

# Research Aid 1861 Missouri Speaks:

Rebooting History

Series Sampler

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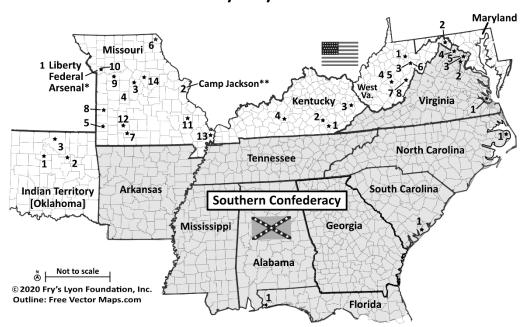
Field of Dreams (1989)

Fry's Lyon Foundation, Inc.

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title	Page
1861 Land Battles & Significant Actions by State	iv
Missouri Civil War Period Map	vi
1861 Missouri Speaks: Rebooting History Series Descriptions	V11
General Nathaniel Lyon Dedication	X11
Key for Missouri County Maps	xiv
1861 Missouri Speaks Collection Document Identifiers	XV
U.S. Military Command Structure in Missouri	xvi
U.S. Army Districts Controlling Missouri on December 31 and the Missouri State Guard Divisions Created by the Military Bill	xvii
Timeline Sample (September 1-16, 1861)	XV111
1860-1862 Calendars	xxix
Volume Introduction	XXX11
Series 1 – Missouri Democrat Newspaper: Sample of Vol. 1, Jan-Feb 1861	1
Series 2 – Primary Source Documents: Sample of Vol. 5, Part 1, Sep 1-14, 1861	16
Series 3 – Rural Missouri Newspapers: Sample of Vol. 1, Jan-May 1861	32
Series 4 – New York Tribune Newspaper: Sample of Vol. 2, Aug-Dec	46
Series 5 –. Missouri Republican Newspaper: Sample of Vol. 3, Sep-Dec 1861	60
Series 6 – War Correspondents Reporting From Missouri: Sample of Vol. 1, Union	72
Series 7 – Vindication of MGen. Fremont's Service in Missouri: Sample of Vol. 3A, Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, Dept. of the West	84
Series 8 – BGen. Lyon's Service in Missouri: Sample of Vol. 1, Documents and Articles	94
Series 9 – President Abraham Lincoln: Sample of Vol. 1, Part 1, Lincoln and Missouri	106
Series 10 – Principal Officers and Officials: Sample of Vol. 1, Part 3, Har-L	120
Series 11 – Missouri 1861: The Way it Was: Sample of Vol. 3, Part 1 Civil War Recollections  Concerning Missouri	136 148
Series 13—Missouri Elections 1860: Sample of Vol. 2, Presidential Election	158
Series 14 – Revised and Modernized Period Books, Sample of Vol. 2, The Fight for Missouri by Thomas L. Snead	172
Bibliography	181
Index	183

# 1861 Land Battles & Significant Actions By State FLP: 00/000/G-236.07



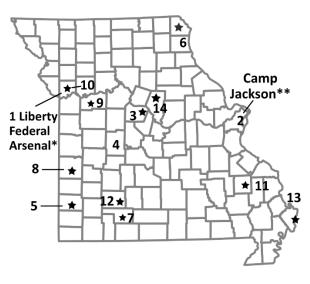
**★** Designated Historically Significant by the National Park Service Site Advisory Commission.

Key	Battle	Date	Total Combatants <sup>1</sup>					
Virginia								
1	Battle of Big Bethel	June 10, 1861	4,900					
2	Battle of Blackburn's Ford	July 18, 1861	8,100					
3	Battle of Bull Run	July 21, 1861	67,000					
4	Battle of Ball's Bluff	Oct. 21, 1861	3,429					
5	Battle of Dranesville Fry's Lyon Foundation	Dec. 20, 1861	9,000					
Present-Day West Virginia <sup>2</sup>								
1	Battle of Philippi	June 3, 1861	3,800					
2	Battle of Hoke's Run	July 2, 1861	12,000					
3	Battle of Rich Mountain	July 11, 1861	8,300					
4	Battle of Kessler's Cross Lanes	Aug. 26, 1861	3,000 (approx.)					
5	Battle of Carnifex Ferry	Sept. 10, 1861	7,000 (approx.)					
6	Battle of Cheat Mountain	Sept. 12-15, 1861	8,000					
7	Battle of Greenbrier River	Oct. 3, 1861	6,800					
8	Battle of Camp Allegheny	Dec. 13, 1861	3,200 (approx.)					
	Kentucky							
1	Battle of Barbourville	Sept. 19, 1861	1,100					
2	Battle of Camp Wildcat	Oct. 21, 1861	12,400					
3	Battle of Ivy Mountain	Nov. 8, 1861	4,000					
4	Battle of Rowlett's Station	Dec. 17, 1861	1,850					
	Indian Territory/Present-Day	y Oklahoma						
1	Battle of Round Mountain	Nov. 19, 1861	1,600 (approx.)					

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wikipedia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> After Virginia seceded from the Union on April 17, 1861, West Virginia seceded from Virginia and became the 35<sup>th</sup> state of the Union on June 20, 1863.

2	Battle of Chusto-Talasah	Dec. 9, 1861	3,800 (approx.)						
3	Battle of Chustenahlah	Dec. 26, 1861	3,080						
	South Carolina								
1	Attack on Fort Sumter	April 12, 1861	6,085 <sup>3</sup>						
	North Carolina								
1	Battle of Hatteras Inlet Batteries	Aug. 28, 1861	1,835						
	Florida								
1	Battle of Santa Rosa Island	Oct. 9, 1861	1,800						
	Missouri								



	1861 Missouri							
Key	Battle/Action	Date	Total Combatants <sup>1</sup>					
1	Capture of Liberty Arsenal	Apr. 19	203					
2	Capture of Camp Jackson	May 10	6,669					
3	First Battle of Boonville	June 17	3,200					
4	Battle of Cole Camp	June 19	950					
5	Battle of Carthage	July 5	7,100					
6	Battle of Athens	Aug. 5	2,300					
7	Battle of Wilson's Creek	Aug. 10	17,500					
8	Battle of Dry Wood Creek	Sept. 2	6,600²					
9	First Battle of Lexington	Sept. 13	18,500					
10	Battle of Liberty	Sept. 17	4,100					
11	Battle of Fredericktown	Oct. 21	5,000					
12	First Battle of Springfield	Oct. 25	1,800					
13	Battle of Belmont	Nov. 7	21,000					
14	Battle of Mt. Zion Church	Dec. 28	1,350					

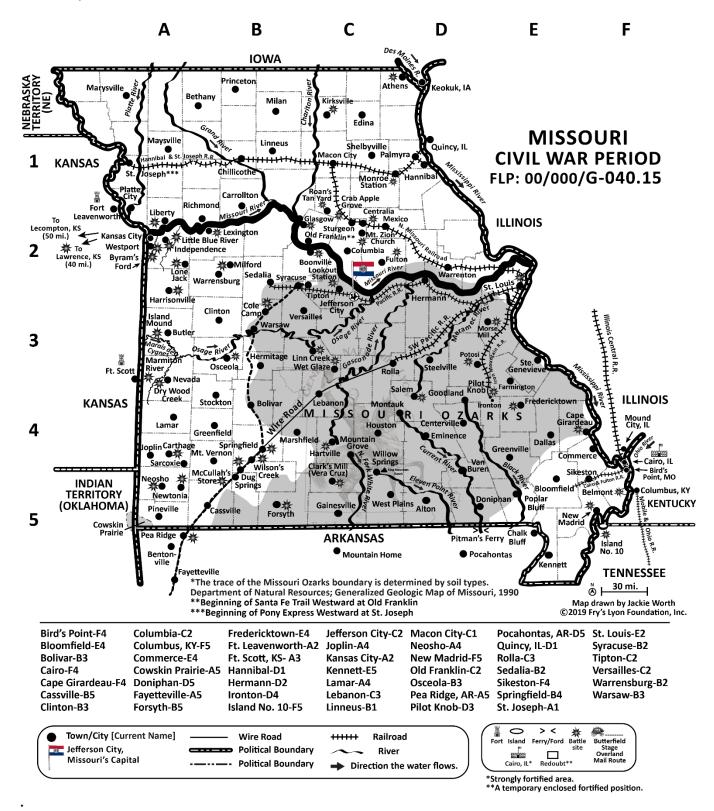
<sup>\*</sup>Capture of Liberty Federal Arsenal. First secessionist action in Missouri.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Camp Jackson: First aggressive action by U.S. Army against secessionists, 669 prisoners taken. (O.R., I,3: 163-164)



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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> National Park Service.



### 1861 MISSOURI SPEAKS: REBOOTING HISTORY SERIES DESCRIPTIONS

The 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection is intended to be a living document that will be improved over time. To support that goal, an internet-based errata sheet<sup>4</sup> will be used to correct typos, oversights, and add newly discovered material where appropriate.

The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (O.R.) was started in 1866 and completed in 1901, with a revised general index being published in 1902. The printing plates for all 128 volumes were destroyed around 1903; consequently, all of its errors are baked in, and that problem is magnified, considering it was not edited for accuracy; dates, facts, figures, and spelling, so that what was wrong in 1903 is still wrong today.<sup>5</sup> This fact needs to be kept in mind when the information from the Official Record presented in this series is not in agreement with other documents. In more than a few cases, we have corrected errors we have identified, but certainly we did not find them all, and obviously we have made mistakes of our own. No apologies; we made an honest effort and did the best we could.



#### Series Sampler

This Sampler features samples from each series of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* volumes. The collection consists of over 60 volumes that include transcribed copies of Civil War-era newspapers, primary source documents, and government reports. These volumes are presented in chronological order, with additional volumes arranged by subject or by the concerned officer/official.

Sampler with Atlas — A special version of the Sampler with the Atlas volume included.

Core Volumes – Series 1-5 (Articles and Documents in Chronological Order):

Series 1 – Missouri Democrat Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (11 Volumes)

The *Missouri Democrat* was a Republican Party, anti-slavery, unconditional unionist newspaper published in the slave state of Missouri. The articles provided cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues, which together provide a window into the social condition of the period. Articles are transcribed, modernized, footnoted, and explanatory notes are included to help contextualize the articles. Maps and pictures are added to help the reader visualize the information provided. A timeline keyed to the articles, a finding aid section, and an index are also provided.

Series 2 – Primary Source Documents 1861<sup>6</sup> (11 Volumes)

Transcribed copies of documents, letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, etc. All items are modernized and footnoted, with supporting maps and pictures. This series is a repository of primary source documents dealing with Missouri, culled from many separate repositories dealing with the Civil War period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Go to www.1861MissouriSpeaks.com/Errata

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Aimone, Alan C. and Barbara A.; A User's Guide to the Official Records of the American Civil War; White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., 1993

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Also contains some early 1862 documents.

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Series 3 – Rural Missouri Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (2 Volumes)

Transcribed newspaper articles from all of Missouri's rural newspapers that were available on microfilm in the State Historical Society of Missouri newspaper collection in 2014. The articles provided cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues.

Series 4 – New York Tribune Articles Concerning Missouri Published in 1861. (2 Volumes)

The articles provided cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues. (2 Volumes)

**Volume 1** – New York Tribune (January-July 1861) **Volume 2** – New York Tribune (August-December 1861)

Series 5 – Missouri Republican Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (3 Volumes)

The Missouri Republican was a Democratic Party-supporting newspaper that was pro-slavery and conditional unionist. It advocated for compromise rather than coercion to keep the cotton states in the Union. The selected articles cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues related to Missouri. Although full copies of the Missouri Republican are available on the internet, this collection only includes individual articles on the aforementioned subjects. While some of these articles have been transcribed and footnoted, most of them are presented as found on the Internet. The Missouri Republican represented the Democratic Party's view, and the Missouri Democrat (Series 1) represented the Republican Party's view. Therefore, they usually presented opposing views on most topics. Many of the articles presented in Series 5 do not have supporting maps, pictures, and footnotes; however, those found in Series 1 (Missouri Democrat) also support the articles in Series 5 volumes.

Special Purpose Volumes – Series 6-14:

Series 6 – War Correspondents Reporting from Missouri (2 Volumes)

**Volume 1** – Union **Volume 2** – Confederate

Series 7 – Vindication of MGen. Fremont's Service in Missouri (14 Volumes/Parts)

Transcriptions of letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, and newspaper articles related to MGen. John C. Fremont's 100 days in Missouri, as the commander of the Department of the West.

Volume 1 – Fremont's Service in Missouri

This volume documents that Major General Fremont performed admirably during his time in Missouri. It also reveals that his relief by the president was the result of a covert campaign by Congressman Francis P. Blair Jr., his father, and brother Montgomery, as well as a group of disloyal West Point officers (Generals Hunter, Pope, and Curtis). The overall campaign was organized by President Lincoln himself in order to eliminate Fremont as a potential rival for the 1864 Republican Party nomination for president while at the same time destroying his reputation.

**Volume 2** - Fremont as Reported by the Press – In Chronological Order

Newspaper articles reporting and commenting on the service of MGen. Fremont in Missouri. Among the many newspapers represented in this series are the *Missouri Republican, Missouri Democrat, New York Tribune, New York Times, New York Herald, Chicago Tribune, Cincinnati Press, and the Cincinnati Gazette.* 

Part 1 – Missouri Newspapers

Part 2 – Non-Missouri Newspapers

**Volume 2A** - Fremont as Reported by the Press – Arranged by Subject (2 Volumes/Parts)

**Volume 3** – Committee on the Conduct of the War Report, Part 3: Dept. of the West (Full Report)

**Volume 3A** - Committee on the Conduct of the War Report, Part 3: Dept. of the West (Separated into Subject Areas)

Volume 4 – Contracts Investigation of the Department of the West (4 Parts)

Part 1 – Contracts Investigation in Context and Testimony Index

Part 2 – Congressional Investigation Summary Report and Testimonies (1 of 3)

Part 3 – Contract Investigations Testimonies (2 of 3)

Part 4 – Testimonies (3 of 3)

Volume 5 – Sabotaging MGen. Fremont

Part 1 – The Blair Family

Part 2 – Other Saboteurs

**Volume 6** – The Brown Water Navy

**Series 8** – BGen. Lyon's Service in Missouri (2 Volumes)

**Volume 1** – Documents and Articles Concerning BGen. Lyon

**Volume 2** – Books and Articles Concerning BGen. Lyon

**Series 9** – President Abraham Lincoln (4 Volumes)

Background: Missouri's governor called for a State Convention to justify secession from the Union. However, the Convention surprised him and other Democratic state officials by voting 98 to 1 to remain in the Union. Despite this, the governor and other state officials still attempted to carry Missouri out of the Union by force. To prevent this, citizen volunteers, led by a Regular Army captain, disarmed the State Militia at Camp Jackson, and drove the governor and his armed supporters to the far corner of the state. This allowed the State Convention to reconvene, depose the renegade governor, and appoint a provisional governor. Unfortunately, President Lincoln's constant interference in both civil and military affairs caused immense suffering for the citizens throughout the war. In fact, Lincoln's interference caused Missouri's

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Provisional Governor, Hamilton R. Gamble, to write Lincoln's Attorney General Bates in 1863 that Lincoln was "a mere intriguing, pettifogging politician."

Volume 1 - Lincoln and Missouri

Part 1 – Correspondence and Newspaper Articles

Part 2 – Washington's War on Missouri

Volume 2 – Lincoln and Missouri's Armed Forces

Part 1 - Union

Part 2 - Confederate and Rebel

Series 10 – Principal Officers and Officials (8 Volumes)

As it is difficult to keep track of the actions of any one individual within a chronological presentation of documents, this series consolidates the documents from Series 1 and 2 of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* associated with individual officers and officials. Articles and documents concerning President Lincoln are found in Series 9; those concerning on MGen. Fremont are found in Series 7; those concerning BGen. Lyon are found in Series 8.

**Volume 1** – Union – Arranged by Officer or Official Concerned (5 parts)

Volume 2 – Confederate and Rebel – In Chronological Order

Volume 2A - Confederate and Rebel - Arranged by Officer or Official Concerned

**Volume 3** – Governors of Missouri and Surrounding States

**Series 11** – The Way It Was (5 Volumes)

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} Volume 1-Vignettes - Short Stories - Book Reviews \\ \end{tabular}$ 

**Volume 2** – Samples of Fake History

Volume 3 – Civil War Recollections Concerning Missouri (3 Parts)

Eighty-nine articles written by those who served in Missouri during the war years, taken from multiple sources, including *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS)'s magazine, *The Loyal Legion Historical Journal*, the 1885-1887 *Missouri Republican* series of articles entitled "Tales of the War," and the *Confederate Veteran* magazine.

Series 12 – Missouri Speaks Reference Volumes (4 Volumes)

**Volume 1** – Biographies - Shortened biographies of many individuals mentioned in the *Missouri Speaks Collection*. In most cases, biographies have been extracted from pre-1920s sources, but no attempt has been made to verify their accuracy, unless stated in a footnote. The information provided in these biographies typically does not extend much beyond the Civil War period.

**Volume 2** – Atlas – A Collection of over 300 maps prepared for the *Missouri Speaks Collection*.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> (FLP: Ser 9LI-Aug63#1)

**Volume 3** – Military Orders - Documents concerning military operations in Missouri from the Official Record, War of the Rebellion, and many other military documents not found in the Official Record.

**Volume 4** – Significant and Turning Point Documents - Documents such as Missouri's 1820 Constitution, the 1858 Militia Act, summary and minutes of the three sessions of the 1861 State Convention, etc.

Series 13 – Missouri Elections 1860 (2 Volumes)

Transcribed newspaper articles from multiple sources published from July to December 1860. These articles cover the gubernatorial and presidential elections in Missouri, including the election campaigns, the results of the elections, and comments on the results. Volume 2 also provides reports on the attitudes of Missourians toward the secession of South Carolina.

Volume 1 – Gubernatorial Election (August 1860)

Volume 2 – Presidential Election (November 1860)

Series 14 – Revised and Modernized Period Books (4 Volumes)

**Volume 1** – Contains 2 books: Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861 by James Peckham and The Struggle for Missouri by John McElroy

**Volume 2** – *The Fight for Missouri* by Thomas L. Snead

**Volume 3** – *Ten Years in the Ranks, U.S. Army* by Augustus Meyers

**Volume 4** – Missouri: A Bone of Contention by Lucien Carr

### The Lyon Monument Lyon Park, Saint Louis, Missouri Erected by: The Strength The Camp Jackson of Our Nation Union Soldiers Is the Monument United States Association To commemorate the capture of Camp Jackson, May 10, 1861

## GENERAL NATHANIEL LYON DEDICATION

by Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and the Missouri Volunteers

The 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection/Repository of Missouri Civil War documents is dedicated to the memory of Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, a Connecticut Yankee from Eastford, Connecticut. General Lyon was the first Union general killed in battle during the Civil War. A professional soldier who had previously served as an infantry company commander in both the Seminole and Mexican-American Wars. He was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, executing his oath to defend the Constitution of the United States by leading a loyal Union force against a rebel force attempting to carry Missouri out of the Union. Colonel Thomas Snead, one of the Missouri rebel officers fighting in that battle wrote, "By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and bravely dying, Lyon had won the fight for Missouri." That feeling was echoed by Congress in 1897 when it published a report stating:

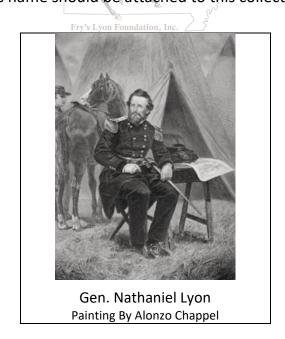
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri: from the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1886, p. 303.

The battle of Wilson's Creek, fought on the 10th day of August 1861, was one of the most important among the first battles of the Civil War. The brave and gallant General Lyon was killed on that battlefield while leading his brave command against overwhelming odds. So stubbornly did he and his devoted command contest the ground fought over that the victors were unable to pursue their advantage, and it is truthfully said that the result of that battle was to save the great state of Missouri to the Union.

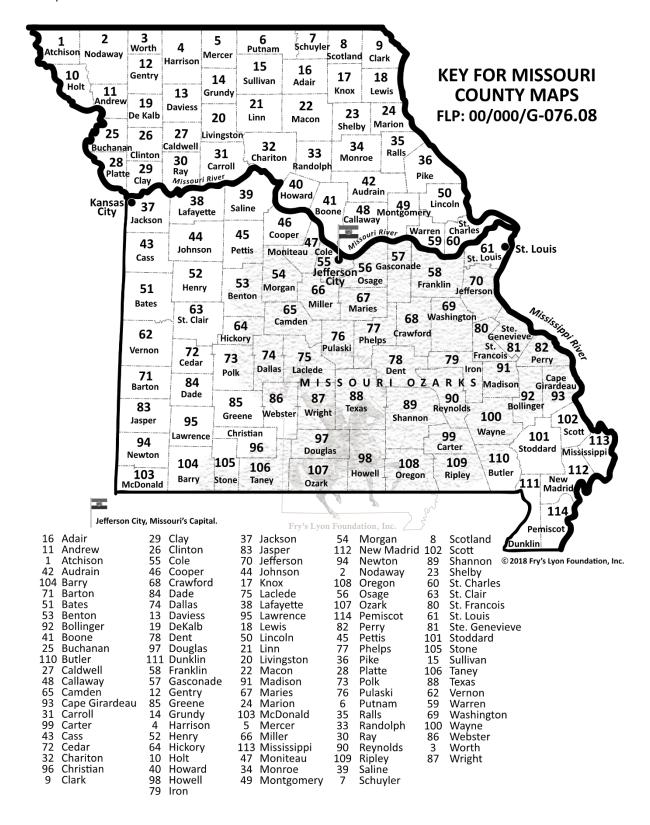
A few months after Lyon's death, one of Lyon's men wrote:

The present time is pregnant with vast events. Battles are imminent which will throw the story of Wilson's Creek into the shade. But whatever events shall happen, whatever triumphs or reverses to the nation after the sharp storm of calamity shall have spent itself and the blinding passions of this crisis shall have cleared away, there are some names which mankind will not willingly let die, and among them, among the martyrs of constitutional liberty, posterity will write the name of LYON.<sup>9</sup>

Even though Lyon was a national hero in the North and a respected soldier and patriot in the South, post-war generations of neo-Confederates have besmirched his reputation while bypassing the truth of what happened in Missouri in the run-up to and the first year of the Civil War. As the genesis of this collection was a desire to recover General Lyon's reputation, it seems appropriate that his name should be attached to this collection.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Dec#32)



#### 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection Document Identifiers

**1.** At the top of every document<sup>10</sup> in the 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection is a unique identifier inside parentheses, starting with the letters FLP.<sup>11</sup>

Example: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33.3)

**2.** The letters FLP are followed by a series of abbreviations and numbers. Below, "Ser 1MD" indicates the document is in Series 1, which is a collection of newspaper articles from the Missouri Democrat (MD). "Ser 2PS" refer to Series 2, primary source documents (PS).

Examples: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Sep#6) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33.3)

**3.** Below are the series numbers and abbreviations used within the *Missouri Speaks Collection*.

Ser: 1MD = Missouri Democrat	<b>Ser: 8LY</b> = BGen. Lyon's Service in Missouri
Ser: 2PS = Primary Sources	Ser: 9LI = President Abraham Lincoln
Ser: 3RN = Rural Newspapers	<b>Ser: 10PO</b> = Principal Officers/Officials
Ser: 4NYT = New York Tribune	<b>Ser: 11WW</b> = The Way it Was
Ser: 5MR = Missouri Republican	<b>Ser: 12RV</b> = Reference Volumes
Ser: 6WC = War Correspondents	<b>Ser: 13EL</b> = 1860 Elections
Ser: 7FR = Vindication of MGen. Fremont's Service in	Ser: 14PB = Period Books
Missouri	

For a description of the contents of each series, see "1861 Missouri Speaks: Rebooting History Series Descriptions" on page vii.

**4.** Next is the month within the series where the document is located.

Example: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33.3)

**5.** The last number, preceded by the number symbol (#), is the position of the document within the volume containing documents from July.

Examples: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33.3)

In the example above, the document is located in the volume containing the month of July within Series 2, in the chronological order position #33.3.<sup>12</sup>

**6.** Series 12, Reference Volumes (RV), Volume 2 is an atlas containing more than 300 maps, which bring the documents to life by providing geographic context to the locations and actions described. They also serve as an educational tool to showcase the unique geography of Missouri. Each map has a standard FLP, as well as a specific map identifier that indicates the covered region and map type.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The word "document" here is used as a collective noun that includes letters, newspaper articles, reports, official government publications, editor's notes, and essential information comments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Abbreviation for Fry's Lyon Project.

<sup>--</sup> Appreviation for Fry S Lyon Project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> On a few occasions, an FLP has been removed. This is a result of discovering that the document that had been in that position was misdated, which resulted in it being moved to the correct position and receiving a new FLP.

#### U.S. Military Command Structure in Missouri (FLP: 00/000/M-96B.04)<sup>1</sup>

#### **Department of the West**

October 31, 1853, to June 6, 1861

Nov 1860 to Apr 23, 1861: Gen. William S. Harney (Relieved of Command by President Lincoln)

Apr 23 to May 11: Capt. Nathaniel Lyon

May 11 to May 31: Gen. W. S. Harney

(Reinstated and relieved again by the president)

May 31 to Jun 6: Gen. Nathaniel Lyon



#### **Department of the Ohio**

June 6 to July 3, 1861

# Jun 6 to Jul 3: **MGen. George B. McClellan** (Absentee commander)



- a. The names and dates are not "officially" 100% accurate; they represent approximately what occurred on the ground.
- b. Under President Lincoln, command and control in Missouri changed hands nine times in nine months.

#### **Department of the West**

July 3 to November 9, 1861

Jul 3 to Jul 25: Gen. Nathaniel Lyon (Acting Commander)

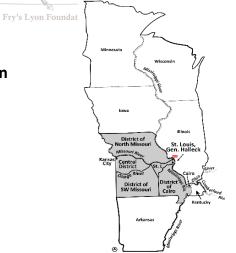
Jul 25 to Nov 2: MGen. John C. Fremont (Fremont relieved by President Lincoln)

Nov 2 to Nov 9: MGen. David Hunter



#### **Department of the Missouri**

9 Nov 61 to 11 Mar 62: MGen. Henry W. Halleck



Mar 62 to Sep 62: Gen. Schofield (Acting)

Sep 62 to May 63: Gen. Samuel Curtis

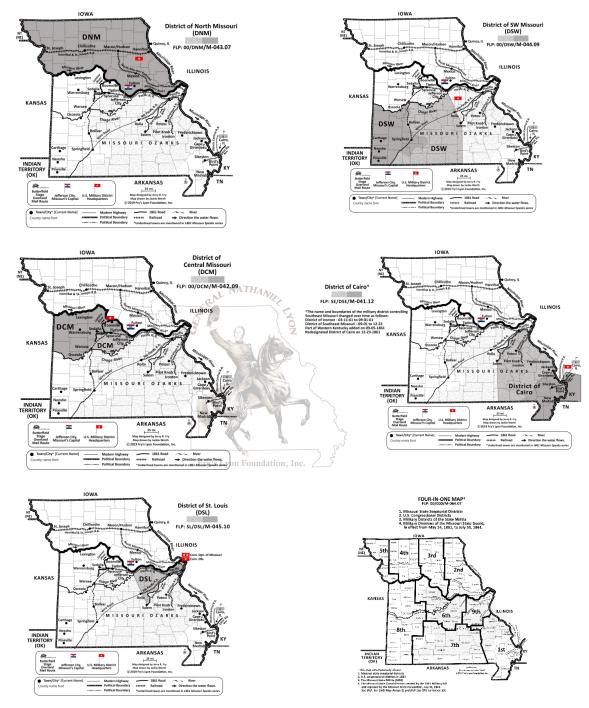
May 63 to Jan 64: Gen. John M. Schofield

Jan 64 to Dec 64: Gen. Wm. S. Rosecrans

Dec 64 to Jun 65: Gen. Grenville M. Dodge

After the departure of number nine, Lincoln changed commanders five more times in three years.

# U.S. Army Districts Controlling Missouri on December 31 and the Missouri State Guard Divisions Created by the Military Bill



#### TIMELINE SAMPLE September 1 - September 16, 1861

Sep 1. - Kansas governor writes MGen. Fremont that he understands biased reports are being sent to him by people interested in seeing war on the Kansas-Missouri border. He reports there are no problems between the residents on either side and that they are working together to maintain the peace. He writes, "If you will remove the [military] supplies at Fort Scott to the interior [of Kansas] and relieve us of [Gen. Jim] Lane's [Jayhawking] brigade, I will guarantee Kansas from invasion from Missouri." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#1)

Editor's Note: Lincoln, without consulting the governor, appointed his friend, US Congressman Jim Lane, a brigadier general and authorized him to organize a brigade that became infamous for its criminal acts and its plundering of Missouri. See the editor's note under (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#1).

- Sep 1. Southwest Military District: Battle of Bennett's Mill. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Sep#15) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Sep#28.5)
- Sep 1. St. Louis Military District: Fremont moves Gen. Curtis from Jefferson Barracks to Camp Benton to assume command of that newly constructed camp. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3) For details on the organization and use of Camp Benton as a reception and training center for newly organized units arriving in St. Louis see (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-10).

Editor's Note: Gen. Samuel R. Curtis was a member of a clique of West Pointers scheming to have Fremont relieved. In the weeks to come, rather than supporting his commander and by extension the men under him, Curtis campaigned to have Fremont relieved, to include bearing false witness against him in a letter to the president, in violation of regulations and the Articles of War. It was not uncommon for West Pointers like Curtis that resented being subordinate to volunteers, foreigners, and non-West Pointers, to undercut and sabotage those they should have been supporting.

- Sep 1. North Missouri Military District: Fremont orders Gen. Pope to take possession of all specie (gold and silver bullion and coins) in the banks at Canton and LaGrange (Lewis County), to issue a receipt for same, and send the specie under escort to St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#4)
  - Editor's Note: Fremont ordered Union forces to collect funds from banks at risk of having their funds confiscated by bandits or rebels. Receipts are issued to bank officials and the funds are transported to St. Louis for safekeeping. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#20)
- Sep 1. Southeast Military District: Gen. Grant, as the new commander in SE Missouri, appoints Col. Smith commander of the post at Cape Girardeau, and instructs Smith that Fremont has directed that the work of fortifying Cape Girardeau be pushed forward vigorously and for him to support the engineers sent from St. Louis to supervise the fortification effort. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.2)
- Sep 1. Southeast Military District: Grant reports that on Aug. 27, CSA Gen. Hardee pulled his force out of Greenville, SE Missouri and returned to Arkansas.
- Sep 1. Southeast Military District: Grant advises Fremont that Gen. Prentiss has arrived in Cape Girardeau with his force from Ironton, and that as soon as he can resupply Prentiss's force, he will push south, however, the movement will be delayed one day due to a shortage of wagons needed to

get provisions to Prentiss's force. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.4)

Editor's Note: After Prentiss learned Grant was senior to him, Prentiss refused to serve under Grant and was therefore ordered back to St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-2) (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-3)

- Sep 1. Southeast Military District: Grant advises subordinate commanders that the enemy was reported falling back toward New Madrid. He orders selected forces forward to confirm the pull-back and secure the areas abandoned. He also mentions that Col. Gustav Waagner's force should have already landed at Belmont, Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.3)
  - Editor's Note: Waagner lands at Belmont the next day, September 2. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#8.5). This unopposed landing occurred prior to the Confederate invasion of Kentucky. It was not the landing by Grant on November 7, 1861, that resulted in the Battle of Belmont.
- Sep 2. [C] MGen. Leonidas Polk's command is extended westward, across the Mississippi River to include Arkansas, and all military operations in the state of Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#17)
- Sep 2. [C] Tennessee Gov. Harris writes Polk, "If Pillow's command has returned to Madrid [Bend, Ky], don't allow them to go [back] into Missouri until matters assume a different shape in Kentucky." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#18.2)
  - Editor's Note: It is assumed that after learning CSA forces were to invade Kentucky (Sept. 3), the governor wanted to be sure enough troops remained in Tennessee to protect it in case the Confederate invasion resulted in a Union invasion of Tennessee.
- Sep 2. [C] Southeast Military District: Rebel (MSG) Gen. M. Jeff. Thompson issues a proclamation stating he will hang, draw, and quarter one "minion of Abraham Lincoln" for everyone put to death under the authority of Fremont's proclamation of August 30, 1861. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#276)
- Sep 2. West Central Region: The Battle of Dry Wood Creek (a.k.a. Battle of Mules), more of a skirmish fought between elements of Gen. Jim Lane's Kansas Jayhawker Brigade (US) and elements of Rebel (MSG) MGen. Price. Battle takes place in Vernon County, Missouri, not far from Fort Scott, Kansas and Nevada, Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-8)
- Sep 2. President Lincoln writes Fremont concerning his Aug 30 proclamation freeing the slaves of those found guilty of treason by a court-martial. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#10).
- Sept. 3. [C] Kentucky: Confederates under CSA Gen. Gideon Pillow invade Kentucky and occupy Hickman and Columbus, Kentucky. The invasion was ordered by MGen. Leonidas Polk, CSA Department 2 commander, as he feared the previous day's landing of Fremont's troops at Belmont, Missouri, across the Mississippi from Columbus, Kentucky, indicated Union forces were about to invade Kentucky.
  - Editor's Note: This CSA invasion of Kentucky effectively nullified CSA Provisional President Davis's commitment to honor Kentucky's neutrality. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#27)
- Sep 3. Southeast Military District: Fremont advises Lt. Gen. Scott that his troops report the enemy has

- pulled out of New Madrid, Missouri, crossed the Mississippi, and are now occupying Madrid Bend (Kentucky). (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#23.3)
- Sep 3. St. Louis District: Col. Chester Harding provides Fremont a detailed report of secessionist activities and his operations to maintain order in the Military District of St. Louis (west of St. Louis). (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#22.1). Also see map GM-24 in the same volume.
- Sep 3. Central Missouri Military District: Col. Davis reports to Fremont that Warsaw [Benton County] is in a rebel stronghold; and states he has taken steps to secure the gold and silver specie in the banks at Kansas City, Independence, Lexington, and other locations.
- Sep 3. Southeast Military District: Fremont orders Grant to send forces on search and destroy operations from Jackson [Cape Girardeau County] to Benton [Scott County] and out of Bird's Point and Belmont to Charleston [Mississippi County]. He also directs him to ensure that all important points on the Illinois Central Railroad are guarded. Fremont also provides information on enemy forces and detailed guidance concerning the above operations. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#20.1)
- Sep 3. Southeast Military District: Grant advises Waagner his previously ordered movement from Belmont to Charleston is being deferred; he will remain in Belmont and may make such reconnaissance as are safe and submit his reports to Grant at Cairo. The planned deployment was postponed after Prentiss refused to comply with Grant's orders and was ordered back to St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#20.2)
- Sep 3. Kansas City Region: The Platte River Railroad Bridge, on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, east of St. Joseph, was sabotaged by rebels. When the bridge collapsed, approximately 20 were killed and about 100 injured.
- Sep 3. [C.] C.S.A. Maj. Gen. Polk approves of C.S.A. Maj. Gen. Hardee's plan to fall back. Hardee states his first duty is to protect Arkansas and that he is going to spend his time at Pitman's Ferry putting his command into fighting order. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#23.1)
- Sep 4. Southeast Military District: Fremont reports to Lt. Gen. Scott that CSA forces are withdrawing from SE Missouri and that Union gunboats exchanged shots with rebel gunboats and a shore battery at Hickman, Kentucky. He also reports the Union gunboats were fired upon from Columbus, Kentucky with small arms and that they returned fire. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#23.2) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#23.3)
  - Editor's Note: This is the first report to Washington indicating CSA activity in neutral Kentucky.
- Sep 4. Jefferson City Region: US Army Col. Jefferson Davis reports to MGen. Fremont that he received a report from Col. Thomas A. Marshall at Lexington [Lafayette County], stating, "This place is for the present perfectly safe. Col. James A. Mulligan's command is progressing well, and nothing is to be apprehended from him—other than success." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#31)
  - Editor's Note: Col. Mulligan will surrender his force at Lexington to Rebel (MSG) MGen. Sterling

Price on Sep. 20.13

- Sep 4. Northeast Region: Fremont receives a report that Col. Williams, with his command of 800 men, has been forced to retreat from Shelbina [Shelby County] to Macon City [Macon County] by a band of rebels under Rebel (MSG) Gen. Green, numbering about 3,000. In response, Fremont pulls together two large forces under Generals Pope and Sturgis and orders them to "not only disperse the enemy, but to follow him into his hiding-places and annihilate him." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#38)
- Sep 4. Southeast Military District: Grant issues General Orders, No. 3, District of Southeast Missouri (DSE), stating that Fremont has added Cairo to his command, and he is therefore, assuming command of Cairo, and is moving his headquarters to Cairo until otherwise directed. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#26)
- Sep 4. Southeast Military District: Gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington* were involved in a short engagement off Hickman, Kentucky, with a rebel gunboat, *Yankee*. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#26.9.3)
- Sep 4. [C.] C.S.A. Maj. Gen. Polk justifies his move in sending troops to Columbus, Kentucky in a proclamation to the people of Columbus, KY. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Sep#63)
- Sep 4. [C.] Southeast Missouri District: Gen. Grant Assumes Command of the Southeast Missouri District at Cairo. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#26)
- Sep 5. Washington: Lt. Gen. Scott advises Lincoln that sending MGen. Hunter to Missouri to "help" Fremont would violate military regulations and the Articles of War. He suggests Gen. Stoneman as a better man for the job. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#29)

Editor's Note: Lincoln ignored military law and the advice of Army Commander Lt. Gen. Scott and sent Hunter to Missouri. On arrival, Hunter immediately started organizing efforts to have Fremont relieved. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56).

- Sep 5. Fremont sends Lincoln a letter covering the following points:
  - 1. He advises that ten regiments scheduled to come to Missouri from Indiana have been pulled away to go to Washington and asks that Lincoln intercede, as he needs them badly in Missouri. See the sec. war's reply at (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#32.1).<sup>14</sup>
  - 2. He reports Confederate forces are pulling out of SE Missouri and suspects that may be an indication they intend to invade Kentucky and capture Hickman, Columbus, Paducah, and the ground across the river from Cairo, putting Cairo in danger. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#27) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#27.1)

Editor's Note: Fremont was correct—the Confederates had pulled out of Missouri to invade Kentucky.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The use of the term "Rebel (MSG)" is used to identify former members of the Missouri State Guard in armed rebellion against the legal authority of the state and federal governments, as opposed to Confederate forces, Arkansas Militia, and other armed rebel groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "The authorities [in Washington], at that particular time (1861), were unable to see any danger, except at Washington. They often diverted to Washington [men, weapons, and] material that had been originally designated for St. Louis." [Source: Thomas W. Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field: Southern Adventure in Time of War* (New York: Blelock and Co., 1865), 95.]

