

THE FIVE GREAT INDIAN NATIONS

CHEROKEE, CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, SEMINOLE AND CREEK:
THE PART THEY PLAYED IN BEHALF OF THE CONFEDERACY IN THE
WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

*By Jessie Randolph Moore**

When North America was discovered, most of that portion now known as the Southern States, with the exception of Texas, was in the possession of five powerful Indian nations: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole.¹ Some smaller tribes occupied territory within their boundaries but as the centuries passed they were gradually controlled or absorbed by these stronger nations. England, France and Spain surrounded this Indian country with forts and settlements in an effort to conquer them. A proud, progressive and warlike people, the Indians resented all interference in their national affairs and compelled these alien races to remain without their boundaries. By wars, purchases and treaties with these European nations, the United States eventually became owner of the forts and settlements, but not the country nor the people of the Five Indian Nations in the South.

Before the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the leaders in the United States decided that what their government could not conquer should be purchased. By conciliatory treaties with these Indian nations, commissioners appointed to represent the United States from time to time succeeded in purchasing many valuable tracts for the Government, from the Indians thereby reducing the boundaries of their lands to that portion of the South now occupied by Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and parts of Kentucky, Tennessee and the Carolinas. A most unsatisfactory situation existed on this frontier between these powerful Indian peoples and the United States citizens who were pushing to settle in the region. Andrew Jackson was aware of this situation. He was also aware of the military skill of the Indian warriors.

* This contribution in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, by Mrs. Jessie Randolph Moore, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years and much loved and outstanding pioneer citizen in the state, appeared first in the Oklahoma number of *The Southern Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 2 (August-September), 1936, official magazine for the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1935-38). The article as it is presented here has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, with the addition of editorial footnotes, besides some expansion of the lists of the Confederate Indian military organizations with names of Indian commanding officers during the War between the States and some battles and engagements in which these officers participated.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

¹ The name *Seminole* was first applied to this nation about 1780, representing the union of some two or three ancient tribal groups that had formerly been a part of the Creek confederacy.

In the War of 1812 between the United States and England, official records show that Andrew Jackson called on the Indian nations for assistance and that the success of his southern campaign was due largely to the valuable aid rendered by their warriors. It is said that the country west of the Alleghanies was saved to the United States by their allegiance. General Jackson was no sooner victorious than, as early as 1817, he demanded the removal of all Indians from the East to the West beyond the Mississippi. This purpose was attained between the years 1830 to 1842. Within these years, compulsory treaties were entered into between each of the Five Indian Nations and the United States, thereby causing the forced migration of almost the entire Indian population then inhabiting the Southern States.

The uprooting and forcible expulsion of the Five Indian Nations is without parallel in the history of this country. This tragic saga of Indian removal known as the "Trail of Tears" was truly a trail of desolation, a Gethsemane of suffering, and will be remembered forever by the Five Nations and their descendants. They loved their ancient southern home, its hills and vales; the wide rivers and deep forests; the ashes of their ceremonial fires and the sacred graves of their ancestors. They carried this love for the South and its people to their new home in the West.

The country purchased by the Five Indian Nations was known as the Indian Territory, and comprised the land now occupied by the State of Oklahoma, with the exception of the extreme northeastern corner now included in Ottawa County. On arriving in their new lands in Indian Territory, each nation proceeded to establish its governments, and eventually each was organized under a constitution with legislative, judicial and executive departments, modeled after the governments of the Southern States from which they came. In time capitals were established by each nation: the Cherokee, at Tahlequah; Choctaw, at Tushkahomma; Chickasaw, at Tishomingo; Creek, at Okmulgee; Seminole, at Wewoka. Churches, schools and towns were founded, land placed in cultivation and cattle roamed the prairies and a thousand hills.

Much hardship and suffering was endured by the Indian people at the beginning of their struggle to establish their institutions in their new country. Dr. Grant Foreman in his book *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934) gives a graphic picture of Indian Territory in ante bellum days. But this was a country of great possibilities and eventually the Indian people developed a great Indian commonwealth that arose out of the wilderness, a classic State.

One of the important provisions made in the Indian treaties was that forts should be established by the United States in the Indian Territory. These forts were to be occupied by a sufficient number of United States soldiers to protect the Indian nations from

war with the Plains tribes that were at the time in a last stand against the encroachments of the white race. Discouraged and desperate at times, the Plains tribes, too, were seeking a country that they could call home where they could be their own masters free from the white people and, even, from the Indian nations to the east in the Indian Territory. The United States government established Fort Smith, Fort Gibson, Fort Towson, Fort Wayne, Fort Washita, Fort Arbuckle and Fort Cobb by 1859. The base fort was Fort Smith just over the border in Arkansas.

