

## MISSISSIPPI'S INDIAN CONFEDERATES

“The historian who presumes on placing a history of the Civil War before the world with the omission of Spann’s battalion of Choctaw Indians will do himself an injury and a band of brave warriors a serious wrong.” –S.G. Spann, January 30, 1900<sup>1</sup>

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Not long after Confederate cannons ceased firing on Fort Sumter, a young white Mississippian named Lawson J. Brewer wrote a letter to Mississippi Governor John J. Pettus.<sup>2</sup> Brewer inquired if a company of American Indians would be accepted into the service of the Confederacy. He wrote that some of his friends desired to raise a volunteer company of Choctaws from the state of Mississippi.<sup>3</sup> Brewer unlikely raised an Indian company early on during the War. Instead, Brewer enrolled as a private with the “Scottish Guards.” After his unit became Company K in the 5th Mississippi Infantry, Brewer was promoted to corporal. The young man’s future seemed promising with his new regiment, but Brewer only served 3 months. On January 2, 1862, Brewer died of disease at the age of 27. He was buried at Pensacola and later reinterred near his Mississippi home.<sup>4</sup> Brewer’s vision of mustering a company of volunteer Choctaw Indians from Mississippi never became a reality.

Thirty-one years before Brewer wrote his letter, treaty negotiations were held between American officials and the Choctaw Indians. During the negotiations that led to the Indians westward removal, several hundred elected to remain in their ancient homeland in what became a large part of the state of Mississippi. Article XIV of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek allowed any Choctaw Indian to remain and become an American citizen.<sup>5</sup> Indians filed claims based on treaty stipulations and established themselves in various regions in Mississippi. Eventually, most Indians became landless due to the negligence of federal agent Colonel William Ward.<sup>6</sup> This left the Indians poverty stricken. Many Indians appealed the federal government for help, but most cases went unheard.<sup>7</sup> As the War approached, many Indians likely blamed their hardships on the United States. Having a fresh start with a new government was a probable incentive and explains why some of the Indians voluntarily sided with the Confederacy. Slavery was a nonissue since most Indians were poor and landless. At the start of the War, most Indians were concentrated in central Mississippi.<sup>8</sup>

Not long after Brewer’s death, the Confederacy passed the Conscription Act. Mississippi’s governor reconsidered enrolling the Choctaw Indians when 82 central Mississippi citizens petitioned him in early 1862.<sup>9</sup> After Pettus ordered the conscription of the Indians, several white citizens offered their services.<sup>10</sup> One such citizen was

Benjamin A. O'Neal. The recently discharged soldier was willing to collect, prepare, and train the Indians for service in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. John Blakeley was another citizen. Blakeley, a "strong" planter, was well known and a "referee for all disputes" among the Indians.<sup>11</sup> John M. Loper was also a planter. He was described as a "prominent man among the Indians."<sup>12</sup> Many Indians did not speak fluent English, so interpreters were needed. Both Blakeley and Loper spoke the native language. When Alabama planter Samuel G. Spann assessed the possibility of recruiting the Indians, Blakeley and Loper supported Spann's recruiting efforts.

During the summer of 1862, the newly commissioned Captain Spann was found in east-central Mississippi. Spann inquired about the "numbers and disposition of the Indians."<sup>13</sup> He knew that the Indian population was about 1,300 from a previous census and wanted to raise a company of dismounted partisan rangers to serve around the gulf coast. Spann was acutely aware of the Indians' reputation as guerilla fighters. Unfortunately, the Indians could not be immediately enrolled because of an outbreak of the measles.<sup>14</sup>

Spann was unable to raise an Indian company, yet Mississippian John G. Harrison succeeded. In early 1862, Captain Harrison, with some difficulty, raised 2 volunteer Indian companies.<sup>15</sup> Because conscription law was in effect, reluctant Indians were forced to enroll. As the War progressed, Harrison's Indian companies likely merged with John W. Pierce's upcoming battalion. Pierce was a rich planter from Mississippi and well suited for financing military operations. While the organization was forming, Newton Station was selected as the headquarters for the 1<sup>st</sup> Choctaw Battalion.

