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“INDIANIZING THE CONFEDERACY”:
UNDERSTANDINGS OF WAR CRUELTY
DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND
THE SIOUX UPRISING OF 1862

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For much of early American history, the general public’s racially charged preconceptions of “Indian war,” defined by stereotypes of guerrilla fighting and “savage” atrocities such as scalping, were central to how Americans understood the terrors of war. Often forgotten today though, is the prominent role this fear played during the American Civil War (1861-1865). The fear of Indian war allowed for clear, and often intentional, parallels to be discerned by onlookers between the reported natives’ atrocities of the Dakota War (1862) in Minnesota (also known as the Sioux Uprising of 1862) and the concurrent American Civil War. The presence of Native American combatants on Civil War battlefields resulted in the “indianizing” of the Union’s enemy, which ranged from criticisms of the Confederacy’s interest and success in recruiting and employing indigenous support to censures of the tactics and morals maintained by the Confederate military and political leadership in all theatres of the war. The Union’s rhetoric of indianizing the Confederacy also helped to solidify the rumors of southern agents encouraging the Sioux Uprising.

This paper examines how the rhetoric of indianizing the enemy influenced northerners’ understandings of the Civil War and the Dakota War as well as the connections between these armed conflicts. By tying Indian war and its accompanying atrocities to Confederate policies, the northern press purposefully

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connected the Dakota War to a pre-existing racial framework of Indian-Confederate convergence that had, particularly in reaction to the Battle of Pea Ridge (March 1862) in the Civil War, emerged earlier. Understanding the connections between these two wars of rebellion provides insight into the psyche of northern civilians in 1862 and offers a unique perspective on the role of Native Americans during the Civil War era.

INDIANIZING THE ENEMY BEFORE THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

The rhetorical strategy of comparing American enemies to the “savagery” of indigenous populations has a long and controversial history as war propaganda dating back to the Colonial Period. During the American War of Independence (1775-1783), revolutionary propagandists accused their British and Loyalist opponents of enabling Indian “savagery”—particularly scalping. Similarly, Tories responded in kind. Immediately following the Battles of Lexington and Concord (April 1775), British General Thomas Gage, then serving as the Royal Governor of Massachusetts, published a broadside in Boston claiming that his forces had found three British “Soldiers on the Ground one of them scalped, his Head much mangled, and his Ears cut off, tho’ not quite dead; a Sight which struck the Soldiers with horror.”¹ The British publication *Scots Magazine* also responded to the incident by describing Americans through racial comparisons to Indian “savages.” The magazine declared that the Americans’ “humanity is written in the indelible characters with the blood of the soldiers scalped and googed [sic] at Lexington.”²

Another famous case is that of Thomas ‘Burnfoot’ Brown. A Loyalist from Georgia, Brown refused to join the revolutionaries’ cause and, subsequently, was captured by the Sons of Liberty. According to Brown’s testimony, he was “o’erpowered, stabbed in many places, my skull fractured

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by a blow from a rifle, [and then] I was dragged in a state of insensibility to Augusta. My hair was then chiefly torn up by the roots; what remained stripped off by knives; my head scalped in 3 or 4 different places; my legs tarred and burnt by lighted torches, from which I lost the use of two of my toes.”³ While the veracity of this incident and other reported confrontations of “barbarous” violence is suspect, these dramatic accounts gained popularity and prevalence in the press and demonstrated the extent to which both the British in the metropole and the Loyalists in North America used the racial rhetoric of Indian war to demonize their American adversaries.

While British media charged Americans with Indian savagery, most accusations of barbarianism during the War of Independence came from the revolutionary polemic directed against the British. Arguably the most famous of these rhetorical attacks was the tale of Jane McCrea, the intended bride of a Loyalist lieutenant, who was abducted by Indians allied with the British commander John Burgoyne, and then shot and scalped. In response to the news, General Horatio Gates of the Continental Army sent a letter denouncing Burgoyne to the Second Continental Congress and newspaper outlets in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, declaring:

That the savages of America should...mangle and scalp... [is not new]...that the famous lieut. Gen. Burgoyne... should hire the Savages of America to scalp Europeans and the descendants of Europeans; nay more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbarously taken, is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall, in every Gazette, convince mankind of the truth of the horrid tale.⁴

Following its publication in Philadelphia, McCrea’s story spread quickly throughout the American Colonies and outraged colonists, inspiring greater support for independence. As a

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result, pro-American newspapers began this trend to “indianize” the British. For example, in 1781, Philadelphia’s *Freeman’s Journal* wrote that British support of Native Americans was evidence that they were “the same brutes and savages they were when Julius Caesar invaded ... for it is certain their mixture with the Saxons and other foreigners, has done very little toward their civilization.”⁵ Employing racially charged language previously used exclusively against Native Americans, the American press during the War of Independence denounced their British enemies as unredeemable savages who emulated, and even surpassed, the cruelty of their Native American allies.

