

## **Soldiers of Both Blue and Grey:**

### **The Story and Motivations of the Galvanized Yankees**

There are many well-remembered aspects of the Civil War. The battles of Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg, the burning of Atlanta, or even President Lincoln's assassination are all events memorialized in textbooks and monuments. Inevitably, however, many stories and figures disappear and are forgotten. One such group are the "Galvanized Yankees." The term Galvanized Yankees refers to captured Confederate soldiers who, rather than endure the horrors of the overcrowded, undersupplied prisoner of war (POW) camps, would enlist in the Union army to be deployed against the Plains Indians in the West. The Galvanized Yankees came from diverse backgrounds: new immigrants caught in the tide of war, men from the border states with little loyalty to slavery, and men from the Deep South desperate to return home. Why did the Union permit Confederate prisoners to join their ranks? What were the experiences of the Galvanized Yankees? What was their motivation for changing sides, and what impact did they have?

In the Autumn of 1862, news began to spread east that the Sioux Indian nations had begun attacking and inflicting numerous atrocities on the American settlers of the Minnesota and Dakota territories. Terrified settlers demanded that the government act, but with the Civil War in full force, the Union was hard pressed to find troops to send. There did exist one great pool of reserves from which to draw troops: Prisoner of War camps. POW camps in the North and the South were overflowing following the breakdown of exchanges in mid 1863. Many Southern soldiers had become dissatisfied with the Confederacy. Their greatest loyalty was to their families, who were often starving under Confederate control. Service in the Union lines offered an opportunity to earn a living, and it was an opportunity that some Confederate POWs were

willing to take. In December 1863, President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton agreed to the enlistment of captured Confederate POWs into the Union army in order to draw manpower from all available sources. It was the emerging crisis in the Western territories that spurred this call-to-arms and brought about the creation of the Galvanized Yankees.

### **Literature Review**

There have been many subjects and stories forgotten over the unceasing passage of time. One often unnoticed topic is that of the Galvanized Yankees in the Civil War Era. Due to the unfamiliar nature of this topic and the relatively small number of men encompassed, most of the existing literature surrounding it has painted a broad picture rather than focusing on specific aspects. While not an especially controversial topic, most scholarship has taken a defensive outlook on the actions and motivations of the Galvanized Yankees. The topic fits into the greater frame of not only the Civil War, but the conditions of POW camps and the Indian Wars as well. Unfortunately, many authors avoid discussing the moral ambiguity surrounding the Indian Wars, and the actions of US troops on the frontier receive little criticism. According to available sources, however, the Galvanized Yankees did apply themselves commendably to their assignments, and little criticism is necessary.<sup>1</sup> The primary topics associated with the Galvanized Yankees are discussions of loyalty, Indian relations, and Frontier discipline.

Perhaps the most influential book on the Galvanized Yankees is Dee Brown's *The Galvanized Yankees*. Published in 1963, Brown's work has been heavily cited by subsequent authors on the topic, and remains arguably the most comprehensive book about the Galvanized Yankees. Brown forms the book as a memorial to the story of the U.S. Volunteers after their experience has become a neglected footnote in history. "After a century they have been almost

---

<sup>1</sup> Dee Brown, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 3.

forgotten.”<sup>2</sup> He shows remorse that their tale should be forgotten: “They were a lost legion, unhonored, unsung.”<sup>3</sup> Brown never directly expresses his own opinions of the Galvanized Yankees, but simply illustrates their saga chronologically. We do get glimpses of his opinions, and they are overwhelmingly favorable to the men of the U.S. Volunteers. “Yet the record of the six regiments in the West is one in which any American could take pride.”<sup>4</sup> Any of the issues of discipline or desertion among the Galvanized Yankees is summarily attributed to command structure or fort condition. “Undoubtedly one of the main reasons for the success or failure of individual companies of the Galvanized Yankees was the quality of the officers.”<sup>5</sup> Brown does not present the men of the US Volunteers as aggressive colonialists, but as men doing what they needed to return home. He describes a monotonous and dreary experience guarding the Western Posts and characterizes the former Confederate view that the land was too wild to be settled by whites and that the United States should simply “Give it back to the Indians!”<sup>6</sup>

Later literature on the topic became more focused, as individual regiments were inspected closer. One particular regiment that received special attention is the First U.S. Volunteers as examined by Michèle Butts in his book *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: The Face of Loyalty*. “From their recruitment to their muster-out, the First U.S. Volunteers provide a unique perspective on loyalty in the midst of civil war and the controversial role of the military in western expansion.”<sup>7</sup> The First U.S. Volunteers occupy a special role in that they were not recruited on the basis of being sent to the Western Frontier, but briefly served in the Eastern Theater against their former brethren. This conflict of loyalties allows Butts to make a more in-

---

<sup>2</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 117.

<sup>7</sup> Michèle Butts, *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri* (Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2003) 3-4.

depth analysis of the motivations of the Galvanized Yankees. Butts claims that the willingness of Confederate POWs to enlist in the Union army was a complex mix of responsibilities and dissatisfaction with the Confederate cause. Among the uppermost reasons for a change in loyalties were the ideals Southern men held of manliness, duty, and honor. "Simultaneously requiring loyalty to family, comrades, and country, these ideals forced soldiers to choose among their manly duties to protect and provide for their families, to protect and support their comrades, and to defend their country – and failing to do any one of these cost the individual his personal honor and manhood."<sup>8</sup>

Another expansion Butts provides into the topic of the Galvanized Yankees is an increased importance in the troops' relations with Indian tribes. The experience of the First U.S. Volunteers demonstrates the struggle of American troops (especially Southerners who had never seen an Indian before) to identify friendly trader from raiding hostile. "As Native men rode toward the fort, how were the soldiers to know who was merely passing by to assert ownership and who intended to attack the garrison or its livestock herds?"<sup>9</sup> Butts frames the interaction of the First U.S. Volunteers with the Indians of the Dakota Territory as some of the very first attempts at "multicultural society" and "nation building" among the tribes. He contextualizes most of the Indian leadership into two groups, peace chiefs and raiding hostiles, while comparing the inherent differences in Indian and European societies.<sup>10</sup> In Butts' view, the conciliatory behavior of the far-sighted peace chiefs was essential in establishing friendly and positive relations between the Indian tribes and Army units of the Frontier. It was the disappearance of the buffalo, however, that truly chastened the Indian tribes and forced them into submission:

---

<sup>8</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 4-5.