President Jefferson Davis approved of Captain Pierce's 1st Choctaw Battalion on February 17, 1863. Davis endorsed on the back of Pierce's letter: "If the authority given be sufficient [and] it would seem proper to appoint the officer to whom it was addressed a major as chief of the partisans of whom muster rolls are furnished, and after they have been duly inspected for muster into service,...see that the right to check their company officers be secured in its exercise, and the command be reported for service to [General] Pemberton."<sup>16</sup> Within a few days, the 1st Choctaw Battalion would begin operations in the 4th District in the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana. However, material needs such as muskets, uniforms, and other accoutrements took time to requisition.

The 1st Choctaw Battalion's Indian soldiers wore gray just as other Confederates apart from embellishing their uniforms with beads, feathers and other Indian "trinkets."<sup>17</sup> They were armed with .69 caliber smoothbore muskets and had "scalping knives."<sup>18</sup> A few Indians may have been mounted; however, it was more likely they were all dismounted. Most were privates—only a few became a noncommissioned officer. None of the Indian Confederates were commissioned officers. Interpreters were essential. Some of the white

officers, if not all, were familiar with the Indian language. At least 3 Indian interpreters were present: Jack Amos (*Iahvtatvbi* or “He Goes Out and Kills”), Elder Jackson (*Itola* or “He Remains”), and Isaac Willis (Indian name unknown).

After the Secretary of War endorsed Pierce’s letter, a Vicksburg-bound train on the Southern Rail Road crashed into the Chunky River near Hickory Station, Mississippi.<sup>19</sup> The weather was unusually rainy, and the Chunky River basin was flooded. The *Hercules* with its tender and 4 cars traveled at a low rate of speed until the multiton engine reached the western most bridge.<sup>20</sup> Within seconds the engine was at the bottom of the river and, with it, took 1 tender, 3 cars, commissary, and nearly 100 passengers whom were mostly Confederate soldiers. The last car barely survived the deluge.<sup>21</sup>

An Indian Confederates camp near the crash site was immediately notified. When the camp received word about the disaster, “fly to the rescue” was the command.<sup>22</sup> Benjamin F. Duckworth and Thomas H. Grisham, who were 1st Choctaw Battalion officers, directed the Indian rescuers. Captain Henderson M. Walsh was a passenger and survived the crash.<sup>23</sup> Walsh, who commanded Company E of the 35th Mississippi Infantry, began rescue efforts and likely sent word of the disaster to Hickory Station. Indian Confederates Jack Amos, Elder Jackson, and many others jumped into the cold, murky, and swift moving water. They reportedly rescued many from a drowning death.<sup>24</sup> The rescue soon turned into a recovery as the Indians dove into depths up to 25 feet to locate the missing.

After rescue efforts ended, the Indian Confederates started tracking deserters.<sup>25</sup> Since the Indians were expert hunters and more than familiar with the surrounding terrain, they were ideal in this role. Many deserters fled to Jones County where the “Free State of Jones” was found.<sup>26</sup> Governor Pettus may have instructed the Jones County provost marshal to deploy the Indian battalion for locating wayward soldiers.<sup>27</sup> Even though historical details are meager, some deserters were likely captured by members from the 1st Choctaw Battalion.<sup>28</sup>

On March 1, 1863, Major Pierce requested his 1<sup>st</sup> Choctaw Battalion to be sent to Lieutenant Colonel Horace H. Miller’s command at Ponchatoula, Louisiana. Pierce requested to report to Miller because the major felt “satisfied that at this point my command would render the most effective service.”<sup>29</sup> Although company officers were recently selected, Pierce soon headed toward Ponchatoula. The Indian Confederates likely boarded a westbound train at Newton Station. When they reached Jackson, the battalion received their provisions at Pierce’s manufacturing company found near the state capitol.<sup>30</sup> They then boarded a southbound train on the New Orleans, Jackson and Greater Northern Rail Road (or Jackson Railroad) that led directly to Ponchatoula. While the 1st Choctaw Battalion was on the move, a railroad bridge collapsed in the Bogue

Chitto River basin which was flooded from a recent hurricane.<sup>31</sup> The “broken” bridge was found south of Brookhaven along the Jackson Railroad and prevented the Indian battalion from reaching Miller in a timely manner. As the federals began their offensive, Lieutenant Colonel Edward S. Bacon of the 6th Michigan Volunteers remarked, “The Confederates have several companies of Indian scouts along the frontier.”<sup>32</sup> Clearly, the federals were concerned about the possibility of an Indian Confederate attack.

