miller Bridge piers (background). NPS photo.

FIGURE 43. Overview of Gun Hill area. NPS photo.

mowing of the facility management staff. The lease alleviates the maintenance of mown acreage in the center of the peninsula south of Cotton Patch Hill. HOBE staff manages the immediate landscape of Cotton Patch Hill, including the overlook, parking lot area, woodlands, and the nature trail. Regular mowing of other areas of the horseshoe peninsula is limited to the summer season.

At the base of Cotton Patch Hill a parking lot, concrete sidewalk, modern trashcans, and a recently installed wayside exhibit are located next to the road. The parking lot has a grassy island separating it from the tour road and the wayside explains the history of the blue cannon carriage during the nineteenth century.

Island Overlook

Beyond the initial overlook at Cotton Patch Hill, the tour road continues to the riverbank. A pull-off tour stop overlooks the Highway 49 bridge and the island where Bean's militia was posted on March 27, 1814. The tour stop includes a pull-over with a widened area for parallel parking, a sidewalk, and wayside exhibit interpreting the river. The overlook has a cleared viewshed to show the width of the Tallapoosa River nearest the island. The view westward includes the modern highway bridge and beyond, the stone piers of the historic Miller Bridge and park boat ramp on the south bank. A hardwood forest surrounds the first tour stop. This overlook interprets the forces led by Jesse Bean and the allied Creek and Cherokee position.

FIGURE 44. D.A.R. Monument. NPS photo.

Gun Hill

The Gun Hill tour stop overlooks the site of the Red Stick barricade and marks the focus of the commemorative period at Horseshoe Bend. This location remains the only place on the battlefield memorialized in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Gun Hill has a modern interpretive shelter, cannon, bronze plaques, the D.A.R. Monument, the Congressional Monument, and the grave of

FIGURE 45. Lemuel Montgomery grave. NPS photo.

FIGURE 46. Congressional Monument. NPS photo.

Lemuel Montgomery. A series of asphalts paths (all handicap accessible) connect the parking area to the interpretive shelter and the features at Gun Hill. A small grassy island separates the parking area from the two-lane tour road.

From the parking lot, an asphalt path leads north to the modern shelter constructed in 2005. The shelter has low stone walls forming an open concrete area under an arched wooden roof. Three wayside exhibits explain the artillery fire and frontal assault on the Red Sticks barricade. The shelter is sited at the base of the hill with the elevated, wooded topography extending northward. Facing southeast, the shelter view focuses on the barricade location and approximates the position of Andrew Jackson on the morning of March 27, 1814.

D.A.R. Monument

The D.A.R. monument, placed in 1914 and identified as a contributing resource to the National Register historic district, is a granite memorial fourteen inches wide, thirty-two inches tall, and seven inches thick. The top left portion of the marker is broken and a bronze plaque identifies the placement of the marker on July 4, 1914 to mark, "…the terminus of the route traced through the wilderness by Jackson's army during the Horseshoe Bend campaign, erected and dedicated by the U.S. Daughters of 1812." The D.A.R. symbol is also inscribed on the monument. The marker resembles a headstone and is located between the interpretative shelter and the grave of Lemuel Montgomery along the asphalt path.

Lemuel P. Montgomery grave

The grave of Lemuel P. Montgomery is located north of the Gun Hill interpretative shelter at the end of the asphalt path. The gravesite is bordered by a low fence enclosure with chamfered posts painted brown. The headstone is marble (13" x 4" x 26") with a rounded top and a cross in relief. The inscription lists "Lemuel Purnell Montgomery, Alabama, Major 39 U.S. Inf., March 27, 1814, Placed by, Tohopeka, Chapter D.A.R. 1933". A bronze plaque highlights biographical data and was placed in 1972, when Montgomery was reinterred. A List of Classified Structures (LCS) assessment in 1995 identified the grave marker in good condition.

Congressional Monument

The Congressional Monument sits at the top of Gun Hill. The United States Congress authorized the erection of the monument in 1918 to commemorate the battle, though the date inscribed on the stone is incorrect. The monument has the inscription, "Here on the Horseshoe Battleground General Andrew Jackson and his brave men broke the power of the Creek Indians under Chief Menawa, March 29, 1814, Erected by the Congress of the United States" on the front façade. Wreaths are carved at the top of each end.[12] The granite marker is sixty-eight inches tall, eighty-nine inches wide, and twenty-two inches thick. The upright monument rests on a granite base and is slightly arched at the top. The edges of the monument and the base are textured with a rough finish. The monument was moved 50 feet west of its original location.[13] The Congressional Monument is listed

12 The monument has the incorrect date marked. The battle took place on March 27, not March 29.

13 National Register nomination. Allin and Prentice, p. 8.

FIGURE 47. Cannon at Gun Hill. NPS photo.

as a contributing resource to the National Register historic district.

Cannon

A cannon is located next to the Congressional Monument on Gun Hill to mark the U.S. artillery position at Horseshoe Bend. The cannon is mounted on a blue carriage and pointed toward the location of the breastwork. Though Andrew Jackson used one 3-pounder and one 6-pounder the morning of March 27, the existing cannon at Gun Hill is a naval gun.[14] The slope of Gun Hill is an open understory with oak, hickory, and black walnut trees. A bronze plaque is located next to the cannon.

Barricade

The focal point of the Gun Hill tour stop is the site of the breastworks defended by the Red Sticks on March 27, 1814, and confirmed with archeology in 1964. Today the barricade location is marked with 8-foot white posts widely spaced across a span of cleared, mown field at the narrowest part of the peninsula. The woodline extends to the east and west beyond the interpreted barricade. The barricade was the primary landscape feature existing on the battlefield and the focus of extensive research, interpretation, and archeology. The existing white posts were placed sometime after 1969 and are maintained annually with fresh paint.

In 2004, the installation of new interpretive shelters required compliance with the National

SEAC archeologists collected locational data for two likely positions of the original monument in 2012.

FIGURE 48. Barricade site. NPS photo.

14 Conversation with Ove Jensen, May 2010.

FIGURE 49. Tohopeka village site. NPS photo.