<sup>9</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 234.

<sup>10</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 236.

“Even if the easterners had learned to distinguish which Natives nearing the fort were friendly and devised strategies to accommodate Native lifeways as the fur traders had done, it is doubtful that a permanent peace could have developed on the Upper Missouri before the buffalo were gone.”<sup>11</sup> Despite an increased attention to the questionable practices of pacification used upon the Indian tribes of the Western Frontier, Butts, like Brown, shares the mentality that the First U.S. Volunteers were an exceptional unit: “the First U.S. Volunteers served obediently and well, with surprising adaptability and creativity.”<sup>12</sup>

Further delving into the details of the Galvanized Yankees is Al Hester’s *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees*. Where Butts narrowed down his topic to one regiment of six, Hester’s book follows the fates of 52 men from Athens, Georgia, who enlisted with the U.S. Volunteers. Hester co-published his book with the Athens Historical Society with the focus of identifying and discovering the fates of as many men from Athens as possible. He attributes Confederate POW willingness to enlist most heavily to the conditions of the POW camps and a loss of faith in the war effort rather than a loyalty to family first. “On July 3, 1863, the Union was victorious at Gettysburg. And the next day Vicksburg on the Mississippi was captured by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. It is no wonder that many Southerners – and some Confederate prisoners in Federal prisons – began losing their appetite for war.”<sup>13</sup> As Hester’s purpose for his book is to uncover what happened to the men of Athens, Georgia, he does not make any new or over-arching arguments in his monograph.

Another prevalent topic associated with the Galvanized Yankees is that of discipline among the Western forts. In his book *Forts of the Upper Missouri*, Robert G Athearn examines

---

<sup>11</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 235.

<sup>12</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 239.

<sup>13</sup> Al Hester, *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees* (Athens, The Green Berry Press, 2015), 11.

the situations of many Western posts. This overview includes Fort Rice under the command of Col. Charles Dimon and the First U.S. Volunteers. Among the many challenges Dimon faces in his assignment, Athearn portrays control over the Indian trade and support of supply lines as the most difficult to overcome. The conflict between the Indian Bureau, the Army, and licensed traders is a prominent theme. Athearn's depiction of Col. Dimon is one of a young officer, whose superiors find him too eager to carry out his duty and whose zeal is a strain upon Indian relations. "Sully felt that Dimon was a good officer, always willing to obey orders, but his youth, ambition, and lack of mature judgement worried the General."<sup>14</sup> Dimon and Fort Rice are a small piece of a much bigger picture, but this specific role played by the Galvanized Yankees is an important one in contextualizing their duties on the Western Frontier.

An individual case of discipline on the Frontier among the Galvanized Yankees is examined in William Unrau's *Arizona and the West* journal article "Justice at Fort Laramie: The Trial and Tribulations of a Galvanized Yankee." In the article, Unrau explores the scapegoating and botched court-martial trial of one Galvanized Yankee, and fits it into a greater setting of systematic abuse of power. He claims that this particular court-martial case almost uncovered wide-sweeping corruption, and that the judges ended the investigation once it became clear how pervasive the misconduct was. "To sustain the status quo and not implicate others it was better to let sleeping dogs lie."<sup>15</sup> The corruption concerned is primarily characterized as exploitation of the Indian trade – many of the same administrative challenges Col. Dimon faced. Unrau heavily criticizes the Western Frontier posts as lax on discipline with ineffective organization.

---

<sup>14</sup> Robert Athearn, *Forts of the Upper Missouri* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 174.

<sup>15</sup> William Unrau, "Justice at Fort Laramie: The Trial and Tribulations of a Galvanized Yankee," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 1973), 131.

With an everchanging political landscape, it is inevitable that new points of view will question old subjects. With such a niche topic, however, there have yet been few authors to write about the Galvanized Yankees. This means that we must make do with limited sources to study further into the questions that remain and to analyze the answers already provided.

### **Body**

Initially, the recruitment of Confederate POWs into the Union army was proposed as a political move. As the 1864 presidential elections approached, there was concern among Republicans that Abraham Lincoln may lose Pennsylvania to George B. McClellan. McClellan was a Pennsylvanian himself, and Lincoln regarded the support of Pennsylvania as essential to winning the election. In Pennsylvania, and other states as well, there was much concern about the great number of men being drafted into the armed forces. Any move to reduce the number of soldiers required from the states would boost Lincoln's popularity at a crucial point in his bid for re-election.<sup>16</sup>

The idea of recruiting POWs was proposed by Col. Henry S. Huidekoper and Judge S. Newton Pettis, both of whom would be sent to recruit soldiers from the prison camp at Rock Island, Illinois.<sup>17</sup> The implementation of recruitment among POWs was first seen as a controversial measure. President Lincoln soon granted approval to the creation of a unit of recruited Confederates, to be gathered by Col. Huidekoper. Lincoln stated in a message, "It is represented to me that there are at Rock Island, Ill., as rebel prisoners of war, many persons of Northern and foreign birth, who are unwilling to be exchanged and sent South, but who wish to

---

<sup>16</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 12.

take the oath of allegiance and enter the military service of the Union.”<sup>18</sup>

Although Lincoln was in favor of employing former Confederate soldiers when the situation proved necessary or useful, General Ulysses S. Grant was strongly opposed to inducting Confederate soldiers into his forces. Lincoln had already approved the plan, however, and issued a message to Grant apologizing for not including him in the decision. “I did not know at the time that you had protested against that class of thing being done, and I now say that while this particular job must be completed no other of the sort will be authorized without an understanding with you, if at all.”<sup>19</sup> Despite Grant’s hesitancy, Lincoln did not change his mind.