- Sep 5. St. Louis Military District: Fremont orders Gen. Curtis, the commander of Camp Benton [St. Louis], to make up a command sufficient to capture or disperse the rebel camp west of Sulphur Springs [Jefferson County], and to arrange for the movement as he thinks best towards that object. Fremont also advises that the commanding officers at the Arsenal and at Carondelet will provide him such additional force as he feels he needs. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#30)
- Sep 5. Southeast Military District: Fremont orders Grant to enter Kentucky to secure ground across the Ohio River from Cairo and establish and fortify a camp at that point, which will be called Fort Holt. Fremont also directs Grant to capture Paducah if he feels strong enough, but if not strong enough, then establish a position on the Illinois shore opposite Paducah, and to plant cannons there, which can command the Ohio River and the mouth of the Tennessee River. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#32.2)
- Sep 5. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote reports for duty to Maj. Gen. Fremont, in St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#32.4.2)
- Sep 5. Southeast Military District: Gen. McClernand orders Navy Cmdr. Rodgers to restrict vessels on the Ohio River until further notice. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#32.4.3)
- Sep 5. Southeast Military District: Asst. Sec. of the Navy Fox suggests Maj. Gen. Fremont advertise for experienced seamen as warrant or petty officers, and advises him not to trust anyone other than Navy Capt. Foote. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#32.4.4)
- Sep 5. [C.] C.S.A. Capt. James B. Johnson has organized a battalion of eight companies in Missouri under C.S.A. Gen. Hardee. It is made up of six companies from Arkansas, one from Mississippi, and one from Tennessee.
- Sep 6. St. Louis Military District: Fremont directs his subordinate commanders not to correspond with state or other high offices regarding public service matters. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#34)
- Sep 6. Jefferson City, West Central and Kansas City Regions: Col. Davis, from his post at Jefferson City, informs Fremont that Price and his rebel force are moving northward along the Osage River, intending (he thinks) to establish a position along the Missouri River between Lexington and Jefferson City. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#37)
- Sep 6. Northeast Region: Fremont issues Pope and Sturgis detailed instructions for initiating operations to annihilate the 3,000-man force of Rebel (MSG) Gen. Martin Green in NE Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#38)
- Sep 6. Southeast Military District: Gen. Ulysses S. Grant reports on his occupation of Paducah, Kentucky. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#38.1.1)
- Sep 6. Southeast Military District: Asst. Sec. of the Navy Fox informs Navy Cmdr. Walke that his orders as lighthouse inspector of the 11<sup>th</sup> Lighthouse District are revoked, and he is to report to Navy Capt. Foote, at St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#38.3)
- Sep 7. St. Louis Military District: Gen. Sturgis reports problems with the trains arranged to support his movement north to conduct operations against the rebel Martin Green. These problems, being

- beyond his control, he does not know when he can depart. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#46)
- Sep 7. North Missouri District: Fremont is informed that communications have been completely cut off on the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#45)
- Sep 7. Southeast Military District: Fremont is informed that there is a large rebel force at Columbus, Kentucky. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#48.2)
- Sep 7. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Cmdr. Rodgers to report to Maj. Gen. Fremont in St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#48.4.1)
- Sep 8. Fremont asks Lincoln to extend his command to Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky, to deal with the September 3 invasion of Kentucky. Lincoln did not respond or take any action. Letter hand-carried to Lincoln by Mrs. Fremont. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#52)
- Sep 8. Southeast Military District: Fremont orders additional troops and artillery be sent from Cairo to Paducah and advises he will also be sending additional troops from St. Louis to Cairo. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#55.3)
- Sep 8. US Marshal Phillips requests Fremont give the order to arrest Congressman James C. Robinson, an influential, anti-war politician. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#55.4)
- Sep 8-10 Southeast Military District: Reconnaissance and engagement at Lucas Bend, Kentucky. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#54) (Also see Sep 10 below.)
- Sep 9. North Missouri District: Sturgis arrives in Mexico, Missouri with his entire command except the cavalry and baggage wagons. Suggests Fremont send a few companies of regular infantry from Rolla. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56.8)
- Sep 9. St. Louis Military District: Lincoln asks Hunter to be Fremont's advisor. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56)
- Sep 9. Southeast Military District: Fremont orders the immediate occupation of Smithland, Kentucky to control the Cumberland River. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56.5)
- Sep 9. North Missouri District: Sturgis, in Mexico, Missouri, requests more regular infantry and cavalry. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56.8)
- Sep 9. Central Missouri District: US Army Col. Davis requests more regiments and artillery for Jefferson City. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#56.9)
- Sept 10. Washington: Mrs. Fremont arrives in Washington by train to deliver a letter to Lincoln from her husband. At 8:00 pm, she sends a note to the president, requesting a meeting. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#58) The president replies, "Come now," so she goes to the White House and meets with him immediately.
- Sep 10. Southeast Military District: Fremont directs Grant to push forward on the Missouri side and hold his positions in Kentucky. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#61.1)

- Sep 10. The US War Department determines that Grant has rank over Prentiss. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#61.4) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#137)
- Sep 10. Iowa Gov. Kirkwood delivers a proclamation to the people of Iowa asking for more men to meet the quota for the state. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#59)
- Sep 10. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Cmdr. Walke to proceed to Cairo, Illinois and take charge of the gunboats there. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#61.6)
- Sep 10. Southeast Military District: Engagement at Lucas Bend between the Union gunboats *Conestoga* and *Lexington*, commanded, respectively, by Navy Lt. Seth L. Phelps and Cmdr. Roger N. Stembel, and the Confederate gunboats, *Yankee* and a second, unidentified gunboat. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#61.7) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.3.3)
- Sep 10. [C.] CSA Secretary of War's Special Orders, No. 149, Adjutant and Insp. General's Office, assigns CSA MGen. Johnston to the command of Department Number 2, encompassing Tennessee, Arkansas, parts of Mississippi, and the military operations in Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#62.2)
- Sep 10. [C.] C.S.A. Gen. McCulloch makes a proclamation to the citizens of Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana and reports that five regiments are being mustered for the C.S. Army from the above-mentioned states. Mentions that Maj. Gen. Fremont's recent proclamation should give them a good reason to fight in defense of their homes, their altars, and their firesides. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#62) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#276)
- Sep 10. [C.] Engagement between two Cairo gunboats and Rebel (MSG) Thompson forces five miles above Columbus, KY. C.S.A. Gen. Pillow, with a portion of Bankhead's battery, goes to reinforce Thompson.
- Sep 11. Washington: Lincoln revokes that part of Fremont's martial law proclamation of August 30, dealing with the confiscation of slaves in Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#64) and (FLP: Ser 3RN-Oct#11)
- Sep 11. North Missouri District: Col. Morgan informs Fremont he needs more artillery for his post at Brookfield [Linn County] (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#63)
- Sep 11. Southeast Military District: Grant urgently requests clothing, blankets, tents, artillery, equipment, cavalry and reinforcements to defend Columbus, Kentucky. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#64.1)
- Sep 11. Southeast Military District: Maj. Gen. Fremont purchased another gunboat and wants Navy Capt. Foote to ready the guns and Ordnance Department at the expiration of two weeks. Foote requests the breechings and tackles for the gunboats, cartridges for guns and cannons, and shells and fuses for the cartridges. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#65.1.1)
- Sep 11. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Lt. Paulding to proceed to Chicago to ship crews for the gunboats building on the Mississippi River. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#65.1.2)
- Sep 11. Southeast Military District: Asst. Sec. of the Navy Fox informs Navy Capt. Foote that seamen

- are being drilled at this time for Fox, and in about ten days, the Navy can send him fifty, well instructed men. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#65.1.3)
- Sep 11. Southeast Military District: Navy Cmdr. Hazard ports to duty in St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#65.1.4)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Skirmish at Black River, Ironton. The First Regiment Indiana Cavalry were on reconnaissance patrol, scattered rebel forces and captured several muskets and horses.
- Sep 12. St. Louis District: Fremont's General Orders, No. 10, Headquarters, Western Department, directs the commanders to follow the orders from headquarters concerning arrests. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#67)
- Sep 12. Sec. of War Cameron gives Illinois Gov. Yates the authorization to raise three more regiments of cavalry and a battalion of artillery. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#72.1)
- Sep 12. Kansas City Region: Davis informs Fremont that the rebels are about to attack in the vicinity of Lexington, and Col. Mulligan, at the site, requests reinforcements. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#75)
- Sep 12. Jefferson City and West Central regions: Davis reports that the rebels have taken possession of Georgetown [Pettis County]; Price is at Warrensburg [Johnson County]; and rebels are menacing Boonville [Cooper County]. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#77)
- Sep 12. Kansas City Region: Col. Davis reports that all is quiet at Lexington. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#78)
- Sep 12. Grant informs Fremont that the Austrian guns he purchased were unreliable. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.3)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Fremont directs Grant to send a force to the Missouri/Kentucky shores if there are rebels present. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.4)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Grant orders Col. Cook to examine all boats passing Cape Girardeau, which are not recognized as Union. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.7)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Cmdr. Walke to take command of gunboat *Tyler*. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.8)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote restricts the cruising of vessels in the western waters without definite instructions from superior authority. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.9)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Maj. Gen. Fremont orders Gen. McKinstry to pay all bills approved by Navy Capt. Foote. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.10)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Lt. Phelps to proceed to Paducah, Kentucky, and relieve the gunboat *Tyler*. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.11)
- Sep 12. Southeast Military District: Navy Cmdr. Rodgers accepts a temporary position with Maj. Gen. Fremont, on his staff, until he receives his orders to sea. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#84.13)

- Sep 13. Jefferson City Region: The Second Battle of Boonville [Cooper County] is fought. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#95)
- Sep 13-20. [C.] Price and his rebel force lay siege to the US forces in Lexington, Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-4) and (FLP: Ser 3RN-Sep#21)
- Sep 13. Provisional Gov. Gamble informs Lincoln he needs arms for the volunteers. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#85)
- Sep 13. Kansas City Region: Fremont orders Davis to move two regiments immediately to relieve Lexington. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#87)
- Sep 13. North Missouri District: Union troops burn bridges ahead of the arrival of the rebels. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#88)
- Sep 13. Washington: Sec. of War Cameron's General Orders, No. 77, War Department, directs the payment of volunteers. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#90.1)
- Sep 13. Southeast Military District: Grant orders a reconnaissance down the Mississippi River to locate the position of the rebels. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.1)
- Sep 13. Southeast Military District: Grant orders an expedition towards Charleston [Mississippi County] to locate the position of the rebels. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.2)
- Sep 13. Jefferson City Region: Fremont orders Sturgis to quickly move infantry and artillery to Boonville. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.3)
- Sep 13. [C.] Jefferson City Region: The Second Battle of Boonville [Cooper County] is fought. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#95)
- Sep 13. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote orders Navy Cmdr. Walke to proceed to Cairo and report to the general commanding at Cairo.
- Sep 13. Southeast Military District: Navy Capt. Foote revisits Maj. Gen. Fremont in St. Louis to make arrangements for shipping men and obtaining supplies of outfits and stores. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.3.2)
- Sep 13. [C.] Kansas City Region: Rebel (MSG) MGen. Price orders rebel officers to Camp Wallace, near Lexington. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#91.4)
- Sep 14. Washington: Postmaster Gen. Blair writes Lincoln, accusing Fremont of incompetency as a commander and petty jealousy in his feud with Frank P. Blair, Jr. (FLP: Ser 2PS-SepP1-Annex-5.10)
- Sep 14. Washington: Postmaster Gen. Blair recommends Quartermaster Gen. Meigs as replacement for Fremont. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#93)
- Sep 14. St. Louis District: Quartermaster John Shaffer informs Lt. Gen. Scott that the quartermaster's

- division in the Western Department is in utter confusion, and money is being squandered. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#94)
- Sep 14. Kansas City Region: Fremont orders Davis to move regiments to Lexington for reinforcement. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#96)
- Sep 14. Kansas City Region: Fremont sends Davis reinforcements. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#97)
- Sep 14. Kansas City Region: Fremont orders Sturgis to Lexington. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#98)
- Sep 14. Washington: Cameron and Lincoln order Fremont to send 5,000 well-armed infantry men to the War Department. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#98.1) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#98.2)
- Sep 14. Southeast Military District: Fremont orders Col. Bland's troops to HQs in St. Louis and Col. Baker's cavalry to explore the area toward Greenville in SE Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#98.3)
- Sep 15. Washington: Lincoln and his cabinet meet to discuss Fremont's removal, and CSA MGen. Albert S. Johnston assumes command of Confederate forces in the West. E. B. Long, *Civil War Day by Day:*An Almanac, 1861-1869 (Doubleday, 1971)
- Sep 15. Congressman/Col. Blair, Jr. informs Lincoln that Missouri needs arms. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#99)
- Sep 15. St. Louis District: Weather conditions prevent Fremont from sending Washington their requested five regiments. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#102)
- Sep 15. St. Louis District: Fremont informs Lt. Gen. Scott he is sending Washington two regiments each from St. Louis and Kentucky, and the fifth one requested will be sent from Illinois when ready, due to the risk of diminishing the forces where the Rebel (MSG) forces are present and strong. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#103)
- Sep 15. Southeast Military District: Grant requests equipment, supplies, and money. He also advises Fremont that the rebels have left the area between Belmont and Charleston, and are leaving Columbus, Kentucky to parts unknown. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#106.2)
- Sep 15. [C.] CSA MGen. Polk is placed in command of all military operations in Missouri, and Pillow will report directly to Polk. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#106.3)
- Sep 16. Fremont arrests Frank Blair, Jr. for dishonorable behavior in attempting to undermine Fremont's authority as an officer. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#107)
- Sep 16. Nathaniel J. Eaton recommends Hunter replace Fremont as commander of the Western Department. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#111)
- Sep 16. Jefferson City Region: Davis informs Fremont that Boonville is peaceful, but Rebel (MSG) Green is increasing his forces, and pro-secessionist feelings are on the rise, especially in Howard County. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#113)
- Sep 16. Kansas City and West Central Regions: Fremont orders Davis to attack Georgetown and relieve

Lexington. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#114.1)

- Sep 16. North Missouri District: Pope assures Fremont there will be no danger in north Missouri as he has moved troops to replace Smith, who is on his way to Liberty [Clay County] (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#115)
- Sep 16. Southeast Military District: Grant reports no enemy spotted between Charleston and two miles above Belmont, nor within two miles of the Kentucky shore. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#117.2)
- Sep 16. Provisional Gov. Gamble requests Washington send arms. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#118)



#### 1860 CALENDAR

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#### 1861 CALENDAR

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#### 1862 CALENDAR

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#### **VOLUME INTRODUCTION**

This Series Sampler volume provides a glimpse into the 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection, an extensive repository of primary source documents that detail the run-up to and the first year of the Civil War in Missouri. It covers the events that occurred in and around Missouri, as well as the suffering endured by Missourians as a result of the political scheming and intrigue of the Lincoln Administration. It not only displays the Collection's contents, but it also helps users understand its organization and layout.

This volume contains samples from each of the fourteen series that make up the sixty-plus volumes of the 1861 Missouri Speaks Collection. The Collection is a well-organized, easy-to-follow repository of Civil War primary source documents, newspaper articles, periodicals, and eyewitness reports. From here on, all items mentioned in the previous sentence will be referred to as documents.

The majority of the documents have been transcribed from the original, placed in a standardized, easy-to-follow format, and assigned a unique identifier (see page xv for an explanation of the identifiers), allowing for cross-referencing with other documents and volumes. Footnotes, editor's notes, pictures, and maps are used to place documents within a broader context.

All documents are arranged in chronological order, except within subject matter volumes. For example, Series 10 – Principles Officers and Officials, Volume 2A contains writings of Confederate and rebel officers. The writings of each officer are arranged chronologically only within their respective sections of the volume.

As the flow of activities in Missouri was heavily influenced by the topography, maps have been highlighted throughout the volumes. Armies moved, and major fighting occurred around the then inhospitable Ozark Mountains. Fighting in the north centered on the Missouri River and along railroad lines. Besides the value of these maps in showing what happened where, it is hoped the reader will, by osmosis, develop an appreciation for the unique nature of Missouri's incredible terrain.

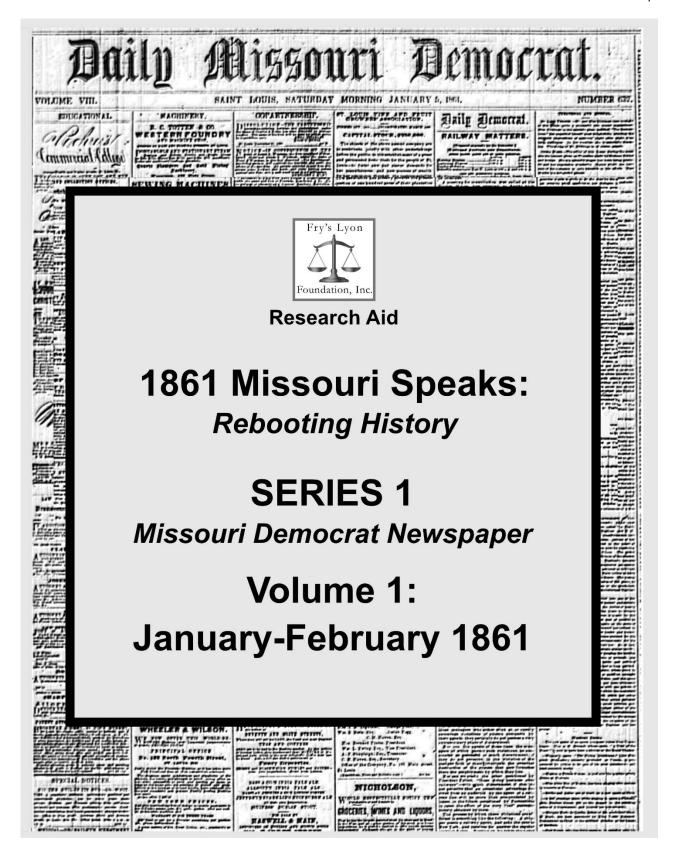
The Roman numeral section of the volumes also provides information that aids in understanding the contents of each volume. For example, while a volume might mention a military region, the Roman numeral pages of that volume include a map showing the locations of all the military regions. They also provide general information about the Civil War, as well as the Collection's inspiration and namesake, General Nathaniel Lyon.

Fry's Lyon Foundation, Inc.

To help researchers find items of interest, a couple of layers of information are provided: a timeline, each item having a unique identifier (an FLP#, explained on page xv of this volume); then a "Finding Aids" section, which includes the FLPs in chronological order, and which provides a short description for each document.

It is hoped that the documents in this collection and their organization will shed new light on Missouri's role in the Civil War and reveal those responsible for Missouri's suffering during that time.

Jerry R. Fry



#### **INTRODUCTION TO SERIES 1**

In 2012, I traveled from my home in rural Hickory County to the State Historical Society Library in Columbia to search their newspaper microfilm collection for *Missouri Democrat* articles from 1861. While I expected the microfilm to be difficult to read, as newspapers from that era often crammed ten columns of small difficult-to-read type on each page, what I did not expect was the poor quality of the microfilm reproductions. Some pages were too light, others so dark they could not be read, and many were out of focus. There were pages with unreadable folds, creases, and torn pages that had not been pulled together before copying. (See page 15 for an example.)

Because the problems noted above effectively hindered public access to the information contained in the *Missouri Democrat*, an anti-slavery, pro-Union newspaper, published in a slave state—which in my opinion was of significant historical value—I decided to transcribe the microfilm to encourage its use by researchers and historians, as it provided a window into the prewar national debate, the slavery question, and the transition of a loyal Union slave state from peace to lawless anarchy. Surprisingly, it also demonstrates the incomprehensible mismanagement and the politically motivated villainy of the Lincoln administration, which was responsible for the unnecessary suffering of Missouri residents throughout and after the end of the war between the North and the South.

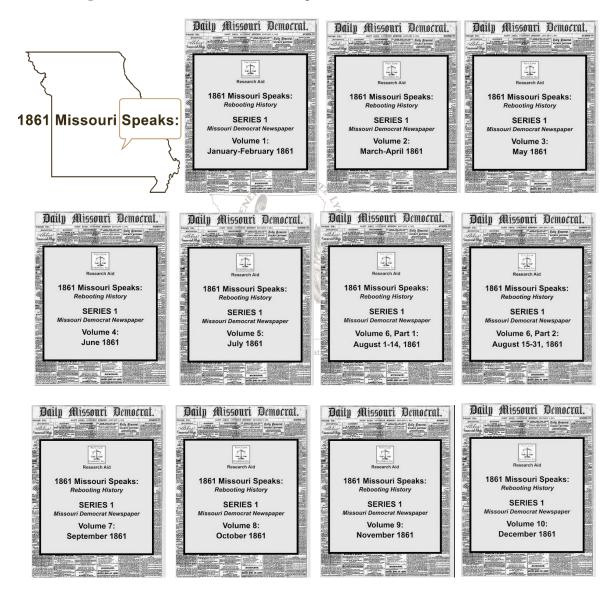
After the decision to gather the *Missouri Democrat* information, the Missouri State Historical Society kindly allowed me to borrow copies of their microfilm, and I had two of my co-workers go through each 1861 issue of the paper and make copies of all political and military articles focused on Missouri. Each article was first transcribed, and then over the next eight years, editor's notes, footnotes, pictures, and maps were added. These were added to give modern readers access to information that was common knowledge to newspaper readers in 1861, and to put the articles into context. Antiquated words and awkward period grammatical structure were also modified to improve modern day understanding, without changing what the original writer intended to communicate. The maps were prepared to help the readers visualize the actions described and to educate them by osmosis on the unique geography of Missouri, as recognizing and appreciating the separate geographical regions is critical to understanding the flow of events across the state.

Early on, we had transcribers prepare a short summary of each article they transcribed as finding aids to assist users in quickly locating documents of interest to them. However, the amount of work involved in preparing summaries and then checking them for accuracy was so time-consuming that we eventually abandoned that effort and switched to only highlighting an element or two of each document which still supported our effort to help users quickly find articles of interest.

In closing this introduction, I want to thank the thirty-plus people who have supported my effort to organize this Civil War era repository of primary source documents concerning Missouri. Especially, in alphabetical order, Mrs. Blanca Madani, who has been my guru-of-self-publishing, layout specialist, copy editor, and jack-of-all-trades; Mrs. Teresa Veleces, who worked with us from 2010 to 2020, and was instrumental in getting this project off the ground. She organized our Internet filing system that was critical to any success we may be said to have had. In the first ten years of the project, she was involved in everything and did everything well; and last but not least, Mrs. Jackie Worth, who is a master of all things, a superb map maker, and a most efficient and reliable helper.

#### Series 1—Missouri Democrat Volumes:

The *Missouri Democrat* was a Republican Party, anti-slavery, unconditional unionist newspaper published in the slave state of Missouri. The articles provided cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues, which together provide a window into the social condition of the period. Articles are transcribed, modernized, footnoted, and explanatory notes are included to help contextualize the articles. Maps and pictures are added to help the reader visualize the information provided. A timeline keyed to the articles, a finding aid section, and an index are also provided.



### JANUARY 1861 FINDING AIDS—SELECTIONS

Week	Date	Article (FLP#)	Page
	Dec 18. 1860 <sup>15</sup>	<b>Missouri—Slavery and Secession</b> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#1) <sup>16</sup> Extract from the <i>N.Y. Tribune</i> discussing whether or not Missouri should have a state convention. "The question will be: to have a [secession] convention or not to have a convention? My opinion is, among the Stephen Douglassupporting Union men will be found the hottest pro-slavery men. I have no doubt they will call a convention."	5
Week 1	Jan 1.	<b>Open Letter from Germans Concerning St. Louis Arsenal</b> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2) An open letter from a German citizens' group to the commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, Major Bell, pledges support to help protect the Arsenal in case of an attack by secessionists. It also declares an extremely hateful anti-German article, published in the <i>Missouri Republican</i> newspaper, "a positive falsehood."	7
	Jan 1.	What They Say of Missouri's Edward Bates in New England (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3) The Boston Journal supports the appointment of Judge Edward Bates of Missouri to President Lincoln's cabinet, citing his being a conservative from a slave state and his devotion to the Constitution. The Detroit Free Press reports that he is the most "conservative prominent Republican in the United States."	10
	Jan 1.	Treason and State Authority (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4) Letter provides a sarcastic counterpoint to a letter that appeared in the <i>Missouri Republican</i> newspaper, arguing that Congress does not have the power to wage war on a seceding state (often referred to as "coercion" of seceding states). This article argues that "any act of war against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason," and it provides evidence that such a finding was the specific intent of the framers of the Constitution.	11
	Jan 1.	<b>US Forces Occupy Fort Sumter</b> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5) Much to the chagrin of South Carolina, U.S. Army Major Anderson clandestinely moved his federal forces from the indefensible Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston after dark on Christmas Day 1860. This is 101 days prior to the attack on Fort Sumter, which was the "official" start of the Civil War.	12
	Jan 1.	Commissioner from Alabama Speaks in Jefferson City (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6) Commissioner Cooper attempts to convince Missouri's governor and legislature to join the South and secede from the Union. He mentions the danger of a slave rebellion in the South if slavery is not allowed to spread.	13
	Jan 1.	<b>Southern Sympathizers Ship Guns to the South</b> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#7) The Pittsburgh <i>Gazette</i> reports concerning the shipment of government weapons to the South for use by secessionists. It notes that it "is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south."	14

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 15}$  See calendars starting on page xxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xv.









Rather than starting with a January 1, 1861 article from the *Missouri Democrat* newspaper, the first article will be one that puts what follows in context. This first prophetic article was written before South Carolina seceded. The author predicts that Missouri's southern-sympathizing "politicians" will arrange a SECESSION CONVENTION and that secessionist firebrands will propagandize a gullible population into the suicide of secession. He argues that Missouri has more to lose than any other state if it follows the cotton states into secession. Not only will secession prevent Missouri from reaching its potential but it will ruin her. He ends by predicting: that if the Union is dissolved, war will follow and the institution of slavery will die a violent death. "If war is avoided, the institution of slavery will die a slow natural death anyway, but Missouri will be saved from the destructive results of an unwinnable civil war."

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#1) December 18, 1860

#### Missouri—Slavery and Secession Extract

New York Tribune, published December 26, 1860, under the headline, "From Western Missouri"

Correspondent of The N.Y. Tribune.

St. Joseph, Mo., Friday, Dec. 18, 1860.

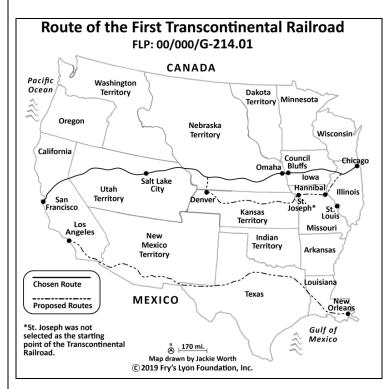
The legislature of this state convenes the last day of this month.<sup>17</sup> The question will be: to have a [secession] convention or not to have a convention? My opinion is the Legislature will call one. The Union men and Douglas men, united, will be largely in the majority,<sup>18</sup> even without the Republicans of the St. Louis delegation. But among the Stephen Douglas-supporting Union men will be found the hottest pro-slavery men.<sup>19</sup> I have no doubt they will call a convention. The danger then is that the people will be fed and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The governor and state legislators were all elected the first Monday of August 1860. The legislature will convene for its first session on December 31, 1860; the governor will be sworn into office on January 3, 1861. At that time, even though the new governor was elected as a Unionist, he will call for a secession convention and state: "Our interests and sympathies are identical with those of the slaveholding states, and necessarily unite our destiny with theirs...."

<sup>18</sup> "Union men and Douglas men" refers to those who voted for non-Republican Unionist presidential candidates in the November 1860 presidential election. The Northern Democrat candidate was Stephen A. Douglas; the Unionist Constitutional Union Party candidate was John Bell. The Unionist candidates, Bell and Douglas, received over 70% of the vote, Republican Lincoln 10%. The de facto secessionist candidate, Southern Democrat Vice Pres. John C. Breckinridge received only 18% of the vote, which demonstrates the vast majority of Missouri's voters were not even considering secession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> While the majority were for remaining in the Union, many were strongly anti-Republican because they considered Republicans, like Lincoln, to be radical northern abolitionists, interfering with the constitutional rights of the slave states. As most Germans were Republicans, they, as a group, were actually hated by many Unionists, not only because they were Republicans but also because they were foreigners. Loathing for Republicans and Germans was used by Gov. Jackson to create unrest in the state, and then he made no effort to maintain law and order, even though he was the state's chief magistrate, responsible for maintaining law and order. As neither the federal government nor the Convention-appointed provisional governor (Hamilton Gamble) were able to reestablish law and order everywhere, parts of Missouri remained in a state of anarchy throughout the Civil War.

ensnared with such catchwords as: "Are you for the North or the South?" "Are you willing to cooperate with the damned abolitionists [or damned Germans]?" Hotheaded [secessionists] and radical men are always active and wide-awake. Conservatives [Unionists] are apt to be slow and sleepy. If we have a convention, secret or avowed disunionists will be run [as convention candidates] in every county; and under the influence of such taunting questions, catchwords and arguments as I have alluded to above, taken with the natural activity of one class and the sluggishness of the other, it is impossible to tell the result. Conservative Union men will be elected in the counties bordering on the Iowa line and in St. Joseph, St. Louis and Kansas City. But loyalty to slavery is so universal and so potent that, even in this commonwealth, with a low percentage of slaves, I should look to the result with apprehension.<sup>20</sup> Universal experience confirms the statement that men, or committees of men, will not long continue to act directly against the dictates of self-interest. If the rule holds good in our case, we shall have little trouble. There is no state in the Union that would lose as much by dissolution of the Union as Missouri. This state will in time be the great central empire of the United States. Her resources and her position leave no room for doubt on this point. By acceding to secession, we give up this position and render our resources almost fruitless. Then there is the Pacific Railroad, which we feel certain will eventually be built where it ought to be, on the Central route through Missouri, and which will be better for us than much fine gold.



We hope the time is not distant when St. Joseph will become the great distributing point for the wealth that will flow into this country from the eastern U.S., Europe, and the islands of the world. Silks, and spices, and teas will roll over the road from San Francisco to St. Joseph, and counter freights from Europe and the eastern states roll back from St. Joseph to San Francisco. We shall get money; we shall grow rich. But if we go out of the Union, we give up the Pacific Railroad and the projects based on it, on which we have gloated at the prospect for years. Our people should think of these things while they are voting for delegates to a state secession convention. If they do, all will be well.

Concerning the question of slavery in Missouri as connected with the question of union or disunion, I cannot do better than

quote a resolution passed at a Union meeting held in this city some days since. It is very much to the point.

"Resolved, by the people of Buchanan County in Convention assembled, irrespective of party, that Missouri, in addition to the great national considerations, which attach her with unflinching fidelity to the Union, has a peculiar and local interest in the preservation of the Union, which is not felt by the southern cotton states that are situated with the Gulf of Mexico on one side of them and a tier of [border] slave states upon the other. Missouri, occupying a central position in the United States, is shut out from intercourse with the world except through the surrounding states. She is, therefore, dependent upon the Union for imports

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> When the Secession Convention met from February 28 through March 22, 1861, they voted 98 to 1 that: "At present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the federal Union."

and exports, and being exposed for more than seven hundred miles to a free state border, she is dependent upon the Union for security in the possession of her slaves and for the protection of her people from civil war. That, in our opinion, the permanent continuance of slavery in Missouri, depends upon the continuance of the Union; and the ultimate peaceful and profitable existence of slavery in the southern states depends upon the continuance of the barrier which the border slave states now afford them against northern aggression. In view of these great interests, Missouri is compelled to maintain the Union, and she appeals to the South as brave and chivalrous people to stand by the Union as the only hope for the preservation of our great national prosperity and the preservation in peace of slavery."



The plain truth of this is, that slavery cannot sustain itself if left alone. The resolution was drawn by the best men in this portion of the state. Being interpreted, it reads: "If the Union is dissolved, the institution of slavery will explode and pass away." I do not desire to furnish any of your readers with disunion arguments by saying that this must be the result of dissolution, but such, as anyone may see, is the fact that Missouri must, in a few years, become a free state at all events. Secession will only hasten the day. In the one case, the institution will die a slow natural death, in the

other, a speedy and perhaps a violent death, brought on by secession and war.

The Republican party is only one of the instruments; the public sentiment of the world is against slavery. History, science, philosophy, religion—these are co-conspirators; and these must in time conquer the curse of slavery. The historian, the novel writer, and the statistician, all argue in favor of free labor. Slavery must yield. It is only a question of time. Its defenders may kindle the blaze of war, which will destroy it in a day, or they may nurture it for years. We may have a war, but if we do, no one can doubt the end of slavery.

This leads me to the conclusion that the present Union can never be permanently disrupted. If the storm blows over this time, well and good; the institution of slavery will continue for a time. If the Union is dissolved, especially if the tide is strong enough to carry away the border slave states (into war), slavery will pass away in the flames of war and self-interest will eventually reunite the different sections. Which will it be? Now with war, or later with time? We cannot fathom Providence.

### **JANUARY ARTICLES**

1. MISSOURI DEMOCRAT ARTICLES
JANUARY WEEK ONE

January 1, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2)

January 1, 1861

Open Letter from Germans Concerning
St. Louis Arsenal

(Letter to the Editors)

St. Louis, Dec. 29, 1860

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Major Bell,<sup>21</sup>
Commanding U.S. Arsenal:

Sir: At a meeting of the German citizens of the First Ward, city of St. Louis, on Saturday night, December 29th, it was unanimously

Resolved, that the German citizens of the First Ward declare that the article<sup>22</sup> reflecting upon them, published in the Missouri Republican, is a positive falsehood,

and that there is not a citizen living in the Ward who would give his assistance or countenance to such a traitor-like proceeding as that referred to by the *Missouri Republican*, and that on the contrary, Major Bell can rely upon every German citizen in the First Ward, should he require their aid, in case of an attack upon the Arsenal, or the property, authority and honor of the United States.

H. Almstedt, Frederick Schaeffer, Committee

# Essential Information #1: Newspapers in St. Louis

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2.1)

The majority of the newspapers in St. Louis during the pre-Civil War period were closely tied to political parties, and viciously attacked and denounced one another as they advocated for the party they supported. On the other hand, except when they were attacking the positions of another paper, they rarely reported on the positions of the other political parties. In St. Louis, there were five politically significant

<sup>21</sup> On January 24, 1861, Missouri Volunteer Militia (MVM) Gen. Frost sent a letter to Governor Jackson advising that Maj. William H. Bell, the commander of the St. Louis Federal Arsenal, was willing to cooperate with state officials and allow them to take over the Arsenal. A week later, on January 30, Bell was relieved of his command by order of the War Department at the request of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee because they questioned his loyalty to the United States. Bell elected to retire rather than be reassigned away from St. Louis. For Frost's letter to the governor,

newspapers that are often mentioned in 1861 Missouri Speaks.

- 1. Missouri Democrat Republican Party
- 2. Missouri Republican Democratic Party
- 3. Evening News Constitutional Union Party<sup>23</sup>
- 4. St. Louis Bulletin Advocated for the South<sup>24</sup>
- 5. State Journal Secessionist<sup>25</sup>

Numbers 1 and 2 above are misnomers, as their names do not reflect the political parties for which they advocate. This is a result of the political upheavals of the 1850s. The national Whig Party collapsed, the Missouri Democratic Party split, and the anti-slavery Republican party was founded. The *Missouri Republican* switched from the slavery wing of the Whig Party to the slavery wing of the Democratic Party, and the anti-slavery *Missouri Democrat* switched its support to the anti-slavery Republican Party. Below are descriptions of each of the papers mentioned above.



St. Louis, Mo.

The *Missouri Democrat* was an anti-slavery newspaper that was fanatically opposed to any compromise over slavery. They advocated for using force to maintain law and order, and to prevent secession. The editors of the *Missouri Republican* accused the *Missouri Democrat* of inciting civil war by opposing compromise and supporting the use of force. The editor of the secessionist *State Journal* called it, "a monstrous cancer on the body politic." President Lincoln reportedly said its support "was worth more to

see 1861 Missouri Speaks, Series 2, Vol. 1, (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

NATHAN

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> A middle-of-the-road "third-party" created in 1860 in an attempt to maintain the status quo. In 1860, its candidates in Missouri were Sample Orr for governor and John Bell for president.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33.1) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34)

the North than ten regiments of soldiers."27



St. Louis, Mo.

The Missouri Republican blamed the Republican Party for the slavery crisis, pressed hard for the North to compromise with the South, and was against the federal government using military force to keep the seceding states in the Having previously supported the Whig Party, the Republican was considered "the mouth-piece of the rich and the merchant class."28 As Missouri was a slave state, it is not surprising the Missouri Republican and its supporters were pro-slavery, or that it supported the extension of slavery. But it was also critical of South Carolina for seceding rather than seeking a solution under the Constitution, and felt that secession was not in the best interest of Missouri. During the presidential election of 1860, it supported the Northern Democratic candidate Stephen A. Douglas, as he supported "popular sovereignty," which allowed settlers to choose for or against slavery during their statehood application process. It opposed the Southern Democratic candidate, who received less than 20% of Missouri's votes.

The Missouri Democrat called the Missouri Republican a "conditional secessionist" newspaper, saying that it was only for the Union if it got its way. The secessionist editor of the Missouri State Journal described the Missouri Republican as follows.

This was a respectable paper and of great influence, but malignant and venomous against the institutions of the state. It was always singing the song of the "Union"—a silly and senseless song, always in the mouths of [Northern] tyrants. Who is not for the Union as it once existed; but we are

Franklin A. Dick, who worked with the Union Safety Committee, served on General Lyon's staff, and carried messages to Lincoln, wrote the following about The *Missouri Republican* in a letter to the historian Benson J. Lossing in 1865.

The Missouri Republican daily denounced us as outlaws, incendiaries for continuing to make war on the State; which consisted in arming to protect ourselves against the aggressions of Gov. Jackson. You ought to paint this wicked newspaper which has done us private injury in the West in its true colors.<sup>30</sup>



St. Louis, Mo.

The Evening News supported the moderate third-party Constitutional Union Party candidate, John Bell, of Tennessee, for president in 1860. That party was basically for the status quo and ignored the political sensitive questions of the day. Bell was less than one-percentage away from winning in Missouri.

The Evening News was closely watched by all sides of the political spectrum, as it was an evening newspaper that was often first to report news arriving overnight from the South and East, and it often provided a more detailed report of events that had transpired the previous day across Missouri. While it was a pro-slavery newspaper and initially supported compromise, when it became clear that the cotton state secessionists were only paying lip-service to compromise and that Missouri could actually be drawn into a civil war by them, it switched its

all for disunion if we can't get our rights. The *Republican* was careful always to publish everything denunciatory of the South, but nothing in their favor.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Jim Allee Hart, *A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1961), page 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri: from the* 

Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon (New York, Scribner's Sons, 1886), page 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Editor's personal files.

support to the Unconditional Unionist Ticket of the *Missouri Democrat*. This switch can be seen in the quote below from a February 10, 1861 article in the *Missouri Republican*.

It is always with a sad heart that one discovers treachery and falsehood in a quarter where one expected to find good faith and cooperation in a good cause. Therefore it is with feelings of profound regret that we now witness the desertion of the *Evening News* into the ranks of the Black Republicans. (FLP: Ser 1MR-Feb#46)

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The following two newspapers were eventually shut down on the orders of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon for "continually giving aid and comfort to those who are in active rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States."



St. Louis, Mo.

The St. Louis *Bulletin* "earnestly and zealously advocated for the South."<sup>31</sup> It openly supported the secessionist Minute Men,<sup>32</sup> who were openly preparing for war, and flew a secessionist flag over their headquarters in St. Louis. Its editor eventually served in the Confederate Army. In 1864, he resigned his army commission and became a member of the Confederate Congress.



St. Louis, Mo.

The *State Journal's* editor, J. W. Tucker, was the editor of a South Carolina newspaper before moving to Missouri in 1859 and becoming the editor of the openly secessionist *State Journal*. His paper was shut down on July 12, 1861, on the

order of General Lyon, as a seditious newspaper. Tucker was eventually charged with treason, but while his trial was in progress, he fled St. Louis and joined Gov. Jackson's secessionist forces in the field. Afterward he became one of the editors of Jackson's state guard newspaper, the *Argus*. The order that shut the *State Journal* down stated the following.