FIGURE 50. View of Tohopeka from tour stop #4. NPS photo.

Environmental Policy Act. A *Finding of No Significant Impact* noted:

> The park endeavors to maintain this view of an open battlefield, dominated by surrounding tree lines of mature hardwoods and pines. The site is best interpreted by capturing the visitors' attention by the natural topography before them, allowing them to visualize the position of the barricade and Creek warriors and the placement of the cannons and soldiers and the Indian allies. Because there is nothing left of the barricade, the park has erected a row of white stakes to mark its location. The view of these stakes and the natural topography of the battlefield are essential to understanding the battle and the heroic events which took place here.[15]

Tohopeka Village site

The tour stop (#3) at the "toe" of the peninsula has a parking pull-over, two wayside exhibits, a concrete sidewalk, and a panoramic view of the Tallapoosa River. The stop highlights a portion of the U.S. position the morning of March 27, 1814. To the south, an open area of mown grass is maintained to show the curve of the river and bank where the Cherokee launched attacks to steal canoes from the Red Sticks. This area includes some evidence of terracing left over from the 1950s. To the north of the tour stop, the site of Tohopeka is presently preserved as an archeological site under an open understory of oak trees.

15 *Finding of No Significant Impact for the Environmental Assessment for Interpretive Shelter Replacement*, SERO Planning files, December 2004.

FIGURE 51. View from tour stop #5. NPS photo.

Creek High Ground

The next tour stop (#4) is located west of the road at the crest of the ridgeline. The tour stop has a parking area and an asphalt sidewalk that leads through the woods to an interpretive shelter. The shelter is identical to others at Horseshoe Bend and wayside exhibits interpret Tohopeka and the battle. The shelter rests at the top of a steep slope, falling away to overlook the site of Tohopeka to the south. The high ground at this location was altered by agricultural terracing, but still conveys the change in elevation near the Red Sticks' village.

Tour Stop #5

The final tour stop (#5) along the tour road interprets the Red Stick perspective of the battle and lists casualty numbers for both sides. The overlook has a pull-off for parallel parking, a concrete sidewalk, wayside exhibit, and a view north toward the barricade site. The overlook

was originally positioned to highlight a view of Newyaucau upstream and across the river, but

FIGURE 52. Site of Newyaucau. NPS photo.

FIGURE 53. Example of park housing. NPS photo.

vegetation has overgrown to buffer the eastward view. A slope beyond the wood line, likely the result of historic terracing, reveals a steep descent and that continues to the riverbank. The immediate area around tour stop #5 remains open and maintained in the summer. This tour stop is located immediately south of the two-way portion of the tour road.

Newyaucau Village site/South side of river

The portion of the park south of the river is reached by fire roads and remains wooded with limited access. Seven miles of fire roads and old trails traverse this part of the park and are occasionally used by an adjacent farm for horseback riding. A local hunting club maintains the right of way on adjacent property with keyed access. The inaccessibility of the area protects the sensitive archeological site within the borders of the park, though no evidence of looting has occurred in recent years.[16]

The archeological remains of Newyaucau are protected as a subsurface site. The site begins 1,800 yards upstream from the river bend northeast of the Tohopeka site. Although there is limited public access to the site, the area is visible from the nature trail and stop #5 on the tour road.[17] Privet is encroaching in several areas along the riverbank.

Maintenance Area and Park Housing

A modern maintenance area is located across Highway 49 southwest of the visitor center. The complex includes a utility building and pump house. To the north of the visitor center, park housing is located at an entrance east of the highway. The structures which were built between the late 1960s and early 1990s, include three ranch houses. A pedestrian footpath connects the housing road to the park tour road. Two of the ranch houses date to the Mission 66 development period, but have not been evaluated for National Register eligibility.

Additional Park Land

The remainder of Horseshoe Bend NMP is managed as a natural resource. A five-year Fire Management Plan outlines a rotational prescribed burn for 200-300 acres of the park in sections north and south of the river. This buffer of land around the core battlefield protects the scenic quality of the horseshoe-peninsula from potential adjacent development. Other historic resources identified in 1994 include a rock pile and two chimney sites, which were determined ineligible for listing in the National Register. The land surrounding the core battlefield preserves the approaches and retreats of Andrew Jackson's men as well as the site of Newyaucau.

In 2012, the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) visited the park to update and locate archeological sites. Sixteen new sites were added to ASMIS and several existing sites were evaluated. The remains of historic homesteads, stills, and related twentieth-century sites require further research but are preserved under forest canopy.

16 Conversation with Jim Cahill, May 5, 2010.

17 *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, p. 6.

Cultural Values

The park has thirteen affiliated tribes: Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town, Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas, Cherokee Nation, Coushatta Indian Tribe, Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians, Kialegee Tribal Town, Miccosukee Indian Tribe, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Poarch Creek Indians, Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, Seminole Tribe of Florida, Thlopthlocco Tribal Town, and the United Keetoowah Band of the Cherokee Indians. The upcoming bicentennial prompted a recent consultation with affiliated tribes and discussion involved the need for expanded understanding and interpretation.