When the Southern States seceded and the war drums were beating in 1861, the U. S. War Department ordered that all forts in the Indian Territory must be abandoned. This order out of the U. S. War Department was promptly obeyed and the Federal troops marched north under the command of Colonel William H. Emory, thereby abrogating solemn pledges in the treaties and leaving the Indian nations in the Territory at the mercy of enemies at War. Because of their high sense of honor, relative to keeping inviolate the provisions of the treaties entered into with the United States at the time the Indian Territory lands were purchased, most of the Indian nations wanted to remain neutral had not the Federal forces been withdrawn from this country. However, this action on the part of the U. S. War Department released the Indian nations from further sense of obligation that they might hold toward the treaty rights.

The great majority of the members of the Five Civilized Nations were southern in their sympathies. The ideals, principles, customs and institutions of the old South were brought with them on the "great trek" west, and established with pride in their own Indian commonwealths. Abandoned as they were by the Federal forces, it was natural for the people of the Five Nations, when the tocsin of war sounded, to follow the inclination of their hearts, even though it was important to their interests to remain neutral. Their several legislatures met in extra-ordinary session and selected delegates to attend a convention of all the Five Nations and other tribes that would attend to determine what course to pursue in the coming war. The convention was held and the Five Nations were joined by the Caddo tribe in an alliance with the Confederate States.

In 1861, President Jefferson Davis of the Confederate States of America, appointed Albert Pike, of Arkansas, as Commissioner to treat with all the Indians west of Arkansas and south of Kansas. He was delegated with plenary powers to secure the assistance of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole nations in the Indian Territory.² Commissioner Pike met the official delegates

² For the texts of the Indian treaties with the Confederate States, see *War of the Rebellion Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV, Vol. I.

of the Creek and the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations (delegations of the two latter nations acted together) at North Fork Town near the North Fork of the Canadian River, in the Creek Nation where two treaties were entered into respectively on July 10 and July 20, 1861. The Seminole Nation, also, soon signed a treaty negotiated by Commissioner Pike at the Seminole Agency west of Little River. By these treaties with the Confederate States, the various Indian delegations—Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole—pledged their nations as friends and allies to the Old South. The Indian governments ratified these treaties at once, and Indian officers were commissioned to raise troops in their respective nations.

The Cherokees in the meantime though just as enthusiastic deliberated longer, and on August 12, 1861, held a convention in which they pledged their friendship to the Confederate States though their delegation did not sign a formal treaty of alliance until October 9, 1861, at Tablequah. The call for assistance from their beloved Southland brought a quick and generous response from the Indians when they dedicated their lives and their fortunes to the cause of the Confederacy.

After the ratification of the treaties of alliance with the Indians, there was no question to be raised concerning the status of the Indian Territory as definitely a possession under the supervision and protection of the Confederate States. In verification of this, the following statement from a message of President Jefferson Davis to the "six nations,"—Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole and Caddo³ on February 22, 1864, is hereby quoted:⁴

"Your last resolution which instructed your delegates to insure the Confederate States of the unshaken loyalty of the six Nations represented is highly creditable to them, is what I expected from them and claims my grateful recognition. The soldiers and people of the six Nations in treaty and amity with us, are regarded by this Government with the same tender care and solicitude as are the soldiers and people of the Confederate States. Our cause is one and our hearts must be united."

In May, 1861, the Confederate government placed all of its forces in the Southwest under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch of Texas. A military district of Indian Territory was created. General McCulloch moved into the Indian Territory, and organized immediately three Indian regiments and placed these three Indian regiments together with one regiment from Texas,

³ The Caddo were one of eleven tribes in Western Indian Territory, most of them Plains Indians, that were visited by Commissioner Albert Pike and signed treaties of alliance with the Confederate States at the Wichita Agency near the Washita River, in a meeting on August 12, 1861.

⁴ A photograph of the original published circular of this message from Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, is in the Confederate Memorial Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Arkansas and Louisiana, under the command of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper.⁵ Fort Smith, Arkansas, had been captured by the Confederate forces in that state, on April 23, 1861, and the forts in the Indian Territory abandoned by the Federal forces had been re-occupied by Confederate troops.