The Missouri State Journal, a newspaper printed and published in the city of St. Louis, has given and is continually giving, aid and comfort to those who are in active rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States. It has not only encouraged them by its persistent appeals to the people to take up arms against that authority, but by its constant and continual publication of intelligence known to be false, respecting the troops of the United States, it has indirectly incited disaffected citizens to the commission of overt acts of treason. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49)



NATHAN





(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3) January 1, 1861

## What They Say of Missouri's Edward Bates in New England

(Reprint)

"Those who have permitted themselves to doubt of the desire of Mr. Lincoln to represent the interest of both the North and South, will now see their error."

[From the Boston Journal]
It appears to be conceded that Mr. Lincoln has

1MD-Jan#21.1)

<sup>31 (</sup>FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> For information on the Minute Men, see (FLP: Ser

tendered a place in his cabinet to Edward Bates<sup>33</sup> of Missouri and David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. [Wilmot did not accept.] This would be a good beginning, and we trust the announcement will be confirmed. There is probably, however, no doubt of the selection and acceptance of Judge Bates; and that the choice is peculiarly auspicious.

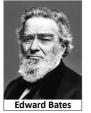
Those who have permitted themselves to doubt of the desire of Mr. Lincoln to represent the interest of both the North and South, will now see their error. They will see that in making his very first appointment he resorts to a slave state, and chooses a man whose personal integrity, sound conservatism, and firm devotion to every right which the South can claim under the Constitution, are beyond all question.

As a representative also of the growing West, and of a determined sentiment in favor of a Pacific Railroad, Mr. Bates enjoys a commanding position at the present time—Boston Journal.

The *Detroit Free Press* (Stephen Douglas) says that Mr. Bates is the most conservative prominent Republican in the United States.

Editor's Note: In the article below, a writer provides a sarcastic counter-point to a letter that was earlier published in the *Missouri Republican*, concerning the definition of treason, and if a citizen who is following the orders of state authorities could be charged with treason against the United States.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4) January 1, 1861

#### **Treason and State Authority**

#### (Letter to the Editors)

"Any act of war against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason."

Sir: I observed in the Sunday *Missouri Republican* [newspaper] a letter<sup>34</sup> addressed by you to Honorable Edward Bates.

As a specimen of your logic and fairness, I take the following extract from your letter:

In deducing the constitutional power of Congress thus to wage war upon any seceding state, will you ask Mr. Bates to designate the clause or clauses in the Constitution which authorizes the exercise of such a monstrous power?

But I can anticipate your answer. Instead of giving a categorical reply, you will repeat the rant about this government being "a rope of sand."<sup>35</sup>

Sir: Take, I pray you, a quiet look at yourself in the logic of your foregoing quote. You first assume for Mr. Bates an opinion that you have offered no proof that he holds; and you call for the constitutional authority by which he supports that assumed opinion. Anticipating his answer, you put in his mouth a reply which is simply absurd. Having thus erected your man of straw, and breathed into it the breath of life as you fondly imagine, you will hurl at it questions that support your position and the work is done.

But, Sir, this problem of the power of Congress to coerce a state, which has so aroused your Christian spirit and upset your logic, demands a little further consideration. Since history seems to be a favorite study with you, let me refer you to a page of history which will, I think, set this matter in its proper light, and place it beyond controversy.

The Constitution, under which we have been so signally prosperous, was formed by the Convention of 1787. That body labored several months in elaborating and perfecting that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Edward Bates, a Missourian and a Republican nominee for president in 1860, was appointed U.S. Attorney General by Abraham Lincoln.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> For the *Missouri Republican* letter on which the writer comments, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> A "rope of sand" represents something useless.

instrument. It was passed under review section by section, sentence by sentence, and word by word. That August body did not intend there should be any misconception of the force and meaning of the Constitution. Unhappily, however, language is not a perfect medium of communicating a thought, and wise and patriotic men may and do differ on some constitutional constructions. But when the language of the Constitution is clear and intelligible, and when, in addition, we have the unquestionable construction placed upon it by the framers of it, we can then have no reasonable doubt of the force and meaning.



Luther Martin<sup>36</sup> was a member of the Constitutional Convention from Maryland. On his return home, he was called upon to give an account of the proceedings of that convention to the legislature of his state. When section three of article three, in which treason was defined to consist in levying war against the United States, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort, was under consideration, Mr. Martin uses the following language, in which it will be seen that his own

opinion and that of the convention was clear as to the power of the general government concerning treason.

#### Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-47)37



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5) January 1, 1861

### **US Forces Occupy Fort Sumter**

(Reprint)

"Both himself and men have been stationed at Fort Moultrie for a good while, and have enjoyed the hospitality of the people, and would, therefore, be particularly loath to fire on Charleston."

[Special Dispatch from the Cincinnati Gazette]
Washington, December 29, 1860
Major Anderson, 38 I hear, dined formally, on
Christmas day with the authorities in Charleston
[South Carolina], and returned, apparently pretty
well provided with good things, early in the evening.
This induced the watchers upon Major Anderson,
stationed in the harbor by state authorities, to relax
their vigilance, and in this way, Maj. Anderson was

He evidently feels, however, the disagreeableness of his position, and nothing but the sense of duty keeps him where he is. Both himself and men have been stationed at Fort Moultrie for a good while, and have enjoyed the hospitality of the people, and would, therefore, be particularly loath to fire on Charleston.<sup>40</sup>

able to spike<sup>39</sup> his guns and retreat to Fort Sumter.

Kentucky, remained loyal to the Union. He was commander of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor.

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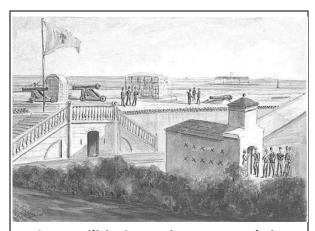
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Luther Martin, a slaveholder and former attorney general of Maryland, opposed a strong central government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> To read entire article, see *1861 Missouri Speaks*, Series 1, Vol. 1 (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Maj. Robert Anderson, a former slave-owner from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Spike: to close the fuse vent of a cannon with a nail, forcibly driven in, so as to render the cannon temporarily useless.

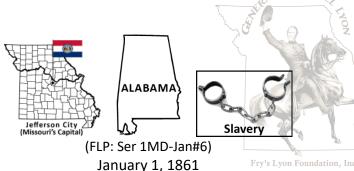
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> After dark on Christmas Day 1860, Maj. Anderson



#### **State Militia Occupying Fort Moultrie**

The design of the coastal fort anticipated a shoreline attack; in consequence, it was stalwartly fortified on the oceanside but remained vulnerable from the land. Maj. Anderson moved covertly with his command to Fort Sumter.

Artist: A. Vizitelly, 1861. Library of Congress



## Commissioner From Alabama Speaks in Jefferson City

(Editorial)

"Under the policy of the Republican Party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Haiti, with all their attendant horrors, would be re-enacted in the slaveholding states."

abandoned his indefensible position at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston, for the under-construction but defensible Fort Sumter in the Charleston Harbor. On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces fired the first shots of the Civil War when they opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later, Anderson surrendered his command and was allowed to leave the fort unmolested.

The *Missouri Republican* [newspaper] of Sunday published a letter from Jefferson City giving an account of a speech made by Mr. Cooper, the commissioner from Alabama, sent to induce Missouri to join in her treason and secession. The chief argument of this gentleman is reported in the following words:<sup>41</sup>

The Republican Party proposes to confine slavery to the Southern states, and this would have the effect of causing an increase of slaves in the Southern states which would prove extremely dangerous. Under the policy of the Republican Party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Haiti,<sup>42</sup> with all their attendant horrors, would be re-enacted in the slaveholding states.



Haiti and Santo Domingo in Relation to the Entire Caribbean and Southern Florida See map AM-1 in Series 1, Vol. 1 for an enlarged image.

Is this so? Is slavery such a malignant institution that its increase will prove "extremely dangerous?" Will it make a Haiti & San Domingo of the South? Is it a reproach to the Republican Party that it resists the extension of this "extremely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> For the *Missouri Republican* article mentioned above, see *1861 Missouri Speaks*, Series 2, Vol. 1, (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> In 1791, a bloody slave revolt began in Saint-Domingue against French authority. By 1793, slavery was abolished in the colony, and in 1804, Saint-Domingue declared its independence, as Haiti.

dangerous" institution and the consequent multiplication of Haiti's on this continent? If Mr. Cooper's statement is true, why do not the Southern states seek some means of relieving themselves of a thing so dangerous by colonization<sup>43</sup> as proposed by the anti-slavery Republicans, rather than by imposing this "dangerous" thing upon the new territories?

Is the refusal to permit this infliction upon the territories a cause of this disunion and civil war? Is it a reason for insisting on the re-opening of the African slave trade and landing cargoes of African slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, which has been done with impunity in the last year? And that it may continue to be done with impunity is suspected to be the moving cause of secession, and perhaps the only cause.44

#### **Essential Information #2: Extension of Slavery**

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1)

The concept of the "extension of slavery" has to do with allowing slavery into the territories of the west that had not yet become states. Lincoln won the election on the platform of slavery remaining where it already existed (in Missouri and the South), but against it being allowed to extend into areas where it did not currently exist (in the new territories). Most in the South, on the other hand, felt it should be able to take their slaves anywhere, not just the territories. Senator Jefferson Davis, 45 during the Senate Committee of Thirteen debate,<sup>46</sup> demanded the right "to introduce slavery into all the territories as fully as it exists in the slave states, coupled with a guaranteed right for slave owners to travel with their slaves in free states, as desired." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1)







Washington D.C.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#7) January 1, 1861

### Southern Sympathizers Ship **Government Guns South**

(Reprint/Editorial)

"It is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south."

Reprint from the Pittsburgh [Pa] Gazette

We understand that the shipment of the guns from the arsenal was commenced yesterday afternoon, in compliance with the order from the War Department.<sup>47</sup> It is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south.

The allegation made by the authorities at Washington that the guns were required for Texas, turns out to be a mere ruse. "lan," the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, who warmly supports the Buchanan Administration, thus spoils the story:

> As to the report from Pittsburgh [Pennsylvania] concerning the shipment of guns for forts in Texas, and the excitement created therefrom; I find that there are no forts between Pensacola [Florida] and Brownsville [Texas]. But a site was purchased at Ship Island, in Mississippi, for a fort some years ago, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> This is assumed to refer to the practice of freeing slaves and sending them back to Africa or to the islands of the Caribbean.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For Commissioner Cooper's official report to the governor of Alabama on his mission to Missouri, see 1861 Missouri Speaks, Series 2, Vol. 1, (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7). In his report, Cooper states, "In the event of dissolution, Missouri will confederate with the South and not with the North."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Senator Jefferson Davis eventually became the president of the Confederate States of America.

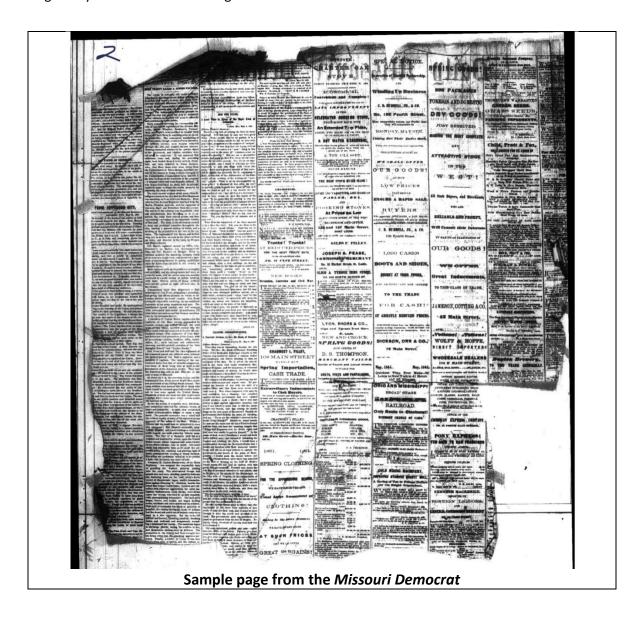
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> For Committee of Thirteen Information, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10.1).

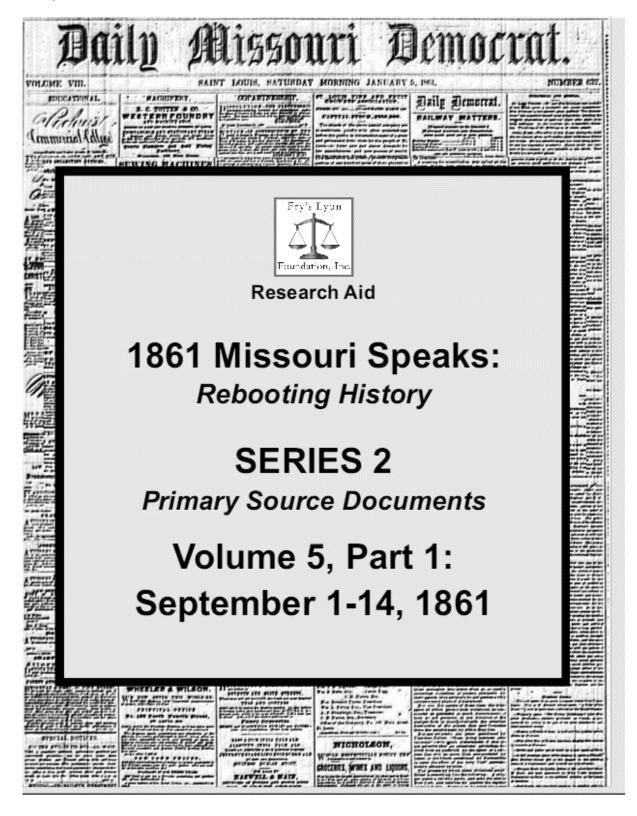
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Secretary of War Floyd, who later became a Confederate general, was said to have issued orders sending war materials to the South, as he knew war was coming.

some money has been expended, but there are no works there ready to receive armaments. At Galveston [Texas], an island sand bar has been purchased for the erection of a fort, but there is no fort there yet.

From other sources, we learn that these fortifications are in an unfinished condition, and of course, are in no need of the guns. The fact is these guns are designed by the traitors at Washington for

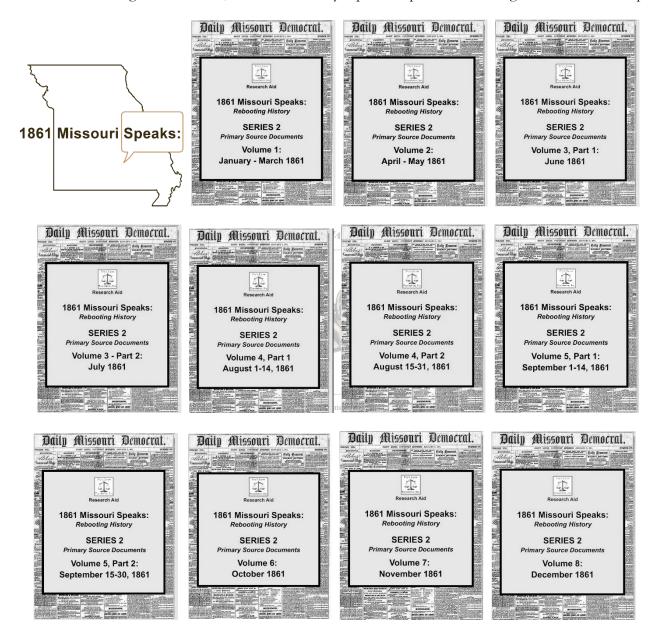
the use of the secessionists, who will use them against the government.





## Series 2—Primary Source Document Volumes:

Transcribed copies of documents, letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, etc. All items are modernized and footnoted, with supporting maps and pictures. This series is a repository of primary source documents dealing with Missouri, culled from many separate repositories dealing with the Civil War period.



## SEPTEMBER 1861 FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)

Week	Date	Correspondence (FLP#)	Pag
Week 1	Sep 1.48	Kansas Governor Robinson to Maj. Gen. Fremont (FLP: Ser 2PS-	1
		Sep#1) <sup>49</sup> Robinson indicates that the secessionists in Missouri will not	
		invade Kansas or cause problems as long as the government stores at	
		Fort Scott are sent back to Leavenworth and Gen. James Lane's forces	
		are kept out of Missouri. He requests that Fremont move military	
		supplies at Fort Scott to Fort Leavenworth and that Lane not be	
		allowed to enter Missouri.	
	Sep 1.	Asst. Sec. of War Scott to Indiana Gov. Morton (FLP: Ser 2PS-	2
		Sep#2) Scott wants the railroads protected, asks if Mr. Owen was	
		authorized to buy rifles, and reports victory at Cape Hatteras.	
	Sep 1.	Indiana Gov. Morton to Asst. Sec. of War Scott (FLP: Ser 2PS-	2
		Sep#2.1) Morton requests department bugles for the artillery	
		companies ready to march.	
	Sep 1.	Maj. Gen. Fremont Orders Gen. Curtis to Command Camp	2
		Benton (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3) Fremont orders Curtis to proceed to	
		St. Louis and assume command of Camp Benton.	
	Sep 1.	Gen. Grant to Maj. Gen. Fremont (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.1) Grant	2
		advises Fremont that the enemy is deserting or has deserted their	
		positions north of the line from Bird's Point to Sikeston. He informs	
		Fremont that he has written to Gen. McClernand at Cairo with	
		instructions for Col. Wallace and that he (Grant) will proceed to Bird's	
		Point and take command if there are no further instructions.	
	Sep 1.	Gen. Grant to Col. Smith (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.2) Grant turns	2
		command of the post at Cape Girardeau over to Col. Smith, as he is	
		departing to assume command of all troops in southeast Missouri.	
		Grant states he has been ordered by Maj. Gen. Fremont to see that	
		the work of fortifying the post is pushed vigorously forward.	
	Sep 1.	Gen. Grant to Gen. McClernand (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.3) Grant	
		relays a report that the enemy has left Commerce, Benton and Sikeston	
		and probably moved to Madrid. He also spells out his future actions	
	_	and troop movements.	
	Sep 1.	Gen. Grant to Maj. Gen. Fremont (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.4) Grant advises	2
		Fremont of reported enemy activity, his planned troop movements,	
		and his movement to Bird's Point. He reports his movement will be	
		delayed one day due to a lack of transportation.	
	Sep 1.	Maj. Gen. Fremont to Gen. Pope (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#4) Fremont	2
		orders Pope to take possession of all hard currency (gold and silver)	
		·	
	_		-
_		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	2
newspape:		in the banks in Canton and LaGrange in Lewis County and send it to St. Louis City.  nont's Proclamation (Martial Law). Also includes a Missouri Republican the martial law and Fremont's Orders to his men regarding the	

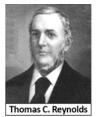
 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 48}$  See calendar starting on page xxix.

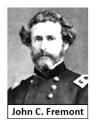
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xv.

#### **SEPTEMBER DOCUMENTS**

#### 1. PRIMARY SOURCES DOCUMENTS SEPTEMBER WEEK ONE

## September 1, 1861







(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#1)<sup>50</sup> September 1, 1861<sup>51</sup>

# Kansas Governor Robinson to Maj. Gen. Fremont

O.R., I, 3:468-69

"As some parties are interested to have war on our border, and consequently may not be impartial in their reports [to you], I desire to say that we are in no danger of invasion [from Missouri], provided the government supplies at Fort Scott are sent back to Leavenworth and the Lane's brigade is removed from the border region. ...But what we have to fear, and do fear, is that Lane's brigade will get up a war by going over the line [into Missouri] committing depredations, and then returning into our state."

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, TOPEKA, September 1, 1861.

Maj. Gen. JOHN C. FREMONT:

Dear Sir: An effort is being made to get up a panic in our state, and I am told messengers have been sent to you representing a fearful state of things on our border. As some parties are interested to have war on our border, and consequently may not be impartial in their reports [to you], I desire to say that we are in no danger of invasion [from Missouri], provided the government supplies at Fort Scott are sent back to Leavenworth and Gen. Lane's brigade is removed from the border region. It is true small parties of secessionists are to be found in Missouri, but we have good reason to know that they do not intend to molest Kansas in force until Jackson shall be reinstated as governor of Missouri. Indeed, when a short time since a guerrilla party came over and stole some property from our citizens, the officers in command of the Confederates compelled a return of the property, and offered to give up the leader of the gang to our people for punishment. But what we have to fear, and do fear, is that Lane's [Kansas Jayhawk] brigade<sup>52</sup> will get up a war by going over the line [into Missouri], committing depredations,53 and then returning into our state.

This course will force the secessionists to put down any [U.S.] force we may have for their own protection, and in this they will be joined by nearly all the Union men of Missouri. If you will remove the supplies at Fort Scott to the interior, and relieve us of the Lane brigade, I will guarantee Kansas from invasion from Missouri until [ex-governor] Jackson [and his rebels] shall drive you out of Saint Louis.

I am progressing rapidly with the organization of the Home Guard,<sup>54</sup> and have arranged for speedily filling one of the New Mexico regiments.<sup>55</sup> With reference to the other, I am expecting to hear from your secretary. A gentleman here thinks he could furnish five companies for the Second New Mexico Regiment in a short time if Mr. Wood has not filled it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See calendar starting on page xxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Gen. James H. Lane commanded the Kansas Brigade. For a contemporary report on Lane, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Dec#157), quoted in part in (FLP: Ser 2PS-Oct#134.1). <sup>53</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Oct#134.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Home Guard: Locally organized, military-style county self-defense force, recognized and eventually supplied by the United States. Members cannot be deployed outside of their county of muster without their consent. <sup>55</sup> Two regiments being organized in Kansas for use in the New Mexico Territory as replacements for the regular army units being pulled out.

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Could I have one company of cavalry and one of artillery in the Home Guard regiment, provided the State furnish the guns or a part of them and the cavalry company furnish their own horses and horse equipment?<sup>56</sup> If so, I should like it.

I think the outfit for the New Mexico regiments could be purchased here to good advantage, so far as mules, wagons, and provisions are concerned.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

C. ROBINSON<sup>57</sup>

Editor's Note: Congressman James H. Lane was a friend of President Lincoln that initially provided security for the White House after the surrender of Fort Sumter. The Kansas men supporting Lane actually stayed in the White House until units from the northeast arrived to replace them. Afterwards, Lane was made a brigadier general of volunteers by Lincoln and given the authority to organize three infantry regiments in Kansas without the concurrence of the governor. Traditionally, governors were tasked to organize regiments within their states, but it was not uncommon for Lincoln himself to authorize politicians to organize regiments as he did with Lane.

After Gen. Lane organized his Kansas Brigade, he used them to pillage and plunder Missouri as though he was occupying enemy territory without regard to the rights of noncombatants. As Lincoln bypassed the normal procedures<sup>58</sup> for organizing state regiments, and then ignored creditable complaints about Lane's villainy, Lincoln himself was indirectly responsible

for Lane's plunder of Missouri and the problems Lane created for the Union cause in Missouri. The examples below demonstrate Lincoln's culpability concerning Lane.

Example 1: Making Lane a brigadier general, authorizing him to organize a brigade, and directing him to "put it through."

Executive Mansion June 20, 1861

Hon. Secretary of War

My dear Sir:—Since you spoke to me yesterday about General J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I have been reflecting upon the subject and have concluded that we need the services of such a man out there at once; that we better appoint him a brigadier general of volunteers to-day, and send him off with such authority to raise a force (I think two regiments better than three, but as to this I am not particular) as you think will get him into actual work quickest. Tell him when he starts to put it through, not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.<sup>59</sup>

Yours truly, A. Lincoln (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#60.3)

Example 2: Ignoring Lane's depredations in Missouri.

A. An extract of a report from Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, commander of the Department of Missouri:

"The conduct of the forces under Lane and Jennison has done more **for the enemy** in this state

Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol 4 (Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Governors needed to request permission to organize regiments in order to ensure they were accepted and funded by the federal government. He should have made his request to the secretary of war, not MGen. Fremont.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Kansas became a state on January 31, 1861. Charles L. Robinson was its first governor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> President Lincoln had previously written, "this order is to be of no effect, unless the governor of each state from which troops are to be enlisted shall endorse his approval upon it." Source: "Draft of Order Authorizing Benjamin F. Butler to Raise a Volunteer Force," in Roy P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Considering the depredations of Lane and his brigade, and the fact Lane was also a Jayhawker during the earlier Bleeding Kansas border war between Kansas and Missouri, and Lincoln would have known this, one wonders what Lincoln was communicating when he wrote: "We need the services of such a man out there at once," and "Tell him when he starts to <u>put it through</u>, not to be writing or telegraphing back here, <u>but put it through</u>."

than could have been accomplished by 20,000 of his own army. I receive almost daily complaints of outrages committed by these men in the name of the United States, and the evidence is so conclusive as to leave no doubt of their correctness. It is rumored that Lane has been made a brigadiergeneral. I cannot conceive of a more injudicious appointment. It will take 20,000 men to counteract its effect in this state, and, moreover, is offering a premium for rascality and robbing generally."

(FLP: Ser 2PS-Dec#157)

#### B. Lincoln's comments concerning the above report from Gen. Halleck:

December 27, 1861.

An excellent letter though I am sorry General Halleck is so unfavorably impressed with General Lane.

> A.L. [Abraham Lincoln] (FLP: Ser 2PS-Dec#229)

#### C. Second letter from Gen. Halleck:

The Kansas Brigade of Lane is "no better than a band of robbers that cross from Kansas to rob, steal, plunder, and burn whatever they can lay their hands on." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#60.3)

#### D. Comments by Gen. Sturgis:

The conversation at first was general and pleasant; in a little while [Gen.] Sturgis directed it into a discussion of the horse-stealing, house-robbing, throat-cutting system which characterized [Gen.] Lane's warfare against the people of Missouri. Sturgis grew furious; he denounced Lane as a wretch, an assassin, a thief, a scoundrel of the vilest description. Lane took it all good-naturedly, and kept passing around the peach brandy.<sup>60</sup>



(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#2) September 1, 1861

#### Asst. Sec. of War Scott to Indiana Gov. Morton

O.R., III, 1:474

War Department, Washington City, September 1, 1861-9.36 a.m.

Hon O. P. Morton. Governor, Indianapolis:

Protect the railroads as indicated. I have telegraphed you three times within the last fortyeight hours. Did you get messages? Your agent, Mr. Owen, was authorized to buy 3,000 more Enfield rifles yesterday. General Butler<sup>61</sup> and Commodore Stringham<sup>62</sup> have gained a splendid victory at Cape Hatteras.<sup>63</sup> Took two forts, 730 prisoners, many officers, cannon, small arms, etc., without the loss of a man on our side. Keep us posted about border movements.

> Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War.



(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#2.1)

after his regiment was reorganized, and, in 1857, appointed to the Board of Visitors of West Point by then Sec. of War Jefferson Davis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> A report of an Oct. 1861 meeting between Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, who assumed command of Union forces after Gen. Lyon was killed at Wilson's Creek, and Gen. Lane. Franc B. Wilkie, Pen and Powder (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1888): p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Gen. Benjamin Butler, a former Massachusetts state senator, began his military career in 1840. He commanded a regiment of primarily Irish Americans, as its colonel. He was eventually elected brigadier general,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Commodore Silas H. Stringham, a veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War, was in command of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The Battle of Hatteras Inlet, the first combined operation of the Union Army and Navy in the Civil War, was fought August 28-29, 1861.

September 1, 1861

# Indiana Gov. Morton to Asst. Sec. of War Scott

O.R., III, 1:475

Indianapolis, Ind., September 1, 1861. Colonel Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War:

Please send immediately four proper department bugles for artillery companies ready to march. The Eleventh and Eighth (reorganized regiments) and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Regiments are ready to leave this week. In what direction shall they go?

O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana.



(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3) September 1, 1861

# Maj. Gen. Fremont Orders Gen. Curtis to Command Camp Benton

O.R., I, 53:502

Special Orders, No. 113

HQ, WESTERN DEPARTMENT, St. Louis, September 1, 1861. I. Brig. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis,  $^{64}$  U. S. Army, will proceed to this city and assume command of Camp Benton.  $^{65}$  \* \* \* \* \*

By order of Major General Fremont:

J. C. Kelton,

Assistant Adjutant General.

#### Editor's Notes:

1. The above order not only causes Gen. Curtis to assume command of Camp

<sup>64</sup> Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, a West Pointer, had been the commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> lowa Volunteer Infantry. He would later violate both the Articles of War and Army Regulations by sabotaging rather than supporting his

Benton, it also makes him responsible for converting the untrained volunteers and their inexperienced officers into a fighting force capable of defending Missouri, and taking the war to the enemy. Camp Benton was ordered constructed by Fremont as a reception center, quartering and training facility, for the thousands of recruits flooding into St. Louis. See Annex 11 (FLP: 2PS-Annex-10) for a report/description of Camp Benton.

The greater part of the old troops [90day volunteers], especially the foreign element, is going out of service. The new levies are literally the rawest ever got together. They are reported by the officers to be entirely unacquainted with the rudiments of military exercise. To bring them before the enemy in their present condition would be to have only an unmanageable mob. I can remedy this if I can be authorized by the president and secretary of war to collect throughout the states instructed men who have seen service. With them I could make a skeleton —meager enough, but still a frame-work—on which to form the army. This authority ought to be allowed, and the cost of transportation. Don't lose time, but get it quick. I assure you it will require all we can do, and to do it in the best manner, to meet the enemv.

...The contest in the Mississippi Valley will be a severe one. We had best meet it in the face at once, and by so doing we can rout them. Who now serves the country quickly serves her twice.

Above, Fremont is requesting the authority

commander, MGen. Fremont.

<sup>65</sup> Camp Benton was in the northern part of St. Louis City.

to pull together men with military experience to help him create an operational fighting force and turn untrained volunteers into an army capable of taking to the field and defeating Missouri secessionist citizen-saboteurs, and three separate Confederate forces that have already invaded Missouri. 66 It also includes organizing the defense of strategic point, so they are defensible after his army takes to the field.

2. In order to both accommodate and train the arriving volunteers, Fremont arranged the construction of Camp Benton in the northern part of St. Louis. Then he issued the above order putting Brig. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, the former commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> lowa Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and a West Point graduate, in command of Camp Benton, making him responsible for supervising its construction, receiving and accommodating the volunteers, and supervising their training.



Fry's Lyon Foundation, In

Editor's Note: From here forward, we see examples of Grant's soldierly qualities, which allowed him to rise through the ranks to become army commander by the end of the war.<sup>67</sup> The following demonstrates several of those qualities. He is a good subordinate that follows orders; once he understands what is expected, he is a self-starter that requires minimal supervision. He gives clear and concise orders to his subordinate, and he keeps his commander informed on the enemy situation, his plans

and intentions.

In the following letter, written a few days after having met with and received instruction from MGen. Fremont, Grant reports he has arrived at Cape Girardeau and assumed command of the Southeast Military Region (which included Cairo, Illinois).

Earlier, Grant had commanded the forces at Ironton, seventy miles westnorthwest of Cape Girardeau, but had been temporally sent to Jefferson City before returning to assume command of the full Southeast Military Region. It is worthy of note that Fremont had overruled those who wanted Gen. John Pope to be given that command as he was senior to Grant, had political connections, and was a friend of both Lincoln and Illinois Governor Yates. However, having worked with both Grant and Pope, Fremont preferred Grant be responsible for the forces between St. Louis and the Confederates threatening to move up along the Mississippi to capture St. Louis.

As Fremont's replacement, MGen. Henry Halleck had done his best to short-circuit Grant's career; had it not been for Fremont recognizing Grant's abilities and giving him an opportunity to demonstrate those abilities, Grant may not have risen as high as he did in the army.

(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#279) August 30, 1861 Gen. Grant to Maj. Gen. Fremont O.R., I, 3:143-144

long as I hold a commission in the army, I have no view of my own to carry out. Whatever may be the orders of my superiors and the law, I will execute. No man can be efficient as a commander who sets his own notions above the law and those whom he has sworn to obey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The three separate forces are Confederate generals McCulloch in Northwest Arkansas, Hardee and Pillow, already in Southeast Missouri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> In Bruce Catton's 1954 book, *U.S. Grant and the American Military Tradition*, on page 106, he wrote that Grant, in a letter to Congressman Washburn, wrote: So

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES, CAPE GIRARDEAU, [CAPE GIRARDEAU CO.], Mo., August 30, 1861

I arrived here at 4:30 o'clock this evening and assumed command of the post. Found that Colonel Marsh, with thirteen companies of infantry, two pieces of artillery, and about 50 cavalries, armed with rifles taken from the Ninth Missouri Volunteers, left here at 10 o'clock p.m. yesterday.

A report is just in from him, stating that he was in Jackson [Cape Girardeau County]. No enemy was found. This command took with it but two days' rations, but I have ordered to leave by daylight tomorrow morning three days' more rations, excepting meat. This I have instructed must be supplied by the country, giving special instructions, however, that it must be done in a legal way. Owing to the limited amount of transportation, it is impossible to forward much of a supply at one time. Thirteen teams are reported to me as being the extent of transportation at present available. Additional wagons, however, were received a few days ago, and as soon as the harness is supplied, eight more can be started from captured mules now in our possession.

The fortifications here are in a considerable state of forwardness, and I would judge, from visiting them this afternoon, are being pushed forward with vigor. I notice that a number of contrabands, in the shape of Negroes, are being employed, apparently much to their satisfaction. I will make inquiry how they came here, and if the fact has not been previously reported, ask instructions. A junction with General Prentiss is not reported.

No blank muster-rolls have ever been received here. I have ordered one copy for each company to be ruled out, and the balance to be copied when the blanks are received.

U. S. GRANT,
Brigadier General, Commanding
[To] Captain J. C. KELTON, Saint Louis, Mo.

Editor's Note: In the above report written

the same evening Grant arrived in Cape Girardeau, Grant demonstrates he has complied with the verbal instruction received from Fremont, gives the status of his new command, and his intentions concerning compliance with his assigned missions.

This excellent report demonstrates Grant's positive attitude, attention to detail, aggressive nature, and that he is a self-starter not requiring micromanagement. It probably also demonstrates why Fremont selected him to command the Southern Military Region over the other brigadier generals in his command.

With this report, he provides Fremont a clear picture of the situation in his new command.

- 1. Col. Marsh, with one regiment, departed toward the south the previous day and reported the enemy had yet to be located. He advises that Marsh's unit is armed with weapons, turned in by the 90-day volunteers that had already returned to St. Louis for discharge.
- 2. Col. Marsh's element departed with only two days' rations, so he will be forwarding them additional rations and directing them to obtain rations and forage along their route of march, but to do it legally by issuing payment vouchers for anything taken.
- 3.He is experiencing a shortage of wagons, and the official forms required for daily strength reporting, but states he is working to ameliorate both problems.
- 4. He reports work is progressing well on the forts ordered constructed by Fremont. But notes that contrabands, in the form of Negroes, are being employed in the fort construction. Not knowing if using slaves is legal, or if Fremont is aware of them being used, he states he will inquire how they came to be used, and if their presence has been previously reported. If their use has

NATHA

not been reported, he will ask for instructions concerning their use.

5. Grant reports that Gen. Prentiss, whom he is replacing as the Southern Region commander, has yet to arrive from Ironton. Prentiss, who had previously been senior to Grant, was unaware that Grant was now senior to him and that he would be serving under Grant. Prentiss, after learning he would be subordinate to Grant, refused to serve under Grant and was called back to St. Louis. The facts surrounding his refusal, and the result, are covered below.

Southeast Region (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.1)

September 1, 1861

Gen. Grant to Maj. Gen. Fremont
O.R. I, 3: 144

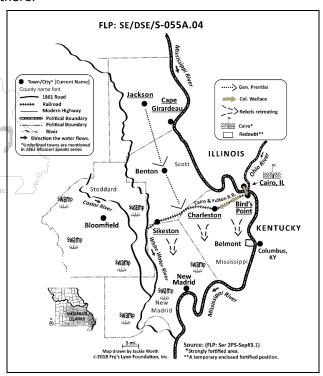
Grant is advising Fremont that he has learned that the enemy started pulling back to the south on August 27, and that he (Grant) is organizing his forces to pursue them. He advises Fremont of his intentions and says, unless he receives other instructions, he will execute them.

Headquarters, Cape Girardeau [Cape Girardeau County], Mo., September 1, 1861.

SIR: Since my report of yesterday, reliable information has come in to the effect that the enemy are deserting, or have deserted, all their

positions north of the line from Bird's Point [Mississippi County] to Sikeston [Scott County], and probably from there.

This movement seems to have commenced on the 27th of August. Not hearing from General Prentiss, and learning the above facts, I have written to General McClernand<sup>68</sup> at Cairo [Illinois], advising that Colonel Wallace<sup>69</sup> proceed to Charleston [Mississippi County], and reconnoiter from there, as directed [by you] to do, after a junction had been formed between this command and the one from Ironton [Iron County]. Should no instructions be received here different from any I now have, upon hearing of General Prentiss's arrival at Jackson [Cape Girardeau County], I will order the column to move south under his command and proceed myself to Bird's Point and take command there.



U. S. GRANT, 70

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Captain J. C. KELTON,

Asst. Adjt. General, U. S. Army, Saint Louis, Mo.

Illinois Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> U.S. Congressman John A. McClernand, from Illinois, was appointed brigadier general by President Lincoln. He initially commanded Illinois troops at Cairo until he became Gen. Grant's second in command.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Col. William H. L. Wallace was in command of the 11<sup>th</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Gen. Ulysses S. Grant would take command of the Southeast Missouri District at Cairo, Illinois on September 4, 1861. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#26).





(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.2) September 1, 1861

Gen. Grant to Col. Smith

O.R. I, 3: 144

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES, CAPE GIRARDEAU [CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY], Mo., September 1, 1861.

Colonel M. L. SMITH,
Commanding Eighth Missouri Volunteers:

SIR: The undersigned being instructed from the Western Department of the Army to take command of all the troops in southeast Missouri, the command of this post will be relinquished in your favor.\* You will therefore take command at once, making your reports to General Fremont at Saint Louis, from my departure until otherwise instructed. It has been enjoined upon me [by Maj. Gen. Fremont] to see that the work of fortifying Cape Girardeau be pushed vigorously forward. You will see, therefore, that the officers in charge of this work have every facility given them that your command can afford.\*\*

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier General.

\* After assuming command of the Southeast Region, Grant appointed Col. Smith the commander of Cape Girardeau.

\*\*Maj. Gen. Fremont always emphasized the preparation of defensive works at all strategic points under his command; statements to that effect are seen in his instruction to commanders assuming command at all military posts. When Fremont arrived in St. Louis, he had no

<sup>71</sup> Col. Charles C. Marsh was in command of the 20<sup>th</sup>

troops trained in the construction of fortifications, bridges, roads, and other tasks requiring engineering skills. Consequently, one of his early actions was to organize the Engineer Regiment of the West, composed of persons accustomed to construction type work. This unit was composed of ten companies spread across the state. The officers Col. Smith was directed to support were members of this unit.

[Thomas F. Army, Jr., *Engineering Victory*, pp. 81-83.]





(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.3) September 1, 1861

Gen. Grant to Gen. McClernand

O.R. I, 3: 144-145

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
CAPE GIRARDEAU [CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY], Mo.,
September 1, 1861.

Brigadier General JOHN A. McCLERNAND, Cairo, III.:

I learn from information which is reliable that the enemy have left Commerce [Scott County], Benton [Scott County], and probably Sikeston [Scott County], etc. They have taken all their artillery and probably fallen back to New Madrid [New Madrid County].

I would advise that Colonel Wallace push out to Charleston [Mississippi County] at once and reconnoiter without waiting to hear from the column from Ironton [Iron County]. As soon as a junction is formed between General Prentiss and Colonel Marsh,<sup>71</sup> I will be informed of it and will assume command of all the troops co-operating from this point to Cairo, and will move down the

Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

river at once. If Colonel Waagner's<sup>72</sup> instructions are not different from mine, Belmont [Mississippi County] should have been taken possession of and held.