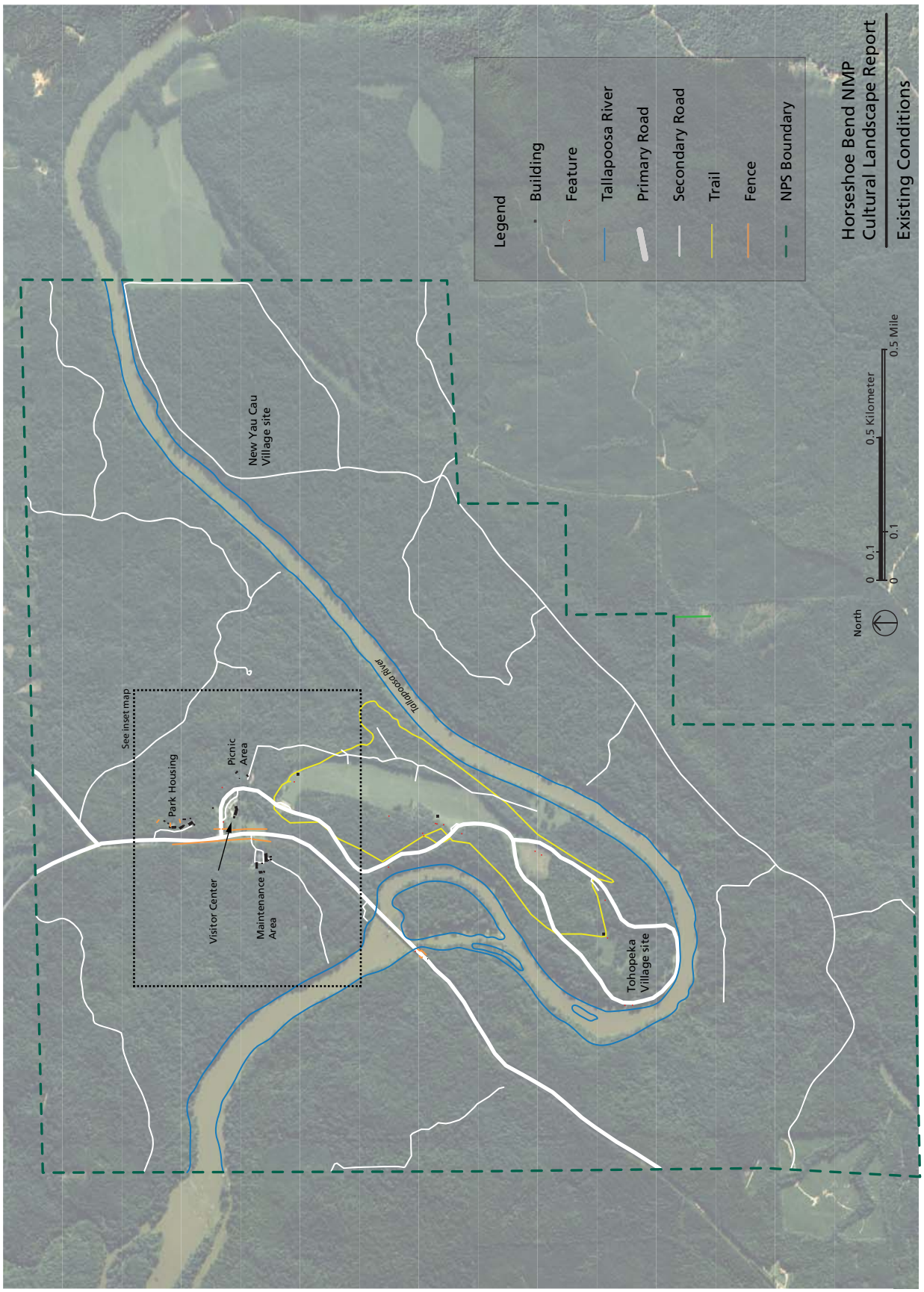

FIGURE 54. Existing Conditions map of Horseshoe Bend NMP.

Analysis and Evaluation

The analysis section of this cultural landscape report compares the findings of the site history with the existing conditions of Horseshoe Bend to identify extant landscape features and characteristics that convey historic significance. The cultural landscape includes archeological sites surviving from the prehistoric and historic periods and structures and landscape features dating to the nineteenth and twentieth century. The entire park is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and includes contributing features that date to the prehistoric and commemorative periods of significance.

National Register Significance

The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 administratively listed Horseshoe Bend NMP in the National Register and the park completed documentation for resources in the historic district. The formal nomination was accepted on October 8, 1976. The existing nomination includes boundaries that match park property and lists the contributing resources as Tohopeka village site, New Youka [sic] village site, the Indian barricade site, the Congressional monument, the Daughters of 1812 monument, and Miller Bridge.[1]

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend had far-reaching effects in American history and the National Register period of significance is broadly defined as 1800-1899. The nomination includes features beyond the identified period of significance from the period of battlefield commemoration and the construction and use of the covered bridge. The National Register district is significant for historic archeology, military history, and the conservation of the site, though the documentation inadequately addresses the significance, context, and history of the resources listed.

In 1994, staff from the Southeast Regional Office assessed twentieth-century resources located within the park. Two brick chimneys, a series of rock piles, and the abandoned roadbed of Highway 49 were found in poor/ruinous condition. With diminished integrity and the lack of a developed historic context for Alabama and Tallapoosa County history, the additional resources were determined ineligible for listing in the National Register.[2]

The development of the park coincided with Mission 66 and extant resources are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A as potentially significant examples of changing visions for national park planning and development. The visitor center may also be eligible under Criterion C as potentially significant for its association with modernist design precepts and construction techniques practiced by NPS architects, landscape architects, planners, and historians. These resources have recently or will soon attain 50 years of age. If Mission 66 resources are determined eligible, the National Register requires that properties less than fifty years old possess "exceptional importance" under Criteria Consideration G.

Landscape Characteristics

The tangible and intangible aspects of a landscape consist of characteristics from the historic period that individually or collectively aid in the understanding of the site.[3] The landscape characteristics of Horseshoe Bend-- natural systems, topography, spatial organization, buildings and structures, and archeological sites, contribute to historic significance. Together these landscape characteristics convey the history of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and early commemoration of the Creek War. Changes made to the landscape since March 27, 1814, altered the vistas and views, vegetation, land use, small-scale features, and circulation of the site. Besides the natural resources, no above-ground landscape features remain from the time of the battle. The historic landscape, however, retains authenticity and preserves many characteristics of

1 National Register nomination, Horseshoe Bend Battlefield, 1976. On file in SERO.

2 Concurrence letter to Larry Oaks (Alabama SHPO) from Kirk A. Cordell. June 28, 1995. Letter on file at SERO.

3 Page et al, p.53.

FIGURE 55. Barricade site in the 1970s. HOBE Archives.

the nineteenth century.[4]

An assessment of landscape features at Horseshoe Bend defines categories based on the contribution of each feature to the historic character of the site. Contributing features survive from the period of significance and continue to convey their historic appearance and function. Non-contributing resources include those added since the period of significance or that no longer retain sufficient integrity. Some features that existed during the period of significance have been removed, destroyed, or are unrecognizable in their current condition. Undetermined resources include features whose age or contribution is unknown.