In the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society are two thick volumes of typewritten manuscript, containing the nearest complete statistical information existing in the state on the part that the Five Civilized Nations and other Indian tribes played in behalf of the Confederate States during the War between the States. This work was compiled in Washington, D. C., from official records of the War Department, under the direction of Dr. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, one of the most noted historians of the Southwest. The material was bound in two volumes designated as "The History of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army," which are among the most treasured books in the Historical Society's valuable collection. There are found in these two volumes the records of eleven regiments, three battalions, three squadrons, a company and several miscellaneous units. These lists give 11,875 enlisted men. Rolls of all the companies in some of the regiments could not be found in the War Department Archives. This indicates that many more persons than the above numbers were in service in the Indian Territory for the Confederate cause.

The following list gives the organized Indian military units and the Indian commanding officers that served in the Confederate States Army, Military District of the Indian Territory, compiled from the records in the two volumes of "The Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army":⁶

⁵ Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, a Mississippian, had served as the U. S. Indian Agent to the Choctaw and Chickasaw for a number of years. Colonel Cooper (commissioned Brigadier General in 1864, C.S.A.) was one of the really big men, outstanding for his influence and activity in the Confederate cause, in the Indian Territory throughout the War. It was largely due to Colonel Cooper's acquaintance, knowledge and prestige in Indian matters that Commissioner Albert Pike consummated treaties with the nations and tribes of the Indian Territory in behalf of the Confederacy, in 1861.

⁶ It should be kept in mind that this is not a complete listing of the Indian military organizations and Indian commanding officers, C.S.A., the official records of some of these having been lost to history. The order of the regiments, battalions, squadrons and a company is given here as they appear in Volumes I and II, "Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army," without regard to the dates of their organization.

VOLUME I

First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles, Col. John Drew, Lieut. Col. William P. Ross.⁷

First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Col. Stand Watie (to Brig. Gen., C.S.A.), Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, called "Watie's Regiment."⁸

Second Regiment Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Col. William Penn Adair, called "Mounted Rifles" or "Riflemen."⁹

First Cherokee Battalion Partisan Rangers, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan (to Col.), called "Bryan's Battalion."

First Squadron Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Capt. Charles Holt.

Cherokee Regiment, (Special Service) Col. Joel Mayes Bryan.¹⁰

First Regiment Creek Mounted Volunteers, Col. Daniel N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Samuel Checote, Lieut. Col. William R. McIntosh, called "Mounted Rifles" or "Riflemen."

First Battalion Creek Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh.

Second Regiment Creek Mounted Volunteers, Col. Chilly McIntosh, Col. Timothy Barnett, Lieut. Col. Pink Hawkins.

VOLUME II

First Regiment Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, Col. Douglas H. Cooper (not Indian—to Brig. Gen., C.S.A.), Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker (to Col.), Lieut. Col. James Riley, called "Volunteers," "Riflemen" or "Cavalry."¹¹

First Choctaw Mounted Rifles, Col. Sampson Folsom, Lieut. Col. D. F. Harkins.

Deneale's Regiment Choctaw Warriors, Col. George E. Deneale, called "Deneale's Regiment Confederate Volunteers."

⁷ The First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles was mustered into Confederate States' service November 5, 1861, eleven companies having enrolled October 4 and having been accepted into service for twelve months from October 25, 1861. "This Regiment was recognized on Adjutant and Inspector-general's Office Roster as First Arkansas Cherokee Mounted Rifles, which was probably due to the fact that the Indian Territory was under jurisdiction of the Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas."—*Ibid.*, Introductory Statement in Vol. I, p. 4.

⁸ "Watie's Regiment" was organized July 12, 1861, for two years, and subsequently reorganized.

⁹ Battalion of five companies organized with the addition of five other companies as a regiment on February 3, 1863, and subsequently reorganized. The original battalion was the Cherokee Partisan Rangers, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan (formerly Bryan's First Battalion).

¹⁰ The Cherokee Battalion (also called Bryan's Battalion) was organized as a regiment after February 3, 1863, and before the Battle of Honey Springs in July, 1863, in which the Cherokee Regiment, Col. Joel Mayes Bryan, served on the battlefield.