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier General.

Editor's Note: The above letter is historically significant for the following reasons:

- 1. It is the first report that the Confederates are pulling out of southeast Missouri, an indication they have abandoned their earlier plans to unite forces from Tennessee and Arkansas for a movement up through southeast Missouri to capture St. Louis.
- 2. It demonstrates that Grant is aggressively implementing Fremont's instructions to push the rebels out of southeast Missouri.
- 3. Grant advises/directs Col. Wallace to immediately start moving south to confirm the report of the rebel pull-back. Wallace had previously been awaiting the arrival of Gen. Prentiss to start his movement south, as they were expecting to need to fight their way south.
- 4. We learn that Col. Waagner was about to land a reconnaissance force at Belmont, Missouri, across from Columbus, Kentucky. Fremont had ordered this landing prior to Grant assuming command in southeast Missouri
- 5. After Waagner's landing at Belmont on September 2nd, Confederate commanders Major General Polk and Brigadier General Pillow in Tennessee were concerned that Waagner's landing was a sign of an impending crossing of the Mississippi River to occupy Columbus, Kentucky. In response,

Polk ordered an invasion of Kentucky on September 3, and Pillow's forces occupied Columbus on September 4. This effectively broke Kentucky's neutrality and caused it to align with the United States.







(FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#3.4) September 1, 1861

### Gen. Grant to Maj. Gen. Fremont

O.R. I, 3: 145

Grant confirms previous reports that the enemy is falling back. He indicates he intends for Gen. Prentiss to continue toward the south in pursuit of the enemy, but a shortage of wagons will cause a delay of at least a day. Knowing Fremont is working on correcting the wagon shortage, Grant only reports the facts; he does not complain in writing, as do West Pointers Maj. Gen. Hunter, Gen. Pope, and Gen. Curtis, as part of their effort to have Fremont, a non-West Pointer, relieved. All three generals are friends of Lincoln and in direct communication with him. Their direct communication with Washington, behind Fremont's back, while encouraged by Lincoln, is in violation of the Articles of War and Army Regulations, which forbid any officer to speak disparagingly of a superior in command, or do anything calculated to bring his authority into contempt.

Headquarters, Cape Girardeau [Cape Girardeau County], Mo., September 1, 1861.

Cairo, under Gen. Grant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Col. Gustave Waagner was the chief of artillery at

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

SIR: General Prentiss has just arrived. Will move the column under his command to Sikeston [Scott County] as soon as possible. I will go to Bird's Point [Mississippi County] and take command there and push out from that point. General Prentiss reports that [C.S.A. Gen.] Hardee<sup>73</sup> left Greenville [Wayne County] the day he left Ironton [Iron County], and has fallen back into Arkansas. The scarcity of transportation here has prevented me having provisions thrown forward to Jackson [Cape Girardeau County], preparatory for this move, and will necessarily cause a delay of at least one day.

U. S. GRANT,

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Captain J. C. KELTON,

Asst. Adjt. General, U. S. Army, Saint Louis, Mo.



Maj. Gen. Fremont to Gen. Pope

O.R., I, 3:468

Below, Fremont orders gold and silver (specie) removed from banks in Missouri that are susceptible to having their funds confiscated by rebel forces and bandits. He directs receipts for the funds be issued. It is assumed the funds will be placed in the Treasury Office in St. Louis and then be available to properly accredited bank officials.

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,

<sup>73</sup> C.S.A. Gen. William J. Hardee was in command of the Confederate troops in that portion of Arkansas lying west of the White and Black Rivers and north of the Arkansas River to the Missouri line, with headquarters

Saint Louis, Mo., September 1, 1861. Brig. Gen. John Pope: $^{74}$ 

SIR: You are hereby directed to take possession, if possible, of all the specie [gold and silver coins] in the banks located at Canton and LaGrange, Lewis County, Mo., and send the same at once to the city of Saint Louis, under a sufficient escort, giving a proper receipt for the same to the person entitled thereto.

J. C. FREMONT,
Major General, Commanding

Editor's Note: The situation described in the letter to Gen. Pope below applied to all units organized prior to MGen. Fremont arriving in St. Louis to assume command of the Department of the West. Below is the response that Fremont received the day after his arrival, from a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, when he requested the funds and equipment necessary to correct the problems reported below.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1861

[FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#134]

Dear General Fremont:

I have two telegrams from you but find it impossible now to get any attention to Missouri or Western matters from the authorities here. You will have to do the best you can and take all needful responsibility to defend and protect the people over whom you are specially set.

Yours truly, and in haste, Montgomery Blair

at Pitman's Ferry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Gen. John Pope was in command of the District of North Missouri.

#### FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION

#### Maj. Gen. Fremont's Declares Martial Law

O.R., I, 3:466-467

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,

Saint Louis, August 30, 1861

Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency render it necessary that the commanding general of this department should assume the administrative powers of the state. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, amid the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county of the state, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the state.

In this condition, the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without impediment or hindrance to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the state of Missouri.



The lines of the army of occupation in this state are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth [Kansas], by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla [Phelps County, Missouri], and Ironton [Iron County], to Cape Girardeau [Cape Girardeau County], on the Mississippi River.

All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, will be shot.\*

The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to

the public use, **and their slaves, if any they have**, **are hereby declared freemen.\*** All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquility by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interests warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But this is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

The commanding general will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence but the active support of the loyal people of the country.

J. C. FREMONT,

Major General, Commanding

(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#276)

\*The two points to which President Lincoln objected in the letter above (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#10).

Editorial from the Missouri Republican newspaper - September 2, 1861

#### MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED IN MISSOURI

It has not taken us by surprise that martial law should be proclaimed in Missouri. The course of the secessionists, headed by [ex-Governor] Jackson, and the invasion of the state by armed troops of the Confederate States, with the aid and comfort given to them by thousands of misguided, and in other cases, reckless citizens, made it an inevitable necessity. It has not come too soon, and as MGen. Fremont has it now in his power to enforce his commands, we hope to see its beneficial effects made manifest all over the state in a few days. We know that martial law is a new thing to our people, and an unpalatable thing to many who do not stop to consider the actual condition of the country. Until now, there has never been an occasion for a resort to so extreme a measure for the safety of the state. But it is the only one left to us.

Let us examine the matter a moment. By no act of the people of the State of Missouri have they, at any time, betrayed any anxiety to dissolve their connection with the United States. When the question has been distinctly put to the voters, they have, at the polls, and by their representatives in Convention, declared their fidelity to the Union and this is the position which they hold at this hour. But Missouri has been invaded by troops from a power engaged in making war upon the United States, of which she is a member. A large portion of her territory has been overrun and laid waste. Many lives have been sacrificed by them. The appeals [for armed rebellion] of [ex-Governor Jackson,] a man who had absented himself from the state, and who had been deposed from his position as governor by competent authority, have been heard by a portion of our people—they have taken the alternative of arming themselves and of putting themselves in hostile array against the government of the United States and of the state they have committed countless offences against law and order, and in the absence of sufficient power in the state to drive out these invaders and to quell these disturbances, the military power of the United States steps in to punish these outrages and to restore peace to the state. No good citizen will deny that this interference was inevitable and even compulsory on the part of the military chief of this Department, [Maj. Gen. FREMONT]. In no other way than that suggested by him can peace be restored. Martial Law ought to have no terrors for good, law- abiding citizens: it is only those who, in their hearts, and by their conduct, show manifest disloyalty to the state and to the Union, who have anything to dread from its operation. We appeal to all good citizens of the state, whatever may have been their inclinations, at once to submit to the new order of things. It will save a world of trouble and disaster and bloodshed, all round. The measure of injury to the state, in all her great interests, is now within the control of her own citizens. We implore them, as they value their own lives and the security of their own property, to ascent to the terms of his proclamation, and peace will again be restored to us. MGen. FREMONT tells us that the outrages hitherto committed on innocent citizens by an undisciplined soldiery will hereafter be repressed, and as he will hold the officers responsible for the acts of their men, 75 this may readily be done and one great cause of alarm be removed. Reference has been made to one part of the proclamation of MGen. FREMONT, in which it is said:

The property, real and personal, of all persons in the state of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

We are asked whether this would include persons who, having been indiscreet enough to take up arms under [ex-Governor] JACKSON'S call, afterwards availed themselves of the amnesty granted by [Provisional] Governor GAMBLE'S proclamation, and have since been quiet, loyal citizens. Gov. GAMBLE'S declaration was ample to cover all such cases, and the understanding between him and MGen. FREMONT is that any such persons would not be molested without having given some other cause of offense. This, at least, is our view of the spirit of the proclamation.

### MGen. Fremont's order to the troops, issued with his proclamation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> See General Order No. 6 (next page), containing an admonition to the soldiery to conduct themselves properly and enforce the provisions of martial law accordingly, and ordering officers to enforce discipline under the penalty of military law.

#### General Orders #6 - Subject: Enforcement of Military Law

National Archives: RG 393

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT, St. Louis, Mo., August 30th, 1861

General Orders, No. 6

The commanding general sincerely regrets that he finds it necessary to make any reproach to the patriotic army under his command. He had hoped that the rigid enforcement of discipline and the good example of the mass of the enlightened soldiery, which he has the honor to lead would have been sufficient to correct in good time the irregularities and actions of a few who have reflected discredit upon our cause and ourselves. But the extension of martial law to all the state of Missouri, rendered suddenly necessary by its unhappy condition, renders it equally imperative to call the army to good order and rigorous discipline.

They are reminded that the power to inflict the extraordinary severities of the now governing law is rigidly confined to few who are to be held strictly accountable for its exercise.

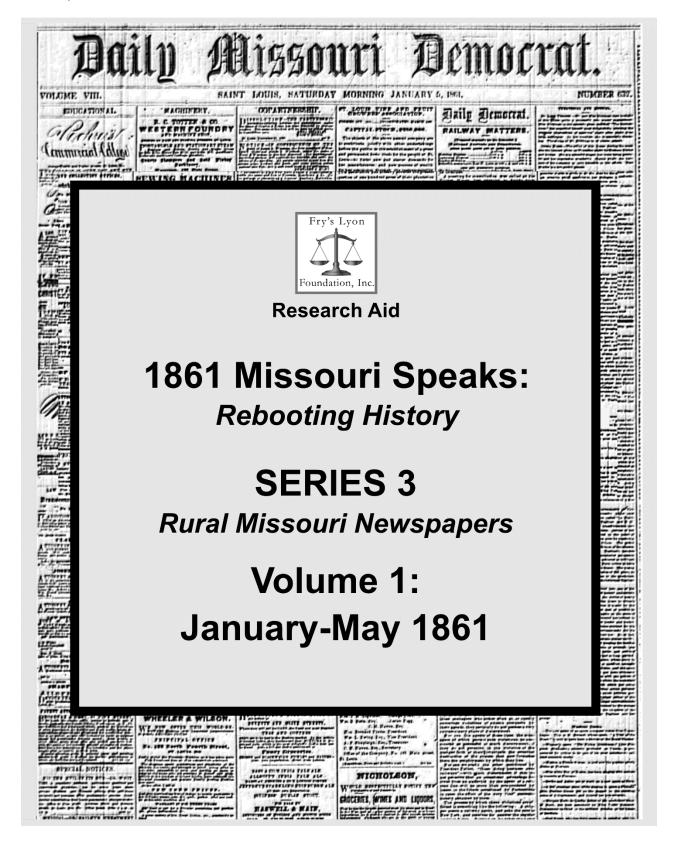
They are also reminded that the same necessity which requires the establishment of martial law also demands the enforcement of the military law which governs themselves with the same sudden severity. The commanding general therefore strictly prohibits all vexatious proceedings calculated unnecessarily to harass the citizens, and also unauthorized searches, seizures, and destruction of property except in cases of military necessity and for which the officer authorizing or permitting it will be held strictly and personally responsible. All officers commanding districts, posts or detachments are enjoined to use the utmost prudence and circumspection in the discharge of their duties. Under the circumstances, a strict obedience to orders, close attention to duties and an earnest effort to protect and to avoid harassing innocent persons is requested and expected everywhere from officers and men.

The commanding general trusts that he will find few occasions to reproach the troops. He hopes and believes that he will find many to admire and commend them.

By Order of Major General Fremont,

J. C. KELTON, Assistant Adjutant General

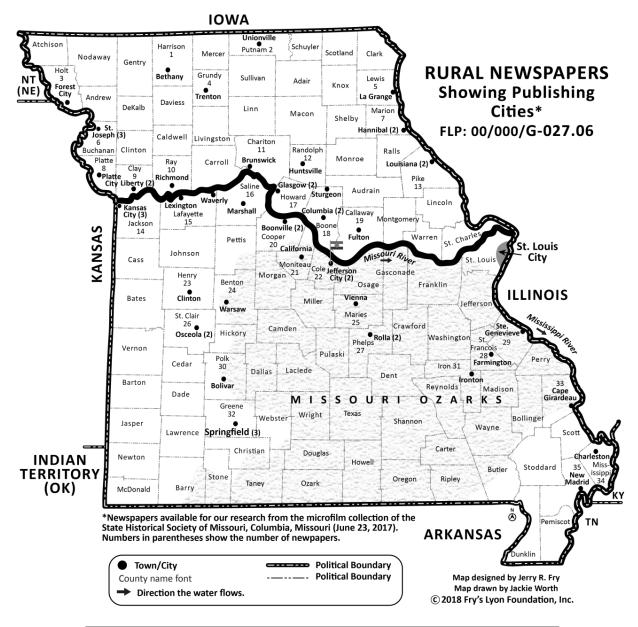
(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#277)



## Series 3—Rural Newspapers Volumes:

Transcribed newspaper articles from all of Missouri's rural newspapers that were available on microfilm in the State Historical Society of Missouri newspaper collection in 2014. The articles provided cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues.





Key (Alphabetized by County)						
Number	County	Newspaper				
24	Benton	Weekly Southwest Democrat				
18	Boone	Missouri (Columbia) Statesman				
		Sturgeon Weekly News				
		Boone County Standard				
6	Buchanan	St. Joseph Free Democrat				
		St. Joseph Weekly Journal				
		The Weekly West				
19	Callaway	Missouri (Fulton) Telegraph				
33	Cape Girardeau	Cape Girardeau Eagle				
11	Chariton	Central City and Brunswicker				

Number	County	Newspaper
9	Clay	Clay County Flag
		Liberty Tribune
22	Cole	Jefferson Inquirer
		Jefferson Examiner
20	Cooper	Boonville Weekly Observer
		Boonville Weekly Patriot
32	Greene	Equal Rights Gazette
		Springfield Mirror
		Weekly Springfield Advertiser
4	Grundy	Trenton Weekly Herald
1	Harrison	Bethany Star
23	Henry	Clinton Journal
3	Holt	Forest City Courier
17	Howard	Glasgow Weekly Times
		Howard County Banner
31	Iron	Weekly Arcadia Prospect
14	Jackson	Journal of Commerce (Kansas City)
		Kansas City Enquirer and Star
		Border Star (Kansas City)
15	Lafayette	Lexington Weekly Express
		Saturday Weekly Visitor
5	Lewis	La Grange National American
25	Maries	Central Missourian
7	Marion	Hannibal Messenger
		Hannibal Evening News
34	Mississippi	Charleston Courier
21	Moniteau	Weekly California News
35	New Madrid	New Madrid Times
27	Phelps	Rolla Daily News
		Rolla Express
13	Pike	Louisiana Democratic Herald
		Louisiana Journal
8	Platte	Western Mail
30	Polk	Bolivar Weekly Courier
2	Putnam	Unionville Argus
12	Randolph	Randolph Citizen
10	Ray	Northwest (Richmond) Conservator
16	Saline	Marshall Democrat
26	St. Clair	Osage Valley Star
		Osceola Democrat
28	St. Francois	Southern Missouri (Farmington)Argus
29	Ste. Genevieve	Ste. Genevieve Plaindealer

## APRIL 1861 FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)

Week	Date	Article (FLP#)	Page
Week 3	Apr 19.	Lincoln's Call for Troops Will Be Unanswered (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#23) Short editorial doesn't believe President Lincoln will get fifty, let alone the 4,000 men he is asking for from Missouri. Hopes Gov. Jackson will answer in the same curt style of Gov. Magoffin of Kentucky, who said "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states."	38
	Apr 19.	<b>Prepare for Defense Only</b> (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#25) Editorial cautions the public not to be hasty in action. In a time of peace, where there is every prospect for war, we should prepare and place our state in position to withstand invasion—then wait. We should not advance or try to take federal property. That would bring upon us a terrible calamity. The people should keep cool and bide their time.	38
	Apr 19.	Missouri Statesman Responds to Insult from St. Joseph Gazette (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#26) Article asks for clarification from the St. Joseph Gazette, who classified the Statesman as a submissionist newspaper. If by "submission" it means they want every decision of the Convention or any ordinance of secession to be submitted to the people for their vote, then the answer is yes, they are a submissionist paper. If it means that they are for the Union unconditionally and under all circumstances, and that they submit to Black Republican domination, then the answer is no.	39
	Apr 19.	Lincoln's Call for Troops Will Lead to a Bloody War (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#27) Talks about President Lincoln's call for troops. Fears a bloody war will begin.	39
	Apr 19.	Lincoln Should Compromise with South to Avoid War (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#28) After the firing upon Ft. Sumter, this editorial regrets many of President Lincoln's policies. In his inaugural speech, Lincoln said he was devoted to peaceable solutions, but he rejected the Crittenden Compromise and others measures to restore peace in the Union. He should have recognized the Southern Confederacy as a true government. He should have evacuated Ft. Sumter and given up any other fort for the sake of peace. And now, his declaration to take back forts and arsenals from the Southern states will most definitely result in civil war.	40
	Apr 19.	Missouri Should Not Answer Lincoln's Call for Troops but Leave the Union With Border States (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#29) Editorial severely rebukes President Lincoln for his deceptive policy—outwardly speaking peace, yet inwardly planning to subjugate the South. Lincoln will be remembered "but only to be cursed and derided as a liar, a coward and a bigot." Missouri should not secede at this time, but stand firm and not furnish a single man to aid Lincoln. A cent "If they conclude to retire from the general government, and set up a rebellion, open and avowed, we will go with them heart and hand."	42
	Apr 20.	Lincoln's Call for Troops Is Offensive (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#33) Editorial says it does not know language strong enough to express the	43

- horror and utter detestation of President Lincoln's call. Declares that they are unalterable with the South, "come weal, come woe, or death."
- Apr 20. **Missouri Has Taken Her Position for the Union** (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#34) Editorial says it is well known that Missouri has taken her position for the Union.
- Apr 20. **Border States Can Refuse Troops from Either Side to Cross** (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#36) Editorial believes the border states have the power to prevent a general internal war. Since this war has to be fought on their soil, the border states could refuse to allow the forces from the North to cross their borders to attack the South. Likewise, they could refuse to let forces from the South attack Washington.
- Apr 20. **Border States Should Form a Central Confederacy** (FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#37) Editorial says there is a formidable party in the border states that desires neither to go with the North or South, but to form a Central Confederacy. The *National American* is among the number. The paper has even designed a Central Confederacy flag which is flying outside their office window.



#### APRIL ARTICLES<sup>76</sup>

### **April 19, 1861**







(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#23) April 19, 1861

#### Lincoln's Call for Troops Will Be Unanswered

Liberty Tribune [Clay Co.]

Short editorial doesn't believe President Lincoln will get fifty, let alone the 4,000 men he is asking for from Missouri. Hopes Gov. Jackson will answer in the same curt style of Gov. Magoffin of Kentucky, who said "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states."

President Lincoln has called for 4,000 volunteers from Missouri; and we now give it as our opinion that he will not get fifty. Gov. Jackson should reply to him in the language of Gov. Magoffin, of Ky.: "I say emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states." The reply of Gov. M. is short and to the point, and expresses the sentiments of ninety-nine hundredths of our people, and will stand out on the pages of history, alongside with the concise but immortal reply of Gen. Taylor to Santa Anna on the bloody field of Buena Vista.





(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#25) April 19, 1861

#### **Prepare for Defense Only**

Missouri (Fulton) Telegraph [Callaway Co.]

Editorial cautions the public not to be hasty in action. In a time of peace, where there is every prospect for war, we should prepare and place our state in position to withstand invasion—then wait. We should not advance or try to take federal property. That would bring upon us a terrible calamity. The people should keep cool and bide their time.

The news crowds upon us with such fearful rapidity and of so appalling a nature, that good men may well stand aghast at the probable prospect of an everlasting destruction of our once peaceable and happy government. We may not close our eyes to the fearful nature of the conflict. We may not disguise the truth that we are liable to be called into action at any time to repel an invading army. But, whilst that is true, let us by no act of ours precipitate and hasten such a result. We must not close our self-possession and wander into the dark and fearful abyss of anarchy and night.

In time of peace, when there is every prospect of war, we should prepare for such a dire calamity. But when preparations have been made, when we have fully entrenched ourselves and placed our state in a position to withstand invasion, let us remain quiet and patiently await the tide of events. We cannot act, for action is destruction. We cannot advance, for advancement is only to heighten our difficulties and strengthen the hands of our opponents.

The military of Missouri are in an almost defenseless condition. We will not furnish troops to Mr. Lincoln, and that far we will rebel; but an attempt to take the U. S. Barracks, or seize upon the federal property, would be to bring upon ourselves

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Selections from Week 3 of Series 3, Vol. 1.

a sudden and terrible calamity. Let the people keep cool, act cautiously but determinedly and bide their time. This is all that can be done.







(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#26) April 19, 1861

# Missouri Statesman Responds to Insult from St. Joseph Gazette

Missouri (Columbia) Statesman [Boone Co.]

Article asks for clarification from the St. classified Joseph Gazette, who the Statesman as a submissionist newspaper. If by "submission" it means they want every decision of the Convention or any ordinance of secession to be submitted to the people for their vote, then the answer is yes, they are a submissionist paper. If it means that they are for the Union unconditionally and under all circumstances, and that they submit to Black Republican domination, then the answer is no.

The St. Joseph Gazette classifies newspapers of this state into "STATES RIGHT'S" and "SUBMISSION." Among the latter, the editor classes the Statesman [newspaper]. What he means we know not, and we write this paragraph to inquire. Submission to what? If he means that we are in favor of any ordinance of secession which our Convention may adopt being submitted to the people, then the classification is correct. If he means that we believed the Conventions of the seven seceded states ought to have submitted their ordinances of secession to the people; or if he means that we were decidedly in favor of the constitution of the Confederate States, adopted at Montgomery [Alabama], being thus submitted; if in short, he means by "SUBMISSION" that his paper, from first to last, has advocated the policy of radical

changes in the state government or in our federal relations, being submitted for the adoption or rejection of the people at the ballot box, the classification is correct. If, on the other hand, he employs that word to convey the idea that we are unconditionally and under all circumstances for the Union, that we are for *submission* to Black Republican insolence, domination and wrong, then he slanders us most grossly and deceives his readers.

But we pause for him to reply what he *does* mean.







(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#27) April 19, 1861

# Lincoln's Call for Troops Will Lead to a Bloody War

Charleston Courier [Mississippi Co.]

Talks about President Lincoln's call for troops. Fears a bloody war will begin.

The President has issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 troops, convening Congress on the 4th of July, and ordering Jeff. Davis and Co. to disperse in twenty days.

We doubt whether Jeff. will get ready to leave that soon, as mint is just coming into season, and the *New York Tribune* says he is fond of a julep.

The services assigned the troops will be to repossess the forts, places and property that have been seized from the Union.

The call on the slave states is as follows: Arkansas, one regiment; North Carolina and Tennessee, two; Virginia, three; Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, four each.

The following answer from the last named state has been sent back:

Your dispatch received. In answer, I say, emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states.

B. MAGOFFIN, Gov. of Kentucky

Gov. Jackson has probably sent a similar one from Missouri, and we presume the other slave states will do likewise.

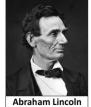
There will be no difficulty, however, of the president's getting the whole 75,000 before he can find camp equipage for them, as the war spirit is very abundant in the Northern states.

It is thought that a large portion of the troops will be sent to Texas, and as soon as Texas is subdued, they will march into Arkansas, while the Mississippi River will be filled with armed vessels, so as to make an attack on Mississippi, and at the same time land an army at Mobile, which, meeting the one from the West, would cut the seceding states in two, and leave Mr. Davis in a bad fix.

We fear it will be attempted, and if that far successful, the next step will be to declare the slaves free in the seceding states, and then the border slave states will be compelled to take a hand in the mess, which will result in Kilkenny cat fashion, both sides being whipped.

We may be mistaken, but we fear a bloody war is about to commence, the result of which no one can foretell.







(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#28) April 19, 1861

#### Lincoln Should Compromise with South to Avoid War

Missouri (Columbia) Statesman [Boone Co.]

After the firing upon Ft. Sumter, this editorial regrets many of President Lincoln's policies. In his inaugural speech, Lincoln said he was devoted to peaceable solutions, but

he rejected the Crittenden Compromise and others measures to restore peace in the Union. He should have recognized the Southern Confederacy as a true government. He should have evacuated Ft. Sumter and given up any other fort for the sake of peace.

It is plain, and the period is not distant when honest men in both sections will concede it, even the most rabid supported of Mr. Lincoln, that the machinery of our government cannot be worked by the Black Republican timetable. The attempt to run it according to this schedule has already resulted in disastrous collisions, demonstrating the folly and madness of the engineers.

Had Mr. Lincoln in his inaugural message, while professing to be devoted to a peaceable solution of our national troubles, recommended the adoption by the Republican Party and by the American Congress of the Crittenden or some equivalent compromise, as a base of adjustment, and had his party friends met the recommendation in a patriotic national spirit, the advent of his administration would have been stabilized by a return of peace to a divided people and the horrors of revolution and war been averted. But he chose instead of this to s Lyon Four vow himself in general terms, in favor of a peaceful policy, while his ultra-partisans in Congress, by the direct aid or criminal defection of some of the secessionists, rejected every compromise—likely to restore confidence and peace, and save the Union.

Having knowledge of the excited state of the public mind, bordering on revolution and actual hostilities in every quarter, and knowing that by the secession of seven states and the adoption at Montgomery [Alabama] and by the Conventions of these states, of a constitution that a government *de facto* existed, Mr. Lincoln, in our opinion, has betrayed a ruinous polity in not taking the advice of Gen. Scott and evacuating Fort Sumter and Pickens [South Carolina]. This was the counsel given him by that oldest, ablest and most distinguished military chieftain, as well as by some of the wisest statesmen of the nation. He ought to have adopted it, if for nothing else, for the sake of peace.

Most certainly to save the country from the unfathomable abyss of intestine war and to

preserve the unity of the government, he should have been willing, if necessary, to sink to the bottom of the ocean every fort on the seaboard.

Nor was Gen. Beauregard and the representatives of the Confederate States at Montgomery wholly exempt from responsible duties in this crisis. Appreciating the perils of the hour, the great importance of that moderation and wisdom which see the end from the beginning, and looking to the consequences to follow the inauguration of civil war, the firing upon Fort Sumter was a most unfortunate step as it started hostilities, complicated still more the tangled web of our troubles, and cut off mediation and compromise.

It is most unfortunate also that Mr. Lincoln and his constitutional advisors have not before this magnified their willingness to recognize the existence and sovereignty of the government of the Confederate States. It cannot be denied that the Confederate States are *de facto*, if not *de jure* a government. The control of the Federal Union within their borders is not only disowned and denied, but it actually does not exist.

It has no representatives, no senators, no state governors recognizing the federal authority, no officers to execute our laws, no administration of justice in our name, no collection of revenue for our treasury. On the contrary, a distinct President and Cabinet, and a separate Congress, and all the paraphernalia of an independent government exist there, exercising powers originating exclusively with themselves. Why not then take cognizance of the facts as they are, however galling to our pride it may be? Why sacrifice the peace of the nation and the hopes of humanity upon a trifle.

If there is to be a separation of the North and South, whether temporary or permanent, let it be peaceable. If we are to part, let us part in peace. What of glory, or of honor, or of national renown is to be gained from a separation, which by rash counsels, North or South, is concluded in plunder and blood?

Mr. Lincoln has issued a proclamation convening Congress in extra session on the 4th of July. Let the military arm in both sections of the country be stayed until the Border States Convention recommends and the Congress authoritatively proclaims measures of pacification and compromise. Let not the American name and our common humanity be scandalized by the war which seems impending. There is no necessity for collision and bloodshed between the Federal Union and the Southern Confederacy, whilst patriotic men everywhere are striving to settle the matter in peace. And the border slave states, occupying geographically a central position between the two extremes should take a firm stand and not allow the madmen North and South to continue this fratricidal war.

Each section has disregarded the counsels and opposed the policy of the border slave states—the North in electing Mr. Lincoln and in opposing every plan of compromise; the cotton states of the South in seceding from the Union and thus deserting us in the contest for equal rights under the Constitution. Neither section, therefore, can complain if we say to the Federal Government they shall not send troops across our territory to invade the South, and to the government of the Confederate States, they shall not send troops across it to invade the North.

But Mr. Lincoln calls for 75,000 troops to suppress the powerful "combinations" in the Southern states and to execute the laws; and informs the country that the first service assigned to this force will be—not as his inaugural had it— "to hold, occupy and possess," but to "repossess the forts, places and property that have been seized from the Union." Now, while we offer no justification, but the very contrary, for the unlawful seizure of the forts and arsenals in the Southern states, it is self-evident that an attempt to "repossess" them by force not only changes the peaceful policy foreshadowed by his inaugural, but will inevitably result in civil war—it may be in the utter destruction of our government and the speedy inauguration of a reign of terror, lawlessness, violence and blood.

Nor is this all; there is but one step from the attempt to forcibly "repossess" these forts, and that other scheme of atrocious folly—the subjugation of the Southern states. And whenever this is attempted, the battle cry will roar from Maine to California and from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf of Mexico; and this blessed land of ours, so far the home of the most prosperous, happy and free

people of the globe, will become one vast theatre of carnage and slaughter. And for what? Echo answers, AND FOR WHAT?





(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#29) April 19, 1861

## Missouri Should Not Answer Lincoln's Call for Troops but Leave the Union with Border States

Missouri (Fulton) Telegraph [Callaway Co.]

Editorial severely rebukes President Lincoln for his deceptive policy—outwardly speaking peace, yet inwardly planning to subjugate the South. Lincoln will be remembered "but only to be cursed and derided as a liar, a coward and a bigot." Missouri should not secede at this time, but stand firm and not furnish a single man to aid Lincoln.

We have had occasion, time and again, to refer to passing events, and specially to refer to the policy of President Lincoln so far as the South was concerned. We have taken the ground before now that his inaugural message was a mere sham; that it contained nothing definite; that it was an insult to the intelligence of the people of the United States.

But whilst we thus denounced it, we were willing to believe that his declarations meant peace protection to Southern and to Northern interests. We were sustained in our opinion by subsequent action. Mr. Lincoln implied he recognized the Southern states as in a state of rebellion, but was willing to let them play out their own game. Peace, not war, was to be the ruling principle of his government. And yet, in cowardly and direct violation of his own declarations and his tacit acknowledgements, he has willfully precipitated a civil war.

Mr. Lincoln has, in his attempt to become famous, become infamous. He has, by duplicity, deceit, fraud and rascality, brought upon us a war which was unnecessary, unjust and inhuman, and future history will hold him up to a glorious infamy. He will be remembered hereafter, but only to be cursed and derided as a liar, a coward and a bigot.

Missouri is called upon to furnish to his imperial highness four regiments of troops to aid him in his infamous attack upon the South and to sustain him, after his deliberate, perverse and willful misrepresentations of his designs, in subjugating the South! The man is either a fool, a scoundrel, or an idiot. Missouri will protect herself, but she will, we apprehend, neither furnish, nor equip men to go into the South to subdue and suppress the rebellion that exists there.

In the face of this news, we must say that we are not yet ready for secession. We love the government in which we live—we are not yet prepared to desert it and to say that the Stars and Stripes, under which our fathers fought, are not to be protected and defended. But we will aid no traitor to oppress his own countrymen—we will, under no circumstances, when a war of extermination against any particular institution of our country is inaugurated, give aid or comfort to any invading force.

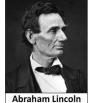
We think the true policy of Missourians is to stand firm—furnish not a single man to aid Mr. Lincoln's government—give him no aid whatever but keep a strict guard over our own interests. A central, or middle confederacy must be formed. There is no hope now for a reconstruction of our government. Such an idea has become obsolete. Mr. Lincoln's infamy has punched out all the marrow that ever was in that thought. But we can, we must, and we will form a government—central, neither attaching ourselves to the extremists of the North or the South. It is the mission of the border slave states to preserve peace, if possible, between the different sections. They may do much to bloodshed, war, devastation destruction. They can do it and should do it. We have no respect for Mr. Lincoln's Administration, but we must insist upon our citizens keeping as calm and quite as, under the circumstances, they possibly can. Our only safety from every sort of distress is being mediators, not aggressors. If we

pursue that policy, we may escape a thousand ills that would otherwise fall upon us, prevent an incalculable amount of bloodshed, and, in the end, notwithstanding the infamous conduct of President Lincoln, restore our beloved country to something like the tranquility she has so far enjoyed. The Border State Convention, which will meet in Frankfort, Ky., on the 4th of May, will wield a tremendous influence in declaring our policy. Our destiny is with the border states, and we must counsel, advise and stand by each other. If they shall conclude to retire from the general government and set up a rebellion, open and avowed, we will go with them heart and hand. We have no use for Northern fanatics.

Since writing the above, we have seen an article in the *Louisville Journal*, which fully expresses our views in regard to Mr. Lincoln's willful deception of the South. It will be found below:

Since writing the paragraphs above, the telegraphic report of the president's proclamation has reached us. We are struck with mingled amazement and indignation. The policy announced in the proclamation deserves the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen. It is unworthy, not merely of a statesman, but of a man. It is a policy utterly hairbrained and ruinous. If Mr. Lincoln contemplated this policy in the inaugural address, he is a quilty hypocrite; if he has conceived it under the excitement raised by the seizure of Fort Sumter [South Carolina], he is a guilty hothead. In either case, he is miserably unfit for [the] exalted position in which the enemies of the country have placed him. Let the people instantly take him and his administration into their own hands if they would rescue the land from bloodshed and the Union from sudden and irretrievable destruction.







(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#33)

April 20, 1861

### Lincoln's Call for Troops Is Offensive

California News [Moniteau Co.]

Editorial says it does not know language strong enough to express the horror and utter detestation of President Lincoln's call. Declares that they are unalterable with the South, "come weal, come woe, or death."

We were never more astounded at any piece of intelligence than we were at the call of that arch old deceiver and violator of pledges, Abe Lincoln, upon the governor of not only our state, but the governors of other states, for troops to aid in coercing the seceding states, and in inaugurating a bloody and ruthless civil war upon the people of the South. We do not know language strong enough to express our horror, and utter detestation of this unheard of piece of presumption and audacity, to suppose for a moment that our people, the loyal citizens of the South would so far degrade themselves with a level with the hordes of vile abolitionists of the North, as to suppose the people of the South would engage in any such unnatural and unholy crusade against our brethren of the South. No citizen of Missouri, who is not unloyal to the South, we think, could consent to furnish men or money for this unholy purpose. We put our unqualified condemnation of this call of Lincoln upon our governor, upon record, and believe we will be sustained by nearly every citizen of Missouri, save perhaps, a portion of the 17,000 Republicans who voted for Lincoln. We are unalterably with the South in the present attitude of affairs, and today we declare that we are first, last and all the time for our brethren of the South-"COME WEAL, COME WOE OR DEATH."



(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#3 April 20, 1861

## Missouri Has Taken Her Position for the Union

Central City and Brunswicker [Chariton Co.]

Editorial says it is well known that Missouri has taken her position for the Union.

Today it is rumored that Virginia is out of the so-called Union, and the question is being asked on every hand, and variously answered, will Missouri go out now? To that question the only proper answer is (from the talk of the Union men here about) that Missouri will go out of the Union when she is kicked out, and I doubt not that history will vindicate the correctness of the prediction. Upon first blush, after hearing of the Black Republican army of 75,000 men intended for the purpose of invading the South, and that Virginia, old fogy as she is, has upon the strength of the course of the administration seceded, one might suppose, if he is not accustomed to weighing words, that even the most extreme of the Union men were ready to enlist in the cause of states' rights and the South. But sift the matter down, and you will find that while a large majority of them are now ready to proclaim the cause of the slave states and to take an unequivocal stand at once with them, yet some few still advocate a wait awhile stand-still policy. Hear them talk about taking Washington and hanging Lincoln and his cabinet, one would think certainly these fellows must be all right; but if you will notice these expressions always take the shape of a wish, that they, somebody or somebody else should do all these things—no idea of lending a helping hand. Missouri, poor weak defenseless Missouri can't afford it. Old Virginia may entertain the idea, only bearing the weak little states of Ohio and Pennsylvania on the North, but Missouri would be overrun, utterly demolished by the powerful states of Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. She can't go out—no, not even take a position that would indicate what she should do, for fear of menacing

or insulting some slave-stealing Black Republican, no difference how many of our own good citizens are driven from the state by reason of a doubtful, doubting, vacillating policy. No difference how many abolitionists are invited to come in and crowd out your own citizens by your over zeal for reconstruction; these are all small matters. It is well known that we have taken our position for the Union and that the difficulty would soon be fixed up, and it is all important that our position should be sustained, or our statesmanship will be condemned.

-LOOKER ON.



(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#36) April 20, 1861

### Border States Can Refuse Troops from Either Side to Cross

La Grange National American [Lewis Co.]

Editorial believes the border states have the power to prevent a general internal war. Since this war has to be fought on their soil, the border states could refuse to allow the forces from the North to cross their borders to attack the South. Likewise, they could refuse to let forces from the South attack Washington.

We agree with the St. Louis *Evening News* when it says the border slave states earnestly desire peace, and it is their interest, as well as their duty, if they cannot preserve complete peace, at least to prevent a general internal war. *They have the power to do this.* The question of a general war between the North and South (which war, if it comes, must be fought on their soil) is entirely in their hands. They can precipitate it, or they can avert it. It is manifestly their interest to avert it, and they are able to do it.

[Illegible] slave states take and maintain a position of armed neutrality and proclaim that no

army, either from the North or the South, shall cross their territory. This will prevent an invasion of their soil, dwarf the contest to a series of petty seacoast fights, and make it impossible to grow into the proportions of a vast internal strife.

The president, in his proclamation, declares that the government forces shall not invade any state, except to disembark on a state's border to relieve a fort. This is an assurance that no federal army shall be marched through the border slave states to the South. Now let the border slave states exact the same condition of President Davis—let them demand and declare that no army led by Jeff. Davis, or anyone else, shall march through their territory to attack Washington, D. C. This will do much to arrest the war, hasten a settlement, and prevent the unspeakable horrors that will be visited upon the border states if Northern and Southern armies meet in the shock of conflict on their soil.

The Louisville *Journal*, speaking of the duty of the border slave states, also says:

In this dreadful exigency, the border slave states, if they are wise, will take their position, firm and steadfast, between the North and the South, and in doing so, confer a mighty blessing upon both, besides securing their own comparative welfare and prosperity. Let us of the border slave states, at the very earliest practicable moment, band ourselves together for the preservation of peace, so far as in us lies, between our Northern brethren and our Southern brethren. Let us be the friends of both, but let us be independent of both. They can declare war against each other if they will, but we shall have no agency in the accursed work, and we shall possess a right, a sacred right, to prevent our soil from being stained and polluted by it. We can say to the United States Government that we occupy neutral territory, and that they shall not send troops across it for the invasion of the South, and we can say to the government of the Confederate States that they shall not send troops across it for the invasion of the North. We can keep

them apart until they have time to recover from their excited passion and return to their senses.