Secretary of War Edwin Stanton was also initially left out of the planning process and sought to further include Grant in the creation of the U.S. Volunteers. Stanton asked Grant for advice in a message on Sept. 25, 1864, “The question now arises, how shall they be organized, officered, and assigned to duty? Shall they be formed into one regiment by companies as other troops, or assigned in companies or squads to other organizations? Please favor me with your views on the subject.”<sup>20</sup> It was Grant’s reluctance to rely on the newly recruited Galvanized Yankees that led to his suggestion that all the men should be formed into one regiment and sent West for service under General Pope.<sup>21</sup> He counseled Secretary Stanton, “I would advise that they be placed all in one regiment, and be put on duty either with Pope, or sent to New Mexico.”<sup>22</sup> The directive of Frontier service was far more compelling for most Confederate POWs than fighting their former brethren, and many more volunteered for service. On October 8, 1864, Lincoln made a decree allowing the recruitment from Rock Island prison and set the enlistment

---

<sup>18</sup> United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series III, Volume 11, Part 4, 680 [hereafter cited as OR].

<sup>19</sup> OR, Ser. III, Vol. 4, 740.

<sup>20</sup> OR, Ser. III Vol. 4, 744.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 13.

<sup>22</sup> OR, Ser. III Vol. 4, 744.



cap at 1,750 men. "It is now said that under present instructions in recruiting from prisoners at Rock Island the names of those willing ~to enlist have to be first ascertained and sent here, and then an order from here for their examination and muster of such as are found suitable." <sup>23</sup> The new unit of the First U.S. Volunteers had just been created.

By the time of the Civil War, prisoner exchanges between nations had become an expected standard in war – officers being exchanged for officers, enlisted man for enlisted man, and so forth. <sup>24</sup> However, this practice did not occur at first during the Civil War. The act of exchanging prisoners was seen as recognizing the sovereignty of the opposing nation. The Confederate States of America was not recognized by the United States government as an independent nation, but as an insurrection against the United States government. <sup>25</sup> It followed that no exchange of prisoners could be sanctioned by the U.S. government without recognizing the C.S.A. as sovereign.

Prisoner exchanges and releases did occur, but they occurred unofficially without higher approval for fear of beginning a precedent. <sup>26</sup> As the number of POWs on each side began to rise, friends and relatives of the captured began to put pressure on the U.S. government to start exchanges. Slowly, a system based on that used during the War of 1812 was adopted and implemented on July 26, 1862 <sup>27</sup> All prisoners were to be released, and the side with more POWs would release the leftovers on parole. The parole system was based off of the European design and allowed a man to return home or to his command until his number was formally traded for an enemy parole number. Following the number exchange, both parolees could return to active

---

<sup>23</sup> *OR*, Ser. III Vol. 4, 756.

<sup>24</sup> Lonnie Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1997), 97.

<sup>25</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 98.

<sup>26</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 99.

<sup>27</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 102.

service. If the paroled soldier took up arms before his number was exchanged, he would be executed if captured again and discovered.<sup>28</sup>

Once exchange agreements were in place, the prison camps were quickly drained. It became evident, however, that Union paroled soldiers were less likely to return to service after being sent home than their Confederate counterparts. The U.S. command began to build parolee camps to house soldiers until their numbers were traded, so that they could not avoid service.<sup>29</sup> What truly brought the exchanges to standoff, however, was the Union's usage of black soldiers. The Confederate government refused to treat captured black troops as POWs and exchange them - they were considered by the Confederates to be run-away slaves who should be returned to their owners.<sup>30</sup> Following Lincoln's declaration of the Emancipation Proclamation, President Jefferson Davis added that any white officer captured while leading black troops would be charged with inciting slave revolt and could be put to death. This standoff climaxed when Union General Henry Halleck suspended the exchange program on May 25, 1863.<sup>31</sup>

With the end of official prisoner exchanges, it was not long until both Northern and Southern prisons began to face severe overcrowding. Doubling or tripling the original capacity limit became common, and smallpox, chronic diarrhea, and dysentery were prevalent throughout the camps.<sup>32</sup> Without adequate housing or access to clean water, the mortality rate of prison camps began to rise. At the Rock Island prison, where some of the Galvanized Yankees were recruited, the death rate reached 16 percent of all confined prisoners. Out of 12,400 inmates,

---

<sup>28</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 103.

<sup>29</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 104.

<sup>30</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 105.

<sup>31</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 105.

<sup>32</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 173.

1,964 perished from the poor conditions.<sup>33</sup> To any one of the men recruited into the Galvanized Yankees, death from exposure or disease in the prison camps was a very real possibility.