Americans revived this form of propaganda again during the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), as proponents of the war often likened Mexicans to Indian “savages” based on racist concepts of “race-mixing” between the natives and the Spanish colonizers. For example, Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi claimed that “five sixths” of Mexico’s population was of “the mixed races, speaking more than twenty different languages, composed of every poisonous compound of blood and color...[and are] barbarous hordes.”⁶ Thus, when reports of Indian violence under Confederate command reached northern civilians during the Civil War, the Union press revived the rhetorical strategy by associating Indian savagery to lambast Confederate forces.

THE BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE AND INDIANIZING THE CONFEDERACY

The most explosive incident of Native American engagement in the main theaters of the Civil War occurred in March 1862 at the Battle of Pea Ridge, near Leetown on the northwest corner of Arkansas. Pea Ridge was the first major battle to feature Indian troops, mostly Cherokee, under the command of Confederate Brigadier General Albert Pike.⁷ Indeed, a majority of the Cherokee people, one of the five indigenous nations

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known collectively as the Five Civilized Tribes, had allied with the Confederacy after meeting with a delegation led by Pike in the summer of 1861.⁸ Nonetheless, Pike, under orders of Major General Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price, was pessimistic about the native battalions he commanded. While Van Dorn favorably described Pike's 2500 native soldiers as "half breed Indians, and good reliable men," the Brigadier General later claimed that the troops were "entirely undisciplined, mounted chiefly on ponies and armed very indifferently with common rifles and ordinary shotguns."⁹

Moreover, the militarily inexperienced Pike struggled to control his indigenous battalions once engaged in combat. After taking the Union position at Foster's Farm during the Battle of Pea Ridge, the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles routed two companies of the Third Iowa Cavalry directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Trimble. Contrary to Pike's desires, in the ensuing



Plan of the Battlefield of Pea Ridge, near Leetown, Arkansas

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chaos, the native troops scalped eight Union soldiers in Trimble's detachment.¹⁰ Consequently, Colonel Cyrus Bussey, the chief commanding officer of the Third Iowa Cavalry, informed his superior, Samuel R. Curtis, the commander of the Army of the Southwest:

[I] had the dead exhumed, and on personal examination... found that it was a fact beyond dispute that eight of the killed of my command had been scalped...first having fallen in the charge...they were afterwards pierced through the heart and neck with knives by a savage and relentless foe.¹¹

While the Union forces under Curtis recovered to win the Battle of Pea Ridge, the incident at Foster's Farm dominated in the press. Van Dorn tried to repress and excuse the incident, claiming through his Adjutant General Dabney H. Maury that Curtis was "misinformed with regard to this matter, the Indians who formed part of [Pike's] forces having for many years been regarded as civilized people." Van Dorn also accused Union forces of committing their own atrocities, primarily blaming Germans, the largest ethnic group employed by Union forces, thereby attempting to capitalize on Confederates' attempts to revive anti-Hessian sentiment first harbored during the War of Independence.¹² In particular, Van Dorn employed the racially charged accusation that captured Confederate soldiers had been "murdered in cold blood by their captors, who were alleged to be Germans."¹³ However, despite Van Dorn's allegations Pike felt compelled to write to Curtis personally, expressing horror at the atrocity, and chastised his troops accordingly, issuing an order prohibiting the practice of scalping.¹⁴

Despite Pike's efforts to discipline his indigenous troops after the incident, the northern press lambasted the Brigadier General. In the aftermath of Pea Ridge, anti-Confederate propaganda converged on Pike with the racially motivated