When Colonel Thomas S. Clark’s Union expedition arrived on the morning of March 24, the battle for the town of Ponchatoula began.<sup>33</sup> Miller with 100 men retreated 4 miles north and made a temporary base at Cate’s Shoe Factory near Hammond, Louisiana.<sup>34</sup> Miller continually telegraphed for reinforcements, but they were delayed by the “broken” bridge near Brookhaven. After the troop trains arrived at Hammond, a Confederate counteroffensive began in the late afternoon of March 26.<sup>35</sup> The bridges found along Ponchatoula Creek were destroyed. Although efforts were made to rebuild bridges, mounted cavalry likely dismounted in order to cross the swamps and bayous. After the opposing forces skirmished for an hour, Confederate troops fell a tree and then crossed the creek.<sup>36</sup> A brief flanking engagement then ensued. After the Confederates flanked the federals, the 1st Choctaw Battalion, 1st Mississippi Cavalry, 14th Mississippi Cavalry, and 14th Mississippi Infantry Regiment began their southerly movement parallel to the Jackson Railroad.

The Confederates finally reached Ponchatoula where they regained control. After the three-day battle ended, southern newspapers gave “Indian troops” credit for defeating the “Yankees.”<sup>37</sup> Bacon wrote after the battle that the Union expedition encountered “a large band of Indians for swamp fighting.”<sup>38</sup> These “Indian troops” or “large band of Indians” were Mississippi’s Indian Confederates.

After the battle ended, the 1st Choctaw Battalion returned to Newton Station. However, the battalion was ordered again to Ponchatoula, but, this time, they disobeyed. By April 2, 1863, only 32 members remained out of 101 whom were mustered a month earlier.<sup>39</sup> The other members deserted because of nonpayment for services rendered. In response, Brigadier General John Adams, who commanded the 4th Military District, recommended disbandment. Adams wrote, “In view of all the facts, I felt constrained to say that, in my opinion, this [battalion], is worthless, [and] is a useless expense to the government. The number is less than half the minimum number required for one company, [and] there is very little prospect of an increase...”<sup>40</sup> As an endorsement, Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton echoed Adams words: “So far this [battalion] has been of no use, and there is no apparent chance of improvement. I recommend that those who...remained with the command have been regularly mustered, and since presented inspection be paid, the remainder not being paid, and that the [battalion] be disbanded...”<sup>41</sup> On May 9, 1863, the

Adjutant and Inspector General's Office at Richmond issued Special Order No. 112-XIX.<sup>42</sup> The order disbanded the 1st Choctaw Battalion.

In the meantime, Captain Spann was granted authority to raise a company, battalion or regiment on April 21, 1863.<sup>43</sup> Although Spann intended to serve under Lieutenant General William J. Hardee, Spann reported to Major General Dabney H. Maury, whom commanded the Department of the Gulf, for duty. Spann established his headquarters at 56th South Royal Street found on the waterfront in Mobile. He began recruiting efforts and advertised in the city newspaper. The advertisement displayed, "The Secretary of War has authorized me to enlist all the Indians east of the Mississippi River into the service of the Confederate States, as scouts, in addition to the Indians, I will receive all white male citizens, who are good marksmen, to each member, fifty dollars bounty, clothes, arms, camp equipage, [etc.], furnished. The weapons shall be Enfield rifles...."<sup>44</sup> The recruiting camp was located near Stone Street at redoubt 14 which was found just outside Mobile's city limits. Recruiting efforts were prolonged and continued until summer's end.

While Spann was organizing his scouts, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson's cavalry came within miles of several Indian settlements and white officer plantations in late April 1863. Newton Station, which was still the Indian battalion's headquarters, was overrun by the Union cavalry. They had destroyed trains and track, cut telegraph wires, and torched a building that had "a large quantity of United States rifles and clothing...."<sup>45</sup> A few days later Grierson's brigade passed near Camp Moore at Tangipahoa, Louisiana where the remaining Indian Confederates were likely based. Grierson's troops probably scouted their way to the camp and clashed with the diminished 1st Choctaw Battalion.<sup>46</sup> *The New York Tribune* stated that the Indians "had been scared out of the country by Colonel Grierson's famous exploits...."<sup>47</sup>