Even without contending with the poor conditions of their confinement, many POWs faced cruel prison guards. In Camp Chase, a Union POW camp, the guards received an aggressive reputation for punitive actions against inmates. In several cases, guards would fire upon inmates who misunderstood commands, or had recently arrived and did not yet know the rules.<sup>34</sup> One particularly harsh example was recorded by J. Coleman Alderson, a Confederate POW at Camp Chase: "On one occasion the moon was shining through a back window in barracks No. 2, on the opposite side from the guard who called 'lights out,' and as the moon did not go out, he (shot and) killed two men sleeping together in their cold, narrow bunks."<sup>35</sup>

There was also the hardship of separation from loved ones, which could prove just as painful to prisoners as physical strife. One Confederate POW named William Downer confined in Camp Chase wrote about his pain at being away from his family for so long. "And there is my little baby his Ma, Ma says a sweet little fellow that does not know that he has a Pa except from what he has been taught by his fond mother. To think that I have a child now twelve months old and not even know his name."<sup>36</sup> Not only was Downer anxious to see his family again and meet his young son for the first time, but he was also concerned with the provision of his mother and sisters. "At my far home is a widowed and crippled mother dependent on her sons for support. One of which I fear from late intelligence received from home cannot survive long owing to a wound received in the campaign of 1864. And the Mrs. son wounded through the arm and still

---

<sup>33</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 174.

<sup>34</sup> Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 81.

<sup>35</sup> *Confederate Veteran* (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1987), Vol. XX 295-96, quoted in Lonnie Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, Stackpole Books, 1997), 81.

<sup>36</sup> Wallbrook Swank, *Confederate Letters and Diaries 1861-1865* (Virginia, Papercraft Printing and Design Company), 1988, 175.

away from home. I am though I hope not confined in prison. And this is not all yet, there are five sisters four of whom are single and no one to look to for help except their brothers.”<sup>37</sup> It was sentiments like Downer’s of a desire to provide for family that convinced many Confederate prisoners to volunteer for Union service on the frontier. Downer did survive Camp Chase, and was released on June 11, 1865, following the end of the Civil War.<sup>38</sup>

At the onset of hostilities between the Union and Confederacy, the Confederacy began to incite the Indian Nations on the Western Border States to follow suite and establish themselves as independent of the United States.<sup>39</sup> Each of the different tribes had been treated as independent peoples, but under the practical authority of the United States. The Confederacy succeeded in stirring many of the Indian tribes into action against the Union to establish autonomy and stem the ever-increasing tide of white emigrants streaming through the territories.<sup>40</sup>

As violence broke out along the frontier in 1862, there were many raids and attacks by Indians on white settlers and homes: especially in the Dakota and Minnesota territories of the Upper Missouri. Not only did this outrage white Americans on the frontier and coasts, but as Captain Eugene Ware of the 7th Iowa Cavalry recorded in his diary, “When it was reported that the Indians of the Indian Territory were to be turned upon the Union forces, an intense feeling prevailed in the North against these Indians, and it recalled to mind the historical fact, known to every American, how the British did the same thing in our wars for independence,”<sup>41</sup> it also brought back angry memories of how the British utilized the Indians against the United States in

---

<sup>37</sup> Swank, *Confederate Letters*, 175.

<sup>38</sup> Swank, *Confederate Letters*, 179.

<sup>39</sup> Eugene Ware, *The Indian War of 1864* (Topeka: Crane and Company, 1911), 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ware, *Indian War*, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Ware, *Indian War*, 2.

the American Revolution and War of 1812. In response to the hostilities with the Indian Nations, General Pope was dispatched with an army to pacify the Frontier in 1863 and 1864.<sup>42</sup> In this task, Pope desperately failed. Pope's forces could not distinguish between the Indian tribes and an attack on whites by a raiding party of Santee or Sioux could lead to a Union reprisal attack on the more peaceful Yanktonai or Tetons, drawing them into the hostilities.<sup>43</sup>

As the Civil War continued to escalate, the Indian War too, showed no sign of declining. In response to the heightened wave of Indian aggression, Pope ordered the construction of a new string of border forts.<sup>44</sup> By this point, however, it was becoming increasingly difficult to gather the manpower to field an army. More and more men eligible for military service were volunteering or being sent East to fight against the Confederacy.<sup>45</sup> It was this shortage of manpower that necessitated the use of the Galvanized Yankees. Although Confederates at heart, with no newfound love for the Union, many Galvanized Yankees had no qualms with fighting Indians. Even through late 1865, by the time the Galvanized Yankees had taken over many Frontier posts, Indians were still pursuing a course of attack. James Fancher recorded on October 22, "The Indians are making their raids in small squads at the various Ranches. They attacked a train yesterday at or near Sand Hill, above here, which resulted in 8 Indians killed and 1 white man and a woman wounded in the thigh. Our boys fired out all their ammunition and had to come down here after more."<sup>46</sup>

Although later U.S. Volunteer regiments were recruited with the express purpose of guarding the Western Frontier against Indian raids, the men of the First U.S. Volunteers initially

---

<sup>42</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 65.

<sup>43</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 65.

<sup>44</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 66.

<sup>45</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 4.

<sup>46</sup> James Fancher, *The Civil War Diary 1864-1865 of Confederate Soldier James Alexander Polk Fancher*, Diary, History Nebraska [RG1187], 21.

served against the Confederacy.<sup>47</sup> The First U.S. Volunteers were unique in that after the creation of their regiment, they were first deployed in several raids into Confederate controlled North Carolina. The raids sought after and confiscated horses, cotton, tobacco, and other military or financial goods.<sup>48</sup> While on raid, the U.S. Volunteers did meet with resistance from Confederate troops and several men were killed. Two Galvanized Yankees were captured, and one was summarily executed by the Confederates for desertion to the Union cause.<sup>49</sup> There were also a few Galvanized Yankees who used the opportunity of the raid to desert.<sup>50</sup>

While the actions of the First U.S. Volunteers proved that the men were willing to fight for the Union, they also showed the risk associated with using former-Confederates against their old brethren. Desertion once in Southern territory was a major potential problem, as was execution by Confederate forces for any Galvanized Yankee unfortunate enough to be captured. These were some of the prevailing reasons that General Grant saw the U.S. Volunteers as excellent candidates to be sent to join Pope's army on the Western Frontier.<sup>51</sup>

The idea to utilize POWs to reinforce the ranks was not unique to the Union Army. As early as March 1863, the Confederate Army also made efforts to recruit from among the foreign-born Union POWs. As the Confederacy had a smaller population and fewer immigrants, it was more pressed for troops than the Union, and any new units would be a valuable addition to the forces of the C.S.A. However, it was not until September of 1864 that any concerted effort was made to enlist volunteers. Irish immigrants, and French to a lesser degree, were the primary groups sought after by recruiters.<sup>52</sup> Confederate Secretary of War James Seddon granted

---

<sup>47</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 4.