Natural Systems and Features

The course of the Tallapoosa River retains its nineteenth-century character, though the river's depth and width have been altered by dam projects above and below the park. The river follows the same historic course, curving around the horseshoe. Drainage on the peninsula was altered by agricultural terracing in the twentieth century and the construction of the park tour road in the 1960s. The park restored the battlefield and graded the terraces in 1963 and today the topography on the battlefield resembles the nineteenth-century landscape.

The Tallapoosa River retains integrity as a significant landscape feature in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Cherokee soldiers swam across the river the morning of March 27, 1814, to steal dugout canoes and attack Tohopeka. This assault combined with Jackson's direct attack on the barricade surrounded the Red Sticks. After the battle, accounts describe survivors floating downriver from the battlefield to avoid capture, including the warrior Menawa. The river defined the topography and spatial organization of the battlefield and remains a contributing resource.

Land Use

During the prehistoric era, the landscape was used for hunting and gathering and supported campsites and villages. As the Creek War escalated, Newyaucau was burned, Tohopeka became a refugee village and the construction of the barricade resulted in a cleared peninsula. The occupation of the site ended with the battle. The landscape was abandoned until Alabama settlers originally from Georgia and Tennessee moved into the area to begin farming. Land use shifted from a sparsely populated natural landscape in the 1830s to one of intensive farming. Agriculture continued into the twentieth century until the park was established. Today Horseshoe Bend is an interpreted landscape protected to commemorate the battle. The park preserves the battlefield, provides access to the river, and offers opportunities for passive recreation.

Spatial Organization

Geography also dictated the location and position of Newyacau and Tohopeka, and by extension, the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. While the historic landscape retains no constructed features from 1814, the composition of the natural landscape and its relationship to the river show the isolated position of the Red Sticks. The spatial organization of Gun Hill, Tohopeka, the river, and the barricade define the historic battlefield. The curve of the Tallapoosa allowed the Jackson's men to surround the peninsula and village, while the elevated topography at Gun Hill provided an advantageous artillery position. Today the landscape conveys the arrangement of natural features that isolated the Red Sticks and contributed to their defeat. The landscape characteristic retains integrity of location, setting, association, feeling, design, and materials. The loss of Tohopeka and the barricade (above-ground) diminish the integrity of workmanship.

4 *Mission 66 Master Plan*, p. 5.

FIGURE 56. Spatial organization of barricade site. Note white posts and tour road. NPS photo.

The spatial organization of the existing landscape park-wide remains a primary feature of the park development era, particularly Mission 66. The park tour road and nature trail loop around the peninsula and highlight points of interest, meanwhile the residential, maintenance, and visitor service buildings are clustered near Highway 49. The siting of NPS facilities emphasized accessibility and convenience, preserved the core battlefield, and intercepted visitors to the visitor center for orientation and interpretation, all components of Mission 66 park design and planning. Today Mission 66 resources retain integrity of location, design, association, feeling, setting, materials, and workmanship, despite the loss of the original interpretive shelters.

Circulation

The existing circulation system at Horseshoe Bend includes both vehicular and pedestrian routes. The Mission 66 tour road and nature trail are used interpret the battle and Creek life and highlight the scenery of the park. The park tour road, built in 1964, begins at the visitor center parking lot and includes stops at Cotton Patch Hill, the Tallapoosa River, and Gun Hill before continuing a one-way loop to Tohopeka and two overlooks/ tour stops. The nature trail forms a loop, beginning and ending at Cotton Patch Hill, that follows the north bank of the river to the Tohopeka overlook (tour stop 4) before turning northward and passing the barricade site and Gun Hill. Both features were part of the Mission 66 master plan and retain integrity of location, association, setting, design, materials, and workmanship.

Fire roads throughout the park, particularly on the south side of the Tallapoosa River, provide access to less public areas of the park beyond the peninsula. The primary fire road oriented northeast to southwest is visible on a 1906 soil survey map of Tallapoosa County. The location and association of this road requires more research to determine National Register eligibility. Historic road traces and other fire roads south of the river provide access to the portion of the battlefield held by Gen. Coffee's men. The recent SEAC archeological survey identified the historic Old Miller Ferry Road (HOBE-29). This road trace retains integrity of location, association, materials, and feeling and once led to the ferry site ran by the Miller family

FIGURE 57. Tohopeka village site. NPS photo.

Buildings and Structures

The impermanent structures of Tohopeka at the time of the battle were destroyed as Jackson's men burned the village the evening of March 27, 1814. Monuments added to the battlefield in 1914, commemorate the fighting and contribute to the historic district. The National Register-listed structures in the park include the Congressional monument (005001), the Daughters of 1812 monument (005002), and the Miller Bridge piers and abutments (005003). The grave marker for Major Lemuel P. Montgomery (091315) is managed as a cultural resource, but is ineligible for National Register listing. The monuments and markers added to the battlefield landscape survive from the early twentieth century and convey the commemorative period.

These structures retain integrity of location, setting, design, material, workmanship, association and feeling. The two monuments are in fair condition and retain integrity of setting, feeling, design, materials, association and workmanship. The park moved the Congressional monument in 1965 to a more accurate location, however, the integrity was not compromised. The ruinous condition of the Miller Bridge piers compromises the integrity of material and workmanship.

A majority of the structures at Horseshoe Bend are park facilities built in the second half of the twentieth century. Mission 66 development required construction of several buildings and, since initial park development, additional structures have been added. The visitor center built in the early 1960s retains architectural features from the original construction, despite alterations and updates to the building. The maintenance complex and park housing have not been assessed for significance or integrity but are potentially eligible based on age and association with park Mission 66 development.[5] Modern interpretive shelters at Cotton Hill, Gun Hill, and Tohopeka do not contribute to the cultural landscape. A modern restroom directly adjacent to the visitor center (added in 2005) is not a contributing resource.