While Major General Ulysses S. Grant's Vicksburg campaign was gaining momentum, a "skeleton crew" guarded the Ponchatoula area. The 1st Choctaw Battalion was disbanded, yet several soldiers remained with the battalion along the Jackson Railroad.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, a new Union expedition out of New Orleans was underway, and the top commander's strategy was nearly identical to the previous assault.<sup>49</sup>

During the early dark hours of May 13, 1863, Colonel Edmund J. Davis's Union expedition, who used a candle to light a bayou path, maneuvered to a point about 5 miles north of Ponchatoula.<sup>50</sup> Davis ordered his troops to cut the telegraph wires and burn a bridge along the Jackson Railroad. A Union cavalry line formed at Hammond, but the Confederates did not retaliate. After Davis's soldiers advanced, they bivouacked near the Ponchatoula Bridge. At daybreak, the Union expedition heard some firing. Davis ordered

Captain Samuel T. Read's Mounted Rifle Rangers to investigate.<sup>51</sup> Read's rangers, who spearheaded Davis's expedition, advanced south along the railroad. Read's troops startled the 1st Choctaw Battalion whom were found a short distance from Ponchatoula. A brief skirmish occurred. The unsuspecting Confederates were compelled to retreat along a side road. After the dust settled, Read's men had collared 17 members from the disbanded 1st Choctaw Battalion.<sup>52</sup> A larger tally was reported, but several prisoners escaped after they were captured.<sup>53</sup> At least 1 Indian Confederate was killed.<sup>54</sup>

After the 3 white officers and 14 Indians were captured, they were sent via steamship to New Orleans. Although the officers were separated from the privates upon arrival, they were all eventually interrogated. Lieutenant John M. Mobley was shipped north in early June 1863.<sup>55</sup> Off the coast of Virginia, Mobley boarded the army transport *Maple Leaf* which was later commandeered by fellow Confederate prisoners.<sup>56</sup> Mobley escaped and safely returned to Mississippi after a perilous journey. The other white officers of the Indian battalion, William M. Robinson and James S. Ainsworth, were released a few weeks after they were imprisoned. The Indian prisoners were confined at the New Orleans Customs House and later at the Iron Works in Algiers. *The Daily Picayune*, a local newspaper, gives interesting details about the prisoners' situation.

We noticed last week the capture, May [13], on the line of the Jackson Railroad near Ponchatoula, of fourteen Choctaw Indians, who were brought to this city, confined temporarily in the Customhouse, and were sent last Saturday, to the Iron Works, used as a prison for confederates, in Algiers. A gentleman who has, in former years, acted as a Government Indian Agent, and who speaks the Choctaw language, has been to see the captives, and he gives us some interesting facts about them. Only one of them spoke English—not much, at that—but when the rest found that their visitor could converse in their own language they were quite delighted, and threw off their native reserve, and were very communicative. A city paper in speaking of them says that they were “all that remained of the much talked-of First Mississippi Battalion of Mounted Choctaws. This battalion once numbered 150 braves, but 136 had previously deserted, and the faithful fourteen were captured.” The Indians themselves say that they (“the fourteen”) were the entire “battalion,” and were all the Indians in the service in this part of the country. They were conscripted in lower Mississippi, and sent down to guard the line of the Jackson Railroad.<sup>57</sup>

At the end of May, the 14 Indian Confederates boarded the steamship *United States*.<sup>58</sup> The prisoners shipped out of the mouth of the Mississippi River, around the Florida peninsula, and up along the east coast toward Boston. After a week of travel, the ship diverted from rough seas and docked in New York City's harbor.<sup>59</sup> The prisoners were incarcerated on Governors Island and locked in one of the casemates inside Castle

Williams. During the summer, the 14 prisoners were escorted along New York City streets where they were likely jeered, but most of the time they were looked upon as mere curiosities.<sup>60</sup> Many times they were found in public venues like Madison Park. “Indian Warriors in Confederate Uniform!...” proclaimed city newspapers.<sup>61</sup> Before the Indian Confederates returned to New Orleans, 2 died at the Fort Columbus hospital found on Governors Island. Both men were buried in nearby cemeteries. On October 2, 1863, the remaining Indian prisoners boarded the steamship *Thomas A. Scott* and finally returned to New Orleans where they were never heard from again.<sup>62</sup>

The news of their confined brothers-in-arms “chagrined” and “demoralized” the 1st Choctaw Battalion.<sup>63</sup> A war council composed of white officers and Indian soldiers was held. The council created a petition, and a delegation left for Virginia to see the “Great Father at Richmond.”<sup>64</sup> It is not known if President Jefferson Davis met with the delegation, but the petition was granted. The soldiers were then transferred to Spann’s Independent Scouts, and “great rejoicing” ensued among the former members of the 1st Choctaw Battalion.