<sup>48</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 58.

<sup>49</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 59.

<sup>50</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 59.

<sup>51</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 59.

<sup>52</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 211.

permission for this experiment. "Use your discretion with regard to men taken as prisoners of war. Enlist if any are willing. Let any willing take the oath of allegiance. Put any willing to work. Parole and dismiss toward their own country such as you may deem safe."<sup>53</sup>

Upon formation of the new volunteer regiments and deployment to the front, a number of former Union recruits began to desert back to the Northern lines. There were efforts on the part of those that remained under Confederate command to mutiny and desert as a unit, but this was averted and the leaders of the mutiny were executed with the remainder of the unit sent back to prison. Confederate leadership saw this turn of events as a major failure in the experiment of enlisting prisoners.<sup>54</sup>

Another group of Galvanized Confederates were a part of the 10<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry, and once on the front line at Egypt Station, Mississippi in late December 1864, some deserted to the Union side, where they informed the Federal troops that resistance among the former POWs would not be fierce if an attack was made. An attack by the 2<sup>nd</sup> New Jersey Cavalry was launched the next morning, and although the Galvanized Confederates did open fire and inflict casualties upon the Union forces, they threw down their weapons when the Northern troops made a charge. These men were taken prisoner by the Union this time, and sent to a prison camp for spies, deserters, and dissidents in Alton, Illinois. They were ultimately shown leniency for their actions in swearing fealty to the Confederacy and allowed to join the newly created Fifth and Sixth U.S. Volunteers. In a strange turn of fate, these men were born in Europe before emigrating to the United States, joined the Union army before being captured and enlisting in the Confederate forces, and ultimately being recaptured to join the ranks of the Galvanized Yankees on the Western Frontier. Galvanized Confederates justified taking the oath of loyalty to the

---

<sup>53</sup> *OR*, Ser. II, Vol. 5, 845.

<sup>54</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 214.

Confederacy by claiming that they did so to avoid death by disease and malnourishment in the prison camps, hoping to desert to Union lines once the opportunity presented itself.<sup>55</sup>

One major drawback to the Galvanized Confederates was that the Confederacy did not have a frontier to deploy the new troops. The Confederate States never fought a war against the Indian tribes of the Western or South Western territories. The only place to implement the former POWs would be against the Union forces or in support roles behind the battle lines. This proved to be an unreliable placement, as desertion to the Union was common. Following the performance of Galvanized Confederates at Egypt Station, the recommendation was made that further recruits be divided among preexisting Confederate units rather than forming their own regiments with Southern officers.<sup>56</sup> Lieutenant-General Hardee issued the recommendation on December 24, 1864, "Colonel Brooks battalion, composed of Federal prisoners of war enlisted from prison into Confederate service, was found at Savannah to be utterly untrustworthy. The men deserted in large numbers, and finally mutinied, and were narrowly prevented from going over in a body to the enemy."<sup>57</sup>

With the success of the Union's experiment of the First U.S. Volunteers, overcrowding of the prison camps, and an ever-increasing need for troops to guard the Western Frontier, it was not long until five more regiments of Galvanized Yankees were approved for recruitment for service in the West. The second and third regiments were approved for creation on February 6, 1865.<sup>58</sup> This time, each of the new Galvanized Yankees enlisted on the condition that they would be fighting Indians, not fellow Southerners. This both expanded the pool of willing recruits, but

---

<sup>55</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 214-215.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 216.

<sup>57</sup> *OR*, Ser. II, Vol. 7, 1268.

<sup>58</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 15.



also placed the recruits in terrain alien to them: making it less tempting and more difficult to desert.

At the original creation of the U.S. Volunteers, the potential existed for a unit of mutinous troops and harsh disciplinarian officers. As time passed, however, the Northern officers and their Southern enlisted men became fonder of each other. An excellent example of this was the presentation of a ceremonial sword to Col. Charles Dimon by his men on President Lincoln's birthday in 1864.<sup>59</sup> The men had purchased the sword with a fund of their own creation, and Sergeant Major Braun presented the sword to Dimon, "And here in the wilds of Dacota, we the enlisted men of this command that were once your enemies. Now your friends present you with this Sword knowing you will always prove worthy the trust our Country has reposed in you, and never draw save in the cause of Liberty Justice and right."<sup>60</sup>

Col. Dimon was touched by this gesture, as he had never sought popularity with the men, but rather had sought to lead them as best he could in duty to his nation.<sup>61</sup> His response before he retired to his quarters, filled with emotion, shows his appreciation. "Doubly acceptable is this token when I remember that a year ago you were my countries enemies as well as my own."<sup>62</sup> He went on, "And God grant that this may be a forerunner of that blessed reunion between States North and South, when all cause for national strife shall be removed and our interest hearts and

---

<sup>59</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 110.

<sup>60</sup> Dimon to "Lis," 14 February 1865, Dimon Papers, Y.U.; Dimon, Memo Book; and Sword Presentation, 12 February 1865, Personal Letter Book, quoted in Michèle Butts, *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri* (Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2003), 110.

<sup>61</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 111.