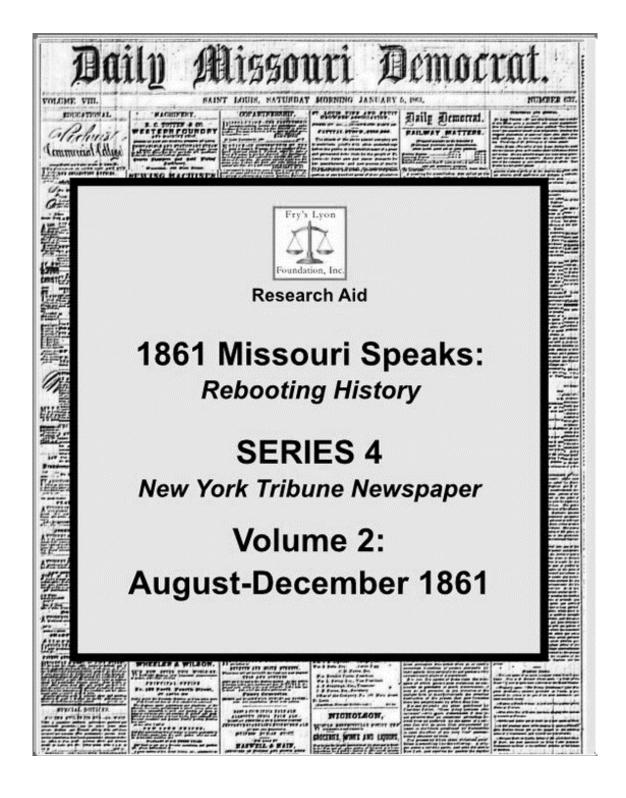
(FLP: Ser 3RN-Apr#37) April 20, 1861

## Border States Should Form a Central Confederacy

La Grange National American [Lewis Co.]

Editorial says there is a formidable party in the border states that desires neither to go with the North or South, but to form a Central Confederacy. The National American is among the number.

There is a formidable party in Virginia, Missouri, and all the border slave states, that desires neither to go with the North or the South, when the present Union is finally broken up, but they are in favor of organizing a central confederacy. We belong to this party, and as such [illegible lines] fling to the breeze, from one of the front windows of our office, a flag of our own designing, representing this new confederacy. It consists of eight stripes—red, white and blue. The ground is round, of a yellow color, and is intended to represent the sun, or center, around which all the old states of America may eventually revolve, if they choose to do so.—The eight border states, which have not yet withdrawn from the old Union, will constitute the stripes, and also by eight stars placed upon the ground or "sun," and every new state added to the confederacy will be represented by a star on the sun, which will always furnish them with sufficient light "to see their way through." We submit the flag to those of our friends who agree with us in establishing a central confederacy, with the capital at Washington, D.C.



## Series 4—New York Tribune Volumes:

The articles provided in this series cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues.



## **AUGUST 1861 FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)**

Week#	Date	Article (FLP#)	Page
Week 1	Aug 1.	<b>Results of the Convention</b> (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#1) The Convention officially declares vacant the offices of governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state and adopts the report of the Committee of Eight (formerly Seven).	50
	Aug 1.	New Governor Elected (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#1.1) The Convention elects a new governor (Hamilton R. Gamble), lieutenant governor (Willard P. Hall) and secretary of state (Mordecai Oliver).	50
	Aug 1.	Gen. Hurlbut to Watch Railroad, Appoint Civilian Guards (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#2) Gen. Pope issued a special order assigning Gen. Hurlbut the command of the federal forces along the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Citizens who live along the railroad will be selected as superintendents of districts to protect the portion of the railway near their respective divisions.	50
	Aug 3.	Soldiers' Term Expiring; Reenlistment Expected (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3) The troops of Col. Salomon, Col. Sigel, and two Iowa regiments will be disbanded, as their time of service is up, but re-enlistment is anticipated. Efforts are being made to continue the St. Louis Home Guards beyond their time of regular enlistment.	51
	Aug 3.	Telegraph Companies Remove Wires (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.1) Two telegraph companies take down their wires. Dispatches going to Kansas City, Missouri., and points in Kansas and Nebraska will go via Quincy, Illinois.	51
	Aug 3.	Citizen Shot by Guard (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.2) One of the oldest citizens in Lafayette County was shot attempting to pass one of Col. White's guards.	52
	Aug 3.	Gen. Lyon Expresses Appreciation of Gen. Sigel and His Men—Troops Anticipate Battle (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.3) Lyon officially expressed his appreciation of Sigel and his men, in the Battle of Carthage. Lyon's command is down to 6,000, as three-months men have left, but many are expected to reenlist. C.S.A. Gen. McCulloch and ex-Governor Jackson are slowly moving northward, and Union troops are awaiting their approach, all geared up for battle.	52
	Aug 3.	Victory in Forsyth—Spies Captured—Supplies Arrive in Springfield (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#4) Rebels in Forsyth tried to make a stand, but Col. Sweeney dispersed them. Captured spies from ex-Governor Jackson's camp say he is not far behind. Springfield, Missouri has recently been overrun with suspicious characters, and several rebel spies have been arrested. Several wagons of ammunition arrived from Rolla, and more supplies are on the way.	53
	Aug 4.	Gen. Pope's Troops Helped by Illinois—Citizens to be Held Responsible for Railroad Damage (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#5) Article provides various details of the situation in northern Missouri. Pope is in charge of all the forces north of St. Louis, which will combine with Illinois troops and form one great arm of the Western Army. Plans are to move	54

		through Arkansas and Texas into New Orleans as soon as the hot weather abates. People will be held responsible for destructions committed, and if hostilities occur, necessitating the need for troops to keep the peace, the troops will take possession of the village or villages causing the problem.	
Week 2	Aug 8.	<b>Details on Dug Springs Battle</b> (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#6) Article provides some particulars of the battle near Dug Springs. It says Gen. Lyon is strongly entrenched close to the enemy, and another battle is expected in Springfield, Missouri.	54
	Aug 9.	<b>Fight in Athens</b> (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#7) A band of 1,200 rebels, led by Martin Green, attacked Union men at Athens. The Union forces were reinforced by Iowa troops.	55
	Aug 9.	Cavalry Charge at Dug Springs (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#7.1) A scouting party at Dug Springs discovered a regiment of rebels along the road. A charge was ordered, thus preventing the rebels from reaching the main body of troops. Forces then advanced to Curran in Stone County, where another body of rebels were discovered. Lyon ordered an advance, and the rebels retreated.	56
	Aug 9.	Summary of Dug Springs and Athens (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#8) Condensed version of Dug Springs battle in southeast Missouri reports no loss on the Union side. Also reports on the skirmish at Athens in northwest Missouri, which resulted in the rebels, who greatly outnumbered the Union troops, fleeing. Capt. Moore, whose troops, were now reinforced, pursued the rebels. More fighting is expected.	56
	Aug 10	Battle of Wilson's Creek Documents (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug-Annex-2) Forty-six after-action reports from the Battle of Wilson's Creek (originally known as Battle of Springfield and, by the Confederates, by Battle of Oak Hills), submitted by both Union and Confederate officers.	57
	Aug 10.	Treasonable Letter from U.S. Senator Found (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#9) Article exposes U.S. Sen. Polk's pro-South sentiments with a letter (included) from him to P. S. Wilkes, a secessionist editor, which demonstrates Polk's hope that Missouri will join the South.	59

#### **AUGUST ARTICLES**

## 1. NEW YORK TRIBUNE ARTICLES AUGUST WEEK ONE

## August 1, 1861



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#1) August 1, 1861

#### **Results of the Convention**

New York Tribune

The Convention officially declares vacant the offices of governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary of state and adopts the report of the Committee of Eight (formerly Seven).

> Jefferson City, Tuesday, July 30, 1861.

The Convention today declared vacant the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, and Secretary of State, by a vote of 56 to 25.

The seats of the members of the present General Assembly were also declared vacant by a vote of 52 to 28.

The Convention also adopted, without material alteration, the whole balance of the report of the Committee of Eight as heretofore reported.

The Convention will tomorrow appoint a provisional governor, lieutenant governor, and Secretary of State.

Judge Gamble of St. Louis, John B. Henderson, and Gen. Thomas L. Price are spoken of for governor; all are Union men.

The Convention will doubtless adjourn tomorrow.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#1.1) August 1, 1861

#### **New Governor Elected**

New York Tribune

The Convention elects a new governor (Hamilton R. Gamble), lieutenant governor (Willard P. Hall) and secretary of state (Mordecai Oliver).

Jefferson City, Wednesday, July 31, 1861.

The Convention this morning elected Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis, governor of Missouri, by 68 votes; Willard P. Hall, lieutenant governor, by 61 votes; and Mordecai Oliver, Secretary of State, by 61 votes. The opposition were excused from voting, as they protested against the power of the Convention. No votes were cast against any of the candidates.

Gov. Gamble will be inaugurated in the Convention at 3 o'clock p.m., also the lieutenant governor and Secretary of State. The election of the governor was received with loud applause.

The Convention will doubtless adjourn this evening or tomorrow morning.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#2) August 1, 1861

# Gen. Hurlbut to Watch Railroad, Appoint Civilian Guards

New York Tribune

Gen. Pope issued a special order assigning Gen. Hurlbut the command of the federal forces along the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Citizens who live along the railroad will be selected as superintendents of districts to protect the portion of the railway near their respective divisions.

Mexico, Mo., Wednesday, July 31, 1861.

Brig. Gen. Pope has issued a special order, assigning Brig. Gen. Hurlbut to the command of the United States forces along the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Col. Grant will command at Mexico [Audrain County], on the north Missouri Road. Col. Ross will occupy Mounton, and Col. Palmer will post his regiment at Renick [Randolph County] and Sturgeon [Boone County], making his headquarters at Renick.

These several districts will be divided into subdistricts, not exceeding 7 miles in extent; and commanding officers instructed to report to the district headquarters at Mexico the names of persons suitable to be appointed superintendents and assistant superintendents, whose duty it shall be to protect the railroad property in their respective divisions.

Men of property and respectability, without regard to political opinion, are to be selected for positions. All illegal assemblages will be promptly broken up, and all persons taken in arms against the United States will be sent to Mexico to be disposed of by the commanding general.

No arrests will be made for opinion's sake unless the parties are engaged in open acts of hostility or stimulating others to such acts by inflammatory words or publications. The restoration of peace and safety to a region distracted by civil commotion, and the punishment of the infamous assassins and troublemakers infesting the country, is announced to be the mission of the force in north Missouri.

The troops are cautioned against excess of any kind, especially stealing the possessions and property of any citizen of Missouri, and infractions of military discipline and good order will be visited with the greatest severity possible under the articles of war.

## August 3, 1861



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3) August 3, 1861

## Soldiers' Terms Expiring— Re-enlistment Expected

New York Tribune

The troops of Col. Salomon, Col. Sigel, and two Iowa regiments will be disbanded, as their time of service is up, but re-enlistment is anticipated. Efforts are being made to continue the St. Louis Home Guards beyond their time of regular enlistment.

St. Louis, Friday, Aug. 2, 1861.

Col. Salomon's regiment and part of Col. Sigel's arrived from the southwest yesterday. The remainder of Col. Sigel's regiment and two lowa regiments will probably arrive today. These troops will be disbanded here, their time having expired, but nearly all the two former regiments will re-enlist for the war. Efforts are being made to continue the organization of the Reserve Corps, or St. Louis Home Guards, beyond the time of their regular enlistment.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.1) August 3, 1861

## **Telegraph Companies Remove Wires**

New York Tribune

Two telegraph companies take down their wires. Dispatches going to Kansas City,

Missouri., and points in Kansas and Nebraska will go via Quincy, Illinois.

Jefferson City, Mo., Thursday, Aug. 1, 1861.

The Missouri and Western Telegraph Company commenced taking down their wires west of this place this morning, owing to the disturbed state of the counties between this and the Kansas border. It is the company's property which is being rapidly destroyed by lawless persons who roam unrestrained throughout that portion of the state. Dispatches going to Kansas City [Jackson County], Mo., and to points in Kansas and Nebraska, will go hereafter via Quincy [Illinois] with but little delay.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.2) August 3, 1861

### Citizen Shot by Guard

New York Tribune

One of the oldest citizens in Lafayette County was shot attempting to pass one of Col. White's guards.

ST. JOSEPH, Friday, Aug. 2, 1861.

A gentleman just from Lexington [Lafayette County], Mo., reports that one of the oldest citizens in Lafayette County, Jos. S. Lightner, was shot in attempting to pass the guard put out by Col. White's command. The citizens of Lexington and vicinity are much excited over his death.





(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#3.3)

August 3, 1861

## Gen. Lyon Expresses Appreciation for Gen. Sigel and His Men—Troops Anticipate Battle

New York Tribune

Lyon officially expressed his appreciation of Sigel and his men, in the Battle of Carthage. Lyon's command is down to 6,000, as threemonths men have left, but many are expected to reenlist. C.S.A. Gen. McCulloch and ex-Governor Jackson are slowly moving northward, and Union troops are awaiting their approach, all geared up for battle.

SPRINGFIELD,

Friday, Aug. 2, 1861.

Gen. Sweeney has returned from Forsyth [Taney County].

Gen. Lyon has officially expressed his high appreciation of the generalship displayed by Gen. Sigel in the battle near Carthage [Jasper County], and of the soldierly qualities of his officers and men in that engagement.

Col. Coffee has been released on taking the oath of allegiance.

roundation, Ben McCulloch and Gen. Jackson having devastated the country where they are encamped, are slowly moving northward in three divisions, for the better subsistence of the troops.

We are quietly awaiting their approach, our troops being ready for a battle. The unfavorable news from Virginia has impressed them with a fresh desire to recover in the west whatever prestige may have been lost in the east.

General Lyon's command is now only 6,000 strong, a considerable number of the three-month men having gone to St. Louis to receive their pay and be mustered out of service, a great many of whom will undoubtedly re-enlist and return here soon.

The most outrageous falsehoods are being circulated in Arkansas and Texas to induce men to enlist in the rebellion.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#4) August 3, 1861

### Victory in Forsyth—Spies Captured— Supplies Arrive in Springfield

New York Tribune

Rebels in Forsyth tried to make a stand, but Col. Sweeney dispersed them. Captured spies from ex-Governor Jackson's camp say he is not far behind. Springfield, Missouri has recently been overrun with suspicious characters, and several rebel spies have been arrested. Several wagons of ammunition arrived from Rolla, and more supplies are on the way.

Springfield [Greene County], Mo., July 27, 1861.

Gen. Sweeney kindly offered to send a messenger forward with my last communication from Forsyth [Taney County], to overtake the mail leaving here on Thursday morning. Upon leaving Forsyth, a party of rebels defiantly exhibited themselves upon the bluff east of the road, daring the troops to fire on them. Gen. Sweeney ordered a few shots of canister from the howitzer, which effectually dispersed them, and probably killed a few. Capt. Wood of the Kansas Cavalry, with his men, took the only prisoners, three in number, taken on the day of the engagement. One of his men returned alone the day after we left, to look after his revolver and saber. He reported the return of a few citizens there, and that they were engaged in the laudable business of plundering the stores. Of course, The Republican, the only secession newspaper in St. Louis, will have it that our troops did the plundering.

Gen. Lyon has officially expressed his gratification to Col. Sigel for the generalship displayed by this able commander, and bestows his command the thanks of himself and a grateful country for their brilliant services.

Our latest advices from the southwest indicate that McCulloch and Jackson, having desolated the country in the region recently occupied by them, are now moving in a northerly direction in separate columns to enable them more easily to obtain food for the horses and provisions for themselves. Our advance, consisting of the 1st Kansas and a section of artillery, is posted about twenty miles west of here, while at Camp McClellan, ten miles from here, are posted the Missouri 1st, Iowa 1st, Kansas 2d, over 1,000 regular infantry, five companies of cavalry and two batteries. Cols. Sigel and Salomon are near this place.

Several of Jackson's spies who have been arrested represent that they merely precede Jackson a few days. We hope it is true, and intend to wait and save marching over mountainous roads.

A party of Home Guards have gone this evening to arrest a lawyer named Foster, living near here, who has just returned from Jackson's camp. The governor himself is by some said to be at Little Rock [Arkansas].

Ten more citizens of Arkansas have arrived and enlisted for the three years' service.

The hospital at this place contains ninety patients, only two of whom are dangerous. Seven of the wounded in the Carthage battle were discharged, cured today.

The unfavorable news of the 22d and 23d from Virginia only serves to stimulate our troops to stronger determination. They will retrieve in the west whatever has been lost in the east.

Several wagons of ammunition have recently arrived from Rolla [Jasper County], and transportation and provisions are on the way.

Today the town has been overrun with suspicious characters, and several important arrests have been made of spies just from the enemy. One, a man named Leedy, the citizens here are very much incensed against, and would, if opportunity offered, mete out to him swift punishment. The arrival of so many men here evidently indicates some movement of interest. Some fear a concerted effort to fire the town tonight. The guards have been doubled, and every precaution taken against a surprise of any kind. Gen. Lyon is not the man to play into the hands of the enemy.

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Col. Coffee has taken the oath and been released.

## August 4, 1861



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#5) August 4, 1861

## Gen. Pope's Troops Helped by Illinois— Citizens to be Held Responsible for Railroad Damage

New York Tribune

Article provides various details of the situation in northern Missouri. Pope is in charge of all the forces north of St. Louis, which will combine with Illinois troops and form one great arm of the Western Army. Plans are to move through Arkansas and Texas into New Orleans as soon as the hot weather abates. People will be held responsible for destructions committed, and if hostilities occur, necessitating the need for troops to keep the peace, the troops will take possession of the village or villages causing the problem.

Mexico [Audrain County], Mo., Friday, Aug. 2, 1861.

Gen. Pope has established his headquarters here for the present. Col. Grant's, and a portion of Col. Tanner's regiments, and four companies of Col. Marshall's Cavalry are quartered here. The water is both inconvenient and impure, and a change of rendezvous will be made as soon as arrangements can be perfected for an encampment.

Brigadier General Hurlbut was detached from here today to select a camping ground near Jefferson City, where some 30,000 troops will be congregated under Gen. Pope's command. Gen. Pope is assigned to all the forces north of St. Louis. These troops will consist principally of Illinois regiments, together by themselves, and thus form one grand arm of the Western Army.

This division will be ready, after thorough drilling and vigorous discipline in camp, for an advance movement through Arkansas and Texas toward New Orleans as soon as the excessive hot weather abates sufficiently to warrant the health of the troops in that climate. A part of these troops are to be made up of the new regiments lately accepted from Illinois.

The people will be held strictly responsible for destructions committed. If hostilities occur and troops are called to the relief, they will be sent in sufficient numbers to take possession of the village or villages that may be making trouble. Soldiers will be quartered in the houses and draw rations of the citizens. This, it is the belief, is the only means of making and keeping the people duly vigilant to their own and the United States interests.

# 2. NEW YORK TRIBUNE ARTICLES AUGUST WEEK TWO

## **August 8, 1861**



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#6) August 8, 1861

## **Details on Dug Springs Battle**

New York Tribune

Article provides some particulars of the battle near Dug Springs. It says Gen. Lyon is strongly entrenched close to the enemy, and another battle is expected in Springfield, Missouri.

Springfield [Greene County], Friday, Aug. 2, 1861. A battle occurred today at Dug Springs [Christian County], 19 miles south of this place, between the federal forces under Gen. Lyon and the rebel troops under Benjamin McCulloch, in which 8 of the former were killed and 30 wounded, and 4 of the latter killed and 44 wounded.

Gen. Lyon took 80 stand of arms and 15 horses and wagons.

A troop of United States cavalry, 270 strong, made a charge upon a body of rebel infantry, said to have been 4,000 strong, cutting their way through and routing them with a loss of only five men. The charge was a most gallant and terrible one, several of the rebels being found with their heads sliced entirely through.

The enemy retired during the night and Gen. Lyon took possession of the field.

Another battle was momentarily expected, the enemy being in large force west of Springfield [Greene County].

The following are the particulars of the battle:

On Thursday, news reached here that the enemy were advancing on us in three columns, with a force numbering 20,000 men. Gen. Lyon immediately set out to meet them with the 2nd and 3rd Missouri Regiments from this city, the 4th and 2nd Kansas Regiments, and the 1st lowa Regiment; also two or three companies of regular infantry, and two or three companies of regular cavalry from Camp McClellan.

About twelve miles west of here, Gen. Lyon encamped that evening on Tyrel Creek, and on Friday advanced to Dug Springs, about nineteen miles southwest of Springfield, when he obtained intelligence of the enemy.

A fight took place between 4 and 6 o'clock that afternoon. A party of 270 of Gen. Lyon's cavalry, as previously reported, were crossing a ridge of high land, partially enclosed on the east by a valley, and when descending the hill, came upon a large force of the enemy's infantry, variously estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000, and, being unable to retreat, they charged and cut their way through, with the loss of only five men.

The lieutenant commanding the cavalry was killed after killing eight of the rebels. Meantime the enemy appeared in large numbers moving along the valley, but they were put to flight by our artillery.

Our infantry was not engaged. The rebels retreated southward to a place called McCullah's Store, on the Fayetteville Road.

The number of rebels found dead on the field amounted to forty, and some forty-four wounded were picked up.

Gen. Lyon is said to be strongly entrenched in close proximity to the enemy, and another battle is expected to take place.

It is said there is a body of 5,000 men thirty miles west of us, who are coming in to attack us during the absence of Gen. Lyon. We have here two companies of the 3rd Regiment Missouri Volunteers, about 700 or 800 Home Guards from the surrounding counties, and two pieces of artillery.

While I write this report, two companies of Home Guards have gone out to re-encounter the enemy from the west. We are working for them with confident hearts and strong arms, determined that the enemy shall not take the town without a bloody struggle.

## August 9, 1861



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#7) August 9, 1861

### **Fight in Athens**

New York Tribune

A band of 1,200 rebels, led by Martin Green, attacked Union men at Athens. The Union forces were reinforced by Iowa troops.

Quincy, Ill., Wednesday, Aug. 7, 1861

A band of rebels, numbering from 1,000 to 1,200, made an attack upon a camp of Union men at Athens [Clark County], Mo., on Monday morning last, at 5 o'clock. There was a considerable amount of arms and ammunition for United States troops

stored at this place under a guard of the troops composing the camp. The United States volunteers numbered about 350 under the command of Capt. Moore. The fighting lasted about one hour, when the rebels retreated. In the meantime, Capt. Moore, having been reinforced by about 150 men from Centralia, lowa, on the opposite side of the river, gave chase to the rebels for about a mile and a half, killing one and taking 18 prisoners, and capturing 31 horses and two secession flags.

Several of the rebels were also wounded in the chase. After the battle, six or eight rebels were found dead on the field.

In the afternoon, the bearer of a rebel flag of truce to the Union camp was admitted. They carried off 14 killed and as many more wounded and missing.

The rebels were led by Martin Green, a brother of ex-Senator Green.

Of the Union men, there were three killed and eight wounded.

Athens is a small town in the extreme northeast of Missouri, on the Des Moines River, 25 or 20 miles from Keokuk [lowa].

It is reported that the Union forces, having been further reinforced by 500 or 600 troops from lowa, took up their line of march on Monday night in pursuit. The rebels were encamped eight miles from Athens, and another fight, no doubt, has taken place there, unless the rebels ran.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#7.1) August 9, 1861

### **Cavalry Charge at Dug Springs**

New York Tribune

A scouting party at Dug Springs discovered a regiment of rebels along the road. A charge was ordered, thus preventing the rebels from reaching the main body of troops. Forces then advanced to Curran in Stone County, where another body of rebels

were discovered. Lyon ordered an advance, and the rebels retreated.

Springfield [Greene County], Mo., Tuesday, Aug. 6, 1861.

Our advices from Gen. Lyon's army are to Sunday. The cavalry charge heretofore reported was made by a scouting party sent out to ascertain if the enemy were approaching. After our troops had encamped for the night at Dug Springs [Christian County], a regiment of infantry coming along the road, the lieutenant ordered a charge, which resulted in killing thirty of the rebels and wounding eight. The charge was not intended by Gen. Lyon and probably prevented the rebels from attacking his main body, which, had they done, they would unquestionably have been routed with a severe loss.

A large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had taken a position on a high ground to observe our position, was dispersed by a few shells from Capt.

Totten's Battery, wounding some thirty of them.

On Saturday morning, our force moved forward cautiously, and on approaching Curran [Stone County], the rebels, to the number of 3,000, were seen posted on the hillside southwest of that place.

Gen. Lyon immediately formed his army for battle and gave the order to advance. As our column was approaching a piece of timber to flank the enemy, Capt. Dubois's battery opened fire on the rebels and they retreated in haste. It is not known whether any of the enemy were killed on Saturday.

We did not lose a man and took several prisoners. Our army encamped for the night at Curran, and on Sunday morning, Gen. Lyon determined to retire to Springfield, as most of the rebels are mounted, and they might flank him and take Springfield.

Generals Price, Rains and Parsons are said to have 20,000 men under their command, and Benjamin McCulloch 4,000. The latter well-armed and effective.



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#8) August 9, 1861

# Summary of Dug Springs and Athens Battles

New York Tribune

Condensed version of Dug Springs battle in southeast Missouri reports no loss on the Union side. Also reports on the skirmish at Athens in northwest Missouri, which resulted in the rebels, who greatly outnumbered the Union troops, fleeing. Capt. Moore, whose troops, were now reinforced, pursued the rebels. More fighting is expected.

From Gen. Lyon's army we learn that on Saturday it moved toward Dug Springs [Christian County], Mo., and when near Curran [Stone County], found 3,000 rebels on a hill at the southwest of that place. Gen. Lyon ordered an advance, proposing to flank the enemy; meanwhile, one of our batteries opened fire upon the rebels, who at once ran. It was not known how much they had suffered. On our side, there was no loss.

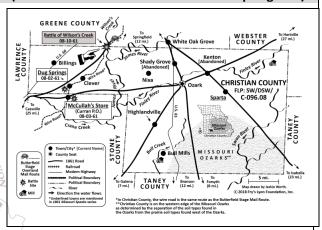
On Sunday, Gen. Lyon retired to Springfield [Greene County], Mo., as the enemy had too much cavalry and might make a successful flank movement. It was believed that Gens. Price, Rains, and Parsons had 20,000 men, and that Ben McCulloch had 4,000.

We have news of a skirmish in another part of Missouri, to wit, at Athens [Clark County], a small town in the extreme northwestern portion of the state, on the Des Moines River. On Monday morning, a band of rebels, in number about 1,000 or 1,200, attacked a camp of Union men at the place named, the number of the latter being 350. After an hour's fighting, the rebels retreated, and Capt. Moore followed in pursuit, having been reinforced by 150 men. During the battle and in the chase, the enemy lost 25 or 30 killed and had as many more

wounded and missing. Further reinforcements having reached the Union troops, they still pursued the rebels, and more fighting was expected. Our loss was 3 killed and 8 wounded.

## August 10, 1861

## Battle of Wilson's Creek Articles (Also known as Battle of Oak Hills or Springfield)



#### <u>Union Units</u> General Lyon's Column

1st Missouri Volunteers - Lt. Col. Andrews
Osterhaus's Battalion (two companies, 2nd
Missouri Volunteers) - Maj. Osterhaus
1st Iowa Infantry - Lt. Col. Merritt
1st Kansas Infantry, Col. Deitzler
2nd Kansas Infantry, Col. Mitchell
Companies B, C, & F, 1st U.S. Infantry and one
company recruits - Capt. Plummer
Companies B & E, 2nd U.S. Infantry and two
companies recruits - Capt. Steele
Company F, 2nd U.S. Artillery - Capt. Totten
Light Battery, U.S. Artillery - Lt. Dubois
Company D, 1st U.S. Cavalry - Lt. Canfield
Kansas Mounted Rangers - Capt. Wood
Squadron of Home Guards - Capt. Wright

#### Col. Sigel's Column

3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment Missouri Volunteers - Col. Sigel 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment Missouri Volunteers - Col. Salomon Light Battery, six guns - Lts. Schaefer and Schuetzenbach Company I, 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Cavalry - Capt. Carr Company C, 2<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Dragoons - Lt. Farrand

## Rebel & Confederate Units

Gen. McCulloch's Confederate Brigade

3<sup>rd</sup> Louisiana Infantry - Col. Hebert Battalion Arkansas Infantry - Lt. Col. McRae 1<sup>st</sup> Arkansas Mounted Riflemen - Col. Churchill 2<sup>nd</sup> Arkansas Mounted Riflemen - Col. McIntosh South Kansas-Texas Reg. (Mounted) - Col. Greer

#### Gen. Pearce's Brigade

3<sup>rd</sup> Arkansas Infantry - Col. Gratiot 4<sup>th</sup> Arkansas Infantry - Col. Walker 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment Arkansas Volunteers - Col. Dockery 1<sup>st</sup> Arkansas Cavalry - Col. De Rosey Carroll Company A, Arkansas Cavalry - Capt. Carroll Light Battery, 4 guns - Capt. Woodruff Light Battery, 4 guns - Capt. Reid

#### Maj. Gen. Price's Rebel (MSG)

2<sup>nd</sup> Division, Rebel (MSG) - Gen. Rains 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, Infantry Brigade - Col. Weightman 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, Mounted Brigade, Col. Cawthon Gen. Parson's command Gen. Clark's command Gen. McBride's command

On August 1, General Lyon moved the majority of his force from Springfield down Wire Road "in hopes of attacking General Price and his force before he had joined General McCulloch's force." After making contact with the enemy and participating in two small skirmishes at Dug Springs and McCulloch's Station, General Lyon discovered Price and McCulloch had already joined forces and that he was badly outnumbered. Unprepared for a major engagement and fearing an attack on Springfield to his rear, Lyon pulled his force back to Springfield.

Lyon retraced his march, reaching his old camps at Springfield on the 6<sup>th</sup>, the troops having suffered greatly from the heat and want of water. The loss of Union men in the entire expedition was three killed, two deaths from heat, and eight wounded. The rebel loss could not be ascertained though it is known to have been quite serious. Their wounded, it was later learned, numbered forty.

The enemy, under the chief command of Rebel (MSG) Sterling Price, advanced slowly but in full

strength toward Springfield, arriving at Wilson's Creek, ten miles south of Springfield. Lyon knowing that his only hope lay in obtaining some advantage over the opposing host—numbering, as it did, fully twenty thousand men—Lyon arranged a night attack hoping to surprise the enemy. On the night of the 9<sup>th</sup>, the federal force marched out from Springfield and the adjoining camps, in two columns—one commanded by Lyon, the other by Sigel. Lyon was to advance and assault the front, while Sigel should pass the enemy's camps to the east and, falling upon them, cut through their right while Lyon drove through their center.

The enemy, also, had resolved upon a night advance from Wilson's Creek camp, upon Springfield, hoping to surround it and, by day-break, to close in upon Lyon so as to prevent his escape to Rolla. Every disposition was made for the movement—the men were under arms, with orders to march by four columns at nine o'clock p.m. Price, having passed over the chief command to Confederate General McCullough, the latter ordered the expedition to be given up, late at night, as the darkness was intense and a storm threatened. Lyon was not intimidated by the darkness—it rather was favorable, as it covered his passage and general disposition from the observation of pickets and scouts.

were preparing for a surprise strike on the Rebel encampment. What followed can take rank as one of the best-fought battles, when the number engaged is brought into consideration. The duration of the battle was about four and a half hours. The whole force under the national flag was 5,000 men. The Rebels acknowledged having 12,000 of all arms.

In regard to the success of this mission on the Union side, the Official Military History of Kansas Regiments states the following:

The most conclusive evidence that the rebels were whipped at Wilson's Creek is the fact that our command was unmolested during the long ten days' march to Rolla, through a rough and heavily wooded country, offering every advantage to a pursuing army, and one so thoroughly acquainted with the country. The large train filled with valuable baggage and such as the enemy so much needed, also about

\$250,000 of the funds of the Springfield Bank, was a prize too tempting to be neglected or overlooked by the rebels had they been victorious (as their official report claimed) or even in a condition to have made pursuit. All that Gen. Lyon had expected to accomplish as the result of the battle had now been secured—a safe retreat.

The total losses listed depends on the source. According to Major Sturgis's report, Union losses were a total of 223 killed, 721 injured, and 291 missing; Thomas L. Snead's figures are 258 Union deaths, 873 wounded, and 186 missing; and Holcombe & Adams's are 235 killed, 754 wounded, and 102 missing.

The totals for the Confederate side were, according to C.S.A. Gen. McCulloch, 265 killed, 800 wounded, and 30 missing; according to Thomas L. Snead, 279 killed and 951 wounded; and Holcombe & Adams listed 265 killed, 909 wounded, 30 missing, specifically from the Rebel (MSG), and 50 prisoners.

#### Reports of Battle of Wilson's Creek

(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug-Annex-3)



(FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#9) August 10, 1861

# Treasonable Letter from U.S. Senator Found

New York Tribune

Article exposes U.S. Sen. Polk's pro-South sentiments with a letter (included) from him to P. S. Wilkes, a secessionist editor, which demonstrates Polk's hope that Missouri will join the South.

The arrogance and treachery of Trusten Polk of Missouri in occupying a seat in the United States

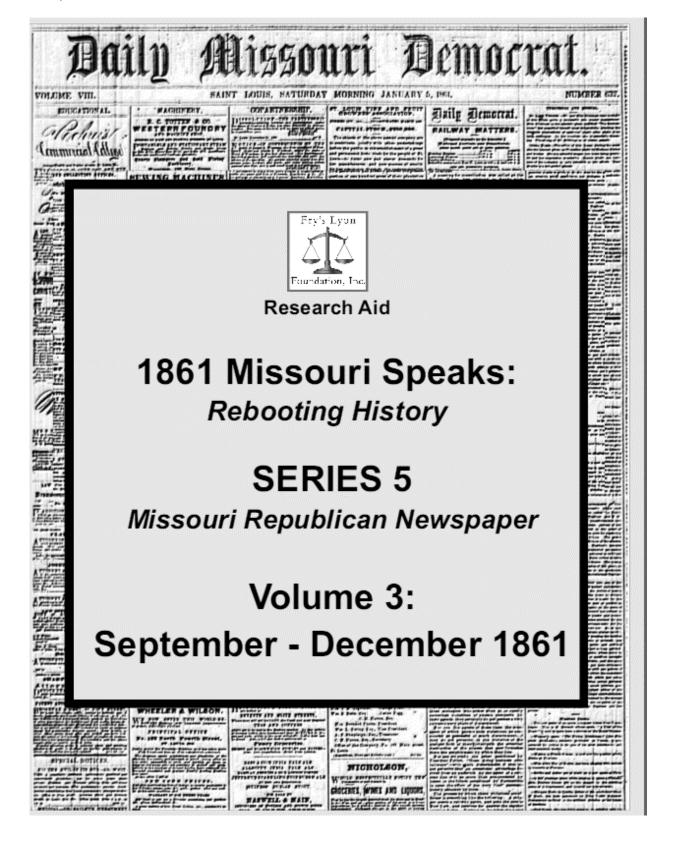
Senate, and presuming to act there as the peer of loyal senators, will be appreciated on reading the subjoined letter from this worthy disciple of Davis Cobb, Floyd, & Co., which was lately found in the possession of P. S. Wilkes, a secession editor recently captured at Springfield [Greene County], Mo.:

"DEAR SIR: Above I send my check to you for The Equal Rights Gazette. It is all I can do, and could not do even that much, until now. You have heard of the difficulty that The Bulletin has fallen into. I have had to ante up there at the rate of \$200. I hope the friends there have made arrangements which will ensure the permanency of the paper. It has been and is doing a good service. I have made a speech (yesterday) on the state of affairs, Southern rights, and the position of Missouri, present and future, which I will send you as soon as published in pamphlet for distribution. In the meantime, I will send it in slips, and if *The Gazette* can stand the draft on its columns, and you approve of it and think it will do well in forming correct public sentiment in southwest Missouri, please have it published. Dissolution is now a fact—not only a fact accomplished but thrice repeated. Everything here looks like inevitable and final dissolution. Will Missouri hesitate a moment to go with the Southern states? I hope not. Please let me hear from you. I would be glad to keep posted as to the condition of things in south-western Missouri. I like Governor Jackson's position. It looks like adherence to the 'Jackson Resolutions.'

"I am truly your friend,

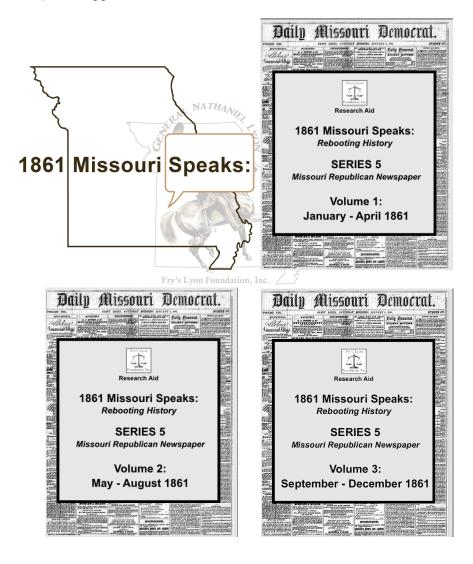
"TRUSTEN POLK.

"[To] P. S. WILKES, Esq., Springfield, Mo."



## Series 5—Missouri Republican Volumes:

The *Missouri Republican* was a Democratic Party-supporting newspaper that was pro-slavery and conditional unionist. It advocated for compromise rather than coercion to keep the cotton states in the Union. The selected articles cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues related to Missouri. Although full copies of the Missouri Republican are available on the internet, this collection only includes individual articles on the aforementioned subjects. While some of these articles have been transcribed and footnoted, most of them are presented as found on the Internet. The *Missouri Republican* represented the Democratic Party's view, and the *Missouri Democrat* (Series 1) represented the Republican Party's view. Therefore, they usually presented opposing views on most topics. Many of the articles presented in Series 5 do not have supporting maps, pictures, and footnotes; however, those found in Series 1 (Missouri Democrat) also support the articles in Series 5 volumes.



#### **Introduction to Series 5**

In 2012, I traveled from my home in rural Hickory County to the State Historical Society Library in Columbia to search their newspaper microfilm collection for *Missouri Democrat* articles from 1861. While I expected the microfilm to be difficult to read, as newspapers from that era often crammed ten columns of small difficult-to-read type on each page, what I did not expect was the poor quality of the microfilm reproductions. Some pages were too light, others so dark they could not be read, and the focus was bad on many. There were pages with unreadable folds, creases, and torn pages that had not been pulled together before copying. (See page 15 for an example.) Considering the poor quality of the microfilmed copies, I wondered if the copying effort had been sabotaged. The pro-slavery *Missouri Republican*, on the other hand, was well copied, easy to read, and could be found on the Internet.

Because the problems noted above effectively hindered public access to the information contained in the *Missouri Democrat*, an anti-slavery, pro-Union newspaper, published in a slave state—which in my opinion was of significant historical value—I decided to transcribe the microfilm to encourage its use by researchers and historians, as it provided a window into the prewar national debate, the slavery question, and the transition of a loyal Union slave state from peace to lawless anarchy. Surprisingly, it also demonstrates the incomprehensible mismanagement and the politically motivated villainy of the Lincoln administration, which was responsible for the unnecessary suffering of Missouri residents throughout and after the end of the war between the North and the South.