Topography

Though manipulated into terraces during the twentieth century, topography is a defining landscape characteristic of the battlefield. The restoration of the landscape as part of park development altered the peninsula of the horseshoe and reintroduced more gradual slopes. The terraces remain evident in some locations along sections of the park road.

The topography of Cotton Hill marks the high ground along Jackson's approach and Gun Hill conveys the advantage of his position during the battle. The elevated artillery position allowed the U.S. soldiers to attack the barricade directly. Both locations are interpreted by the park. The terrain is noted on period battle maps and over the years Gun Hill has become the focus of commemorative events and markers. The park preserves the views and landscape at each elevated shelter.

Archeological Sites

Archeological sites remain significant features in the cultural landscape and retain all aspects of integrity. The potential to yield future archeological information remains an important characteristic of Horseshoe Bend. Artifacts and features collected and identified can provide context to other local and regional sites and expand the prehistoric and historic record.

Previous archeology identified the sites of Tohopeka and Newyaucau and areas of each village are preserved undisturbed. The battlefield and barricade site may yield potential archeological information below the twentieth-century plow zone. Several twentieth-century sites identified in 2012 are preserved at Horseshoe Bend. The location of the battlefield and Creek villages conveys the significance of the cultural landscape and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. These sites have increased importance as they remain the only tangible features left from the early 1800s. The significance of the recently documented house sites contributes to the nineteenth-century history of the area

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5 PMIS 192899.

FIGURE 58. View from Cotton Patch Hill, looking south. View marks the approach of Jackson's men. NPS photo.

Vistas and Views

The interpreted views at Horseshoe Bend mark the positions of Andrew Jackson and his troops on the morning of March 27, 1814. Vistas from Cotton Hill and Gun Hill are directed south toward the barricade site. The existing vegetation and modern tour road partially intrude on the historic view, though the preserved open space in front of the barricade delineates the immediate battlefield where heavy fighting took place. The park balances the management of vistas and existing natural resources while highlighting the most important features of the battle.

The view of the river conveys the isolated position of the Red Sticks. Tour stop one and three overlook Bean's Island and the south bank of the Tallapoosa River where John Coffee and allied Creek and Cherokee attacked Tohopeka.

Views across the Tallapoosa River to Newyaucau are possible from the designated pull-off at tour stop five, though vegetation obscures the village site. Views of Newyaucau are open from the nature trail east of Cotton Hill.

Tour stops three and four provide views of the site of Tohopeka. An open understory provides visitors with a view of the approximate size and scale of the village and an interpretative shelter offers a bird's eye view of the end of the peninsula.

Vegetation

The natural vegetation on the peninsula approximates the setting at the time of the battle.[6] Although large trees were used for the barricade construction and corn and cotton cultivation changed the character of the landscape after the war, the growth of forests at Horseshoe Bend has regenerated characteristics of the 1814 period. The reforestation of the peninsula after farming ended and the park was established helped recreate the oak-hickory forest used by the Creeks. In areas south of the river, the natural vegetation is similar to the historic period but has been altered by agricultural practices and fire management.

The open, grassy field north of the barricade site is currently managed under agricultural lease. The crop is not historically significant, yet the

6 National Register nomination, Section 7.

open character of the tract conveys the historic battlefield. No description of the battle mentions the groundcover in this area, though the existing vegetation expresses the cleared landscape Jackson encountered. Thoughout the park, invasive and exotic vegetation impacts the cultural landscape. Chinese privet (*Ligustrum sinense*) and Nepalese browntop (*Microstegium vimineum*) are two species threatening the Tallapoosa riverbank.

Small-scale Features

No small-scale landscape features survive from the nineteenth century at Horseshoe Bend due to the events of the battle, their material impermanence, and the extensive grading and cultivation that occurred in the twentieth century. The villages of Tohopeka and Newyaucau burned before and during the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and the barricade and defenses used by the Red Sticks were not preserved. Farmers terraced the peninsula and mined gravel near Cotton Patch Hill, eradicating any above-ground features that may have survived the nineteenth century.

The Mission 66 development of HOBE introduced modern small-scale features to the park. Picnic tables, grills, trashcans, waysides, benches, and bridges (along the nature trail) are non-contributing features of the cultural landscape. Features related to the park tour road and visitor center development may be contributing. Any features constructed during the 1960s should be included in an evaluation of Mission 66 resources.

Integrity

The aspects of integrity evaluated as part of the National Register include location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These distinct qualities considered together describe the ability of a property to convey historic significance. Integrity addresses physical landscape features and characteristics that express time and place. Battlefields should possess integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to convey significance. A basic test of integrity for a battlefield important for its association with an historic event is whether a participant in the battle would recognize the property as it exists today.[7]

Location

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

Horseshoe Bend retains integrity of location as the place where the Red Sticks took a final stand against Andrew Jackson and his army. The events that occurred on March 27, 1814, ended the Creek War and launched the military career of Jackson. The geography of the horseshoe peninsula and Tallapoosa River mark the site of this important battle and remain unchanged. Archeology confirmed the location of Newyaucau, Tohopeka, and the Red Stick barricade.

Design

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

The spatial organization of the battlefield preserves the integrity of design. The elevated hills, the small island in the middle of the river, and the southern shore encircling the peninsula allowed the U.S. troops to surround the defended Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend. Though the design of the landscape was a result of the natural terrain, the characteristics and features used by Jackson convey historic significance. The layout of the landscape provided distinct advantages used during the battle and continues to define the park today.

Setting

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.

The integrity of setting at Horseshoe Bend preserves the character of the place in addition to the location of the battle. The curve of the river, topography, Bean's Island and open space north of the barricade site preserve not only elements of the physical environment, but also the spatial relationships that define the overall battlefield. The undeveloped landscape of Horseshoe Bend NMP conveys the rural character of the landscape at the time of the battle, though the serenity of the park belies the bloodshed and horror at the bend.[8] No in-holdings or incompatible development are adjacent to park boundaries.

Materials

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

The integrity of materials for historic battlefields refers to manmade resources and is diminished at

7 National Register Bulletin 40, p. 10.

8 *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, p. 23.

Horseshoe Bend. However, the integrity of archeological sites remains and sites preserve potential information.