<sup>62</sup> Dimon to "Lis," 14 February 1865, Dimon Papers, Y.U.; Benjamin Dimon to Parents, Wife, and Children, 15 February 1865, and Sword Presentation, 12 February 1865, quoted in Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 111.

hands shall be as one.”<sup>63</sup> Even at the time, the Galvanized Yankees were being recognized as the first fruits of a reunited nation.

Officers outside the U.S. Volunteers would also grow to look with favor upon the Galvanized Yankees. Captain Eugene Ware of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, while traveling with several U.S. Volunteer officers along the Frontier, also took a liking to them. “These officers were all officers of undoubted courage and ability, who had been selected from among the capable sergeants of the State regiments,”<sup>64</sup> He further praised their quality, stating in his memoirs that, “They were as intelligent and capable a lot of young men as you could hope to find; in fact, they were selected from the best, and averaged up much higher and better than the usual run of volunteer lieutenants.”<sup>65</sup> These assessments show that the Galvanized Yankees were, at least sometimes, equal or superior to enlisted Northern volunteers.

Even with a positive overall review, the Galvanized Yankees of the Western forts still struggled with many of the same temptations and shortcomings that soldiers in the Eastern Theater fell to. As young men far away from their homes, families, and sweethearts, loneliness was another endemic problem among the frontier posts. Despite their isolation, there was sometimes female company nearby. In the case of the First U.S. Volunteers stationed at Fort Rice under Col. Charles Dimon, there was an Indian named Fool Dog, who ran a sort of brothel across the river that many soldiers frequented.<sup>66</sup> This fraternization with Indian women was more akin to exploitation, as rations from the fort were traded or sold to the destitute Indians in return for sexual favors.<sup>67</sup> Even officers could take advantage of the situation, as Capt. Enoch Adams of

---

<sup>63</sup> Dimon to “Lis,” 14 February 1865, Dimon Papers, Y.U.; Benjamin Dimon to Parents, Wife, and Children, 15 February 1865, and Sword Presentation, 12 February 1865, quoted in Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 111.

<sup>64</sup> Ware, *Indian War*, 401.

<sup>65</sup> Ware, *Indian War*, 401.

<sup>66</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 96.

<sup>67</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 96.

Company D. reputedly used his authority to force the Indian women into sexual relations against their will.<sup>68</sup> These interactions forced Col. Dimon to revoke permission for all men to stay outside the fort after evening summons, and no Indians were to be allowed in the fort without approval from the post commander.<sup>69</sup>

In the isolation of a military fort in an extremely sparsely inhabited part of the country, boredom was a constant for many men. Few of the Galvanized Yankees were literate, so reading was not an option for most. Once finished with their chores and daily duties, most men had nothing to occupy their time and turned to drink for entertainment. Drunkenness was a common infraction for enlisted men throughout the Union army, and the monotony of Frontier garrison duty did not help.<sup>70</sup> Enlisted U.S. Volunteer James Fancher wrote of several instances when fellow soldiers overindulged in alcohol. On September 6, 1865, he recorded, "This evening Jack Adams & Jack Denton are drunk and are sent to the guardhouse for cutting up and cursing the Capt."<sup>71</sup> As seen in this occurrence, inebriation would often lead to further offences like disrespect to officers. Of the First U.S. Volunteers in 1865, Col. Dimon counted that the regiment consumed over three hundred gallons of alcohol during the five months between the October 1 and March 1.<sup>72</sup>

Alcoholism was not a problem limited only to enlisted men. On November 8, 1865, Fancher records an event during travel to Fort Leavenworth. "1 a.m. Col. McNally had the regt. & train stopped and every man to get his gun, & several of the wagons had to be unloaded. He also examined all who were riding & made good many get out & walk. He asked me if I was

---

<sup>68</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 97.

<sup>69</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 97.

<sup>70</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 103.

<sup>71</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 103.

“yet reading that d----d old Bible.” He was drunk.”<sup>73</sup> In this case, it was a commanding officer who was drunk and issuing faulty orders: forcing the whole troop to stop and unpack while still in transit.

While the Galvanized Yankees were deployed to the Western Frontier to control, combat, or pacify the Indian tribes, there was oftentimes very little actual fighting to be done. While some regiments confronted hostile Indians frequently and lost a number of soldiers in attacks, others were distributed across the Nebraska and Kansas Frontier and acted more as a deterrent to aggression. Even when confronting hostile Indians, disease was still the most common cause of deaths. William D. Vencil of the First U.S. Volunteers included in a letter that “We are in one of the worst country in the world [at] the present time we have to fight Indians every few Days we have been here 9[?]months and we have lost 78 or 79 men out of the Regt most Died of disease we have only lost 4 or five killed by Indians.”<sup>74</sup>

During their time maintaining the West, the Galvanized Yankees would patrol to keep stage coach and mail lines open, work to improve their forts, and would provide escorts to wagon trains. Part of the duty of protecting wagon trains meant turning them back if they did not have an appropriate number of men. James Fancher, as one of the only literate soldiers, kept records for Company F of the Third U.S. Volunteers. He describes an instance on Sept. 18, 1865, when he was reprimanded for following orders on restricting the travel of wagons with too few men. “Col. Smith rebukes me for sending wagon-masters to him (who have not their required number of men), as though my sympathies were not as easily touched as his by their pitiful tales.”<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 24.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from William D. Vencil, “Looking Back: the Civil War in Tennessee,” Tennessee State Library and Archives, quoted by Al Hester, *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees* (Athens, The Green Berry Press, 2015), 30.

<sup>75</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 12.