After the decision to gather the *Missouri Democrat* information, the Missouri State Historical Society kindly allowed me to borrow copies of their microfilm, and I had two of my co-workers go through each 1861 issue of the paper and make copies of all political and military articles focused on Missouri. Each article was first transcribed, and then over the next eight years, editor's notes, footnotes, pictures, and maps were added. These were added to give modern readers access to information that was common knowledge to newspaper readers in 1861 and to put the articles into context. Antiquated words and awkward period grammatical structure were also modified to improve modern day understanding, without changing what the original writer intended to communicate. The maps were prepared to help the readers visualize the actions described and to educate them by osmosis on the unique geography of Missouri, as recognizing and understanding the separate geographical regions is critical to understanding the flow of events across the state.

Early on, we had transcribers prepare a short summary of each article they transcribed as finding aids to assist users in quickly locating documents of interest to them. However, the amount of work involved in preparing summaries and then checking them for accuracy was so time consuming that we eventually abandoned that effort and switched to only highlighting an element or two of each document which still supported our effort to help users quickly find articles of interest.

Between 2012 and 2020, many of the articles from the *Missouri Republican*, mentioned in the *Missouri Democrat*, were also transcribed, but in 2021 I decided it was not enough to only cover the anti-slavery side of the Missouri story; the Unionist pro-slavery side also needed to be covered to demonstrate the significance of the slavery issue in the run-up to the war.

While the pro-slavery *Missouri Republican* is available on the Internet, it is presented as full issues of the paper requiring one to search every issue to locate the articles dealing with the political and military situation.

To ameliorate this problem, every political and military article from the morning and evening editions of the 1861 *Missouri Republican* was copied and placed in Series 5, in chronological order like the other newspapers in the *Missouri Speaks* collection, to facilitate cross-checking the *Republican*'s reporting with the other newspapers of the collection. Just like modern day "fake news," the articles of the *Missouri Democrat* and *Republican* are often as different as night and day. It is important for readers to note that the names of these two newspapers are actually misnomers; the *Missouri Democrat* supports the anti-slavery Republican Party, and the *Missouri Republican* supports the pro-slavery Democratic Party. It is also worthy of note that the editors of the *Missouri Republican* were unaware of the clandestine efforts of the Democratic Governor of Missouri, Claiborne Fox Jackson, to carry Missouri out of the Union by force, so while they supported his declaration of armed neutrality, they were unaware that the governor was arming the militia to resist federal authority. Once Governor Jackson showed his true colors by issuing his June 12, 1861 proclamation calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist federal authority, the *Missouri Republican* turned against him and supported the State Convention's removing him from office and ordering his armed Missouri State Guard to disband.

The main difference between the Series 1 *Missouri Democrat* volumes and the Series 5 *Missouri Republican* volumes is that the majority of the *Missouri Republican* articles are not transcribed; they are enlarged readable copies of the original articles as they appear on the Internet. However, all articles are listed in the finding aids section at the front of each volume and utilize the same type of unique numbering system as found in other volumes. As all of the volumes in the first five series present articles and documents in chronological order, but often from varying points of view, the maps, pictures, footnotes, and editor's notes from Series 1 and 2 also support articles from Series 5 and all other volumes.

In closing this introduction, I want to thank the thirty-plus people who have supported my effort to organize this Civil War era repository of primary source documents concerning Missouri. Especially, in alphabetical order, Mrs. Blanca Madani, who has been my guru-of-self-publishing, layout specialist, copy editor, and jack-of-all-trades; Mrs. Teresa Veleces, who worked with us from 2010 to 2020, and was instrumental in getting this project off the ground. She organized our Internet filing system that was critical to any success we may be said to have had. In the first ten years of the project, she was involved in everything and did everything well; and last but not least, Mrs. Jackie Worth, who is a master of all things, a superb map maker, and a most efficient and reliable helper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Series-1: 1861 Missouri Democrat Newspaper – 11 Volumes

Series-2: 1861 Primary Source Documents – 11 Volumes Series-3: 1861 Missouri Rural Newspapers – 2 Volumes

Series-4: 1861 New York Tribune – 2 Volumes

Series-5: Missouri Republican Newspaper-3 Volumes

## OCT-NOV 1861 FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)

Date	Article (FLP#)	Page
Oct. 1	<b>The War Upon Fremont</b> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#1) Editorial says the Black Republican papers in the North are waging war on Maj. Gen. Fremont, the very papers which praised his appointment. They charge him with neglecting to send reinforcements to Gen. <b>Lyon</b> at Springfield and Col. Mulligan at Lexington. The Republican asks if it was prudent for <b>Lyon</b> to move at that time with the knowledge that there were no troops in Springfield to send.	65
Oct. 3	<b>Blair and Fremont</b> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#7) A Washington correspondent said President Lincoln and Lt. Gen. Scott are grieved about the personal fight between Col. Blair and Maj. Gen. Fremont. It is said that Scott, of his own accord, made an order for the release of Blair after his second arrest.	65
Oct. 25	General Fremont—"Major General" Frank P. Blair, Jr. (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#68) Editorial says President Lincoln still has friendly feelings toward Maj. Gen. Fremont during the turmoil over his command. The paper discusses Fremont's many accomplishments. Blames F. P. Blair, Jr. and his brother for overthrowing Lt. Gen. Scott's plans and bringing difficulties into Missouri even before Fremont took command of the department.	66
Oct. 26	Intro to F. P. Blair's Letter (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#69) Article introduces a letter by Col. Blair to the editors of the <i>Republican</i> . See next article, (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#70) It finds it strange that Blair said that if Gen. Lyon had remained in charge of this department, none of the evils which now afflict us would have happened.	67
Oct. 26	Blair's Response to Missouri Republican (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#70) Text of Col. Blair's letter to the editors of the <i>Republican</i> in response to their article of October 25, (FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#68). He says he can take with good humor the sarcasm they used upon calling him Major General. But Blair criticizes them for doing injustice to Gen. Lyon's memory with their excessive praise of Maj. Gen. Fremont. The credit for any accomplishment in Missouri goes to the brave Lyon.	67
Nov. 2	Gen. Fremont—Adjutant Gen. Thomas's Report (FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#5.1) Announces they will publish Thomas's report on Sec. of War Cameron's visit to observe Maj. Gen. Fremont's command. Cameron was sick the whole time, and the enemies of Fremont talked to him almost exclusively.	69
Nov 3	Alas! Poor "Major General" (FLP: Ser 7FR-V2P1-Nov#15.1) (FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#5.4) Sarcastic article "sympathizes" with Frank Blair, Jr. for not being promoted to replace Lt. Gen. Scott. Blair should have taken the major general position offered to him by Maj. Gen. Fremont.	69
Nov 14	<b>The Peace of Missouri</b> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#28) Editorial is pleased with the recent agreement between Rebel (MSG) Maj. Gen. Price and Maj. Gen. Fremont. Hopes the citizens will live up to the terms.	70
Nov 22	<b>Seceded Again</b> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#41) A humorous editorial on Ex-Gov. Jackson's rump legislature at Neosho which finally had a quorum and produced a secession ordinance. The <i>Republican</i> wonders why this was necessary, when Jackson already proclaimed Missouri a free and independent republic in August.	70

#### **OCTOBER ARTICLES**

(FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#1)

## The War Upon Fremont

October 1, 1861

A fierce war is still waged against Gen. FREMONT in the Black Republican journals of the North. The very papers that were most laudatory of his appointment, and indulged in lavish praise of his military capacity, are now the most violent and abusive of him. If asked what has produced this change of opinion, aside from the fact that he has fallen out with certain parties who undertook to lead him by the nose, and to tell him what to do, they would be greatly at loss for any substantial reason for their conduct. They allege neglect to reinforce Lyon at Springfield, without asking themselves whether it was prudent for that movement to have been made at all at the time, and with the knowledge that there were no troops in St. Louis, after Gen. FREMONT'S accession to the command here, who could be sent in time to succor [aid] LYON at Springfield. That fact has been made so manifest that no one disputes it now. As for aid which ought to have been given to MULLIGAN at Lexington, he ordered men forward as fast as he undation could - the Government having about that time called upon him for five regiments of troops to guit Missouri – where there has been more hard fighting than in any other State in the Union - and to send them for the protection of Washington, albeit there was Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and all of the New England States, from which to draw supplies of men. The very papers that are raising a "hue and cry' against FREMONT, are published in regions where they have not, and it would seem, will not bring soldiers in the field for the defense of the Capital of the nation. He has been able to call an army into existence in sixty days, and the first thing that is done, when he gets them fairly ready for service, a portion of them are ordered to the defense of Washington. Thwarted as he has been in this way on several occasions, we respectfully submit to the editors of the Northern press, and the revilers of FREMONT, that they can better employ themselves in beating the bushes in their own

States and scaring up recruits for the defense of Washington, rather than in attempting to break down their own idol, FREMONT, before he has done anything to justify such a sacrifice.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#7) October 3

#### **Blair and Fremont**

A Washington correspondent telegraphs that the President and Gen. Scott are grieved at the personal squabbles of Gen. FREMONT and Col. BLAIR. It is also said that Gen. Scott, after the second arrest by Gen. FREMONT, made an unconditional order for the release of BLAIR. It was made, it is added, without any solicitations from Postmaster-General BLAIR, or any other person, but from Gen. SCOTT'S own sense of justice and military propriety. We doubt very much such order has been given at all, for the reasons stated, or any other. Col. BLAIR still occupies his quarters at Jefferson Barracks, and, if we may believe a dispatch from Washington in the Democrat, has been engaged in preferring charges against Gen. FREMONT, which have been laid before the President. The principal charge is, that he failed to succor Lyon before the battle of Wilson's Creek, with men and munitions of war. If the other charges have no better foundation than this, they are not likely to amount to much. General Lyon's Adjutant General, Col. HARDING, has already authorized the statement, that it was impossible for General FREMONT to have given aid to General Lyon before that battle; and that statement, we are assured, will be fortified by facts which settle the whole question. We hope to see it soon forthcoming.

General SCOTT once suffered a good deal from a "fire which assailed him in the rear," and we doubt whether he wishes to see FREMONT assailed in the same way, by pretended friends converted into malignant enemies.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#68) October 25, 1861

# General Fremont—"Major General" Frank P. Blair, Jr.

(Editorial)

"President LINCOLN, we are assured, entertains, personally, the most friendly sentiments towards Gen. FREMONT, and he will not, unless for good cause, which has not yet transpired, turn upon him while he is in the field."

It must not be supposed for a moment, that the annoyances to which GEN. FREMONT is being subjected by the subordinate authorities at Washington, spring from any ill feeling of the president, personally, against Gen. FREMONT, or that they represent a breach between Gen. FREMONT and the Administration. The whole difficulty arises from political differences, and is emphatically a quarrel got up by politicians, prominent amongst whom stands Colonel or Congressman (which is it?) FRANK P. BLAIR, JR., brother of the Postmaster General, MONTGOMERY BLAIR, who gained some notoriety a short time before the disaster at Bull Run, and son of the once shining light of political intriguers, FRANCIS P. BLAIR, SR., in the time of JACKSON'S Administration.

President LINCOLN, we are assured, entertains, personally, the most friendly sentiments towards Gen. Fremont, and he will not, unless for good cause, which has not yet transpired, turn upon him while he is in the field.

From the first hour that the public were made acquainted with the facts of the row kicked up in Washington about FREMONT, we have been well aware that the whole trouble arose from politicians, and that the welfare of the country never entered into the consideration of men whose sole motive of action is, and always has been, aggrandizement, at whatever cost to the nation. We have been wondering, however, that the clear mind of the President did not comprehend the true nature of their motives, hid, as they were, under the cloak of patriotic friendship, and we confess our surprise, that the President has not yet fathomed

the depth of insane ambition which has prompted the BLAIR family to exert all their energy and political influence in bringing about the downfall of FREMONT.

The acts of Gen. FREMONT have been brilliant enough to warrant the recognition of merit, even from Mr. LINCOLN. Gen. FREMONT raised and organized an army of nearly 90,000 men in less than half the time it took Gen. SCOTT to organize an army of the same number; and during the process of organization, Gen. FREMONT not only held the whole line of defense of St. Louis, from Bird's Point and Cape Girardeau via Pilot Knob and Rolla to Jefferson City, and all along the Missouri river to Kansas City, but even inaugurated the brilliant coup de main in Kentucky, which saved that noble state to the cause of the Union, and put our troops in possession of Paducah and Smithland.

NATHAN General Scott, on the contrary, did not hold a single point, while organizing the army of the Potomac—even Washington itself barely escaped being taken, and all of Virginia was lost. When a portion of Virginia did tear itself from the grasp of the Confederates, it was by its own patriotic exertions, and not on account of any help from Washington. The whole country was, indeed, kept in one continual fit of trembling for the loss of their Capital. We do not mean to underrate Gen. Scott when we say this, but to do justice to Gen. FREMONT. Gen. Scott did all that he could, but he was beset by the impertinent criticism and stupid vituperation of the same party hacks who are now swarming, like a nest of hornets, around Gen. FREMONT'S head, and stinging him wherever they can. Gen. Scott's original plan was grand, and would have secured us the early possession of Memphis, and our soldiers a fall trip down to New Orleans, but Mr. F. P. BLAIR and his brother did their best, and succeeded, in overthrowing all Gen. Scott's glorious ideas, and the triumph of his magnificent and colossal plan. It is to the Blair family that we owe the abandonment of the original design to create a camp of 60,000 men at Cairo, ready at the first signal of summer's decline to advance with rapid steps to the Crescent City on the Gulf.

By their foolish views of the necessities of the Western Department, which FREMONT perceived at once; by their not appreciating the immense

difficulties which obstructed the Union cause in Missouri, the BLAIR policy brought us to the verge of ruin even before Gen. FREMONT came here; and scarcely had the latter taken the first steps to secure our safety when this family, as if satisfied with nothing less than the complete destruction of the Union cause in the Northwest, let loose their political adherents and dependents upon the unlucky General who was unfortunate enough not to appreciate the military genius of one of their members, who having been found fit to be a Colonel, considered himself equally competent to supersede the Lieutenant General of the United States Army!

It is to this latter extraordinary specimen of military genius, that we desire to call the attention of the public, and especially the attention of the president. If Gen. FREMONT is superceded—a matter about which there is some doubt—the only question open is, who shall succeed him? In this case we desire to call the remembrance of the military authorities at Washington to the brilliant services of "Major General" F. P. BLAIR, JR., who by a long series of exploits has shed such a dazzling glory of military renown around his name, that the present stupid age can view it with safety only through the medium of green spectacles, and who others, certainly. above all deserves the distinguishing title which we have affixed to his name. The public, we are sure, who remember his services in this war, will unite with us in pressing the claims of this distinguished personage upon the consideration of the Washington officials, and in demanding that his martial figure shall be adorned at the earliest possible moment with the coat and pants of a Major General.

Who, indeed, so well calculated to become the commander of the Western Department, as the person who has governed it secretly heretofore—who made and unmade Gen. HARNEY, as he claims to have made and has now sworn to unmake Gen. FREMONT? Let then, the great man, who carries rewards and punishments in his breeches pockets, in the shape of commissions or recalls, at once be elevated to the high station for which his military talents so especially fit him. What matters is if the army disbands, for it seems not at all likely, that a man, who has not yet been able to complete his

own regiment, should be able to keep an army together, which only the name and genius of FREMONT called into existence. The country may suffer, but again what of that? He who ridiculed the Lieutenant General, because he would not make an onward movement, and who commissions or pours anathemas upon friends and foes at pleasure, is certainly fit to command the Western Department; and why not hasten the making out of a commission for "Major GENERAL BLAIR!"



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#69) October 26, 1861 Intro to F. P. Blair's Letter

This gentleman sends us a communication which, though somewhat rough in its tone, is placed in one of our columns this morning. Perhaps we may have something to say of it hereafter. One part of it strikes us as a little singular if not unfortunate: Col. Blair loses none of his former admiration for Gen. Lyon and thinks that everything he did was calculated to preserve the peace of the state, and that if he had remained in charge of this department, none of the evils which now afflict us would have happened; and yet he has publicly acknowledged that be exerted his influence, and his brother used his position in the Cabinet, and his father was no doubt equally active, to secure the appointment of Gen. Fremont as major general of this department, thereby superseding Gen. Lyon in the command long before the battle at Wilson's Creek, in which Lyon was killed. It hardly admits of question that they procured Fremont's appointment, for reasons which may have been satisfactory to themselves, and at a time when they might have advanced Lyon to the same position. Why, if they had such an admiration for Gen. Lyon, did they not give him the place? Were they afraid of his growing reputation, and did they deem it necessary to check it, by introducing Gen. Fremont into the field of his operations? What was the motive for it?



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Oct#70) October 26, 1861

## Blair's Response to Missouri Republican

St. Louis, October 25, 1861

**EDITOR REPUBLICAN** 

Sir: You do me the honor this morning to connect my name with the title of "major general." It is very true, this is done with a sneer, but as I am not very tenacious about my military reputation, I can afford to submit to your sarcasm with good temper. It is very evident to me from the want of knowledge shown in the article, that it could not have been written or any of its points suggested by the aides or secretaries at headquarters. It is clear that it is merely some of your own blundering, excusable perhaps from the novelty of your position, and the sudden change which has come. over the Republican since the days of Camp Jackson and Boonville. In order to show how impossible it is that any suggestion that I desired to be major general could have come from any well informed quarter, I take the liberty of transcribing a paragraph from a private letter<sup>78</sup> from Major General John C. Fremont to the Postmaster General Blair, dated September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1861. He says:

Frank's regiment will be a brigade, and a fit command for a general of artillery. I urged him several times to accept high rank and go into the war, but he does not like to lose his position in Congress. I think he is wrong, but we all set different values on the same thing.

The testimony you have borne to the "wonderful energy" of Maj. General Fremont in raising an army of ninety thousand men in a few months, and in the same moments holding such a line as that which you describe as extending from Cairo to Kansas City, is very honorable to the general and to you. And when you add that this army was organized in half the time Gen. Scott required to raise a similar force, and the line held by Fremont is much longer than that held by Scott, it

seems to me that nothing can be added to the eulogy. But it appears to me, that your enthusiasm for Gen. Fremont should not induce you to do injustice to another. Gen Lyon held every post now held by Gen. Fremont, except Paducah, and he held many others, including Springfield, not now held by Gen. Fremont, and never had more than fifteen thousand men under his command. In fact, Gen. Lyon drove the enemy entirely out of the state of Missouri and into Arkansas, and until Gen. Fremont arrived and took command. Gen Lyon never met with a reverse or disaster. I trust that it will not be regarded as a reflection upon Gen Fremont to say the truth in regard to Gen. Lyon, and especially as under cover of an attack on the "Blair family," you have defamed the dead Lyon by saying that "the Blair policy brought us to the verge of ruin, even before Gen. Fremont came here." Let me say that NATE ould properly and honorably assume the credit of the conduct of affairs in Missouri prior to the day upon which Gen. Fremont arrived here, it would be my pride and glory to do so, but I know too well what is due to the fame of that brave, patriotic and self-sacrificing soldier, General Lyon, to plume myself upon his deeds or seek to appropriate what belongs to his imperishable renown. While therefore I can take it in very good temper that you should laugh at the idea of my being a major general, and when, indeed, if it were at all necessary, I could point you to some examples, not a great way off, which would serve to illustrate how absurd and ridiculous such an appointment would be; at the same time, I cannot permit you to say that affairs here "were brought to the verge of ruin before Gen Fremont came here," when it is universally known that Lyon's career was, up to the time of Gen. Fremont's assuming command, an uninterrupted series of brilliant successes, without a reverse or disaster, and that even at this instant, it is proposed to exchange the prisoners he took for Mulligan and those we have since lost. I do not intend to detract from the high praise you bestow upon Gen. Fremont for organizing such a large army and holding such a long line. I readily admit that Gen. Fremont has more men than Lyon had, but if Lyon had not the same ability to raise men, yet he had the knack of winning victories and taking

68

Fry's Lyon Fo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Letter not found per O.R.

prisoners, which, after all, if not so glorious, is not altogether without merit.

Respectfully,

FRANK P. BLAIR, Jr., Col. First Missouri Light Artillery

#### **NOVEMBER ARTICLES**

(FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#5.1) November 2, 1861

# Gen. Fremont— Adjutant Gen. Thomas's Report

#### General Fremont—Adjutant.-General Thomas' Report.

We shall publish to-merrow Adjutant-General THOMAS' report of what he heard and saw during his three or four days' visit to St. Louis and Tipton, in company with Gen. Cameron, a short time since. While here he was sick, and it may be presumed—and such, we believe, was the fact—that the particular enemies of Gen. Fremont had his ear almost exclusively. Gen. Premont is in the field, two hundred and fifty miles from his head-quarters, and of course can make no reply; but he has friends, we presume, who will undertake to ventilate and show up this report. One part of it has already been exposed in Philadelphia and another part explained in New York, and in due time it will be torn to pieces.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#5.4) November 3, 1861

### Alas! Poor "Major General"

It is sad to reflect that man should never be satisfied with what lies within his grasp; that he should abandon the tangible realities within his reach, for the delusive images of a wandering imagination. The heart fills with sorrow in reviewing the numerous examples history furnishes of this melancholy fact; and the sad fate of the chivalric Don Quixotes, who abandoned the honors and distinctions of their own ancestral domain for the conquest of imaginary kingdoms, or the still more impressive spectacle of ambitious Sancho Panzas,

leaving their peasant homes for the delights of illusory governorships, is a solemn lesson to future generations to heed well the old proverb: "A bird in the hand is better than two in the bush!" But that modern history should be called upon to add another name to the long list of unfortunate gentlemen who, in pursuit of a shadow, lost what they held in their hands, and that this name should be that of the colonel of the First Missouri Light Artillery; this is what overwhelms us with anguish, and makes it difficult for us to chronicle the sad fact.

We confess, it was with surprise and regret for his own sake, that we published a few days since the somewhat churlish refusal of Colonel Blair to accept our generous proposition to decorate him with a major-general's epaulettes, and we thought it very ungrateful of him not to appreciate our tender solicitude for his advancement. But when we read how he had spurned a similar offer from Gen. Fremont, we at once consoled ourselves with the reflection that we were not the only one whose services were so ungraciously rejected, and then the whole secret of the relentless fury with which the Blair family has ever since persecuted the commanding general of this department at once was revealed to us. General Fremont, we presume, was in the same fix with us, and when he committed the faux pas of offering a major-general's Commission to Col. Blair, he never suspected that he was offering it to a man who had glorious views of the lieutenant generalship. For it is true, we did not know when we wrote the article referred to, that Gen. Scott was going to resign so soon, and we had forgotten Col. Blair's former designs of superseding the Old Chieftain, or we should, assuredly, never have so far forgotten ourselves, as to intimate to President Lincoln to commission as major-general a man who has been carrying major-general and brigadier commissions in his pocket for the past six months.

Indeed, when we look back we cannot conceive how it ever entered our mind to offer anything less than the highest position in our military hierarchy to the hero of Camp Jackson, and the leader of the attack in Price's rear at Boonville. We can now well conceive the supreme disdain with which Gen. Fremont's kind proposal, and our not less kind support of it, was rejected, and the hatred

Col. Blair has exhibited ever since. For it is as plain as daylight now that we have made a terrible blunder, and that in rating the military abilities of the gallant colonel no higher than fitting him for a major-general, we have spoiled all his chances for the lofty position which Gen. Scott has just vacated, and which Col. Blair would have so creditably filled.

advices Washington confirm this impression, for we are told that Gen. McClellan has already been appointed the legitimate successor of Gen. Scott. This is sad, very sad. It is adding insult to injury, for Gen. McClellan was the very person against whom all the late intrigues of the Blair family have been directed; and the idea of superseding him, by the late distinguished arrival at Washington from St. Louis must now be ignominiously abandoned. The colonel of the First Missouri Light Artillery must vamoose before the young general of the Army of the Potomac; the NATRA "forward to Richmond" cry must subside; the Blair family must fall, and the younger member must again devote himself to the accursed artillery practice, which he can't get through his head. Had he but accepted Gen, Fremont's kind proposal! Had he but been content with our major-general's coat and pants! Sad lesson this; indeed a sore one! For, with the elevation of General McClellan to the highest position in the army, at the very time when the same intrigues the Blairs formerly directed against Gen. Scott were brought to play upon him, must give a curious importance to the strange rumors flying about of the serious difficulties threatening the Blair family, loss of political position, and attacks requiring the presence of the artillery colonel to avert.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#28) November 14, 1861

The Peace of Missouri

#### THE PEACE OF MISSOURI.

By far the most important and interesting event-looking to the pacification of our Statethat has yet happened, is the convention entered into between Generals FREMONT and PRICE, published by us day before yesterday. The proclamation, bearing the joint signatures of those commanders, will, of course, be distributed throughout the State, and be read by all its citizens. It is conceived in the most liberal and praiseworthy spirit on the part of its framers; and we trust will be responded to in the same spirit. We trust that our citizens will be content to live up to it. This they will do if they will let bygones be bygones, and cultivate a tolerant disposition toward each other. Citizens are assured that hereafter there will be no arrests or persecutions for opinion's sake; and that no official notice will be taken of the private expression of such opinions. Men driven from home through violence, or apprehension of violence, are assured of protection from both armies on their return. Guerrilla parties and warfare are denounced; and it is to be hoped and believed, the practice of irregular war will be discontinued. The penalty of military law is denounced against all who violate the stipulations of this compact.-Under this convention, our citizens who are disposed to live in peace may do so; at least it rests with them to say, whether they will court the ravages and horrors of the worst and most lawless excesses of war. They can free themselves from the harassments of that irregular and pre-Catory warfare which has been so long waged in their midst; for they can withdraw all pretexts from those bandits who have fired their towns and put citizens to death under circumstances of the most inhuman cruelty. Every friend to Missouri will hope to see the spirit of this proclamstion carried into the daily acts and life of every citizen.

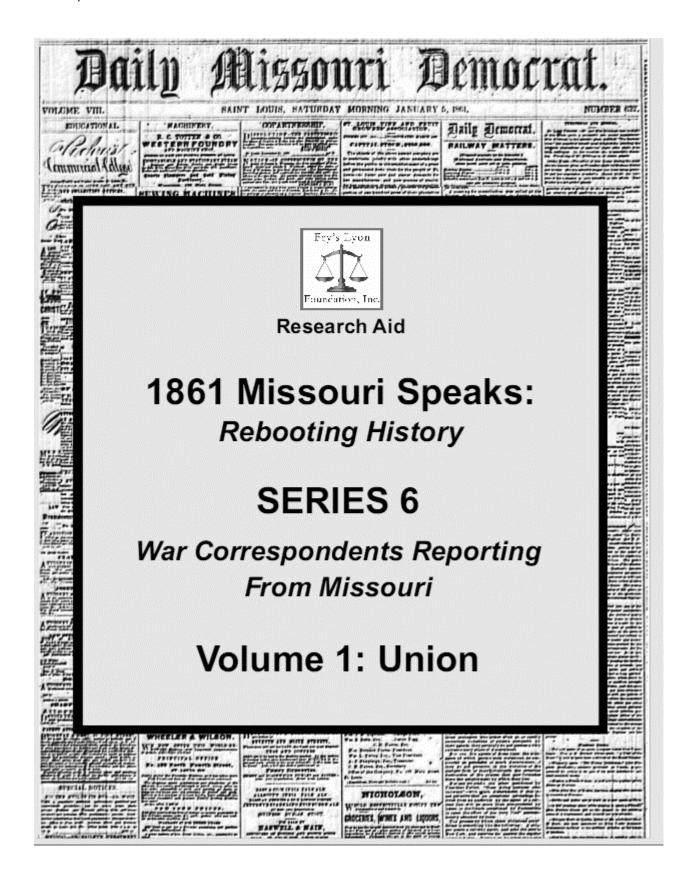
> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Nov#41) November 22, 1861 **Seceded Again**

#### SECEDED AGAIN.

By accounts that reach us from the lower pari of the State, we are apprized that JACKSON'S rump parliament has managed by hook and by erook to scrape up a quorum, tied a secession erdinance to the neck of Missouri, and swung us all, splashing and kicking, into Dixie. It does not much matter whether the Sergeants at-Arms secured a Legislature by the process of impressment, so theroughly understood in Disunion cir. cles, or filled the vacant chairs with proxies, alternates and substitutes, or whether the members who were present simply ignored the absence of colleagues, and did not demand the ayes and noes, prefatory to a "call of the House." We shall not go behind the record in this affair. They tell us that Missouri has seceded again, and that is quite sufficient. It is some relief to know that the thing is over with, and the public mind can no more be bothered with the harrassing thought that it is to be. "If 'twere done when 'cis done," it might as well have been four months age as now. As for calling the "Legislature" together, that is a feature of the comedy that could have been conveniently omitted.

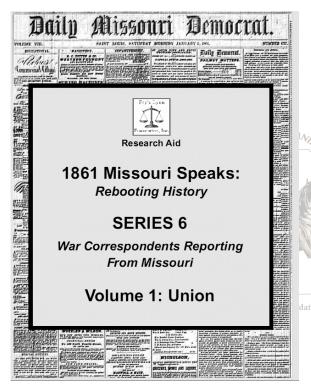
Now we think of it, we had supposed that Governor Jackson's famous "Declaration of the Independence of Missouri" covered this case of separating our State from the Union. The functionary referred to claimed the power and authority, under an act passed last spring, to take us into the Southern Confederacy, and why it should have been thought necessary to have Foundation, Inc. his action ratified by the bob-tailed concern lately in session at Neoshe, surpasses our understanding. On the whole, this entire business of seceding, &c., has been speiled in the execution. The job is a miserable botch. It would have been bad enough to have the bonds of connection with the Federal Government severed in a respect able and workmanlike manner, but to see them thus haggled and wrenched is positively sickening.

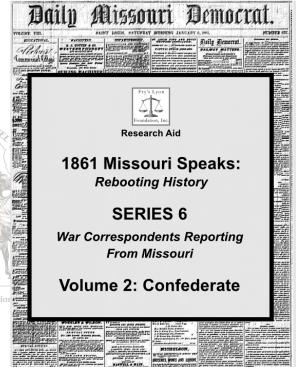




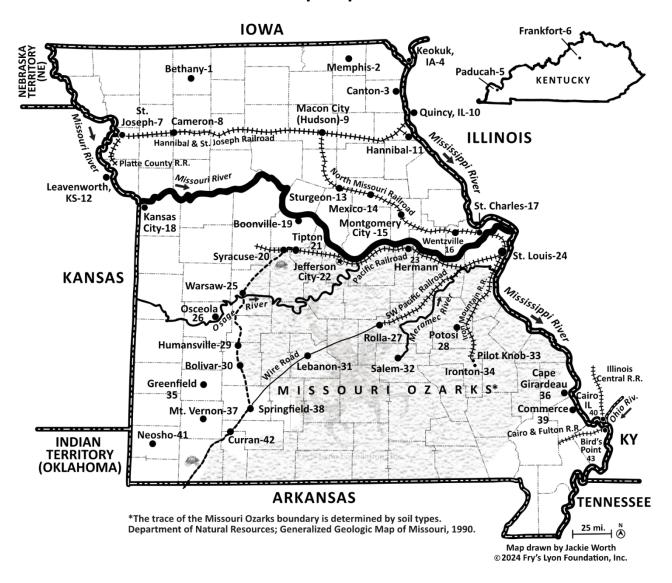
## Series 6—War Correspondents Volumes:







# **Location of War Correspondent Reports** FLP: 00/000/281.01



Key			
Bethany-1	Greenfield-35	Memphis-2	Salem-32
Bird's Point-43	Hannibal-11	Mexico-14	Springfield-38
Bolivar-30	Hermann-23	Montgomery City-15	St. Charles-17
Boonville-19	Humansville-29	Mt. Vernon-37	St. Joseph-7
Cairo, IL-40	Ironton-34	Neosho-41	St. Louis-24
Cameron-8	Jefferson City-22	Osceola-26	Sturgeon-13
Canton-3	Kansas City-18	Paducah, KY-5	Syracuse-20
Cape Girardeau-36	Keokuk, IA-4	Pilot Knob-33	Tipton-21
Commerce-39	Leavenworth, KS-12	Potosi-28	Warsaw-25
Curran-42	Lebanon-31	Quincy, IL-10	Wentzville-16
Frankfort, KY-6	Macon City (Hudson)-9	Rolla-27	

## WAR CORRESPONDENTS FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)

FLP Note: Each item presented within the *Missouri Speaks Collection* has a unique identifier referred to as an FLP. If there is more than one FLP within a finding aid, or above a document, the first FLP represents the item's location within that volume. The second FLP (immediately after the first FLP) represents where that document first appeared within the full *Missouri Speaks Collection*.

Date	Article (FLP#)	Location	Page
Jun 19.	Lyon and Blair Stay Ahead of Rebel Activity (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#19) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Jun#33) The southern fever, known as secession, has broken out again in Missouri, but under the vigorous treatment of Doctors Blair and Lyon, its run will be very short. The Union men have already occupied the principal points in the state and have an immense reserve on three sides of it.	St. Louis-24	76
June 19	<b>Is Jefferson City Well Guarded?</b> (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#20) (FLP: Ser 5MR-Jun#63) The news that a steamer with 1,000 men is on route to Jefferson City put away fears that Gen. <b>Lyon would</b> not leave a large enough force behind at the capital for defense.	City-22	77
Jun 19.	The War in Missouri (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#21) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#83.1) Correspondent reports that Col. Boernstein is in command of Jefferson City, and "all good Union men, even secessionists, are very well pleased with" Boernstein's proclamation. Report also mentions the "heavy cannonadingin the direction of Boonville."	City-22	79
Jun 19.	The Very Latest from Boonville (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#22) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#84) Correspondent offers brief details concerning Gen. Lyon's moves at Boonville, resulting in the flight of the rebels. He adds that for the next couple of days, "scouting parties will be sent out in all directions to cut the line of retreat of the fleeing rebels."	City-22	79
Jun 20.	Reynolds's Operations in Arkansas (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#23) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#89.5) Correspondent reports that "a deep-laid conspiracy had been in combination, formed by Jackson and Reynolds, the arch traitors of the government, and has been maturing for months with the Southern Confederacy."		80
Jun 21.	Gov. Jackson Turned Up Again (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#25) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#93) Reporter states that eyewitnesses spotted Governor Jackson in Syracuse, Missouri with Missouri State Guard Gen. Parsons and some 700 undisciplined troops.		82
Jun 21.	Troops Sent to Springfield to Protect Citizens—Lyon and Blair Praised for Promptly Occupying Key Points (FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#26) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Jun#38) More federal troops starting to meet McCulloch and his Arkansans. Blair and Lyon deserve great praise for their exceedingly prompt action in nipping treason in the bud. Many good citizens have been deceived by traitors into thinking federal troops are murdering women and children and freeing slaves.		82

### JUNE DOCUMENTS

(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#19) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Jun#33) June 19, 1861

### Lyon and Blair Stay Ahead of Rebel Activity

New York Tribune

The southern fever, has broken out again in Missouri, but under the vigorous treatment of Doctors Blair and Lyon, its run will be very short. The Union men have already occupied the principal points in the state and have an immense reserve on three sides of it. The Union men of Springfield are organizing under Major Phelps and preparing to fight 800 troops from Arkansas.

#### From Our Special Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., June 16, 1861

Missouri is, just now, the "sick man" of the sovereign states of the American Union. The intermittent southern fever, known as secession, has broken out again with great severity; but under the vigorous treatment of Doctors Lyon and Blair, its run will be very short. In fact, the crisis seems to have passed already; and the medicine administered by those eminent physicians has reached the seat of the disease.

Claiborne F. Jackson, the *late* governor, is clearly of those whom the gods would destroy. Though long known as a traitor, he was once suspected of a little common sense; but his recent conduct is the very ecstasy of madness. He had better have aroused the armed rhinoceros or the rugged Russian bear than the two men who lead the Unionists of Missouri, backed up, as they are, by the federal government and the loyal citizens of Illinois, lowa and Kansas.

Like the great orator, they believe in "action, action, action;" and within three days after his insane proclamation, they have planted the Stars and Stripes in triumph over the capitol and brought him from his proud position as governor of a state, whose resources are unequaled in the Union, down to a fugitive from justice, following Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds in his terror-stricken flight from her soil. At 2 o'clock yesterday, General Lyon and

Colonel Blair, with the 2,500 men of their command, entered Jefferson City un-resisted; were received by the citizens with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, and raised the national emblem over the statehouse, a short distance from the executive mansion, where the rattlesnake flag was flying a few days ago.

Jackson, and the other state officers, had all fled. First, they stopped at Boonville [Cooper County], and afterward at Arrow Rock [Saline County], where the governor resides, and where a fight was expected, as secession is strong in four or five of the adjacent counties. Arrow Rock is in Saline County; but Jackson evidently believes that salt cannot save him, for at latest accounts, he was flying toward the Arkansas line.

Some suppose that there will still be hot work; but though conjecture is hazardous, I "don't see it." The Union men have been too prompt. They have already occupied the principal points in the state and have an immense reserve force upon three sides of it. Look at the figures, premising that all these forces are available, except, perhaps, 2,000 men who are necessary to garrison Cairo [Illinois], and to guard it against any surprise from the Tennessee rebels:

#### POSITION OF UNION TROOPS.

~ ^(	
At Keokuk, four Iowa regiments	4,000
At Quincy, three Illinois regiments	3,000
At Caseyville, four Illinois regiments	4.000
At Belleville, four Illinois regiments	4,000
At St. Louis, Arsenal and Jefferson	3,000
Barracks	
At St. Louis, United States Reserve	5,000
Guard	
At St. Louis, Hannibal Home Guard and	3,000
Illinois and Iowa troops	
Along Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad	1,000
Along North Missouri Railroad	300
Along South-West Branch Pacific	1,200
Railroad	
Along Main Line Pacific Railroad	300
At St. Joseph, United States Reserves	1,000
and Regulars from Leavenworth	
At Kansas City, Home Guard and	600
Regulars from Leavenworth	
At Hermann, United States Reserve	500

On the March from Leavenworth to	500
Lexington	
At Leavenworth	2,000
At Cairo	6,000
At Bird's Point	1,000
Gen. Lyon's Expedition—Volunteers	3,400
and Regulars from St. Louis Arsenal	
Total	43,800

In addition to this, remember that Missouri has on the west 250 miles of Kansas border; and that the people of that young state, if a new set of books is to be opened, have a great many items of an old account to bring over, which they will be sure to collect on demand. There is "the terrible Montgomery," whose unnatural quiet for the last twelve months is ominous of a new eruption; there is Lane, whose name is a terror to the remotest corner of the state. So the Missouri rebels, you perceive, have the multiplication table against them; and if they persist in invoking a contest, it can hardly fail to be short, sharp, and decisive.

Jackson's friends are disgusted with him. They declare that he sprung a trap upon them, leaving them to extricate themselves as they can, while he watches his governorship brightening as it takes its flight, and he to his heels. When he left this city, after his conference with Messrs. Lyon and Blair, he pledged himself, strongly and directly, to the president of the Pacific Railway Company that he would permit no bridges to be burned upon that line; and the very same night, the bridges across the Osage and Gasconade rivers were burned by his own orders, causing a destruction of property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars. Under the laws of the state, he is liable, in a civil action, to three times the amount of damage he caused to the company. They will take early measures to attach his property, which would be amply sufficient to cover the loss but for the fact that a large portion of it consists of slaves, which, like Illinois currency, are a good deal below par. The slaves in Missouri are principally in the counties bordering upon the Missouri River, and for the last three months, between those who have been sold south on account of their masters and those who have gone north on their own account, their number has undergone serious diminution.

The Missouri state convention, which adjourned subject to the call of a Committee of

Eight, will reassemble in a few days. It was, at the latest accounts, decidedly for the Union; but in these times it is unsafe to predict how long southern loyalty will continue in any state. The general impression, however, is that it will declare the governor's chair vacant and take immediate steps for another election. In that event, there is little doubt of a Union man being chosen.