¹¹ The First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles was outstanding in the service of the Confederate States throughout the War, participating in major battles in the Indian Territory and Arkansas. Douglas H. Cooper (not an Indian) was appointed Colonel May 30, 1861, and the regimental organization was completed July 31, 1861. Tandy Walker, former Governor of the Choctaw Nation (1857-59), served as lieutenant colonel from the organization date to January 1, 1863, when he was promoted to the rank of colonel. He was looked upon as the commanding Indian officer of the Regiment from the beginning to the surrender. A brilliant and courageous leader, he had the respect and was commended by the highest Confederate Army officers in the Southwest for his bravery on the field of battle in the major military campaigns in this region throughout the war. Recommendation for his promotion to the rank of brigadier general was in review by the Confederate military authorities when the War ended.

Captain Wilkins' Company Choctaw Infantry, Capt. John Wilkins.

First Regiment Chickasaw Infantry, Col. William L. Hunter, Lieut. Col. Samuel H. Martin.

Shecoe's Chickasaw Battalion Mounted Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Martin Shecoe, Lieut. Col. Joseph D. Harris, called "Chickasaw Battalion," "Regiment."

First Regiment Seminole Volunteers, Col. John Jumper.¹²

First Osage Battalion, Maj. Broke Arm, Capt. Black Dog.

Reserve Squadron of Cavalry, Capt. "Caddo" George Washington, called "Washington's Squadron" or "Caddo Battalion."

Lee's Command on Northwestern Frontier Indian Territory, Col. Roswell W. Lee.

Scale's Battalion Cherokee Cavalry, Maj. Moses C. Frye, Maj. J. A. Scales.

Second Regiment Choctaw Cavalry, Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. Franceway Battice (Battiest).

Third Regiment Choctaw Cavalry, Col. Jackson McCurtain, Lieut. Col. Tom Lewis.

First Battalion Cherokee Cavalry, Maj. Benjamin W. Meyer, called "Meyer's Battalion."

First Battalion Chickasaw Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Lemuel L. Reynolds, Lieut. Col. Joseph D. Harris.

The Confederate Indian troops of the Indian Territory participated in nineteen battles and engagements, besides many skirmishes, the complete records of which have never been found. The following list is based on the military reports of the principal battles and engagements, all in the Indian Territory except where otherwise noted, with names of commanding officers and names of Indian officers given for the Confederate forces, as compiled from the *War of the Rebellion Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*:

Round Mountain, November 19, 1861, Col. Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding Indian Department: Indian officers—Col. Daniel N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Maj. John Jumper, Maj. Mitchell LeFlore; Capts. R. A. Young, Lem. M. Reynolds, O. G. Welch, Joseph R. Hall, Jackson McCurtain, F. B. Severs; and Lieuts. Joseph Carroll and Samuel Berryhill.

Chusto-Talashah (Caving Banks), December 9, 1861, Col. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Indian Department: Indian officers—Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. John Drew, Lieut. Col. Wm. P. Ross, Maj. Mitchell LeFlore; Capts. Alfred Wade, R. A. Young, Lem. M. Reynolds, Joseph R. Hall, Jackson McCurtain, W. B. Pitchlynn, Willis Jones, Richard Fields, J. N. Hildebrand, Pickens M. Bengé; and Lieuts. Joseph W. Wells, James F. Baker, George Springston, Broom Baldrige, George W. Ross.

Chustenahlah, December 26, 1861, Col. James McQueen McIntosh, (Headquarters, Van Buren, Arkansas) Commanding Division: Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Maj. E. C. Boudinot.

Pea Ridge (Elkhorn, Arkansas), March 7, 8, 1862, Gen. Ben McCulloch, Commanding General of the Southwest, Brig. Gen. Albert Pike, Commanding Department

¹² First Seminole Battalion Mounted Volunteers, Maj. John Jumper, was organized September 21, 1861, and was increased to a regiment prior to 1864 (probably summer of 1863), with the same commanding officer promoted to colonel. Colonel Jumper was commended for his bravery and courage in the Confederate service, and served many years as chief of the Seminole Nation (see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Jumper," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 [Summer, 1951]).