The interaction with Indian tribes also provided an opportunity for building relations between the U.S. and Indian nations. While some attempts at hospitality, like hosting Indian chiefs for dinner on Christmas, were successful in teaching soldier and Indian about one another, there were many more instances of miscommunication.<sup>76</sup> Simple miscommunications on the Frontier could easily become lethal. For example, two Oglala chiefs were executed after escorting a white woman back to Fort Rice whom they had purchased from another tribe.<sup>77</sup> They probably supposed that they would be gaining favor with the United States by returning the woman back, but to the garrison of the fort, these appeared to be the same Indians who had kidnapped her.<sup>78</sup> There were many other cases of mistaken identity, as the U.S. Volunteers repeatedly failed to identify the differing tribes and distinguish the mixed political web of tribal relations in which the Indians operated. In such wanton bloodshed, the experience of the Galvanized Yankees offered an early look at the sort of conflict that would continue between the United States and Native American groups, leading to large scale dispossession of Indigenous lands.

The men stationed along the Frontier had a wide range of experiences in the beautiful, and sometimes dangerous wilderness. Most days were uneventful and even pleasant, as recorded by James Fancher on March 22, 1865, "Fine weather. We lay over. I go on guard, have a fine time of it."<sup>79</sup> Other times, the weather took a turn for the worse and the men had to suffer through it. On April 6, 1865, Fancher described one such day. "Reveille at 5 A.M., every man covered with snow. It is pretty tough, but soldiers must not grumble, & Co. F does not grumble as some do. We have seen hard times before."<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 241.

<sup>77</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 127.

<sup>78</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 127.

<sup>79</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 6.

Even with the support provided by the Galvanized Yankees, U.S. forces on the Frontier were stretched thin across the vast landscape. Sickness also took a toll on the manpower of the U.S. Volunteers, and combined with the remoteness of their position, it was difficult to reinforce the far-flung posts. On Sept. 5, 1865, Fancher records that the number of standby soldiers was at a low. "At this time there is narry man in Co. F for duty at the Co. All the boys are either detached, on daily duty or sick."<sup>81</sup>

The composition of the Galvanized Yankees was an eclectic one. While most of the soldiers had previously been Southern farmers, there were many who were craftsman.<sup>82</sup> Others were not from the South, but rather from Europe. Irish, German, French, English, or other nationalities swept up in the tide of war. Following the creation of Galvanized Confederates, some U.S. Volunteers were former Union soldiers who had joined the Confederacy after being captured only to be captured again by the Union. Most of the Galvanized Yankees were young men, with a median age of 24. The youngest were 17, and the oldest was 43.<sup>83</sup>

There does exist record of one particularly unique case to illustrate the diverse backgrounds of the former Confederates who found themselves on the Western Frontier: the implausible story of Joseph Isaacs, also known by his real name of Emanuel H. Saltiel. Saltiel was an English-born Jew, who, after serving as a British officer, emigrated to the Confederate States of America.<sup>84</sup> He became a lieutenant and aide-de-camp in Atlanta before his capture by Union forces. He then escaped the Union prison at Louisville in order to readmit himself disguised as an enlisted man. He did this to avoid reprisal executions of officers for Confederate

---

<sup>81</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 123.

<sup>83</sup> Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 123.

<sup>84</sup> Unrau, *Justice at Fort Laramie*, 117.

guerrilla actions, which he feared were imminent.<sup>85</sup> From this point on, he adopted the name Joseph Isaacs and joined the Sixth U.S. Volunteers when presented with the opportunity.<sup>86</sup> He served in the Dakota Territory and was stationed at Fort Laramie. Saltiel quickly rose to the rank of sergeant, and appeared to be a very ambitious and competent soldier. Due to supposed corruption and lax discipline present at Fort Laramie, Saltiel's superior officers attempted to frame him as the cause of high desertions in the Fort.<sup>87</sup> The court-martial trial was inconclusive as more of Saltiel's past was discovered and his loyalty was proven to favor England, not the Confederacy. He was still convicted with disloyalty and was drummed out of service as result.<sup>88</sup> Saltiel's story is a strange one, but shows the myriad of experiences among the Galvanized Yankees.

Having discussed who the Galvanized Yankees were, why they were formed, and what they did, why did they do it? Why did Confederate POWs enlist in the U.S. Volunteers? They enlisted because of a combination of three things: freedom from POW camps, dissatisfaction with the Confederacy, and opportunism to earn a wage to provide for their families. Captain Eugen Ware summed up these reasons succinctly after traveling with some officers of the Galvanized Yankees.

These "United States Volunteers," as they were called, were soldiers recruited from the military prison-pens at Chicago and Rock Island, and were made up of men taken from the Southern Confederacy who were willing to go West and swear allegiance to the United States on the condition that they would not be requested to go South and fight their own brethren. They wanted to get out of prison, were tired of the war, didn't want to go back into the service, did not want any more of the Southern Confederacy, did not want to be exchanged, and were willing to go into the United States service for the purpose of fighting the Indians.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Unrau, *Justice at Fort Laramie*, 119.

<sup>86</sup> Unrau, *Justice at Fort Laramie*, 120.

<sup>87</sup> Unrau, *Justice at Fort Laramie*, 113.

<sup>88</sup> Unrau, *Justice at Fort Laramie*, 131.

<sup>89</sup> Ware, *Indian War*, 401.

Every individual U.S. Volunteer had his own reasons, of course, but these three overarching themes cover the greatest motivations.

The expectation for men to provide for their family was especially strong during the Victorian Era, and the American South was no exception. During the Civil War, however, there was a conflict of roles. Men were expected to act as breadwinners, but also had a duty to fulfill by fighting for their nation.<sup>90</sup> At first, these two roles coexisted, but as the Civil War dragged on, families began to suffer at home from shortages of food and other necessities. The South was a primarily agricultural economy, and with so many men away at war for multiple seasons, it was their families who bore the cost. Many Southern men had an inner struggle to reconcile loyalty to their comrades-in-arms with a need to take care of their wives and children.<sup>91</sup> Was responsibility to country or family more important?