As the summer of 1863 came to a close, Maury ordered Spann to report to Brigadier Generals Nathan B. Forrest and Gideon J. Pillow.<sup>65</sup> Spann, out of necessity, reported to Pillow. General Joseph E. Johnston had charged Pillow for executing the conscription law. Pillow’s efforts were focused on filling the depleted arm of the infantry, and he had difficulty filling those ranks because most preferred the cavalry. When Spann moved his headquarters to Tuscaloosa, he was still in the process of raising his independent battalion. Pillow’s officers interfered with Spann’s recruiting efforts, so Spann countered by publishing “orders...not countersigned by himself should be null and void.”<sup>66</sup> Pillow’s officers were incensed. Spann immediately left for Montgomery where Pillow was momentarily. Spann requested from Pillow the “authority to prevent [his] officers from interfering with the completion of [Spann’s] organization...”<sup>67</sup> The request was denied.

Pillow, however, agreed not to interfere with Maury’s order to Spann. Spann’s Independent Scouts then continued a ninety-day north Alabama operation as directed by Maury. The operation, which took place in September and October 1863, focused on Pillow’s successful conscription efforts.<sup>68</sup> Like earlier in the year, the Indian Confederates were deployed for tracking Confederate absentees, but this time, in north Alabama and Mississippi.

On November 6, 1863, the Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office at Richmond issued Special Order No. 264-XXI.<sup>69</sup> The order revoked Spann’s authority to raise a company, battalion, or regiment. Pillow ordered Spann’s authority to be revoked because he enrolled white soldiers in addition to his Indian scouts.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the revocation,

Pillow ordered Spann to rename his military organization because the name, Spann's Independent Scouts, was supposedly meant to "mislead and produce confusion...."<sup>71</sup> Spann agreed with his superior, and both white and Indian soldiers continued to serve as members in the newly designated 18th Confederate Cavalry.<sup>72</sup> However, some companies in Spann's Independent Scouts decided not to continue with the latest reorganization.

On March 5, 1864, Pillow's superiors ordered the brigadier general to form regiments and brigades.<sup>73</sup> Spann appealed for admittance into Pillow's brigade; however, Tuscaloosa officials prevented Spann's organization from leaving their city.<sup>74</sup> In a fortuitous turn of events, Spann's 18<sup>th</sup> Confederate Cavalry was spared from a humiliating defeat because Pillow's expedition to LaFayette, Georgia was a disaster.<sup>75</sup>

In April 1864, Spann met with Major Abner C. Steede at Garlandville, Mississippi.<sup>76</sup> While Spann was conducting operations in the latter half of 1863, Steede implored Spann to consolidate with him. Steede proposed that Spann form 3 companies. Spann found 2 willing companies. For the third company, Spann attempted to contact John Harrison whom was a former officer in Spann's Independent Scouts. Even though Harrison and his men fled to Jones County, Spann convinced Harrison to meet with him and asked Pillow if he thought Harrison and his men to be deserters.<sup>77</sup> Before Spann received an answer from the brigadier general, Horace H. Miller and Abner C. Steede consolidated their battalions forming the 9th Mississippi Cavalry Regiment.<sup>78</sup> Spann, now despondent, requested Pillow if he could form a "non-conscript" battalion or become a quartermaster for Pillow. Neither of which seems to have occurred.

Mississippi's Indian Confederates disappear from wartime records after 1864. In west Alabama and east Mississippi, they likely continued in their role as trackers, scouts, and soldiers.<sup>79</sup> The Indian Confederates, in both offensive and defensive warfare, guided Confederate scouts and gave warning when Union troops were in proximity.<sup>80</sup> In state pensions filed years after the War, some Indian Confederates indicated that they surrendered at Meridian and Tuscaloosa. Their 1865 surrender indicates that several Indian Confederates, as one old Confederate veteran wrote, gave "good service" until the end.<sup>81</sup>

Thirty-six years after the Indian Confederates surrendered, U.C.V. Camp Dabney H. Maury was established at Newton, Mississippi.<sup>82</sup> When the camp organized, 70 white and 19 Indian veterans enrolled. Samuel G. Spann was camp commander until his death in 1907.