- of Indian Territory: Indian officers, Col. Stand Watie, Col. John Drew, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker.
- Neosho* (Missouri), May 26 and 31, 1862, Indian officer—Col. Stand Watie.
- Locust Grove*, July 3, 1862, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Col. John Drew.
- Bayou Menard*, July 27, 1862, Indian officer—Lieut. Col. Thomas Fox Taylor.
- Newtonia* (Missouri), September 30, 1862, Col. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Division: Indian officers—Col. Sampson Folsom, Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker, Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan; Capts. Martin Folsom, Wm. B. Pitchlynn, Sol Loring, Joseph W. Wells, David Perkins, E. W. Folsom, F. W. Miner and Lieut. C. H. Tiner.
- Granby* (Missouri), October 4, 1862, Indian officers—Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan.
- Fort Wayne*, October 22, 1862, Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Confederate forces, First Brigade; Indian officers—Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Stand Watie, Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Lieut. Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan, Maj. Willis Jones, Capt. Joseph W. Wells.
- Fort Gibson*, May 20, 1863, Indian officers—Col. Wm. P. Adair, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Sampson Folsom, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan.
- Cabin Creek*, July 1, 2, 1863, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Capt. Joseph W. Wells.
- Honey Springs* (Elk Creek), July 17, 1863, Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Confederate forces, First Brigade Indian troops: Indian officers—Col. Tandy Walker, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Joel Mayes Bryan, Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, Lieut. Col. O. G. Welch, Maj. J. A. Carrol, Maj. Joseph F. Thompson; Capts. Roswell W. Lee, Joseph L. Martin, Hugh Tinnin, James L. Butler, James Stuart and Lieut. A. G. Ballenger.¹³
- Perryville*, August 22, 1863. Gen. Cooper's rear guard, Indian officers—included among others Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, Capt. Joseph L. Martin.
- Middle Boggy*, February 13, 1864, Indian officers—Col. John Jumper, Col. Simpson N. Folsom (?).¹⁴
- Poison Spring* (Arkansas), April 18, 1864, Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Maxey, Commanding Cavalry Division (including Indian Brigade): Indian officers—Col. Tandy Walker, Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. James Riley.
- Pheasant Bluff* (or Pleasant Bluff), capture of the Steamboat *J. R. Williams*, June 15, 1864, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Lieut. Henry Forester (of Capt. Lee's Light Battery).
- San Bois* (at *Iron Bridge*), June 16, 1864, Indian officer—Maj. M. H. Campbell, Commanding detachment of Shecoe's Chickasaw Volunteers.
- Cabin Creek*, September 19, 1864, Brig. Gen. Stand Watie, Brig. Gen. R. M. Gano, Commanding Confederate forces Indian and Texas troops: Indian Officers—Col. John Jumper, Col. Timothy Barnett, Lieut. Col. Samuel Checote, Lieut. Col. C. N. Vann; Capts. William M. Taylor, William H. Shannon; Adj. D. R. Patterson and Lieuts. Richard Carter, Saladin Watie, Pleasant Porter.

Only a brief outline can be given in this article of the military operations of the Confederate Indian forces in the War Between the States. A minority of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations refused allegiance to the Confederate States. After the Confederate

¹³ The Battle of Honey Springs or Elk Creek was the major battle fought in the Indian Territory during the War, the Confederates suffering defeat in the attack by Federal forces under the command of Gen. James G. Blunt.

¹⁴ A Confederate encampment at Middle Boggy (or Muddy Boggy) was occupied by Choctaw troops under the command of both Col. Sampson Folsom and Col. Simpson N. Folsom in 1861. It was in a strategic location on the Texas Road, just north of the present City of Atoka, in Atoka County.

treaties of alliance were signed the Union sympathizers among the Creek and Seminole, nearly five thousand in number when later joined by some of the Cherokee, decided to withdraw to Kansas within the Union lines under the leadership of the noted Creek leader, Opothleyahola. The Confederate forces under Colonel Cooper, Commanding Indian Department, and Colonels John Drew and D. N. McIntosh, besides detachments from the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole regiments followed the Union Indian forces commanded by Opothleyahola who suffered defeat in two of the three battles that were fought in 1861.¹⁵ Many successful engagements were also fought during the War, and victory perched on the Confederate banner at its close.

In the spring of 1862, Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch, Commander of the Confederate forces of the Southwest, marched the Confederate Indian troops out of the Indian Territory, and joined the forces of General Price at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, just across the border. The Battle of Pea Ridge on March 7, 8, 1862, was fought with disastrous results for the Confederates. General McCulloch, the beloved commander and great military leader of the Southwest, was killed in action. Brigadier General Albert Pike was placed in command of the Provisional Army in the Southwest but only served until the following July when he resigned, at which time Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Indian Territory.