Up to noon on Friday, General McClellan had received no official notification that the state of Missouri has been added to his division, and the newspaper report to that effect is not accredited here.

A messenger who arrived yesterday from Springfield, in southwest Missouri, brings a report from Major John S. Phelps that 800 secession troops from Arkansas, under Ben. McCulloch, are within 80 miles of that place, and marching toward it. The Union men of Springfield and vicinity, led by Major Phelps, are organizing and preparing to give them a fight. The 1,200 Union troops from this city, sent in that direction, took the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, as far as completed, to Rolla [Phelps County], and are now marching from that place to Springfield, 145 miles. Speaking of the southwest branch, I must relate an occurrence in its early history, not exactly pertinent to the present crisis, but illustrating the ill-judgment with which the ráilroad system of Missouri was planned and commenced. That road, like nearly every other in the state, was very badly located; much of the country through which it passes is very thinly settled and bids fair always to continue so.

The road was first opened for a distance of nineteen miles. During the first week after the cars have commenced running over it regularly, they carried about half a dozen passengers, but no freight whatever (though it took all that offered), except a live bear and a jar of honey. The freight on the bear was fifty cents; but he was unfortunately shut up in the same car with the jar, and, before reaching his journey's end, bruin ate up all the honey. The company was compelled to pay two dollars for the loss of that saccharine edible so that their profits on freight for the first week were precisely minus \$1.50.

The present impression is that the rebels will make a stand at or near Springfield, and that a battle will

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

be fought there. Colonel B. Gratz Brown's regiment leaves for that point at noon today, via southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#20) (FLP: Ser 5MR-Jun#63) June 19, 1861

### Is Jefferson City Well Guarded?

Missouri Republican

The news that a steamer with 1,000 men is on route to Jefferson City put away fears that Gen. Lyon would not leave a large enough force behind at the capital for defense.

Jefferson City, June 17, P.M.

communicate to you at this moment is that General Lyon and 2,000 troops under his command yesterday embarked here on the steamers latan and City of Louisiana, for Boonville, leaving Colonel Boernstein, with three companies, in command of this place. A telegraphic dispatch, stating to you as much, was deposited with the telegraph operator yesterday, but rejected by the military authorities as calculated to operate unfavorably to the United States troops. I suppose, however, that by this time the news will have reached St. Louis through private sources, and hence do not hesitate about incorporating it in this letter.

This morning the steamer War Eagle arrived here with a company of Sappers and Miners under Capt. Vorster. They had taken passage at Hermann, where they had arrived on Saturday by train from St. Louis. Their orders were first for the Gasconade and Osage bridges, but at Hermann they received a dispatch from Gen. Lyon, stating that he wanted them up here. Undoubtedly, their services at the bridges West of Jefferson City will be much more needed than at the Gasconade and Osage bridges, as they will facilitate the operations of Gen. Lyon against Gov. Jackson. The company was received at the levee by two companies of Col. Boernstein's regiment, headed by the colonel himself, and a regimental band of music.

As to the whereabouts of Gov. Jackson, all agree at this moment that he has made a stand at Boonville. He is concentrating troops as rapidly as possible, from all the surrounding townships and counties, and may have collected a force of four thousand or five thousand before Gen. Lyon overtakes him. The latter will by this time have arrived in Boonvillle, and a fight may be progressing at this very moment. The impression here seems to be general that it will be a brisk engagement, and that Gov. Jackson will do his utmost to hold the place. Unfortunately for the Jeffersonians, the lines between this city and Boonville are down, and nothing can be ascertained except through mail or private communications.

Apprehensions were frequently expressed today as to the small and insufficient force left behind by Gen. Lyon to guard this place. Reports The most important news which I can NATE from the country to the effect that small detachments of state troops had been seen here and there hovering about and waiting to be concentrated for an attack on Jefferson gained currency in the streets and found ready believers. No one supposes that a small force numbering only three companies could long defend this capital against a well-concerted attack, made by an enemy superior in numbers, and perhaps superior in field pieces. Under these circumstances a dispatch from Washington, Mo., to Col. Boernstein, stating that a steamer with one thousand men from St. Louis had passed that place, en route for Jefferson City, was quite welcome. It entirely restored confidence and quieted the apprehensions of the citizens.

> All the departments of the state government are sealed for the present. The auditor's office is still open by permission of Col. Boernstein in order to settle the books and close to date. Mr. Morrison, state treasurer, was arrested at Hermann by Col. Boernstein, and brought up as a prisoner to this city. No money was found upon him, but he was required to produce his books and show what expenditures had been made by the state since the adjournment of the last session of the Legislature. He was then released, and his office sealed; but I understand that it is the intention of the United States authorities to reinstate him in office on condition that he will give security not to draw any money for the purpose of carrying on the war of the

state. Capt. Jefferson T. Rogers, paymaster of the Missouri State Guard, was also arrested, and \$29,000 found upon him. This sum was set apart for the payment of the southwest expedition and intended to be so used by Capt. Rogers; but the United States authorities suspecting unfair play compelled him to assign it to Thomas L. Price, who will proceed to settle for the southwest expedition.

Col. Boernstein's headquarters are at the capitol. There are guards stationed all around it, and no one can go in or out without a pass.

The Jefferson City Home Guard is about to be reorganized. This movement is for the purpose of compelling each member to take the oath of allegiance to the United States government and sifting the Guard of its secession elements.

S.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#21) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#83.1) June 19, 1861

The War in Missouri
Formation of Home Guards
Arrival of the *D. A. January* 

Heavy Cannonading Heard Last Night and this

Morning in the Direction of Boonville Lyon Foundation,

Missouri Democrat

Correspondent reports that Col. Boernstein is in command of Jefferson City, and "all good Union men, even secessionists, are very well pleased with" Boernstein's proclamation. Report also mentions the "heavy cannonading...in the direction of Boonville"

"Heavy cannonading was heard last night and this morning in the direction of Boonville."

Jefferson City, June 18th

This city and the vicinity is all quiet. Col. Boernstein is in command of the place and has already issued his proclamation.<sup>79</sup> All good Union men, even secessionists, are very well pleased with it. There was a little excitement here last night.

Jefferson City was to be attacked by the rebels, and Col. Boernstein sent out his men on a scout, who returned this morning without finding anything.

Steamer *D. A. January* arrived with one battalion of the Fifth Regiment.

Col. Boernstein is organizing Home Guards throughout this part of the state. Two hundred men were sworn in yesterday.

Heavy cannonading was heard last night and this morning in the direction of Boonville [Cooper County].

—R.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#22) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#84) June 19, 1861

## The Very Latest from Boonville State Forces Driven to the Bush at the Outset

Missouri Democrat

Correspondent offers brief details concerning Gen. Lyon's moves at Boonville, resulting in the flight of the rebels. He adds that for the next couple of days, "scouting parties will be sent out in all directions to cut the line of retreat of the fleeing rebels.

"Gen. Lyon now halted his troops, faced them about and bringing his whole artillery in front, opened a murderous fire on the rebels."

JEFFERSON CITY, June 18.

Mr. Gordon, from St. Louis, and other gentlemen who arrived today from above, give the following version of the Battle at Boonville [Cooper County]:

General Lyon landed his troops four miles below Boonville and opened a heavy cannonade against the rebel army, who could not long stand the fire, but retreated and took up a position in an adjacent wood, from where, hidden behind the bushes and trees, they opened a heavy skirmishing fire on our troops.

(FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#52.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> See 1861 Missouri Speaks, Series 2, June volume,

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

General Lyon then ordered a hasty retreat to the boats, and the rebels, encouraged by this movement, rallied in line of battle and followed the troops into an open wheat field.

Gen. Lyon now halted his troops, faced them about and bringing his whole artillery in front, opened a murderous fire on the rebels. Three hundred of them were killed.

Seeing that there was no possibility of escaping, they threw away their arms and ran in all directions, and Gen. Lyon took possession of Boonville.

[Mo. State Guard Maj.] Gen. Sterling Price fell sick at the beginning of the battle with violent diarrhea and was brought on board steamboat, which carried him to Keytesville, Chariton County, his home.

Ex-Gov. C. F. Jackson assisted as a spectator on a hill two miles from the field of battle, but seeing what happened, he took a hasty retreat to parts unknown.

So soon as the telegraphic lines from Boonville to Syracuse [Morgan County] shall be reestablished, I will send you more particulars.

There is great rejoicing among the Union menhere, and the Stars and Stripes were today hoisted at the capitol, guns fired, and the Star-Spangled Banner played by the regimental band.

Tomorrow and the next day, scouting parties will be sent out in all directions to cut the line of retreat of the fleeing rebels.

**—**С.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#23) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#89.5) June 20, 1861

Lt. Gov. Reynolds's
Operations in Arkansas
The Rebel Forces Below—They Hang
Suspected Persons without Judge or Jury

Missouri Democrat

Correspondent reports that "a deep-laid conspiracy had been in combination, formed by Jackson and Reynolds, the arch traitors of the government, and has been maturing for months with the Southern Confederacy."

"The boundary lines of Arkansas and Missouri must be closely watched and guarded by federal troops in order to secure Missouri to the Union. The archtraitor Reynolds is moving actively to send up reinforcements and arms and is far superior in courage and ability to Gov. Jackson."

Cairo [Illinois], June 18, 1861

Yesterday was marked for extreme dullness as regards to active military movements. However, the command here has good prospects ahead for active services, in case the southern parts of Kentucky move in conjunction with the program and conspiracies of Gov. Jackson with the rebel states.

That a deep-laid conspiracy had been in combination, formed by Jackson and [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds, the arch traitors of the government, does exist, and has been maturing for months with the Southern Confederacy, assisted by Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, there is not a matter of doubt.

The traitor Jackson, under the cover of the Harney treaty, 80 actively perjured for rebellion, which his proclamation 81 announces, under the assurances of aid in the way of arms, and ammunition and soldiers from the so-called Confederacy of the Southern States, via the Arkansas state line into Missouri. He is still depending on that aid and has doubtless received many the munitions of war through the state of Arkansas.

The boundary lines of Arkansas and Missouri must be closely watched and guarded by federal troops in order to secure Missouri to the Union. The arch-traitor Reynolds is moving actively to send up reinforcements and arms and is far superior in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> For the text of the Price-Harney Agreement, signed May 21, 1861, see Series 1, May volume, (FLP: Ser 1MD-May#128.5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> See Series 1, June volume, (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun-Annex-13.

courage and ability to Gov. Jackson. A concentration of troops should be ordered forthwith to this border—one from St. Louis and one from Kansas. It is a most important border to guard, and the terror of the federal troops would hold the rebels in check, where otherwise unchecked, they might give aid and comfort to Claiborne Jackson. Warm times are shortly ahead of us here.

The rebels are gathering in large forces below. None have yet concentrated at Columbus, Kentucky, though daily expected.

The accounts of murders and outrages on Union men are daily thickening, and exhibit the most barbarous, murderous spirit of any age.

These Arkansas and Tennessee savages have abandoned all their former tortures of tar and feathering and whipping, and without judge or jury hang up Northern men to the first tree, without shrift or prayer, as the easiest way of disposing of them, and without examining them as to their opinions.

It is time that the United States should commence hanging every man proved guilty of treason, in order to avenge, and also to stop, these murderous outrages. It will never be stopped in any other way, and the prompt justice of military law only can accomplish it and save human life.

A pilot named Grimsley was hung in Arkansas last week on no other ground save that he was a Northern man. Let the authorities in the North, the military authorities, by due course of law, hang every rebel they catch for every Northern man hung by Southern ruffians, and they will soon be glad to quit. The North catches fifty Southern rebels of their one of Northern loyal men. Apply their own best to them, and if necessary, hang up their best citizens in order to check them. It is the only way they can be taught lessons of civilization and humanity.

Col. Cook's regiment were marched this morning up to Mound City [Illinois], in order to give more airy and comfortable quarters.

There has been much discontent in this regiment, owing, as I believe, to the inefficient administration of the commissary department, and

on Sunday evening quite a demonstration was made by a part of them in front of the office. They were addressed by their officers and assured that their grievances would be remedied. The difficulties are these, as I understood: The baker is notoriously incompetent. Though furnished with the best materials, his bread always is sour, creating sickness. They also complained that in their rations of meat, that they were only furnished with three-quarters of a pound per ration instead of a pound. All these complaints will be most strictly inquired into as all principles of justice and honor require that the American soldiers shall be at least well and abundantly fed.

Three slave "contrabands" in the shape of two likely young African boys and one girl, arrived per skiff yesterday morning, from Tennessee, per Kentucky shore, and were immediately appropriated by the troops. Captain Sheley got the youngest boy, Captain Dallam<sup>82</sup> the next, and Col. Oglesby's regiment<sup>83</sup> got the girl.

It is astonishing how useful and what a delighted set of folks these slave *contrabands* are when they get into camp.

They make themselves sociable, agreeable and active, and in return, they are dressed up like "bould sojer boys," and caper round to their heart's content. With plenty to eat, not much to do, perfect security, and with nothing whatever to wear, they are more happy in their new freedom than Jeff Davis is as president of the Southern Confederacy. The boys vow that before they shall be given up, they will send them to their homes in Illinois.

However, there is no danger. Gen. Prentiss says that as they are from Tennessee, and they are true "contrabands."

I visited Bird's Point [Mississippi County] yesterday. I found Col. Schuettner's regiment<sup>84</sup> in fine order, health, and discipline. Their whole camp is surrounded by efficient and heavy breastworks, the result of immense labor on the part of the regiment. Col. Schuettner, who possesses in a high degree the affection of his regiment, has been absent at St. Louis for a day or so. On his return, he

Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Capt. Francis A. Dallam commanded Company D, 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Col. Richard J. Oglesby's regiment was the 8<sup>th</sup> Illinois

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Col. Nicholas Schuettner's regiment was the 4<sup>th</sup> Missouri (Union) Volunteers.

was received with all the honors and unbounded expressions of esteem by his men.

In connection with this fine regiment, I wish to mention Adjutant Sigmund Homburg, a gallant and efficient officer, to whom by his efforts may be justly ascribed the great efficiency and fine discipline of the command in a great measure.

I had the pleasure yesterday of reviewing, by levitation, the splendid Company D, Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteers, Capt. F. A. Dallam, who was formerly employed in the Missouri Democrat office, and is a warm friend of it. He has been in the editorial fraternity for years. His company from Oquawka, Illinois, are a fine stalwart set of picked men, well-drilled, quick and admirable in their movements, and rank as one of the crack companies of the brigade.

Capt. Dallam is, I may mention, a warm friend, of the *Democrat*.

I send you a list of the officers of his company, as follows: Capt. F. A. Dallam; First Lieut. Benjamin Edson; Second Lieut. Samuel J. Wilson; First Sergeant William James; Second Sergeant, C. B. Simpson; Third Sergeant, T. A. Kinsloe; Fourth Sergeant, Sol. Godfrey; First Corporal, P. F. Caldwell; Second Corporal, M. H. Jamison; Third Corporal, F. A. Ray; Fourth Corporal, Collins McKinney.

The fortifications are rapidly approaching completion. They are now in a high state of efficiency for active service. Troops are in fine health and spirits, and anxious for active service.

The only imports here of consequence are tobacco, of which several hundred hogsheads have arrived, for shipment east.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#25) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jun#93) June 21, 1861

Gov. Jackson Turned Up Again

### Seven Hundred Rebel Troops at Syracuse— Dissatisfaction, Want, Confusion, and Desertion among Them—The J. C. Swon at Jefferson City

Missouri Democrat

Reporter states that eyewitnesses spotted Governor Jackson in Syracuse, Missouri with Missouri State Guard Gen. Parsons and some 700 undisciplined troops.

JEFFERSON CITY, June 19, 11 P.M.

Two gentlemen, well known and entirely reliable, have just arrived here from Syracuse [Morgan County]. They state that Ex-Gov. Jackson and [Mo. State Guard] Gen. M. M. Parsons<sup>85</sup> was in Syracuse when they left, with about 700 troops.

These gentlemen saw Jackson and conversed by former acquaintance with the senior proprietor. NATH with him so that there can be no doubt about it. They say Jackson looks bad (sick, pale and haggard) and has evidently not yet recovered from his terrorstricken experience of Monday [June 17]. He is in a most deplorable dilemma and does not know what to do. The troops are under no discipline, and great dissatisfaction is manifested among them. They are almost destitute of provisions, and amid the general confusion, large numbers are deserting and returning to their homes.

> No general orders had been issued up to the time my informants left.

> The steamer J. C. Swon has just arrived here with Col. Almsteadt<sup>86</sup> and six hundred men on board, all in good health and spirits.

> > —C.



(FLP: Ser 6WC-Jun#26) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Jun#38) June 21, 1861

**Troops Sent to Springfield to Protect** Citizens—Lyon and Blair Praised for **Promptly Occupying Key Points** 

New York Tribune

<sup>85</sup> Missouri State Guard Gen. Mosby M. Parsons was in command of the 6<sup>th</sup> Military Division (central Missouri, south of the Missouri River).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Col. Henry Almstedt, a native of Germany, commanded the 1st U.S. Reserve Corps (3 months).

More federal troops starting to meet McCulloch and his Arkansans. Blair and Lyon deserve great praise for their exceedingly prompt action in nipping treason in the bud. Many good citizens have been deceived by traitors into thinking federal troops are murdering women and children and freeing slaves. The railway bridges to be repaired immediately.

Hermann, Mo., June 16, 1861

At 2 o'clock this morning, 800 Union troops left St. Louis for Rolla [Phelps County], the terminus of the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, to join the expedition starting from that point for Springfield [Greene County]. One thousand more were to leave at noon today, making in all 3,300 troops on their way to relieve the Union men of Springfield. If Ben McCulloch and his Arkansas sons of the Cavaliers, variously stated at from 800 to 5,000, are really approaching Springfield from the south, anxious for a fight, they are very likely to be gratified.

Orders were received from Washington last night for the immediate rebuilding of the bridges on the Pacific Railroad, destroyed by the ex-governor, Claiborne F. Jackson. The company will enter upon the work immediately, and as they fortunately have plenty of timber on hand, already framed, the work will be completed and the trains running as usual, within the next ten days. The telegraph wires, which were cut by Jackson's orders, are already repaired, and electric communication between St. Louis and Jefferson is again perfect.

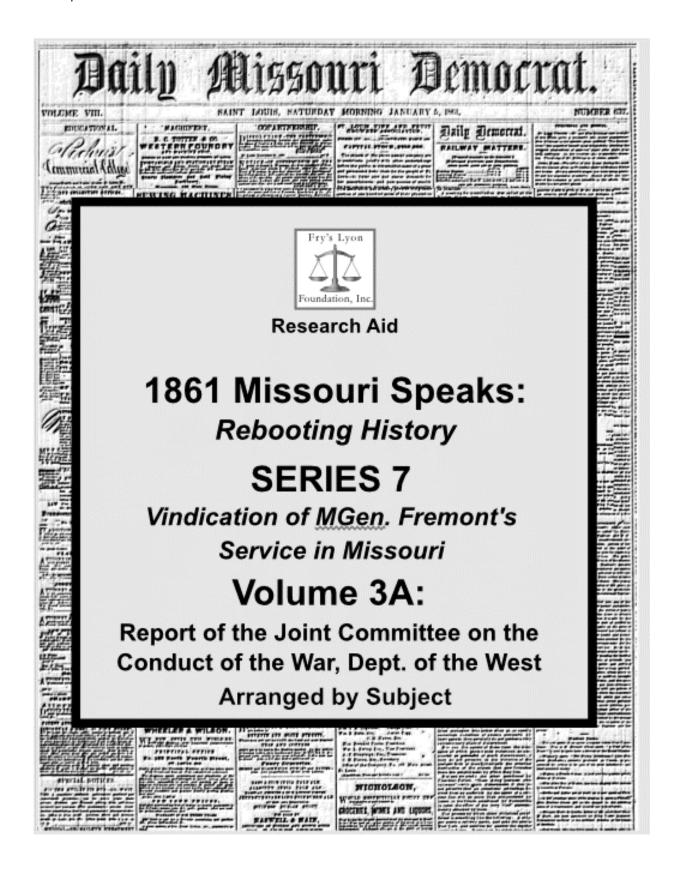
The prompt occupation of all important points in northern Missouri by Union forces, under General Lyon, bids fair to prevent effectively the assembling of the secessionists under the infamous Militia Bill, in accordance with the late call of Jackson for fifty thousand men. When Jackson thus made his treason avowed and undeniable, he sprung a steel trap upon himself and his friends. Messrs. Blair and Lyon deserve great praise for their exceedingly prompt action in nipping the treason in the bud, and thus saving the state from anarchy and bloodshed. There is one extremely gratifying fact already developed throughout the state. Wherever the loyal troops have taken possession, so that free

speech is guaranteed, the Union sentiment proves much stronger than was anticipated. The same thing will be developed, even in the seceded states, in due time. There are many good, honest citizens in Missouri, who have been so completely deceived by the traitors, through their newspapers and state officials, that they are placed in a false position. They have been made to believe that the federal troops are murdering women and children, insulting wives, and freeing slaves, wherever they go; hence they have been cajoled into a quasi alliance with the traitors, which, if correctly informed, they would never have made. There seems to be a disposition on the part of the federal authorities to treat such men with proper discrimination and delicacy, while showing no mercy to the traitors who have misled them.

I left St. Louis this morning by the Pacific Railroad. The cars are running only to this point, 85 miles, as the bridges are all burned above here. At nearly every station between here and St. Louis when our train stopped, a squad of soldiers, guns in hand, were standing beside the road, stationed there for its protection. Of course there is a great deal of howling about this as a "military despotism," but nobody finds fault except the traitors. One thing at least is certain—Union men can travel as safely on the Pacific Railroad of Missouri as in the free states

Our passengers are waiting here for the steamer *War Eagle*, which is momentarily expected, to take them on to Jefferson City. If Claiborne Jackson could have burned the Missouri River as easily as the railroad bridges, his treason might have been successful for a time. Hermann [Gasconade County] is a German settlement on the river bank, between two perpendicular limestone bluffs. It is noted for its strong Union sentiments, for the Germans here as elsewhere, are thoroughly loyal. The Stars and Stripes are flying from four or five houses; and since our arrival, a secessionist who had used some violent expressions against the Germans and the Union, was compelled to take vigorously to his heels to secure his personal safety.





# Series 7—Vindication of MGen Fremont's Service in Missouri Volumes:

Transcriptions of letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, and newspaper articles related to MGen. John C. Fremont's 100 days in Missouri, as the commander of the Department of the West.



#### **OPENING**

More than a century and a half after the American Civil War, the common perception of those with a passing interest in that war is that President Abraham Lincoln was responsible for everything short of leading troops in battle. Many feel that Lincoln made the decision to go to war, federalized the separate state militias to put down the rebellion, appointed and fired generals until he found one that would implement his plans and do things his way, which resulted in his winning the war and freeing the slaves.

Certainly, as president, Lincoln played a major role in everything mentioned above, but in reality, he receives more credit than he is due. In fact, his partisan political maneuvering and micromanaging of the military caused the war to drag on far longer than it should have. While it is beyond the scope of this particular Sampler introduction to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, it is safe to say that the two volumes of the Missouri Speaks Collection being introduced here shed light on arguably the most costly unforced error of the war directly attributable to Lincoln, and the fact that he was responsible for the suffering in Missouri that he is reported to have described as "a killing field and that there was nothing that could be done about it." 87

### INTRODUCTION

The framers of the Constitution divided war power responsibilities between the Congress and the president. Only Congress can declare war and provide the assets required to fight it. Once war has been declared, or the country has already been attacked, the president, as the commander-and-chief of the armed forces, is responsible for managing the war. Once Congress has provided the president the wherewithal to fight the war in the form of men and money, Congress has an obligation to monitor the conduct of the war and determine if it is being efficiently executed in a manner that will lead to victory and that allocated funds are supporting the war efforts and not being squandered.

As Congress was not in session when Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter in South Carolina's Charleston Harbor on April 12, 1861, Congress was not in a position to take immediate action. The only war power legally available to the president, besides using the small standing army, was to call forth 75,000 militia, drawn from the separate states for ninety days of federal service to assist in causing the laws of the United States to be duly executed. At the same time, he called for Congress to convene in special session, eleven weeks later, on July 4, 1861.

Once Congress convened, generally speaking, they were almost forced to rubber-stamp and approve the actions taken by the president up to that time. However, on July 8, the House of Representatives appointed a committee "to inquire into all the facts and circumstances connected with contracts and agreements by or with the government, growing out of its operations in suppressing the rebellion." As a result of that House Committee on Government Contracts investigation, Simon Cameron, Lincoln's secretary of war, was censured by the House of Representatives for official misconduct.

Five months after the July 4 to August 7, 1861, special session of congress adjourned the regular Second Session of the 37<sup>th</sup> Congress convened on December 3, 1860. By that time, it was clear that the military contracting system was being badly managed everywhere, to the detriment of the war effort, and that the war was not going well. First the disastrous defeat at the Battle of Bull Run; followed by the death of General Nathaniel Lyon at the Battle of Wilson's Creek; then the Battle of Ball's Bluff near Washington in which forces under MGen. George B. McClellan suffered a humiliating defeat; and finally, the abandonment of SE Missouri to the rebels after MGen. John C. Fremont was relieved of command by the president.<sup>88</sup> Concerning the abandonment of SE Missouri, Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio, wrote, "the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Jay Winik, Author of April 1865, during an appearance on the History Channel's Military History Series titled April 1865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> At the time Fremont was relieved by Lincoln, he was preparing to attack a rebel force we now know intended to stand

President had done more injury to the cause of the Union, by receding from the ground taken by [MGen.] Fremont [in Missouri], than [Gen.] McDowell did by retreating from Bull Run." Besides the setbacks, MGen. McClellan had an army of 180,000 trained and equipped men encamped around Washington, which had been ready to move forward for months, with no plans to actually engage the enemy. As a result of all of the above, Senator Wade at a meeting with the president told him "if he didn't adopt a more aggressive strategy he might as well invite Jefferson Davis to Washington to surrender." Another senator at that meeting wrote a relative, "No country was ever cursed with such imbecility." Another attendee wrote, "There are many screws loose in the war effort, but I fear we have no head [referring to Lincoln] to tighten them." Finally, on December 31, 1861, Senator Wade told Lincoln, "Mr. President, you are murdering your country by inches in consequence of the inactivity of the military and the want of a distinct policy in regard to slavery."

As a result of Congressional frustration with Lincoln's performance as commander-and-chief, and the earlier House of Representatives Government Contract investigation that led to the censuring of the secretary of war, Congress created the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (JCCW). In Fergus M. Bordewich's book, *Congress at War*, he wrote the following about that committee:

"Over the next four years, the committee would eventually hold 272 sessions, interview almost every major Union figure, hundreds in all, and examine virtually every aspect of the war effort, from high strategy to procurement of cavalry horses. ... The committee became, in many respects, the driving engine of congressional war policy, prodding and pressuring the president toward more decisive action against slavery and more aggressive military action." <sup>91</sup>

The Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (JCCW), Part 3: Department of the West, covering MGen. John C. Fremont's service in Missouri, is republished in Series 7, Volumes 2 and 3. Volume 2 is a full transcription of the committee report as printed in 1863 by the Government Printing Office; however, a table of contents, index, editor's notes, and footnotes have been added. Volume 3 contains all of the above but is organized into subject areas, consolidating all testimonies on selected subjects, as demonstrated in the extract below.

Subject Area	<u>Page</u>
Complaints: Government Contracts in St. Louis	361
Clothing Contracts	363
Commissary Contracts	372
Horse Contracts	378
Weapons Contracts	389
Connection of Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroads Contracts	391

For the full testimony of any individual, it is necessary to refer to Series 7, Volume 2. For

87

and fight. However, in a letter to Fremont's replacement, MGen. David Hunter, Lincoln advised Hunter the enemy was in full retreat into Arkansas and suggested he not be pursued. Lincoln also suggested Hunter divide his force and pull back to Sedalia and Rolla where he could further train and equip them, which is what Hunter did. This allowed SW Missouri to be occupied and plundered by the rebels, resulting in the death of many loyal Unionists. Two months later, in a letter to the president complaining about being replaced himself, MGen. Hunter wrote, "The only sin I have committed is my carrying out your views in relation to the retrograde movement from Springfield [after Gen. Fremont was relieved]." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Oct#109) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Dec#185)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Fergus M. Bordewich, *Congress at War* (First Anchor Books Edition, January 2021) Page 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (Vintage Books, New York, 2007) p. 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid, 101.

consolidated testimonies on specific subjects, Series 7, Volume 3 should be used.

Once Gen. Lyon departed St. Louis for operations against the rebel Governor Jackson and the forces he controlled, Col. Harding effectively controlled all military forces in Missouri under the supervision of Lyon. That changed on June 6, 1861, when President Lincoln took the command of the Department of the West away from Gen. Lyon and put Missouri in the Department of Ohio, under MGen. George B. McClellan, as part of Lincoln's Anaconda Plan to move a combined army/navy force down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. Previously, Harding had been responding to Gen. Lyon's directions, but he now functioned as a go-between between Lyon and McClellan, an effort that was complicated after Lyon was ordered by McClellan not to move any of the units now under his [McClellan's] command without his approval. This was a disaster for Missouri because McClellan as an absentee commander focused on Illinois and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, but not on Missouri. McClellan reassigned troops scheduled for deployment to Missouri without advising Harding or Lyon, which forced the cancellation of pre-planned operations in Missouri and prevented Lyon from receiving reinforcements prior to the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Had it not been for the unwillingness of Confederate forces to work together, and the arrival of Major General John C. Fremont on July 25, St. Louis most likely would have fallen into Confederate hands. After Fremont arrived, Col. Harding became one of his adjutant generals, which kept him at the center of military operations in Missouri. Then on December 3, 1861, Harding was appointed the state adjutant general by Provisional Governor Hamilton R. Gamble.

As for MGen. Fremont's service in Missouri, one hundred days after assuming command, he was relieved by President Lincoln and replaced by MGen. David Hunter, a fifty-nine-year-old friend of the president that had been a pay-officer major in the Regular Army prior to the war. At the time of Fremont's relief, many felt he had done an excellent job and was relieved for political reasons, which played a role in the decision of the committee to investigate Fremont's service in Missouri.

The Committee's report at the conclusion of its investigation of MGen. Fremont states:

The administration of General Fremont was eminently characterized by earnestness, ability, and the most unquestionable loyalty. In the exercise of the almost unlimited power delegated to him, there was no evidence of any tenderness towards treason, or any failure to fully assert the dignity and power of the government of which he was the representative.



#### COL. CHESTER HARDING'S TESTIMONY EXCERPTS

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1862

### Colonel CHESTER HARDING, JR., sworn and examined.

By the chairman:

Question. Please state to us your rank and position in the army.

**Answer.** I am at present adjutant general of the State of Missouri.

**Question.** Were you there under the administration of the western department by General Fremont? **Answer.** Yes, sir; during the whole time.

**Question.** Please give us a statement of all that you deem material in that administration that came under your notice.

**Answer.** On the 26th of July, when General Fremont arrived, <sup>92</sup> I was stationed at the arsenal. I had been acting for General Lyon, under his orders, from the time of his departure. Here is that order:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Col. Harding indicates MGen. Fremont arrived on July 26, 1861, but he actually assumed command on July 25, 1861. (General Orders No. 1, Headquarters Western Department, July 25, 1861.) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jul#101.1).

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT WEST, St. Louis Arsenal, June 13, 1861

Special Orders No.1

In the absence of the department commander, Lieutenant Colonel Chester Harding, Jr., will give the necessary directions for carrying out the proper policy of the government as has been verbally expressed by the undersigned, and all orders given by him will be regarded as by authority.

N. LYON

Brigadier General United States Volunteers, Commanding

When General Fremont arrived, he ordered me to report to him for duty as assistant adjutant general upon his staff. I went with General Fremont to Cairo, as his adjutant general in the field, and returned with him...

Question. Was he ostentatious in his bearing and deportment about St. Louis?

**Answer.** It never struck me so. He had a fine house, and he had plenty of orderlies around stationed at different passages. They were generally in the basement of the house, and they had plenty to do to keep people from rushing upstairs; but I never saw anything indicating a desire to be very magnificent.

**Question.** What do you say of his inaccessibility? It has been sometimes a matter of complaint that even a man of business could not get at him.

**Answer.** I presume it was very difficult for citizens who went there not upon business to see him; and perhaps it was difficult for those who went upon business and he was engaged and occupied with other matters. I have myself had to wait a day or two even after I had been ordered there, and get in the room. He would tell me he could not attend to me than and ask me to call again at such a time.

**Question.** Was he attentive to business there?

**Answer.** He was occupied all the time. I never saw him idle one moment.

**Question.** Was he unnecessarily exclusive in your judgment?

**Answer.** In my judgment he was not. If he had received all the visitors who wished to see him he never would have done any business at all.

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**Question.** You have spoken of the visit to Cairo. What was the condition of affairs when you got there; what amount of troops were there?

**Answer.** General Prentiss made to me a brigade return<sup>93</sup> when we arrived there, showing the forces which he had in Cairo and opposite to Bird's Point. My impression is, that, including the three months men, that report showed something like 5,600 men.

**Question.** Does that report include those that Fremont took along or not?

**Answer.** No, sir; exclusive of the re-enforcements.

**Question.** How were they armed and equipped?

**Answer.** I made no inspection, and saw none of the troops excepting two or three regiments that were on the west bank of the river at Bird's Point. These were very well armed; but I do not think that any regiment in the service in the western States at that time could be said to be well equipped with everything.

Question. Were those positions, Cairo and Bird's Point, or either of them, threatened in any way by the enemy?

Answer. Yes, sir; all the southeastern part of Missouri and the different points there were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> "Return" is a term used to describe a report providing the number of men assigned to a unit and the status of each man (100 present for duty, two on leave w/names, one in the hospital w/name). It is also a report of the activities of the unit. It is normally prepared monthly, unless the unit has had a change in status which requires a special submission.

#### threatened.

Question. By what force, as near as you could ascertain?

Answer. We supposed from all the reports that we could gather, and from intelligence that General McClellan, General Prentiss, and General Pope received, that they [the Confederates] could collect, including Missouri irregulars, <sup>94</sup> something like 20,000 troops at Pocahontas [NE Arkansas] and Pitman's Ferry [on the Missouri line], and would be joined by CSA Gen. Pillow <sup>95</sup> with his men from New Madrid, Missouri, and by [the Rebel (MSG) <sup>96</sup> Gen.] McBride, who was collecting forces, and had at one time 2,500 men in Oregon and Texas counties, on the borders.

Question. State the condition of things in the western department when General Fremont arrived there. What was the amount of the forces, and how were they armed, equipped, etc., when he took command?

Answer. On the 26th day of July 1861, there were in St. Louis, four regiments of the United States reserve corps, who could not be ordered from the county of St. Louis without their own consent. They numbered very nearly four thousand men. The term of service of the first and second regiments was to expire on the 7th day of August, and of the 3rd and 4th, on the 8th day of August. The 5th regiment of the United States reserve corps, who time was to expire on the 11th of August, was part of it in Lexington and part of it in St. Louis. The 4th regiment of Missouri volunteers, Colonel Schuttner, the 2nd regiment, Colonel Boernstein, with the exception of two companies under (now) Colonel Austerhaus, and a portion of the 3rd and 5th Missouri were in the arsenal or near it, their term of service having expired. They remained together simply to obtain their pay and to be re-organized. The 8th Missouri volunteers was not quite complete in its organization, but still could have taken the field, and was sent to Cape Girardeau in the course of a few days. They had no transportation. They numbered about 800 men at that time, or very nearly up to the minimum. A portion of Backhoff's artillery battalion was in the arsenal for the purpose of being mustered out and paid off. Those were all the troops in or near the city, with the exception of skeleton companies of the 9th and 10th regiments of Missouri volunteers, which were then forming.

Question. Can you give in general terms the number of the troops available in his department at that time?

Answer. Here is a statement which shows the position of all our Missouri troops at the time when General Fremont arrived. The 1st regiment, Colonel Blair, was at Springfield. The 2nd regiment was in the arsenal for mustering out and reorganization. The 3rd regiment was in the field at Springfield, Missouri, with the exception of the three months' men, who had returned to be mustered out. The 4th regiment was in the arsenal to be mustered out and reorganized. The 5th regiment was in the field at Springfield, Missouri, with the exception of the three months' men,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Missouri irregulars refers to Rebel (MSG) Gen. M. Jeff Thompson and Rebel (MSG) McBride.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Co Harding's testimony mention Watkins being at New Madrid, and while a Watkins may have been there, the commander of Confederate troops at New Madrid was Gen Pillow.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Rebel (MSG): After July 31, 1861, former members of the Missouri State Guard (MSG) remaining under arms and resisting the authority of Missouri and federal officials are referred to as "Rebel (MSG)." This is done because the Second Session of the Missouri State Convention (July 22 through July 31, 1861) repealed the May 14, 1861, Military Bill that created the MSG, and formally disbanded the MSG by discharging its members from state service. Rebel (MSG) is used to distinguish this group from other armed rebel groups in Missouri (Confederates, Arkansas Militia, Confederate organized rangers, bushwhackers, etc.).

who had returned to be mustered out. The 6th regiment, Colonel Bland, was at Pilot Knob and Ironton. Of the 7th regiment, two companies were in Jefferson City and eight in Boonville. The 8th regiment was then at the Abbey Park, in St. Louis. The 9th regiment had but 226 men, distributed around among skeleton companies, and they were at the arsenal, not clothed or equipped. The 10th regiment was in the same condition, and with about the same number of troops. What afterwards became the engineer regiment of the west was just started, and there were 76 mechanics in the arsenal. Buel's battery, 154 men, were in the arsenal, and we had just received authority to keep them and get them their guns and artillery accoutrements. There were 554 of Bayle's rifle battalion at Rolla [under Col Wyman]. There were 307, that is, three companies, of the 23rd Illinois in the arsenal, but under orders to go to Jefferson City, where the remaining seven companies were stationed. There were two companies of Backhoff's artillery battalion in the field at Springfield; a portion of one company was at Jefferson City and another portion at Boonville. Of the pioneer company, 120 men, half of it was at Springfield; a section was in St. Charles, and a section at Pilot Knob. The first four regiments of the United States reserve corps were in St. Louis; and of the 5th, a part was at Lexington and a part at St. Louis. Besides these, there were 23 companies at home guards, who were guarding the railroad bridges and tracks in different parts of the State; making a total of 15,943 troops.

Question. How were they armed and equipped?

Answer. The regiments in the field were tolerably well armed and equipped. There had been great difficulty in procuring cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, etc., and the other accounterments for the field when General Lyon started for Boonville, and Sigel's command went on the field insufficiently supplied with these. Subsequently, from the accounterments which the government sent with ten thousand arms for distribution among the troops in the field. None of the regiments had a proper supply of army wagons.

Question. Were you there at the time that General Lyon fought the battle of Springfield? Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. It has been said that General Fremont was culpable for not granting aid or sending him re-enforcements. How was that?

Answer. My own opinion is that General Fremont had the choice of one of two things to do; to reenforce General Lyon, which he might have done by neglecting the southeast, or let Lyon get along the best way he could with what force he had, and keep the southeast. He had not force enough in a condition to move to accomplish both purposes at that time.

Question. What do you mean by the southeast?

**Answer.** That whole country from Pocahontas [Arkansas] up by Pitman's Ferry [on the Missouri line], including Ironton, and Rolla [in Missouri], and Cairo, Illinois.

Question. You have stated how that part was threatened at the time?

Answer. Yes, sir. General Fremont's plan operations there was not the plan that I would have followed if I had been in command.

Question. In what particular, in your judgment, did he err?