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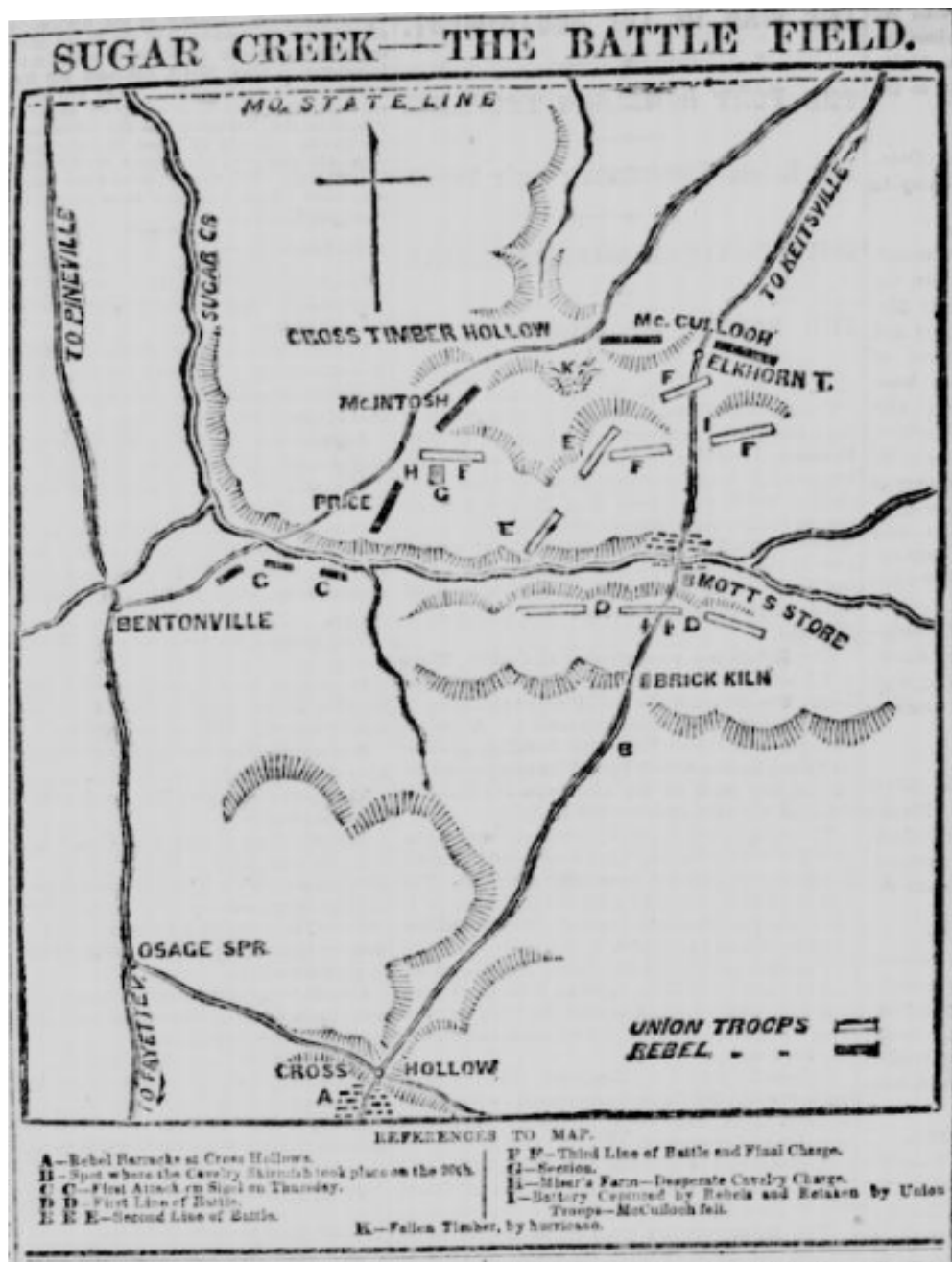
rhetoric of Indian War. The most prominent source for this propaganda came from an article in the *New-York Tribune* written by journalist Junius Henri Browne.¹⁵ Browne's melodramatic account of the battle described Pike as a man "who deserves and will doubtless receive eternal infamy...for inducing savages to [perform] shocking barbarities...[ordering] scalping and robbing...their favorite pastimes...[for] they plundered every wounded, dying and dead Unionist they could find...[murdering those] incapable of resistance." Browne then emphasized, "the [Confederate] rebels did everything...to excite them into a frenzy giving them large quantities of whiskey and gunpowder a few minutes previous to the commencement of hostilities."¹⁶ In an editorial in the *New-York Tribune* a few days later, again Pike was described in terms that resemble a pejorative attack on indigenous warriors:

Pike [is a] ferocious fish...[who] got himself up in good style, war-paint, nose-ring and all...[he] led the Aboriginal Corps of Tomahawkers and Scalpers at the Battle of Pea Ridge...was indicted for playing the part of Squeers, and cruelly beating and starving a boy in his family. He escaped by some hocus-pocus of a law and emigrated to the West, where the violence of his nature has been admirably enhanced...[he] has fought duels enough to qualify...[as] a leader of savages...[he is a] new Pontiac...and betaken himself to the culture of the Great Spirit...[or] Spirits—Whisky being the second. So much for Pike!¹⁷

The sensationalized detail afforded to descriptions of Pike and accusations of Indian treachery, however, were more likely an attempt to distract readers from the vagueness of Browne's account of the actual fighting:

Desperate but desultory; now here, now there, at one

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Journalist Junius Henri Browne's fraudulent map detailing the "positions" of Union and Confederate forces at the Battle of Pea Ridge

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moment on a hill, at the next in a ravine. Skirmishing was visible everywhere and hard hand-to-hand fighting in every quarter of the field. Now advancing, now retreating were our forces; now marching forward, now countermarching; now appearing, now disappearing, but ever moving forward to victory.¹⁸

Indeed, in its specificities, Browne's account of the fighting was fictitious. The journalist's description of the Confederate position differed from those relayed by other war correspondents, including Browne's main rival, Thomas Knox of the *New York Herald*, who also claimed to be present at the Battle of Pea Ridge. To be sure, unlike Knox's account, Browne's article featured a wildly inaccurate map on which he placed commanders in incorrect locations and claimed that the battle took place in an area four times as large as the actual battlefield. While Knox and fellow reporter William Fayel of the *Daily Missouri Democrat* did verify Browne's claim that scalping occurred—which was also later confirmed by Union military reports—there was no evidence or corroborating witness to substantiate Browne's most extraordinary accusation: that Pike's Indians also attacked and scalped their Confederate allies in the violent frenzy that followed the assault on the Third Iowa Cavalry. These inconsistencies, therefore, support the notion that Browne was not present at Pea Ridge and that the journalist's account was propagandistic yellow journalism most likely mixed with facts, rumors, hearsay, and self-invented narratives to demonize the Confederates. Still, to the anxious northerners who read Browne's article, Pike was no better than the savage natives he commanded, despite the fact that the Brigadier General discouraged scalping among his men.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Knox's more accurate account of the battle gained little traction among readers. It would take a month until the *New York Herald* even chastised Browne and the *New-York Tribune* for deceiving the public through "imposture more

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flagitious [than] is...conceivable.”²⁰ But the resulting war of words between the *New York Herald* and the *New-York Tribune* produced only mild public outcry. In 1862, as a quick end to war appeared increasingly unlikely, anxious northerners were more concerned with demonizing their Confederate enemies than obtaining accurate accounts of a battle in the distant Trans-Mississippi Theater. In fact, by the time the fraudulence of Browne’s account was exposed, it was already being celebrated in Britain as a model of war journalism and being praised by the influential editor of the *New-York Tribune*, Horace Greeley, as a story that “should be placed in every National soldier’s hands.”²¹ Thus, while this one incident conducted by the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles in the Trans-Mississippi Theater occurred far away from the primary focus of the Civil War (the Eastern Theater), it is evident that the sensationalized journalism of Browne helped revive the rhetoric of “savagery” Indian violence as a way to describe Confederate enemies. Consequently, as the Dakota War began in the late summer of 1862, the reported horrors of scalping at Pea Ridge was the enduring vision of Indian war maintained by many northerners, making the rumors of a Confederate plot unfolding in Minnesota seem likely.

THE DAKOTA WAR AND THE STATE OF THE UNION IN 1862

Caused by a host of regional tensions between white settlers—food shortages, treaty violations, and the corruption of government agencies regulating Native American affairs—and exacerbated by the military and financial pressures of the Civil War, the Dakota War in Minnesota was one of the most significant Indian Wars of the nineteenth century.²² The conflict launched a period of nearly thirty years of intermittent warfare between the United States and the Sioux, often referred to as the Sioux Wars, that did not end until “Siouxan independence came to its final, tragic end on a cold day in December, 1890, in the

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Massacre at Wounded Knee.”²³

Despite its military and causal ties to the Civil War, most Americans regarded the Dakota War as a peripheral event in 1862. Nevertheless, the Dakota War haunted northerners as a powerful symbol of the disastrous setbacks that had plagued the Union war effort throughout the year. Decisive successes in the Western Theater, including at Pea Ridge and Shiloh, did little to assuage anxiety over the ensuing failures of Union forces in the East. The most prominent of these setbacks was the disastrous defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run in August at the hands of General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia. The Union defeat was so embarrassing that President Abraham Lincoln relieved the foremost Union commander, Major General John Pope, from his position and reassigned Pope to the Department of the Northwest in Minnesota to command troops in the Dakota War.

Few Americans outside of Minnesota saw the rebellion in the Dakota as a central concern or even understood the Sioux Uprising's connections to the Civil War. However, the distant conflict emerged as an outlet for northerners to externalize their anxiety as the once unimaginable prospect of Union military collapse seemed increasingly possible with the threat of a Confederate and Indian western front. Northern anxiety about a Confederate and Indian alliance in the West, combined with reports of atrocities from the Minnesota front, resulted in the revival of the rhetoric of Confederate-Indian convergence that had emerged following the Battle of Pea Ridge. Deep-seated fears and stereotypes of Indian war among northerners made it easy for Union magazines and newspapers to connect the Confederacy's use of “savage” Indian allies at Pea Ridge to the reports of atrocities during the Dakota War.