In June, 1862, the Federals invaded the Indian Territory but were repulsed and forced to withdraw by Colonel Stand Watie and his troops. Six battles and heavy engagements besides many hot skirmishes, the details of which are unrecorded, were fought in the Indian Territory and beyond its borders by the Indian forces from May to October, 1862. After the Battle at Fort Wayne which began the second invasion of the Indian Territory by the Federals, Fort Gibson was captured and remained the Federal base throughout the War.

Early in January, 1863, Brigadier General William Steele was placed in command of the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory District, with Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, second in command. In the battles and many skirmishes, the Confederates fought desperately but unsuccessfully to regain the territory lost in the second Federal invasion of 1862. They were hungry, ragged and without arms and ammunition. The Battle of Honey Springs in July, 1863, was lost because of lack of sufficient arms and ammunition. What powder they had was rotten, and eye witnesses have said

¹⁵ Opothleyahola's forces won the first battle of the War in the Indian Territory, known as the "Battle of Round Mountain," (see Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 [Summer, 1949]). His forces were defeated in the battles of Chusta-Talasa and Chustenahlah (see list above) by the Confederate forces.

that many Indians threw their guns away in despair when the powder failed to ignite. Through all the dark days, the military activities of the peerless Indian leader, Stand Watie, runs like a golden thread as he constantly harassed the Federal with his Indian troops. Tanly Walker of the Choctaws is mentioned in many records by the commanding officers for his courageous leadership in the midst of major battles in the Indian Territory and beyond its borders. Many other Indian officers whose names are not found in the records of the Five Civilized Tribes served the Confederacy with gallantry and distinction, and were commended by their superior officers for their bravery in action.

At the beginning of the year 1864, the Confederate forces were reorganized under Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey. Colonel Stand Watie was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and placed in command of the First Indian Cavalry Brigade. It was a merited award for distinguished service, and he was the only Indian who attained the honor in the Confederate Army in the War Between the States. His picture hangs today in Battle Abbey, that shrine of the Immortals at Richmond, Virginia, where the South in reverence pays homage to its heroic dead. Another merited award.

In 1864, the Confederate troops occupied Forts Washita, Towson-Arbuckle and McCulloch. When Fort Gibson, and later Fort Smith, had been captured by the Federals, the northern part of the Territory became untenable for the Indians who were pledged to the Confederate cause, and they were forced to flee south to refugee camps along Red River and to Texas. Northern soldiers and bands of guerillas, called "Kansas Jay Hawkers," pillaged and burned the Indians' homes, ran off their stock and ranged as far as Red River on their expeditions. William C. Quantrell, a Missourian and noted Confederate sympathizer, organized a guerilla band, of which he was addressed as "Colonel" when he set out on his volunteer mission to protect the homes and property of the people of the Indian Territory from the depredations of the Northern marauders. Many were the skirmishes fought during the winter of 1864-65 between these opposing forces up and down the old Texas Road, the main thoroughfare through the Indian Territory military district. The descendants of many families that were befriended by "Quantrell's band" will always cherish his memory.

The most heartening event to the Confederate forces was the second Battle of Cabin Creek in September, 1864, when a Federal wagon train on its way to Fort Gibson was captured—250 wagons loaded with supplies which with hundreds of horses and mules were valued at \$1,500,000. While Brigadier General Richard M. Gano and his Texas troops had a part in this battle yet the victory and the winning of this great prize in war were largely due to the tactics

of General Watie and his courageous Indian officers and troops. The year 1864 closed on a bright note for the Confederate Indian troops since they had been serviced with food, clothes, arms and ammunition from the captured wagon train, and had been victorious in many engagements. There was little activity in the winter of 1864-65.

In the early part of 1865, Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper was again placed in command of the military district of Indian Territory. From the official correspondence, it is seen that the close of the War was imminent. At this time, there were no railroads or telegraphs that reached the borders of Indian Territory, and news was slow in reaching the West.

General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General U. S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865. General Edmond Kirby Smith, Commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederacy surrendered the forces under his command to General E. R. S. Canby, Commanding the Military Division West of the Mississippi, for the Federal Army, May 26, 1865. General Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding the Military District of the Indian Territory, carried out the terms of agreement and surrendered all the white troops in the Indian Territory, May 26, 1865.