The most celebrated Indian Confederate veteran was Jack Amos. In 1903, Camp Dabney H. Maury attended the 13th annual U.C.V. reunion at New Orleans. While Amos



was at the reunion, the old Indian interpreter gave testimony about the Indian Confederates participation during the War. The local press interviewed him and asked questions concerning the “famous” Choctaw Battalion. A New Orleans newspaper, *The Times-Democrat*, quoted Amos.

In 1863...about 200 of the Choctaws enlisted in the Confederate service and were mustered in as the First Choctaw Battalion of Indians. Shortly after organization [Major J.W. Pierce] became engaged in a fight with the Federal soldiers, near Lake Pontchartrain, at Tangipahoa. A large number of Indians were captured. Several white commissioned officers were captured at the same time. They were brought to New Orleans. Afterwards the Indians were taken to New York and put on exhibition, and much sport was made of them. The bad results of this contest disorganized the Indians, and they became bitter against their leader, but never once thought of deserting the cause of the Confederacy. Later the Choctaw battalion was transferred to Major S.G. Spann, and became identified with his battalion of Independent scouts.<sup>83</sup>

Former colleagues praised Amos’s deeds. And it was at New Orleans where he was given a fine and excellent reception. Jack Amos, the famous Indian scout, was “feasted by the ladies and lauded by the press and honored by Confederate veterans every day.”<sup>84</sup>

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## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> “Confederate Choctaws,” *Anderson Intelligencer*, March 7, 1900, Newspapers.com (hereafter “Confederate Choctaws”).
- <sup>2</sup> L. Brewer to J.J. Pettus, April 26, 1861, Series 757, Roll 1812, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (hereafter MDAH), Mississippi.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> Lawson Brewer, February 11, 1863, Record Group (hereafter RG) 109, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Fold3.com.
- <sup>5</sup> Treaty with the Choctaw at Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 27-28, 1830, RG 11, NARA, Fold3.com.
- <sup>6</sup> Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 69.
- <sup>7</sup> Choctaw Nation v. United States, 21 Ct. Cl. 59, No. 12742 (1886).
- <sup>8</sup> S.G. Spann, “Choctaw Indians as Confederate Soldiers,” *Confederate Veterans Magazine* 13 (December 1905): 560-561 (hereafter “Choctaw Indians”).
- <sup>9</sup> Petition in Favor of Recruiting Choctaw Indians, undated, MDAH (hereafter Petition).
- <sup>10</sup> B.A. O’Neal to Pettus, August 11, 1862, MDAH.
- <sup>11</sup> “A Timely Move and a Good One,” *The Eastern Clarion*, August 8, 1862, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Petition.
- <sup>16</sup> J.W. Pierce to Secretary of War, February 9, 1863, RG 109, NARA, Fold3.com
- <sup>17</sup> Carl McIntire, “Choctaw Rebels tracked down Deserters during Civil War,” *The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News*, July 20, 1980, Newspapers.com (hereafter McIntire, “Choctaw Rebels”).
- <sup>18</sup> “Capture of Rebel Choctaw Indian Soldiers,” *The New York Herald*, June 3, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>19</sup> “Accident on the Southern Railroad,” *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, February 20, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>20</sup> “Terrible Railroad Accident,” *The Athens Post*, March 6, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>21</sup> “Choctaw Indians.”
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> “The Railroad Disaster at Chunkey Bridge,” *The Daily Southern Crisis*, February 26, 1863, MDAH.
- <sup>24</sup> “Brave Indians,” *The Newton Record*, January 1, 1903, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>25</sup> McIntire, “Choctaw Rebels.”
- <sup>26</sup> Thomas Jefferson Knight, *The Life and Activities of Captain Newton Knight and his Company and the Free State of Jones County*, (Thomas Jefferson Knight, 1946), 23.
- <sup>27</sup> J.H. Powell to J.J. Pettus, February 1, 1863, MDAH.
- <sup>28</sup> McIntire, “Choctaw Rebels.”
- <sup>29</sup> J.W. Pierce to Pemberton, March 1, 1863, RG 109, NARA, Fold3.com.
- <sup>30</sup> “Notice,” *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, March 17, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>31</sup> J.C. Pemberton to H.H. Miller, March 25, 1863, U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records*, 129 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901) 1:15, 1023 (hereafter OR).
- <sup>32</sup> Edward Bacon, *Among the Cotton Thieves*, (Detroit: The Free Press Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1867), 59 (hereafter Bacon, *Cotton Thieves*).
- <sup>33</sup> Thos. S. Clark to Capt. Wickham Hoffman, March 29, 1863, OR, 1:15, 282.
- <sup>34</sup> H.H. Miller to Pemberton, March 24, 1863, OR, 1:15, 287.
- <sup>35</sup> H.H. Miller to Pemberton, March 27, 1863, OR, 1:15, 288.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> “Additional from Southern Sources,” *New Orleans Bee*, April 7, 1863, Nobeelibrary.net.
- <sup>38</sup> Bacon, *Cotton Thieves*, 82.
- <sup>39</sup> John Adams to Memminger, April 13, 1863, NARA.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> Special Order 112-XIX, May 9, 1863, RG 109, NARA.
- <sup>43</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”