INDIANIZING THE ENEMY IN THE DAKOTA WAR

Reports of violent atrocities committed by Native

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Americans were common during the Dakota War. For example, on August 18, 1862, following a raid by natives on the Schwandt family, August Schwandt, recounted, “the daughter of Mr. Schwandt [August’s sister, Karolina Schwandt Walz], enceinte [pregnant], was cut open, as was learned afterward, the child taken alive from the mother, and nailed to a tree...It struggled some time after the nails were driven through it!”²⁴ Similarly, a female captive who was living with the Sioux observed, “A boy twelve years of age, whose parents had probably been murdered, fretted and cried a good deal of the time, saying he wanted to go home. The Indians killed him by cutting him into pieces, commencing at his feet and then cutting his legs into small chunks.”²⁵ While the kind of sensationalized violence typical of this literature reflected real anxieties of white settlers and soldiers on the Minnesota frontier, these and similar reports should be read with skepticism. As Colonel Henry H. Sibley wrote to his wife Sarah, “Do not believe the thousand extravagant reports you hear. People are absolutely crazy with excitement and credit every absurdity.”²⁶ Nevertheless, these accounts of atrocities all featured grotesque violence and greatly exceeded the brutality of common stereotypes of Indian war, including scalping. But contrary to the popular perception of Indian war at the time, white settlers and soldiers rarely reported scalping performed by Indians during the Dakota War.

Ironically, Union troops and white settlers were responsible for the most well-known scalping incidents during this armed conflict, including the scalping of the famous Sioux leader, Little Crow.²⁷ During the Dakota War, the state of Minnesota institutionalized a bounty system to encourage scalping of Native Americans. For instance, the *Annual Report of the Adjutant General for 1863*, an account of military activity in Minnesota during the previous year, disclosed that on August 7, 1862, a bounty of \$75.00 (approximately \$1800 in 2016 dollars) was paid to W.M. Allen for killing a single Sioux warrior, while on August 31, Julius Schmidt received a bounty of \$5.00 (approximately \$120

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“Indian Outrages in The North-west—An American Family Murdered by the Sioux Indians, in a Grove Near New Elm, Minnesota—From a Sketch by a Correspondent.”

This cartoon was based on exaggerated reports of Native American “atrocities” committed in the Minnesota frontier. This kind of hyperbolic depiction of violence stimulated northern anxiety, fueling the rhetoric of Confederate-Indian convergence in northern media outlets during the Dakota War.

in 2016 dollars) for tanning a native’s scalp.²⁸ This state sanction of indiscriminate violence, coupled with a financial incentive, largely normalized the practice of scalping among white troops. In his account of the Battle of New Ulm (August 1862), Colonel Charles Eugene Flandreau, the leading American commander in the engagement, described how without any trepidation “a half breed named Le Blanc lay in the grass as our men advanced, and fired and wounded one of them...[so] a bullet sped after him, and cut the great artery on the shoulder...[Le Blanc] was soon finished, his head cut off and scalped.”²⁹ As whites, rather than natives, were the primary scalpers of the Dakota War, the kind

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of stereotypical Native American violence that the Confederates supposedly encouraged at Pea Ridge was conspicuously absent, belying the rumors that the Sioux Uprising was a Confederate orchestrated plot.

Yet, despite their own use of scalping (among other atrocities), northern whites often vilified scalping as a sanguineous and treacherous indigenous practice. Following the Battle of Fort Abercrombie (September 1862), white settler Edgar Wright was found mutilated as his body was “ripped up from the navel to the throat. The heart and liver taken out. The lungs left on the chest, the head cut off scalped and struck in the cavity of the abdomen with the face toward the feet.”³⁰ Additionally, Private William Schultz was found nearby, “with his skull smashed in, and his brains scattered about.”³¹ But, upon further review, white troops had committed similar actions earlier at New Ulm and Wood Lake (September 1862). Still, these atrocities were not acknowledged, as evidenced by the *St. Cloud Democrat*: the newspaper denounced these acts as uniquely the work of indigenous “savages” and “demons” who sought to use “their most diabolical and ingenious devices of cruelty” against innocent settlers.³²