The Five Nations, or "Five Civilized Tribes" as they are best known in Oklahoma history, reserved the right to surrender independently. Principal Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn surrendered the Choctaw troops at Doaksville, June 19, 1865. General Stand Watie surrendered the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole and the Osage Battalion troops, June 23, 1865. Governor Winchester Colbert surrendered the Chickasaw troops, July 14, 1865, and the Reserve Squadron of Cavalry, popularly and better known as the "Caddo Battalion," under Captain "Caddo" George Washington, laid down arms on the same day, over three months after Lee's surrender in Virginia. It is interesting to note that the Indian nations of the Indian Territory were the last of the Confederacy to surrender arms.

The dawn of peace found the people of the Indian nations with a country laid waste, their homes and fortunes wrecked, the slaves free, their horses and cattle gone. It is said that over three hundred thousand head of cattle, valued at \$450,000 were driven north by "rustlers" from within the Federal lines at the close of the War.

Specially appointed commissioners on the part of the United States called the Indian nations and tribes of the Indian Territory to a conference at Fort Smith, Arkansas, September 8, 1865, and announced to them that their lands had been confiscated because of their alliance with the Confederate States in the War. Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated, and the Government was in the hands of a group of abolitionists and autoocrats who ignored the age-old principal that nobility obliges the conquerer to be generous to the conquered. The prevailing idea was to punish the Indians for having

made an alliance with the South. The Five Indian Nations contended that their lands in the Indian Territory had been purchased by them and were not a gift from the Government, and that the United States Commissioners in behalf of the Government had no more right to force confiscation of their lands than the lands of the Southern States.

Compromise treaties were finally negotiated between the Commissioners representing the United States and official delegations from each of the several Indian nations at Washington, D. C., in 1866, whereby the nations were compelled to cede half of the Indian Territory to the United States for the settlement of the Northern and the Plains Indians.¹⁶ One of the provisions of the Cherokee Treaty and the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty in 1866 stipulated that each of these three nations should grant their former Negro slaves and their descendants equal rights as citizens. Neither the Cherokee Council nor the Chickasaw Legislature ever enacted laws granting Negroes equal rights of citizenship. In order to get a settlement of certain funds from the Government under the Treaty of 1866, the Choctaws many years later enacted laws granting citizenship to their former slaves and their descendants, with certain limitations. In line with the Treaties of 1866, the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw nations had to allow their former Negro slaves and their descendants allotments of land. The Seminole Treaty provided that all freed Negroes and their descendants in the Seminole Nation should "have and enjoy all rights of native citizens"; and the Creek Treaty stipulated that all Negroes lawfully residing in the Creek country should have "all the rights and privileges of native citizens, including an equal interest in the soil and national funds, "which was considered the greatest wrong ever perpetrated on a defenseless people, and is a reproach at the door of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States to this day.

To summarize: The Indian people of the five nations gave their lives, fortunes and homes to the Confederate cause. In addition, the United States government required that they cede half their country for the settlement of other tribes besides share the residue of their lands with their former Negro slaves. Did any State of the Confederacy sacrifice more in their loyalty to the Southern cause? Of the War in the Indian Territory, some writers have said, "it was the White Man's quarrel and the Red Man's woe." Following the sacrifices demanded in the treaties of 1866, the Indian people with patience and an unflinching courage began "with worn out tools" the reconstruction of their nations. Slowly through the years, this noble purpose was achieved in the rich and prosperous Indian commonwealth that compared favorably with any of the surrounding states in the latter part of the 19th Century. From out the dark

¹⁶ For the U. S. Indian Treaties of 1866, see Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II (Treaties), (Washington, 1903).

shadows of war, a safe civilization was builded that later became the commonwealth of Oklahoma.

The writer's father, Captain William Coville Randolph, a Texan and officer in a Texas regiment assigned to the Indian Territory under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch and Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, fought in most of the battles mentioned in the military record; her mother was a Chickasaw Indian born in Fort Washita, Indian Territory, in 1846. Around the winter fires at night, stories were told of the heroic struggle, the battles lost and won, the splendid courage, the fortitude of the Indian soldiers and the great privation and suffering endured in the Indian Territory during the War.

The Indian nations "fought a good fight and kept the faith" for the Confederate States of America. The descendants of these Indian warriors are proud of their ancestors and the fine loyalty and matchless service they rendered the Confederacy in the War between the States.

They pass in grand review,
Those Indian chieftains,
Within their eyes the fires of valorous deeds.
They smile—salute a Bonnie Flag,
Beloved emblem of their sacrifice;
Then march away in timeless glory.
What a deathless heritage they left!