Workmanship

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Integrity of workmanship refers to the quality in which landscape features were fashioned or constructed for functional or decorative purposes. The 1814 battlefield had major features, like the barricade, which involved planning and construction by the Red Sticks. The integrity of workmanship is diminished by the loss of historic battle features, though this aspect of integrity is not crucial in assessing historic battlefields.[9]

Feeling

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Integrity of feeling exists at Horseshoe Bend. In 1814, any large tree would have been used for barricade construction for the village. The open field north of the barricade site expresses the feeling of openness Jackson's army encountered. Despite the encroachment and maturation of second growth forest near Tohopeka, the open understory conveys the feeling of the battlefield at the southern end of the peninsula. The rural character of the park contributes to the commemoration of the battle and preserves a reverent and quiet atmosphere.

Association

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

The HOBE cultural landscape is directly associated with the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. The battle centered on the fortified peninsula. Gun Hill, the barricade site, the river, and other physical features show a direct connection to the historic fighting. The association of several affiliated Indian tribes connects the park to the descendants of those who fought or lived at Horseshoe Bend.

Summary

The cultural landscape at Horseshoe Bend retains integrity of location, association, feeling, design and setting despite changes to the vegetation, vistas and views, and built environment. The battlefield retains its identity as the place of the battle, but also remains one of the few Creek War sites preserved.[10] The National Register bulletin addressing battlefields notes, "...location, setting, feeling, and association are usually the most important aspects of integrity..."[11] The integrity of material and workmanship was diminished by the burning of Tohopeka and the barricade.

Non-contributing resources are common even in well-preserved battlefields. The structures related to visitor services and park operations at Horseshoe Bend NMP do not impact the main battlefield and may be potentially eligible for listing in the National Register as part of an NPS Mission 66 context. The modern structures are not visible from the battlefield proper.

The *Archeological Overview and Assessment* (2000) places each archeological site within the NPS thematic framework. On a landscape scale, the overall park encompasses several themes, most predominantly the War of 1812 and East of the Mississippi (1763-1850s). Other themes include Archaic Adaptations of the Southeast, Eastern Farmers, Sedentary Villagers, and Transportation.[12]

9 National Register Bulletin 40. P. 11.

10 The site of several forts including Fort Mims and Fort Jackson, as well as the site of the Battle of Holy Ground are preserved in Georgia and Alabama to commemorate the Creek War.

11 National Register Bulletin 40, p. 12.

12 deGrummond and Hamlin, p. 71.

Landscape Characteristic Feature	**Year**	**Integrity**	**Condition**
Natural Systems and Features			
Tallapoosa River			Good
Land Use		20c.	Good
Circulation			
Park Tour Road	1964	Mission 66	Good
Nature Trail	1964	Mission 66	Good
Fire Roads	20c.	20c.	Fair
Archeological Sites			
Newyaucau	1777-1813	Prehistoric	Fair
Tohopeka	1813-1814	Prehistoric	Good
Barricade Site	1813-1814	Battle	Good
20th c. sites (multiple)	20c.	20c.	
Buildings and Structures			
Miller Bridge piers	1907-1908	20c.	Poor
Visitor Center	1964	Mission 66	Fair
Restroom	1998	Modern	Good
Park Housing	1963, 1991	Mission 66, Modern	Fair
Maintenance Area			Good
Interpretive Shelters	2005	Modern	Good
Small-scale Features			
Lemuel Montgomery grave	1972		Good
D.A.R. Monument	1914	Commemoration	Fair
Congressional Monument	1918	Commemoration	Good
Entrance signs (3)	1960s	Mission 66	Good
Flagpole			Good
Cannon (2)	1965	Mission 66	Good
Highway 49 fencing			Good
Spatial Organization			Good
Vegetation		20c.	Fair
Vistas and Views		Mission 66	Good
Topography		Mission 66	Good
Cotton Patch Hill		Battle	Good
Gun Hill		Battle	Good

Treatment

The treatment recommendations of the Horseshoe Bend CLR articulate a management strategy for the cultural landscape based on research, inventory, and analysis. Treatment provides guidance on how to best manage the landscape as a cultural resource integrated into a natural resource and convey the importance of the battle that took place in March 1814. Treatment varies from broad guidance concerning the setting of Horseshoe Bend to specific recommendations for characteristics of the historic landscape. The following recommendations propose a plan for continued maintenance while outlining a strategy for long-term management by the National Park Service.

Treatment recommendations of the Horseshoe Bend CLR take into account the historical battlefield, the significance and existing integrity of landscape characteristics, contemporary needs of visitor services and the increased attention anticipated from the upcoming bicentennial. The recommended approach focuses on the significant resources, yet includes the entire park landscape and management of natural resources in the backcountry. Treatment is be aimed at enhancing the battlefield and mitigating the changes in the landscape since March 1814.

Requirements for Treatment and Use

A number of laws, regulations, and functional requirements circumscribe treatment and use of historic resources in our National Parks. In addition to protecting the cultural resource, these requirements also address issues of human safety, fire protection, energy conservation, abatement of hazardous materials, and universal accessibility. Some of these requirements may contradict or be at cross purposes with one another if they are rigidly interpreted. Any treatment must be carefully considered in order to preserve the fabric of a cultural landscape. All cultural landscape treatment recommendations conform to Federal laws and statutes and National Park Service policy, including the National Park Service Management Policies, Director's Order No. 28: Cultural Resource Management Guidelines, and the *Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*.

National Historic Preservation Act

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended (NHPA) mandates Federal protection of significant cultural resources, including buildings, landscapes, and archeological sites. In implementing the act, the NPS is bound by a number of laws and authorities have been established that are binding on the NPS.

Section 106

A routine step in the park's planning process for the treatment of cultural resources is compliance with Section 106 of NHPA to ensure the effects of park projects on cultural resources are fuilly understood. This requires that prior to any undertaking, Federal agencies "take into account the effect" of the undertaking on properties listed or elgible for listing in the National Register and give the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation "a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking."