While this hypocrisy was certainly racially motivated, it was also a conscious choice to rationalize the expulsion and mass annihilation of the Sioux. Accounts of scalping during the Dakota War emphasized the innocence of white victims compared to the wickedness of Sioux savagery. The *St. Cloud Democrat* claimed that those scalped at Fort Abercrombie were “void of offense toward their foe, men of unblemished reputation against whom the Indians could have had no memory of wrongs to be revenged.” The newspaper celebrated Wright for being a man with a “high sense of honor and strict integrity” who had kindly befriended the Sioux before they cruelly betrayed him. Minnesota newspapers used the sensationalized accounts of these atrocities to support the conclusion that the Native Americans were malevolent “Hell Hounds” who had to be “swept from

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the face of the Earth, old and young, male and female.”³³ This kind of genocidal anti-native rhetoric remained common in the aftermath of the Sioux Uprising, as evidenced by renown social reformer Harriet E. Bishop, who recalled gory descriptions of violent atrocities committed by the indigenous population and called these acts necessary to ensure that “Indian sympathizers may see the diabolical natures of the foe our State has had to meet. We think it a mock philanthropy which would screen these guilty, unprovoked wretched from merited justice.”³⁴ Evidently, scalping, while ironically more commonly used by white soldiers than Native Americans, emerged as a powerful symbol through which Minnesotans encouraged and rationalized the elimination of the Sioux.

When news of these atrocities reached anxious Union audiences in the East, the northern readers were horrified. However, rather than simply demonize the natives like their counterparts in St. Cloud, presses in New York quickly co-opted the rhetoric established in reactions to Pea Ridge to describe the atrocities of the Dakota War. The resulting escalation of the fictitious rumors of a Confederate plot in Minnesota in Union magazines and newspapers reveals the extent to which northern audiences understood the Dakota War through the lens of the Civil War. This can be seen in an infamous cartoon of the Sioux Uprising published by the New York based *Harper's Weekly* magazine on September 13, 1862. Published ten days before the decisive defeat of Chief Little Crow and the Sioux forces at the Battle of Wood Lake, which ended the conflict's main military phase, the cartoon supported the ongoing rumors that the Dakota War, and the “savagery” practiced by the Sioux, was the product of a Confederate plot.

The image, and its accompanying caption, directly connected the Sioux Uprising to a Confederate plot through the long-standing tropes of Indian war that had been recently revived through the press following reactions to the Battle of Pea Ridge. The natives depicted in the image resemble the “subhuman

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“I am happy to inform you that, in spite both of blandishments and threats, used in profusion by the agents of the government of the United States, the Indian nations within the confederacy have remained firm in their loyalty and steadfast in the observance of their treaty.

(The above Extract from JEFF DAVIS'S last Message will serve to explain the News from Minnesota.)”

The scalping scene depicted here does not resemble most accounts of Native American violence reported from the Minnesota Front, and, most likely, was the product of the artist’s preconceived stereotypes of “Indian war.”

and wanton brutes” that Browne in the *New-York Tribune* had described as fighters for the Confederacy at Pea Ridge: “the appearance of some of the besotted savages was fearful. They lost their sense of caution and fear, and ran with long knives against large odds...with bloody hands and garments...with glittering eyes and horrid scowls, they raged about the field with terrible yells.”³⁵ In fact, even though Browne’s article and the cartoon in *Harper’s Weekly* depicted the scalping of two distinct defenseless groups—Browne detailed the scalping of wounded soldiers at Pea Ridge, while the the cartoon centered on the scalping of women and infants—it is worth noting that since the Colonial Period, wounded soldiers and women were regarded

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as the typical victims of savage physical mutilation. Far from an accurate portrayal of the violence of the Dakota War, however, the *Harper's Weekly* image, like the Browne's fraudulent account of the Battle of Pea Ridge, was a reflection of how Americans had reimagined the horrors of Indian war during the Civil War.

While the fear of Indian war had long been a part of the American psyche, its renewed effectiveness stemmed from its ability to indianize, and thereby demonize, Confederate rebels. The *New-York Tribune* described the natives' behavior at Pea Ridge as unremarkable, with the savages having only "repeated the outrages upon civilized warfare and the shocking barbarities with which our early history has made us familiar."³⁶ Similarly, the fact that the Sioux were scalping women and children in the *Harper's Weekly* image was merely what most Americans had come to expect based on stereotypes of Indian war. Moreover, the caption of the *Harper's Weekly* cartoon implied that through scalping, the Sioux "have remained firm in their loyalty and steadfast in the observance of their treaty engagements with [the Confederacy]." The presence of a liquor jug labeled "Agent C.S.A. [Confederate States of America]" lying directly behind the violent scene reinforced the notion that the Confederacy encouraged these acts of savage violence. Upon further review, the presence of alcohol in both the denouncement of Pike in the *New-York Tribune* and the cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* opens up a series of potential interpretations. It may be a reference to the long-standing stereotype of alcoholism among indigenous communities. Alternatively, or perhaps, additionally, the presence of alcohol in these depictions may seek to connect the Confederates to encouraging alcohol use and moral degeneration.