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- <sup>44</sup> “A Chance for Active Service,” *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, May 15, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>45</sup> R.W. Surby, *Grierson Raids and Hatch’s Sixty-four Days March*, (Chicago: Rounds and James, Steam Book and Job Printers, 1865), 48.
- <sup>46</sup> Powell A. Casey, *The Story of Camp Moore and Life at Camp Moore among the Volunteers*, (United States of America: Bourque Printing, 1985), 29-30.
- <sup>47</sup> “Expedition of Col. Davis along the Line of the Jackson Railroad to Camp Moore,” *New York Tribune*, June 3, 1863, Newspapers.com (hereafter “Expedition”).
- <sup>48</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>49</sup> T.W. Sherman to Assistant Adjutant-General, May 18, 1863, *OR*, 1:15, 406.
- <sup>50</sup> “Expedition.”
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>53</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>54</sup> Jno. Blakeley to County Surgeon of Wayne Co., April 10, 1902, Series 1202: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932 (hereafter CPA), MDAH.
- <sup>55</sup> W.H. Emory to Van Buren, June 2, 1863, *OR*, 2:5, 731-732.
- <sup>56</sup> Jerry V. Witt, *Escape from the Maple Leaf*, (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books, 2012), 101.
- <sup>57</sup> “Lo! The Poor Indian,” *The Daily Picayune*, May 20, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>58</sup> James Bowen to Nott, May 19, 1863, *OR*, 2:5, 742.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>60</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>62</sup> “The United States steamship Thos. A. Scott,” *New Orleans Bee*, October 13, 1863, Nobece.jplibrary.net.
- <sup>63</sup> “Choctaw Indians.”
- <sup>64</sup> “From Mississippi,” *Richmond Enquirer*, August 7, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>65</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>66</sup> S.G. Spann (John Blakeley affidavit), Series 390/18th Battalion Confederate Cavalry, undated, MDAH.
- <sup>67</sup> Gid. J. Pillow to S. Cooper, August 28, 1863, *OR*, 4:2, 776.
- <sup>68</sup> “Attention,” *Selma Morning Reporter*, September 5, 1863, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>69</sup> Special Order 264-XXI, November 6, 1863, RG 109, NARA, Fold3.com.
- <sup>70</sup> Gideon Pillow to J.A. Seddon, October 29, 1863, RG 109, NARA.
- <sup>71</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>73</sup> D.E. Huger, Special Orders, No. 11, March 5, 1864, *OR*, 1:32:3, 589.
- <sup>74</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>75</sup> “The Fight at Lafayette, Ga,” *The New York Times*, July 19, 1864, Nytimes.com
- <sup>76</sup> S.G. Spann to G.J. Pillow, April 27, 1864, NARA.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>79</sup> “Confederate Choctaws.”
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>81</sup> John Blakeley to The Chancery Clerk of Philadelphia, Neshoba County, August 23, 1907, CPA, MDAH.
- <sup>82</sup> “Interesting Roster,” *The Meridian Press*, March 22, 1903, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>83</sup> “Famous Indian Scout,” *The Times-Democrat*, May 22, 1903, Newspapers.com.
- <sup>84</sup> “Choctaw Indians.”