Section 106 regulations (36 CFR Part 800,"Protection of Historic Properties") require consultation with local governments, State Historic Preservation Officers, Indian tribal representatives, and others. The compliance process also establishes criteria under which the Advisory Council may comment, though the vast majority of Federal undertakings do not involve this heightened level of review. To expedite the review process, a programmatic agreement between the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation, the National Council of State Historic Preservation Officers, and the NPS allows for a streamlined Section 106 review process. With certain conditions, routine repairs and maintenance that do not alter the appearance of the cultural landscape or involve widespread or total

replacement of historic features or materials are not subject to review outside the NPS.

NPS General Management Policies

The NPS General Management Policies (2006), especially Chapter 5 "Cultural Resource Management", guide overall management of historic properties in the national park system. Based upon the authority of some nineteen Acts of Congress and many more Executive orders and regulations, these policies require planning to ensure that management processes for making decisions and setting priorities integrate information about cultural resources, and provide for consultation and collaboration with outside entities. These policies also support good stewardship to ensure that cultural resources are preserved and protected, receive appropriate treatments (including maintenance), and are made available for public understanding and enjoyment.1

Section 5.3.5, "Treatment of Cultural Resources," provides specific directives, including a directive that "the preservation of cultural resources in their existing states will always receive first consideration." The section also states that,

> . . .treatments entailing greater intervention will not proceed without the consideration of interpretive alternatives. The appearance and condition of resources before treatment, and changes made during treatment, will be documented. Such documentation will be shared with any appropriate state or tribal historic preservation office or certified local government, and added to the park museum cataloging system. Pending treatment decisions reached through the planning process, all resources will be protected and preserved in their existing states.[2]

The Secretary's Standards

The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* provides a philosophy to underpin historic preservation in the United States and outlines the best advice on how to protect a wide range of historic properties. By separate regulation, the Secretary requires the application of the Standards in certain programs administered through the National Park Service. The Standards have been widely adopted by state and local governments and by the private sector, and are intended to be applied to a variety of resource types, including buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts.

The *Standards* are neither technical nor prescriptive, but are intended to promote responsible preservation practices that help protect our Nation's irreplaceable cultural resources. For example, they cannot, in and of themselves, be used to make essential decisions about which contributing features of a cultural landscape should be retained and which can be changed. But once a treatment is selected, the *Standards* provide philosophical consistency and a holistic approach to the work. The overall strategy for treatment of the Horseshoe Bend cultural landscape is guided by the *Standards* which outline four types of treatment, in hierarchical order. These four distinct approaches vary by level of physical intervention and include specific guidelines.

Preservation is the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of a historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction. New exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.

Rehabilitation is the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features, which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.

Restoration is the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other historic periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a restoration project.

Reconstruction is the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance as a specific period of time and in its historic location.

1 NPS General Management Policies (2006), p. 50.

2 Ibid., p. 56.

Regardless of treatment approach, the *Standards* put a high priority on preservation of existing historic materials. Replacement of a fence, for instance, even when replacement is "in kind," diminishes the authenticity of the landscape, since the physical changes resulting from the passage of time are fundamental to the authenticity of an historic resource. The *Standards* also require that any alterations, additions, or other modifications be reversible, i.e., be designed and constructed in such a way that they can be removed or reversed in the future without the loss of existing historic materials, features, or character.

Basis for Treatment

As noted above, there are four broad approaches to the treatment of any cultural landscape: preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Choosing the appropriate approach requires consideration of several primary factors: the site's relative importance in history, its physical condition and material integrity, and its proposed use. Other variables to consider, both practical and philosophical, include the extent of historic documentation, historic value, long and short term objectives, operational and code requirements (e.g. accessibility, fire, security) and anticipated capital improvement, staffing and maintenance costs. The impact of the treatment on any significant archeological and natural resources should also be considered in this decision making process. Therefore, it is necessary to consider a broad array of dynamic and interrelated variables in selecting a treatment for a cultural landscape preservation project.

A balance between change and continuity is inherent in all cultural landscapes. Change may be subtle, as with geomorphologic effects, or obvious such as the cyclical changes of growth, reproduction, and succession in vegetation. The continuity of form, order, use, features, or materials in a landscape is present in character-defining features. This dynamic quality should seek to secure and emphasize continuity while acknowledging change.

Treatment Approach at Horseshoe Bend

Preservation is the treatment approach recommended for Horseshoe Bend NMP due to the national significance of the battlefield and existing condition of the landscape. Despite the scarcity of primary documentation relating to the period landscape, Horseshoe Bend retains the spatial organization and overall character of the nineteenth-century battlefield as well as integrity of the commemorative features dating to the twentieth-century. Preservation allows for the retention and continued maintenance of all potentially eligible resources and significant archeological sites. The battlefield is a cultural landscape that honors those who sacrificed their lives and should be preserved as such for the approaching bicentennial events. On-going maintenance at the park should continue to occur, keeping the cultural landscape in good condition.[3]

The integrity of the archeological resources warrants preservation in situ. Unless a compelling research question *justifies* disturbance or excavation, all archeological resources should be preserved. To ensure continued preservation, all cultural resources should be addressed in fire and vegetation management plans. The battlefield, sites of Tohopeka and Newyaucau, and twentieth-century home sites each retain the potential to yield archeological information.

Due to an incomplete assessment of the park's twentieth-century and Mission 66 resources, a preservation treatment approach will protect those cultural resources with potential eligibility to the National Register until further research is completed. The stabilization, protection, and preservation of all park buildings, trails, and roads should be a priority until a determination of eligibility or update to the National Register is completed. Rehabilitation of specific landscape features may be necessary to improve the condition of the landscape and return the forest to its nineteenth-century appearance. For example, the implementation of the Fire Management Plan will open areas of understory throughout the park, similar to the historic setting.

Considering all treatment approaches, restoration and reconstruction are inappropriate for Horseshoe Bend due to insufficient documentation in the historical record. Information necessary to accurately portray or recreate the historic features from the battle does not survive and is not likely to be found. Preservation is the appropriate treatment approach to ensure the existing characteristics of the 1814 battlefield remain intact. Avoiding conjecture and preserving the landscape characteristics, however general, from the Battle of Horseshoe Bend will convey the significance of the site.