CONNECTING THE DAKOTA WAR AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR THROUGH INDIANIZATION

While there is little evidence of Confederate involvement in the Dakota War, the connection drawn between the Confederacy

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and the Sioux atrocities would have seemed natural to a northern audience recently exposed to the reports of Native Americans scalping at Pea Ridge. The attempts to associate Indian “savagery” and Confederate political and military policies suggested that the horror of Native American violence was principally a product of Confederate machinations. The accuracy of the accounts was secondary, present only to create a veneer of authenticity. Union critiques of scalping, whether at Pea Ridge or in Minnesota, were primarily a pretense to criticize the Confederacy for enabling and allying with Indian savagery.

The Civil War and the Dakota War, while often viewed by scholars in isolation, appeared intrinsically linked for Union citizens on the home front. Northern propagandists used the racial understandings that underpinned this rhetoric to portray Indian savagery as convergent with the interests and principles of the Confederacy in both politics and military leadership. These sources of anti-Confederate propaganda revived the racial rhetoric of Indian war that had first emerged during the Colonial Period, and served as an outlet for northern anxiety in the face of military defeat in the East and the prospect of a joint Confederate-Indian front in the West.

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¹ Thomas Gage, *A Circumstantial Account of an Attack that Happened on the 19th of April 1775, on his Majesty's Troops* (Boston: Broadside Printed by John Howe, 1775).

² "An Answer to the Declaration of Independence," in *Scots Magazine*, 39 (1777), 237.

³ See *Brown to Cornwallis, Volume I, 16 July 1780*, reprinted in Ian Saberton, *The Cornwallis Papers* (East Sussex: Naval & Military Press, 2010), 278.

⁴ Peter R. Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 246.

⁵ *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, September 19 1781.

⁶ See Laura É. Gomez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: NYU Press, 2008).

⁷ Pike's forces also included members of the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek.

⁸ Clarissa W. Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 49.

⁹ Earl Van Dorn to Sterling Price, February 14, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. XIII, 750; Albert Pike to Headquarters Department of Indian Territory, May 4, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion*, vol. XIII, 819.

¹⁰ Earl J. Hess and William L. Shea, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2011), 25 and 275.

¹¹ Cyrus Bussey via Adjutant John W. Noble to Samuel R. Curtis, March 14, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion*, vol. XIII, 232.

¹² Christian Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 25; Jan H. Brunvand, *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 684. Anti-German propaganda was common in the Confederacy during the Civil War. A popular broadside poem entitled "Battle at Bulls Run" celebrated the Confederate victory at the First Battle of Bull Run and contained the lyrics, "Lee's coming! Hark, the drumming! Fly you hireling Hessian knaves; He will scourge you, he will purge you, Run you dirty Lincoln slaves." See the entire song at http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/songsheets_bsvg501656/#info. In an 1864 volume of the *Southern Literary Review*, a writer using the pseudonym Sigma attempted to capitalize on southerners' anti-German fear by indicating that the Unionists were trying to export the radical elements of the European Revolutions of 1848, claiming that the Confederates were fighting against the "reddest of all German Red Republicans [who] swarmed down to Washington, [as] a mob of lunatics [and] adopted, in their thirst for the patronage of spoils of party, the uncompromising motto 'Rule or Ruin.'" Sigma, "Southern Individualism," *Southern Literary Messenger* 38 (January 1864), 371. For more information on the racially charged relationship

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between the European Revolutions of 1848 and the American Civil War, see Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

¹³ Earl Van Dorn via Assistant Adjutant-General Dabney H. Maury to Samuel R. Curtis, March 14, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion*, vol. XIII, 195.

¹⁴ Lyde Cullen-Sizer and Jim Cullen eds., *The Civil War Era: An Anthology of Sources* (Malden: Blackwell Pub, 2005), 237.

¹⁵ Entitled, “THE GREAT BATTLE OF SUGAR CREEK-THE UTTER ROUT OF THE REBELS-TERRIFIC FIGHTING BY UNION FORCES.” Browne called the engagement the Battle of Sugar Creek (an actual nearby location), but it is almost universally referred to as the Battle of Pea Ridge.

¹⁶ *New-York Tribune*, March 20, 1862.

¹⁷ Referring to Wackford Squeers, the greedy and cruel schoolmaster in Charles Dickens’ novel, *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839); *Ashtabula Weekly Telegraph*, April 5, 1862.