For the Confederate POWs who enlisted as Galvanized Yankees, an answer must have been decided. While in prison, they were unable to earn wages for their family and could not actively fight for their nation. The opportunity offered by the Union of wages for service on the Frontier was seen by many as an acceptable way to fulfill their highest duty: that of feeding their families.<sup>92</sup> As the tide turned against the Confederacy and it failed to provide basic goods to its citizens, fewer people were as supportive of the war effort. Those families with men locked away in the prison camps of North were much more supportive of service in the U.S. Volunteers until the war ended and the men could return.<sup>93</sup>

In fact, many wives and family members would beg Civil War soldiers to return home from service immediately. This was especially common in the Confederacy, as the war caused

---

<sup>90</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 4.

<sup>91</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 4.

<sup>92</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 4.

<sup>93</sup> Butts, *Galvanized Yankees Upper Missouri*, 5.



destitution and deprivation on the home front. Wives would write their husbands describing starvation, poverty, sickness, and other hardships begging them to come home. One such letter was written to an enlisted man from an Alabaman wife in 1864, "We haven't got nothing in the house to eat but a little bit o meal ... If you put off a-coming, 'twont be no use to come, for we'll all hands of us be out there in the grave yard with your ma and mine."<sup>94</sup> Such letters were very painful for soldiers to receive and directly challenged the men, as breadwinners, to leave service in order to secure the safety of their families. The strain of difficulties at home could be a very demoralizing force on soldiers in the field.<sup>95</sup>

James Fancher joined the Third U.S. Volunteers in a situation much akin to this. He served on the Frontier, but his heart was set on rejoining his father back in Tennessee. In his diary on Sept. 16, 1865, he expressed his desire to return home to aid his father in the operation of their farm. "And I feel that I have not done enough for my father. And I long to see the day when I can return to my native state and work the comfort of my father the balance of his or my days, which would be the greatest earthly pleasure to me."<sup>96</sup>

Even still, after serving under Union leadership and sometimes bonding with their Northern leaders, Galvanized Yankees were still Southerners at heart. James Fancher included an encrypted entry in his diary on October 16, 1865, discussing his feelings on Southern pride and the outcome of the war.

I am very impatient for the day when I can tell my diary something about marching toward home, and I hope to go home with the good conscience that I have served my time faithfully and honorably, and at the same time I have always had that love for the South I ever had and hope always will have, no matter how humiliating their defeat may have been. But I do not believe it so humiliating as some would call it, but that the same honest

---

<sup>94</sup> Quoted in Bessie Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army* (New York, 1932). 148, quoted by James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997) 138.

<sup>95</sup> McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 138.

<sup>96</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 11.

principles exist in the hearts of every true southern man, and that as the issue has been settled by the force of arms, that the southern man is as true to his country as ever he was before this war.<sup>97</sup>

Although in arms under a government they once fought, Galvanized Yankees still retained an unspoken loyalty to the South and an esteem for its culture.

The existence of the Southerners willing to serve in the Union army even before the Civil War's end is a testament to the lack of uniformity in support for secession. The Galvanized Yankees certainly still saw themselves as American, and did not inherently oppose the Federal Government. They simply saw a higher loyalty to their home states. After their service on the Frontier ended, the majority of U.S. Volunteers traveled back to their hometowns and families. They were received with mixed reactions largely depending on where their homes were. Generally, the farther south a man was from, the more hostile his neighbors regarded his actions in joining the Union. In the end, though, most families were supportive and happy to have their husbands, brothers, and sons return.

The U.S. Volunteers were created out of political opportunism and maintained out of a necessity for troops on the Western Frontier. They were joined by Southern and immigrant men dissatisfied with the Confederacy. Men who sought to escape the dangers of the POW camps and were eager for a chance to provide for their families. The Galvanized Yankees are a unique story in the saga of the Civil War. They represent the first efforts to rekindle unity between a reconciled South and merciful North. Although their tale is largely forgotten, they performed an indispensable role in both pacifying and protecting the Western Frontier. While modern historians can admonish the actions of United States forces against the Indian tribes of the Midwest, the men of the time were doing what they perceived to be the right thing and fulfilling

---

<sup>97</sup> Fancher, *Civil War Diary*, 19.

their orders to the best of their ability. The U.S. Volunteers completed their service as faithfully as any Northern-born enlisted man or Confederate veteran. Their tale is a testament to the dedication shown by the men of the Galvanized Yankees in providing for their families. To serve in an enemy's army after being captured would have required a man to set aside his pride. The Galvanized Yankees did this because they saw their loyalty to family as a higher obligation than their call to fight for their state.

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

- Fancher, James, A.P. *The Civil War Diary 1864-1865 of Confederate Soldier James Alexander Polk Fancher*. Diary. History Nebraska [RG1187]. Paper copy (accessed September 28, 2019).
- Swank, Wallbrook D. *Confederate Letters and Diaries 1861-1865*. Virginia: Papercraft Printing and Design Company, Inc., 1988.
- Ware, Eugene F. *The Indian War of 1864*. Topeka: Crane and Company, 1911.
- United States War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.

### Secondary Sources

- Athearn, Robert G. *Forts of the Upper Missouri*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.
- Brown, Dee. *The Galvanized Yankees*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963.
- Butts, Michèle Tucker. *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: The Face of Loyalty*. Boulder: The University Press of Colorado, 2003.
- Hester, Al. *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees*. Athens, GA: The Green Berry Press, 2015.
- McPherson, James M. *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Speer, Lonnie R. *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997.

Unrau, William E. "Justice at Fort Laramie: The Trial and Tribulations of a Galvanized Yankee."

*Arizona and the West*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 1973): 107-132.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40168130>.