3 Horseshoe Bend NMP Landscape, Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), certified 2012. The CLI identified the cultural landscape of the park to be in good condition.

Specific Treatment Recommendations for Horseshoe Bend

Preserve and maintain the cultural landscape of Horseshoe Bend. The entire park composes a cultural landscape that preserves the battlefield, artillery position, and approach routes of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. The park includes a vegetative buffer that protects the landscape and view shed from potential incompatible development. The preservation of the overall landscape should include comprehensive strategies not limited to NEPA/Section 106 compliance, NPS Vital Signs monitoring, fire management, and routine maintenance. Managing the park as a cultural landscape should prioritize integrated resource management and aim to retain the defining landscape characteristics noted in the Analysis chapter.

Planning

- Train staff in landscape preservation maintenance. The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation and the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT) offer courses, workshops, and programs on historic landscapes and maintenance. The Cultural Resource Academy is currently developing curriculum to coordinate and expand these efforts.

- Develop a Preservation Maintenance Plan. This document should outline regular maintenance of character-defining landscape features and articulate cultural landscape projects within the methodology of historic preservation.[4] A Preservation Maintenance Plan would establish "best practices" and provide a detailed plan to document change in the cultural landscape and inventory extant features.

- Update the park National Register nomination to establish more thorough historical contexts and address the Mission 66 development at Horseshoe Bend. As the park moves forward with comprehensive planning documents, including a Foundation Statement, an updated and expanded nomination would provide information on fundamental values and resources.

- Ensure all planning, including the Foundation Statement and *Long Range Interpretive Plan,* address the importance of the cultural landscape.

Resource Management

- Stabilize the Miller Bridge piers and arrest vegetative growth on abutments, piers, and foundations. Remove trees for resource protection and re-point mortar, if necessary, for visitor safety. Any immediate danger of collapse due to structural failure should be mitigated and continuing threats from vegetative growth, natural erosion and settlement should be addressed on a cyclical schedule. An historic structure assessment should inform all site work.

- Preserve archeological sites in situ. Maintain vegetation to stabilize sites and control invasive exotics.

- Continue to implement the Fire Management Plan to restore an open understory to areas of the park, similar to the nineteenth-century landscape.

- Re-establish the view to Newyaucau from the park nature trail and expand interpretation of the inaccessible archeological site from the floodplain. Visitors have restricted access to Newyaucau and the visual connection, although overgrown with Chinese privet and mature forest, is an opportunity to tell the story of Creek life prior to the battle. The interpretation of Newyaucau is noted in the Mission 66 master plan and the nature trail provides a detached view, protecting the sensitive archeological remains.

- Currently, the wayside at tour stop #5 addresses Newyaucau and the Indian casualties of the battle. Consider clearing a small and select number of trees that obstruct the view across the river east of the tour stop as a long-term option, pending fiscal constraints and deferred maintenance. The removal of any woody vegetation should prioritize safety (for maintenance and visitors) and avoid causing increased erosion on the adjacent slope.

Interpretation

4 Margaret Coffin and Regina M. Bellivia. *Guide to Developing a Preservation Maintenance Plan for a Historic Landscape.* Cultural Landscape Publication No. 7, Olmstead Center for Landscape Preservation, NPS, 1998.

- Interpret incorrect cannon carriage at visitor center and Gun Hill. The naval gun, inaccurate to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, should be interpreted or corrected in public displays.

- Continue scholarly historical research related to the battle, the Creek War, eighteenth- and nineteen-century Creek life, and Andrew Jackson. Archive all material related to the bicentennial in accordance with NPS museum standards.

- Expand interpretation of Creek life on the nature trail. Brochures, waysides, and newly available technologies can expand the story of the Creek beyond the battle and interpret the natural resources of the park. The nature trail remains a Mission 66 resource with potential to connect the separated banks of the Tallapoosa River through meaningful interpretation.

The Barricade Landscape

The area directly adjacent to the barricade, currently under agricultural lease, should be preserved as an open landscape to accurately portray this character-defining section of the larger battlefield. The area immediately north of the barricade is highly visible from Cotton Patch Hill and Gun Hill and marks the field Andrew Jackson's men advanced across in a direct attack on the Red Stick breastwork midday on March 27, 1814. The agricultural lease currently maintaining the landscape does not address long-term management and alternatives for the barricade landscape should be articulated to preserve the characteristics that convey its historic significance.

The openness of the area, similar to the time of the battle, remains the primary characteristic to be preserved. A varying vocabulary of grasses and hay may be planted, but succession and encroaching vegetation should be managed and no new large plantings should be added to this area. Sustainable landscape management practices should be used regardless of maintenance routine or agricultural lease.

The introduction of native warm season grasses at other NPS battlefields, including Stones River National Battlefield and Moores Creek National Battlefield, have had successful results that combine cultural landscape preservation with ecological restoration. Although some visitor education is required during the first years of planting, the resounding success of these landscapes provides an example to consider at the Horseshoe Bend barricade site, when the lease is up for renewal. The increased habitat for native fauna is an added benefit of such a project.

The USDA-Natural Resource Conservation Service Plant Materials Center in the Southeast proposes warm-season grasses as a plant material to control erosion, improve wildlife habitat, and provide pasture, hay, and biomass.[5] Grass types include switchgrass (*Panicum virgatum*), indiangrass (*Sorghastrum nutans*), eastern gamagrass (*Tripsacum dactyloides*), big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*), and little bluestem (*Schizachyrium scoparium*). A mix of these warm-season grasses adapted to warm day climates may be combined with tall fescue and other cool season grasses to supply consistent high quality forage throughout the year.[6] Although Horseshoe Bend may manage the barricade landscape in a variety of ways, an open view from the interpretive shelters and tour road should be prioritized.

5 Donald Surrency and Charles M. Owsley. *Native Warm-Season Grasses in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina*. Jimmy Carter Plant Materials Center, Americus, Georgia. March 2006. p. 3.

6 Ibid., p. 4. The publication details establishment practices and management.

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

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