¹⁸ *New-York Tribune*, March 20, 1862.

¹⁹ Lyde Cullen-Sizer, and Jim Cullen eds., *The Civil War Era: An Anthology of Sources*, 237. Pike’s reputation was ruined and although his troops had achieved their main objectives, the Brigadier General was the scapegoat for the Confederates’ failure at Pea Ridge and, subsequently, resigned his command in disgrace on July 12. Walter Lee Brown, *Life of Albert Pike* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 408.

²⁰ David Bosse, “‘The Enemy Were Falling Like Autumn Leaves’: Fraudulent Newspaper Reports of the Battle of Pea Ridge,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 54 (1995), 374.

²¹ Franc B. Wilkie, *Pen and Powder* (Boston: Ticknor, 1888), 126; Peter Carlson, *Junius and Albert’s Adventures in the Confederacy: A Civil War Odyssey* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), 19.

²² The Sioux were aware of the federal government’s vulnerability due to the Civil War and, consequently, were willing to use it to their advantage. As Sioux Chief Big Eagle explained, “A great many of the white men of Minnesota... went to Fort Snelling to be sent south. We understood that the [Confederacy] was getting the best of the fight...[so] it began to be whispered about that now would be a good time to go to war with the whites and get back the lands.” Gary Clayton Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2014), 25-26.

²³ John A Haymond, *The Infamous Dakota War Trials of 1862: Revenge, Military Law and the Judgment of History* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2016), 226.

²⁴ Charles S. Bryant and Abel B. Murch, *A History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians, in Minnesota: Including the Personal Narratives of Many Who Escaped* (Cincinnati: Rickey & Carroll, 1864), 300.

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²⁵ Curtis A. Dahlin, *Tales of the Dakota Uprising: Period Eyewitness Accounts* (Self-Published, 2011), 120.

²⁶ Kenneth Carley, “The Sioux Campaign of 1862: Sibley’s Letters to His Wife,” *Minnesota Historical Society* 38 (1962), 101.

²⁷ For example, Big Eagle, a chief and military leader during the Dakota War, reported that following a battle against men under Colonel Sibley’s command, “The whites drove our men out of the ravine by a charge and that ended the battle...we lost fourteen or fifteen men...we carried off no dead bodies... the whites scalped all our dead men—so I have heard.” Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 237.

²⁸ Haymond, *The Infamous Dakota War Trials of 1862: Revenge, Military Law and the Judgment of History*, 179-180. Adjusted figures calculated using data from “Consumer Price Index (Estimate) 1800-,” *Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis*, <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/community/teaching-aids/cpi-calculator-information/consumer-price-index-1800>.

²⁹ Isaac V.D. Heard, *History of Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864), 94.

³⁰ Fort Abercrombie is located in modern-day Abercrombie, North Dakota, a small city in the southeast corner of the state. *St. Cloud Democrat*, October 2, 1862.

³¹ Harriet E. Bishop McConkey, *Dakota War Whoop or Indian Massacres and War in Minnesota of 1862-1863* (Auburn: WM.J. Moses’ Press, 1864), 155.

³² *St. Cloud Democrat*, October 2, 1862.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ McConkey, *Dakota War Whoop or Indian Massacres and War in Minnesota of 1862-1863*, 156.

³⁵ *New-York Tribune*, March 20, 1862.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Images:

Page 119: “Battle of Pea Ridge 1,” map, 1895, United States War Department, via Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/18/Battle_of_Pea_Ridge_1.png (accessed December 23, 2016).

Page 122: “SUGAR CREEK—THE BATTLE FIELD,” map, March 20, 1862, via *New-York Daily Tribune*, via *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, via Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030213/1862-03-20/ed-1/seq-6/> (accessed December 23, 2016).

Page 127: “Indian Outrage in the Northwest,” drawing, October 25, 1862,

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via *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Courtesy of *Home Front: Daily Life in the Civil War North* exhibition co-organized by the Newberry Library and the Terra Foundation for American Art, <http://publications.newberry.org/digitalexhibitions/archive/files/788830f9a09d03fe2ade538a57e0aaac.jpg> (accessed December 23, 2016).

Page 130: “Dakota War Scene (Untitled Cartoon),” cartoon, September 13, 1862, via *Harper's Weekly*, Courtesy of *Home Front: Daily Life in the Civil War North* exhibition co-organized by the Newberry Library and the Terra Foundation for American Art, <http://publications.newberry.org/digitalexhibitions/archive/files/95202fa8e21070c9cee0058f4785f1f8.jpg> (accessed December 23, 2016).