Answer. I thought all along, and so advised General McClellan and the other generals, that the proper way to prevent troops from coming up from Pocahontas [Arkansas] was to occupy the heads of the only roads by which they could move, and to push down our forces by the way of Greenville towards the Arkansas line. In fact, that plan was agreed to at one time, and the forces were ordered over to me at the arsenal for the purpose of making a movement; but subsequently General McClellan countermanded the movement of some regiments that were intended to go in that direction.

Ouestion. Where did he order them to when he countermanded the movement?

Answer. They were held in reserve in case Cairo should be attacked. It was upon the

representations of General Prentiss and General Pope that the order was countermanded. That was all the force we wanted to keep the southeast, and if we could have had the five regiments General Lyon could have been re-enforced easy enough.

Question. And that, you say, was prevented by General McClellan's orders?

Answer. He countermanded the order which had been given in the first place for Grant's and some other regiments.

**Question.** So that five regiments had to be held in reserve instead of going on that expedition?

Answer. No, sir; not the five. [Col.] Wyman's [13<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry] regiment was one of the regiments that was ordered off [by MGen. McClellan], and Col. Marsh's 20<sup>th</sup> Illinois was another. Our stores at Rolla had accumulated<sup>97</sup> so that there was a vast amount of government property there at risk, and [the rebel (MSG) Gen.] McBride was not far off with forces varying from day to day, never having any permanent force, but varying from 1,500 to 2,500 men. Farmers would come out and join him and stay two or three days and go home again; but, at any time, he could collect a large force to make a dash upon an exposed point. It was necessary to protect Rolla, and I sent Wyman there. I sent Col. Marsh to Cape Girardeau, because it was a very good base for operations through the southeastern portion of the State, with a good road back from there to Bloomfield and Greenville, and communication could be kept up with Ironton very easily; and because, also, there was so much talk about Cairo, and so much apprehension felt that it was in danger, I wanted him to be where General Prentiss could feel that, in case of an attack, he could call on Marsh to re-enforce him. Cape Girardeau is only fifty miles from Cairo.

**Question.** It has been thought that re-enforcements might have been spared from Rolla to go down and help Lyon?

Answer. It was through some of General Lyon's orders that the troops were not moved forward from Rolla. As I stated before, Col. Wyman was at Rolla. I had been organizing, as fast as I could, the men for Bayle's rifle regiment, and had some 500 of them sent down and stationed at Rolla, with a design to move Wyman forward as soon as Bayles was strong enough to hold the place. Before the battle of Wilson's Creek, and after the three months' men began to be anxious about their pay, General Lyon sent some of them back. He sent back, among others, the 4th regiment United States reserve corps, which was at Springfield with him; and he gave authority to the officers who were going to reorganize some of the three months regiments to pick up everybody they could find and bring them to the arsenal for reorganization. In that way nearly the whole of Bayles's command came up to the arsenal just about the time General Fremont arrived, and left nobody at Rolla but Wyman's force.

**Question.** Then, in your opinion, General Lyon could not be spared any troops from Rolla, for the reasons you have given?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Was there any military necessity for Lyon fighting the battle there, or could he have retreated?

Answer. Of that I can only speak from what the regular officers and others have said since their return. There have been various opinions about it. Some think that the battle was fought in the best place; that it was necessary to fight it there. Others think there was another stronger place nearer Springfield which might have been held, and that our troops should have awaited the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The supplies, referred to as "stores," were intended to resupply Gen. Lyon's forces in Springfield, but a lack of wagons prevented their delivery. The reason they were not delivered was because of the bureaucratic villainy of the Ordinance Department. Frank Blair Jr. wrote his brother a member of Lincoln's Cabinet that "Gen. Lyon died of red tape and the Quarter Master's Department." On July 7, 1861, Lyon wrote Col. Harding, more than a month before his death, "We need here a regular quartermaster and commissary. Cannot something be done in Washington? Sen. Phelps then passed Lyon's request on to Lincoln that QM McKinstry should be replaced.

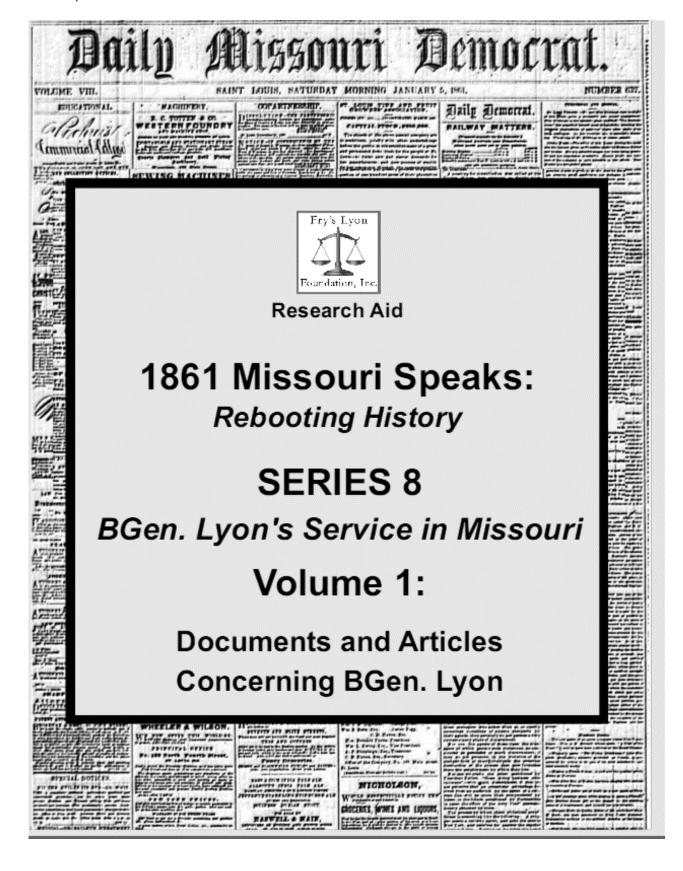
attack of Price there; it was known Price was about to attack us; but how much weight their opinion is entitled to, I have no means of judging.

Question. It is a debatable question among military gentlemen? Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You know the amount of troops under Fremont; you know the condition of Cairo and other exposed parts of his department; and taking it all into consideration, under all the circumstances, what do you say as a military man of Fremont not reenforcing Lyon?

Answer. I do not think he could have done it and carried out his plans. The troops were not there to do it with; that is, to do it immediately. He ordered them as he came along, and they commenced coming rapidly to the State, and we were hard at work furnishing them after they arrived as rapidly as possible, trying to get them ready to take the field.

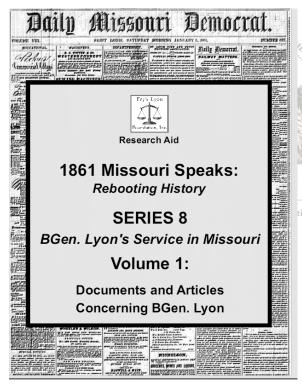


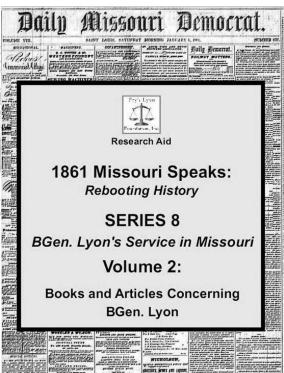


## Series 8—BGen Lyon's Service in Missouri Volumes:

In this series, articles and documents are arranged by several subject areas, such as "Captain Lyon's late 1860s service in Kansas," "St. Louis Arsenal and problems associated with its defense," and "Battle of Wilson's Creek/Movement to Rolla."







## **AUGUST 1861 FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)**

Aug 13. Maj. Gen. Fremont 10 Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#21) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#131) Fremont informs Scott of the losses sustained at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, including Gen. Lyon's death. He requests forces to sustain Gen. Sigel.  Aug 14. William Broadhead 10 James O. Broadhead (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#22) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#147) William Broadhead relates that the Union men are discontent by the inaction of the government and military authorities in the West, and that the failure to reinforce Gen. Lyon "has produced considerable distrust."  Aug 14. Connecticut Governor Buckingham 10 Provisional Missouri Governor Gamble (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#23) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#148) Buckingham asks to have Gen. Lyon's remains prepared to be transported to Connecticut.  Aug 14. The Great Battle (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#24) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#61.1) The Democral's Extra gives more detailed information on the Battle of Wilson's Creek and corrects the previous article, which incorrectly announced the death of C.S.A. Gen. McCulloch and Rebel (MSG) Maj. Gen. Price.  Aug 15. Pre-Battle Report: Lyon Needs Reinforcements—3"d Kansas Ordered to Lyon (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#25) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#20) Correspondent's report, dated August 11, says the rebels would rather attack Gen. Lyon than take the state capital. He notes that Lyon has been calling for reinforcements for several weeks, and Maj. Gen. Fremont ordered the 3td Kansas, on the 10th to join him  Aug 15. Reports Federal Victory at Wilson's Creek (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#26) (FLP: Ser 3RN-Aug#14). The Journal's first report of the Battle of Wilson's Creek says the federals were victorious and the Arkansas rebels were beaten due to the loss of their leader, C. S. A. Gen. McCulloch. Gen. Lyon was killed while bravely leading his men to victory.
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Aug 16. Further Incidents of the Great Battle (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#27) 101
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#75) An updated report on the Battle of Wilson's
Creek, in a letter to the editors, gives further details on the battle,
including how Gen. Lyon's body was misplaced, and praises several
officers of the 1st Missouri Infantry for their bravery.
Aug 17. The Lesson of Lyon's Sacrifice (FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#28) (FLP: 103
Ser 1MD-Aug#80) Editorial blames the lack of reinforcements for Gen.
Lyon's death. It speaks of the importance of the "will," and notes that
heroism is as important in the Cabinet, and especially in the War
Department at Washington, as it is in the field.
Aug 17. <b>Activity of the Major General Commanding (</b> FLP: Ser 8LY-V1- Aug#29) <b>(</b> FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#82) Editorial praises Fremont as hard-
working and not at fault in the failure to support Gen. Lyon at Wilson's
Creek, as "Gen. Lyon's situation was fully laid before the War
Department at Washington and additional regiments were asked for.

### Battle of Wilson's Creek/ Movement to Rolla

(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#21) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#131) August 13, 1861

## Maj. Gen. Fremont *to* Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott

O.R., I, 3:54 & Moore, Rebellion Record 2:494-495

Fremont informs Scott of the losses sustained at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, including Gen. Lyon's death. He requests forces to sustain Gen. Sigel.

"I am doing what is possible to support him [Sigel], but need the aid of some organized force to repel the enemy, reported advancing on other points of considerable strength."

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT, SAINT LOUIS, August 13, 1861

General Lyon, in three columns under himself, Sigel, and Sturgis, 98 attacked the enemy at 6.30 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, 9 miles southeast of Springfield [Greene County]. Engagement 99 severe. Our loss about 800 killed and wounded. General Lyon killed in a charge at the head of his column. Our force 8,000, including 2,000 Home Guards. 100 Muster roll reported taken from the enemy 23,000, including regiments from Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, with Texan Rangers and Cherokee half-breeds. This statement corroborated by prisoners.

Their loss reported heavy, including [C.S.A.] General McCulloch and [Rebel (MSG) Maj. General] Price. Their tents and wagons destroyed in the action. Sigel left one gun on the field and returned

<sup>98</sup> Maj. Samuel D. Sturgis succeeded to the command of the federal forces at Wilson's Creek after Gen. Lyon's death.

to Springfield, whence at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 11th, continued his retreat upon Rolla [Phelps County], bringing off his baggage trains and \$250,000 in coin from Springfield Bank. I am doing what is possible to support him, but need the aid of some organized force to repel the enemy, reported advancing on other points of considerable strength.

JOHN C. FREMONT

[To] Col. E. D. TOWNSEND



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#22) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#147) August 14, 1861

## William Broadhead to James O. Broadhead

Missouri Historical Museum Archives, St. Louis -Broadhead papers

William Broadhead relates that the Union men are discontent by the inaction of the government and military authorities in the West, and that the failure to reinforce Gen. Lyon "has produced considerable distrust." He expresses his hope that "no other brave general will be sacrificed to the tardiness of military authorities."

"The failure to reinforce Gen. Lyon's command on time has produced considerable distrust here. I hope Gen. Fremont will from this time put a different face upon affairs, and that no other brave general will be sacrificed to the tardiness of the military authorities."

St. Charles [St. Charles County]
August 14, 1861

Dear Brother James, 101

<sup>100</sup> Home Guards: Locally organized military-style county self-defense force, recognized and eventually supplied by the United States. Members cannot be deployed outside of their county of muster without their consent.
<sup>101</sup> James O. Broadhead, a slave-owner but loyal Unionist and close associate of U.S. Congressman Frank

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>For MGen. Fremont's follow-up report, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#277.1). For official after-action reports, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug-Annex-2).

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

I have not heard from you for some time, and I would like to hear what you are doing in these stirring times.

There is considerable discontent here among Union men at the apparent inactivity of the government & military authorities in the West. They can't see why the government forces always have to fight the disunion forces with immense odds against them—especially when we have more men and money than they. The failure to reinforce Gen. Lyon's command on time has produced considerable distrust here.

I hope Gen. Fremont will from this time put a different face upon affairs, and that no other brave general will be sacrificed to the tardiness of the military authorities. The Confederates equip and push out their large armies—why can't we?

I suppose sister Bettie is still at Flint Hill. I received a letter from her a short time since, & all were well. I will be compelled to quit this place soon, for I get nothing whatever to do, and of course, can't pay my board. I shall go to the country, and there, of course, I can at least manage to earn board until I can get something to do. I would like to get a letter from you soon. Can't you write this week?

If you write, direct your letter here.

Your Affectionate Brother,

William F. Broadhead



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#23) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#148) August 14, 1861

## **Connecticut Governor Buckingham** *to* **Provisional Missouri Governor Gamble**

Missouri Historical Museum Archives, St. Louis - H. R. Gamble Papers

Buckingham asks to have Gen. Lyon's remains prepared to be transported to Connecticut.

By Telegraph, from Norwich, Ct. Aug. 14, 1861

P. Blair, Jr., was a member of the St. Louis (Union) Committee of Safety and the U.S. attorney for the

To His Excellency Gov. Gamble,

Have the body of Genl. Lyon preserved for transportation to this state.

William A. Buckingham Gov. Conn.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#24) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#61.1) August 14, 1861

### The Great Battle

**Later Intelligence** 

Missouri Democrat

Buckingham asks to have Gen. Lyon's remains prepared to be transported to Connecticut.

"General Lyon began the attack upon the receipt of intelligence that the enemy was expecting reinforcements from Hardee's column, which was approaching from the southeast."

#### [Missouri Democrat Extra]

A correspondent of one of the leading New York dailies reached here this morning at 8 o'clock by the regular train from Rolla [Phelps County], due last night but delayed by the outgoing transportation trains.

He was a spectator at the fight and left Springfield early on Sunday morning with the advance column, making his way to Rolla in great haste on horseback. From him, we learn many interesting and reliable particulars of the battle.

Gen. Lyon's army of about 5,500 men—the Home Guards remaining in Springfield [Greene County]—marched out from Springfield on Friday evening [August 9] towards the enemy's camp on Wilson's Creek. The army slept on the prairie a portion of the night, and early on Saturday morning, about sunrise, drove in the outposts of the enemy. A short time afterward, the battle begun, the attack being made in two columns—Gen. Lyon and Maj.

eastern district of Missouri.

Sturgis<sup>102</sup> leading on the main and center columns, and Gen. Sigel leading a flanking force of about 1,000 men and four guns on the south of the enemy's camp.

The fight raged from sunrise in the morning until one or two o'clock in the afternoon.

The rebels in overwhelming force charged Capt. Totten's battery three, several times, but were repulsed with a great slaughter.

Gen. Lyon fell early in the day, and as our informant thinks, about 8 o'clock in the morning. He had been previously wounded in the leg, and a horse shot from under him. The colonel of one of the Kansas regiments having become disabled, the boys cried out: "General, you come and lead us." He did so, and at once put himself in front, and while cheering the men on the charge, received a bullet in the left breast, and fell from his horse. He was asked if he was hurt, and replied: "No, not much," and in a few minutes expired without a struggle.

General Sigel had a very severe struggle, and lost three of his four guns. His artillery horses were shot in their harness and the pieces disabled. He endeavored to haul them off with a number of prisoners he had taken, but was finally compelled to abandon them, first, however, spiking the guns and disabling the carriages.

About 1 o'clock in the day, the enemy seemed to be in great disorder and retreating. They set fire to their train of baggage wagons.

Our forces were too much fatigued and cut up to pursue, and the battle may be considered a drawn one.

Capt. Gratz, of the First Missouri, was killed.

Gen. Sweeney<sup>103</sup> was wounded in the leg.

Col. Mitchell, of the Kansas Volunteers, seriously wounded.

Major Shepard, of the general's staff, slightly wounded.

Capt. Plummer,<sup>104</sup> of the Regulars, wounded.

Capt. Miller, of the Missouri First, seriously wounded.

Capt. Cavender<sup>105</sup> was wounded in the shoulder, but rode back on a horse from the battlefield to Springfield.

Our informant thinks that Captain Burke is slightly wounded.

The first Kansas and First Missouri Regiments suffered most.

[Rebel (MSG)] Gen. (Sterling) Price was not killed.

There were rumors on the field that Confederate General McCulloch was killed, but the rebels denied it.

On Saturday night, Dr. Melcher and others of our army went back with ambulances to the battlefield, from Springfield, to see about the killed and wounded. They found the enemy on the field and were considerately treated. Gen. Lyon's body had been treated with great respect and was brought back, with some of the wounded, to Springfield.

Major Sturgis took command on the battlefield after the death of Gen. Lyon. Gen. Sigel took command after the battle.

Our loss is variously estimated at from 150 to 300 killed and several hundred wounded.

The enemy's loss is placed at 2,000 killed and wounded.

Our boys captured about 100 horses. They also got into Gen. Price's tent and got a gold watch and some other trophies.

One of the enemy's regiments carried two flags, the Confederate and the Stars and Stripes.

Gen. Sigel marched back to Springfield in good order. After perfecting his arrangements, gathering the baggage, blowing up what powder he could not carry and destroying other property which he did not wish should fall into the hands of the enemy, he left Springfield, and on Sunday night, encamped thirty miles this side of that place, the enemy not

musket ball in his leg the rest of his life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Maj. Samuel D. Sturgis served with the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Cavalry and would succeed to the command of the federal forces at Wilson's Creek after Gen. Lyon's death. <sup>103</sup> Gen. Thomas W. Sweeney, though involved in several battles during the Civil War, lacked a right arm, which was lost during the Mexican War. Wounded again at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, he would carry the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Capt. Joseph B. Plummer, a West Point graduate, would soon be commissioned colonel of the 11<sup>th</sup> Missouri Infantry, and command the post of Cape Girardeau.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Capt. John S. Cavender commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade of the Missouri Volunteer Infantry.

pursuing. The only hostility observed during the day was the firing of a musket from a distant thicket at the rear guard.

General Sigel is confident he could have held Springfield against the force they had engaged, but he was fearful of reinforcements to the enemy from the southwest, and that his line of communications to Rolla would be cut off.

General Lyon began the attack upon the receipt of intelligence that the enemy was expecting reinforcements from [C.S.A. Gen.] Hardee's column, which was approaching from the southeast. A portion of the artillery of the enemy was admirably served. Their infantry fire was also very severe.

The fight seems to have raged along the ridges and eminences of Wilson's Creek. The Springfield Home Guards were not in the fight. They, with a Sigel's camp.

It was thought that Sigel would fall back no further than Lebanon [Laclede County], where reinforcements would meet him.

We shall be receiving additional particulars, and shall serve the public with them as fast as they come during the day.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#25) (FLP: Ser 4NYT-Aug#20) August 15, 1861

### **Pre-Battle Report: Lyon Needs** Reinforcements—3rd Kansas **Ordered to Lyon**

New York Tribune

Correspondent's report, dated August 11, says the rebels would rather attack Gen. Lyon than take the state capital. He notes that Lyon has been calling for reinforcements for several weeks, and Maj. Gen. Fremont ordered the 3<sup>rd</sup> Kansas, on the  $10^{th}$ , to join him (Lyon).

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Sunday, Aug. 11, 1861 Our latest intelligence from Springfield [Greene Co.]—up to Thursday morning—increases the previous apprehensions in regard to Gen. Lyon's

command. Threatened by a force more than twice as large as his own, who are well supplied with cavalry, receiving constant accessions to their numbers, and from the topography of the country, possess peculiar facilities for outflanking him and cutting him off in the rear, his position is certainly one of extreme peril. He ought to have a force of 25,000 instead of 9,000 men; and he has been calling for reinforcements for several weeks. The government has certainly failed to appreciate the importance of his situation and the demands of the war in Missouri. The rebels would rather defeat Lyon today than to take the capital of the state. Gen. Fremont yesterday ordered the 3d Kansas Regiment, led by the famous [Col. James] Montgomery, to join Gen. Lyon without delay. It is now at Mound City, Linn County, Kansas, and will march across the country to Springfield, a distance large number of the citizens of Springfield, are in NATH of about ninety miles. Other reinforcements will be sent to Gen. Lyon from this direction at the earliest practicable moment; and if no battle occurs within the next ten days, he will no doubt be prepared to cope with any force which the rebels can bring against him.

> Slave property in Missouri is at a very heavy discount. A planter in Boonville [Cooper Co.] remarked this morning: "A neighbor of mine has a very likely slave woman and child, who, a year ago, would have sold readily for \$1,500. He has just offered them to me for \$150, and I told him that was precisely \$149 more than I would give." Yesterday a secessionist had the boldness to present himself at Gen. Fremont's headquarters and apply for a pass through all our lines for three slaves, whom he wished to take to South Carolina. "I feared," said he, "that they might be claimed as contraband unless I had a pass from the commanding officer."

Capt. C. R. Jennison, the famed Kansas "Jayhawker," is in the city. He has just received authority to muster a full regiment of cavalry into the service. It is nearly made up; and is composed of men who have lived for several years on the Kansas border, and some of whom have had a long experience in guerilla warfare, under Jennison and Montgomery. Many of them have been wounded, but none ever captured. Jennison himself carries

Fry's Lyon Fo

eight pellets in his body and seems to be worth several dead men yet.

Gen. James Lane, United States senator from Kansas, arrived from Washington last night. He holds a brigadier general's commission from Gov. Morton of Indiana, in the state service, which, not being an office recognized by the Constitution of the United States, enabled him to retain his seat in the Senate despite the inappropriate anxiety of Gov. Robinson to displace him, manifested by appointing a successor before he had received any official notice of Gen. Lane's resignation or disqualification.

Gen. Lane proceeds at once to the thorough organization of the Kansas Brigade. When it is perfected, if he should be elected to command it, he will probably be detailed from his present nominal Indiana command for that purpose. It will embrace an ample leaven of the men who followed his fortunes through the Kansas wars, and who have great confidence in his military ability. I remember hearing Lane, in a public speech in Topeka, in June, 1837, announce himself "an anti-slavery filibuster," and express the hope that God might spare his life until he should see the old, blood-stained Kansas banner of freedom borne in triumph down to the very shore of the gulf. As his brigade is to move southward, when Fremont's grand army goes down to Mississippi, that wish may yet be realized."

The Kansas Brigade is to consist of six regiments. The following are the brigade officers: Adjutant, Hon. Marcus J. Parrott, late delegate in Congress; Commissary, A. Carter Wilder, one of the most prominent and talented citizens of the young state; Quartermaster, M. H. Insley; Surgeon, Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick; Paymasters, Henry J. Adams, and W. W. Updergroff. It is to embrace one full regiment of cavalry (the one alluded to above, under Col. Jennison) which will be armed with Sharp's carbines, Colt's revolvers and sabers. The infantry will be armed with rifled muskets. The brigade will be in all respects well equipped, and will very soon be ready for the field. Several of the regiments are already in active service.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#26)

(FLP: Ser 3RN-Aug#14) August 15, 1861

## Reports Federal Victory at Wilson's Creek

Louisiana Journal [Pike Co.]

The Journal's first report of the Battle of Wilson's Creek says the federals were victorious and the Arkansas rebels were beaten due to the loss of their leader, C. S. A. Gen. McCulloch. Gen. Lyon was killed while bravely leading his men to victory.

From an extra in another column, it will be seen that there has been a great battle fought at Springfield [Greene County], in which the Arkansas invaders were beaten and driven back with the loss of their leader, Ben McCulloch, the God of the Secessionists in this city. The federal forces were only 5,500 while that of the invaders and traitors were 22,000, just four to one. This is almost fulfilling the scripture, where it says, "a thousand shall put ten thousand to flight." We hope this tremendous thrashing will teach the invaders and rebels a lesson they will not soon forget. We hope that they will be satisfied to disband and retrace their steps, seeing they are unable with even great numbers to cope with a handful of true, brave, and loyal men.

We hope that this repulse of the traitors and invaders will end the war in Missouri, and that we may have peace again.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#27) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#75) August 16, 1861

## Further Incidents of the Great Battle The Wounded Arriving at Springfield

Missouri Democrat

An updated report on the Battle of Wilson's Creek, in a letter to the editors, gives further details on the battle, including how Gen. Lyon's body was misplaced, and praises several officers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry for their bravery.

"At 11 o'clock, the ambulances having been filled with our wounded, were moved toward the city. The body of Gen. Lyon had been placed in one of them, but without being uncovered, no one knew that the remains of the gallant hero of Boonville and Camp Jackson were lying beneath that martial cloak, and it was unfortunately removed to give place to those who were wounded."

St. Louis, Thursday, August 15, 1861. *Editors Missouri Democrat:* 

My account<sup>106</sup> of the great battle published this morning, being necessarily incomplete, as regards the interesting details connected therewith, I take this, the first opportunity to supply the deficiency.

First, I am fully satisfied from my conversation with Gen. Sigel and Col. Salomon, as well as from my own observation, that the eastern division did not make any attack until the roar of Totten's artillery announced that Gen. Lyon was upon his ground. The battle then commenced at six o'clock and ten minutes, and lasted until eleven—Gen. Lyon having been killed very soon after nine o'clock.

Twice during the exhausting struggle, by's seeming mutual consent, the hostile armies rested for nearly half an hour, after which the battle raged with increased vigor.

Capt. Manter<sup>107</sup> behaved with coolness and bravery.

Capt. Maurice<sup>108</sup> was hotly engaged, and showed that he knew how to face the music.

Capt. Yates<sup>109</sup> was noted for his gallant bearing upon the field. I met him once, his face covered with

powder, and the blood running from a slight scratch over the eye. He kept the field until ordered away.

Capt. Stone<sup>110</sup> was actively and nobly engaged, pressing the enemy hard, and bravely driving him back from his position.

Capt. Burke<sup>111</sup> fought as only such men will, while no less than three bullets passed through his clothes. One, a spent ball, struck his leg, another passed through his blouse, and a third passed in and out of the leg of his pants, without touching his body.

Capt. Cole<sup>112</sup> fought bravely, and had his left lower jaw shattered, but with his usual perseverance, had his face patched up, and was around the streets of Springfield [Greene County] in the evening.

Capt. Miller,<sup>113</sup> finding at one time late in the day, that it was impossible to gather his company together, called in men who were without officers, and made himself a very respectable command, while many of his men were lying bleeding and dying upon the ground.

Capt. Richardson and both of his lieutenants, Fish and Johnson, were covered with powder and dust. The latter was once a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, and lost his sword, but a platoon under Lieut. Fish gallantly rushed to his rescue, and the enemy knocking him over with a gun, left him for dead and withdrew. Johnson jumped up and mounted a barebacked mule, and returned to our lines.

Capt. Cavender $^{114}$  was undaunted, and after severe fighting was wounded and compelled to retire.

Capt. Gratz,<sup>115</sup> the lamented officer who alone, of all the captains in the Missouri First, fell dead upon the field, was in the thickest of the fight. He fell within a few feet of where Gen. Lyon's horse was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#65).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Capt. Frank H. Manter was the commander of Company A, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Capt. Thomas D. Maurice commanded Company B of the 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 109}$  Capt. Theodore Yates commanded Company H,  $\rm 1^{st}$  Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Capt. George H. Stone was captain of the 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry, which was reorganized, after Wilson's Creek, as the. 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Light Artillery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Capt. Patrick E. Burke commanded Company K, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Capt. Nelson D. Cole commanded Company E, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Capt. Madison Miller commanded Company I, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Capt. John S. Cavender commanded Company G, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Capt. Carry Gratz commanded Company E, 1<sup>st</sup> Missouri Infantry.

killed and Col. Andrews was wounded, and when I saw him, Dr. Cornyn was doing everything in his power to save his life.

Lieut. Brown was wounded when they encountered the second regiment which was brought against them, but I do not think his wound was serious. I dismounted upon meeting him. Murphy lifted him into the saddle, and I assisted him to a place of safety, he meanwhile cheering on those whom he met.

Other lieutenants and many privates doubtless distinguished themselves, but these acts came more particularly under my especial notice.

At 11 o'clock, the ambulances having been filled with our wounded, were moved toward the city. The body of Gen. Lyon had been placed in one of them, but without being uncovered, no one knew that the remains of the gallant hero of Boonville and Camp Jackson were lying beneath that martial cloak, and it was unfortunately removed to give place to those who were wounded. It was afterwards obtained, and after being laid out and dressed in a new uniform befitting his rank, I looked upon the pale face of the dead. An expression of painful embarrassment was plainly depicted upon his countenance—such an expression as I had noticed he had worn for several days.

On the way to the city, I exchanged horses with Capt. Cavender, that he might have an easier riding animal, and afterwards gave that one up to a wounded soldier overtaken upon the road.

Arriving at Springfield about three o'clock in the afternoon, a large number of wagons were at once sent out to the field of battle to bring in our wounded, and were kept busy until long after midnight, at which time the hospital had received about one hundred and twenty, the Bally House had been turned into a receptacle for our wounded, and the Methodist Church had also been filled, the two latter buildings holding probably two hundred and fifty or three hundred. Dr. White was busily attending the lowas, at the Bally House, while Drs. Franklin, Davis, Smith, Melcher, Cornyn, and Schenck, were busily engaged at different places in the city.

Colonel Andrews was slightly wounded when I last saw him, but was afterwards wounded again, and how seriously I am unable to say.

As soon as possible, after reaching the city, a council was held, and it was decided to move at once towards Rolla [Phelps County]. General Sigel now assumed command, and before daylight on Sunday morning, the army, with a very long baggage train, moved out of the city. The reporters, meanwhile, determined to push through at once to St. Louis without waiting to witness the anticipated attack of the enemy. On the road to Rolla, we passed scores of families moving away from the vicinity of Springfield. Of course, the product of their farms will be taken for the support of the rebel army.

It now remains to be seen whether the government will recognize the necessity of sending troops into the southwest. 30,000 men should at once be placed in Springfield, and [C.S.A. Gen.] McCulloch and [Rebel (MSG) Maj. Gen.] Price, with their traitorous minions, driven from the state before they have time to recover from the terrible shock given them by Gen. Lyon. His blood calls aloud for vengeance upon the rebels. Open two routes to the southwest and keep them constantly crowded with troops. Protect the Union element of Springfield, Mt. Vernon [Lawrence County], Ozark [Christian County] and Greenfield [Dade County], and they will furnish a dozen six months regiments for the United States service. Leave them as they are, and you will see the arms now in the hands of "Home Guards taken from them, the enemy advancing upon your city and threatening your capital.

**—**В.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#28) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#80) August 17, 1861

### The Lesson of Lyon's Sacrifice

Missouri Democrat

Editorial blames the lack of reinforcements for Gen. Lyon's death. It speaks of the importance of the "will," and notes that heroism is as important in the Cabinet, and especially in the War Department at Washington, as it is in the field, and it warns the U.S. Government that the

rebels will become stronger, and Missouri needs a strong army to combat them.

"Victory should at once be made a foregone conclusion, and failure placed among the things utterly impossible. We have no disposition to brood over the past, except to point to the significant lesson which it teaches. The extent of the enemy's effort in Missouri has been underrated; Lyon and his band were left to cope with four times their number, long after he had represented his need reinforcement, of and until, desperation, he felt compelled to attack his daily increasing enemy to avoid having to contend with still heavier. odds. What a page of history is this! With anything like a reasonable force, General Lyon would soon have driven the insolent invaders from the southwestern portion of the state."

It is will that rules the world. Immense energies, boundless resources, splendid's opportunities, are not only worthless but a deceit and a snare, unless wielded by that power of will, which, they were wanting, would either create them or succeed without them. The war between the American government and legions of desperate traitors comes, at last, to a simple contest of will. In the councils of treason, no lack of this almost allpowerful element has thus far been exhibited. The rebel leaders have signally illustrated the almost infallible adage, "Where there's a will there's a way." They have adequately estimated the obstacles they were to confront, and wisely have met them with all their strength of men and means. Clearly perceiving the incalculable advantage it would give them to make Missouri their battleground, they shrewdly poured thousands of troops into the state to oppose the hundreds sent by the government to defend it.

The result is replete with priceless instruction. Every battle has shown that, in the conquering power of will, our soldiers are far superior to the enemy. Again and again, though inferior in numbers, have they routed and scattered the foe. The glorious strength of a holy cause, the terrible "might that slumbers in a freeman's arm,"116 are evidently on the side of our patriotic hosts. They battle for the country that Washington gave them, and solemnly bade them preserve for their children's children. They fight for that government which he so impressively taught them to cherish and defend as the source of all their prosperity and as the Palladium of Liberty itself. They stand for American nationality, in defense of the life of the free government of the American people, and in behalf of the only grand embodiment of democracy on earth. Therefore it is that their souls are elated and NATE their arms clothed with strength in the day of battle.

But there must be heroism in the Cabinet as well as in the field. Especially in the War Department at Washington must there be the unconquerable will that rises into the light of genius, and moves with the step of destiny to success. Victory should at once be made a foregone conclusion, and failure placed among the things utterly impossible. We have no disposition to brood over the past, except to point to the significant lesson which it teaches. The extent of the enemy's effort in Missouri has been underrated; Lyon and his band were left to cope with four times their number, long after he had represented his need of reinforcement, and until, in desperation, he felt compelled to attack his daily increasing enemy to avoid having to contend with still heavier odds. What a page of history is this! With anything like a reasonable force, General Lyon would soon have driven the insolent invaders from the southwestern portion of the state. As it was, his forlorn hope of an army, with almost incredible valor, gained a victory full of glory to them, but of sad reproof to their country. May this mournful lesson, written with the blood of so many of the brave sons, and sealed with the life of Missouri's best-beloved hero, sink deep into the hearts of our rulers!

debate on a resolution concerning deposits in the state banks, on April 12, 1834.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> "Might that slumbers in a freeman's arm": a quote from Thomas Corwin, U.S. congressman, given during a

We cannot think otherwise than that the future will be the richer for this experience. The past will soon be gloriously atoned for. But there should remain no further delusion. The enemy is "in dead earnest" in Missouri. If the government only sends forces to cope with his present strength, they will soon find him far stronger. A grand army is needed to sweep the great valley to the Gulf. This indispensable army should be mustered at once in Missouri—and doubtless will be. On all hands there rises a just and wise cry for thorough work. The idea of failure, or of anything that can possibly be mistaken for it, must be utterly and forever set aside, and such measures immediately initiated as will make it perfectly plain to the universe, that the destiny of Missouri as an integral part of the American nation is irrevocably fixed.



(FLP: Ser 8LY-V1-Aug#29) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#82) August 17, 1861

### Activity of the Major General Commanding

Missouri Democrat

Editorial praises Fremont as hard-working and not at fault in the failure to support Gen. Lyon at Wilson's Creek, as "Gen. Lyon's situation was fully laid before the War Department at Washington and additional regiments were asked for.

"That the army in the southwest was not sooner reinforced, we understand to be in no respect owing to any failure on the part of the major general commanding. Gen. Lyon's situation was fully laid before the War Department at Washington and additional regiments were asked for. So few were the regiments at his disposal, that Gen. Fremont was compelled to dispatch

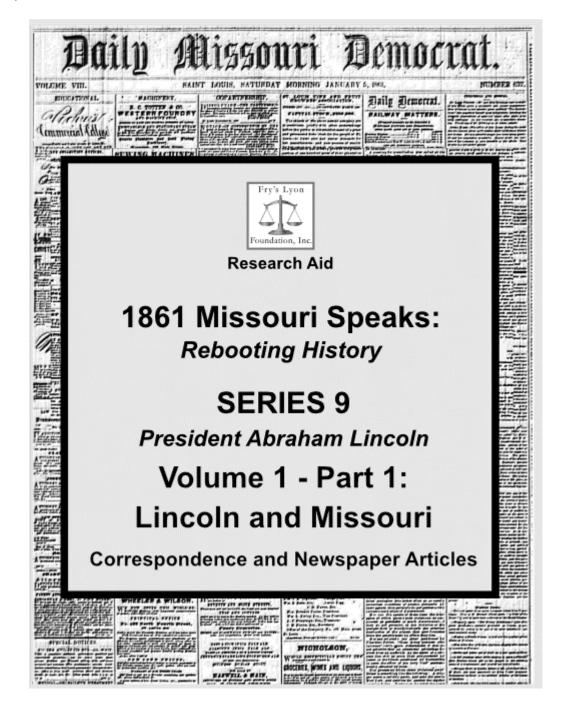
them all to important points that would otherwise be left unprotected."

Probably the most active and effective worker of the times is Major General John C. Fremont. To those conversant with his daily tasks, he appears continual of energy and industry. On his arrival to take command of the Military Department of the West, a herculean task presented itself to him. The situation of Missouri had become exceedingly critical. It exhibited guerilla warfare, secret and traitorous societies, armed hands hovering upon her borders, and each of her soundly defended military posts menaced by a formidable and increasing foe. To add to the difficulties, the Union forces here had been principally collected for three months only, and this term was just expiring.

Fremont set himself to use, as best he might, the army left him, to create and organize a new [illegible], to form an efficient interior military post, to reinforce the arsenal ports and send to them needed munitions of war, to hasten his cavalry regiments to points where their presence appeared most ardently requisite, and to set on foot extensive preparations for an exhaustive campaign through the valley of the Mississippi.

That the army in the southwest was not sooner undation, preinforced, we understand to be in no respect owing to any failure on the part of the major general commanding. Gen. Lyon's situation was fully laid before the War Department at Washington and additional regiments were asked for. So few were the regiments at his disposal, that Gen. Fremont was compelled to dispatch them all to important points that would otherwise be left unprotected. In respect to this matter; however, a full investigation appears to be demanded by the country, and is certainly required in justice to all parties concerned.

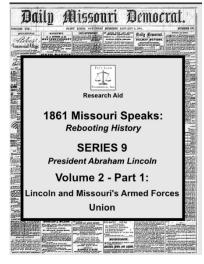


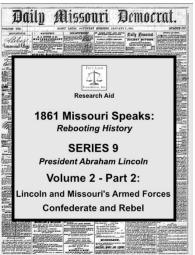


### Series 9—President Abraham Lincoln Volumes

Background: Missouri's governor called for a State Convention to justify secession from the Union. However, the Convention surprised him and other Democratic state officials by voting 98 to 1 to remain in the Union. Despite this, the governor and other state officials still attempted to carry Missouri out of the Union by force. To prevent this, citizen volunteers, led by a Regular Army captain, disarmed the State Militia at Camp Jackson, and drove the governor and his armed supporters to the far corner of the state. This allowed the State Convention to reconvene, depose the renegade governor, and appoint a provisional governor. Unfortunately, President Lincoln's constant interference in both civil and military affairs caused immense suffering for the citizens throughout the war. In fact, Lincoln's interference caused Missouri's Provisional Governor, Hamilton R. Gamble, to write Lincoln's Attorney General Bates in 1863 that Lincoln was "a mere intriguing, pettifogging politician."







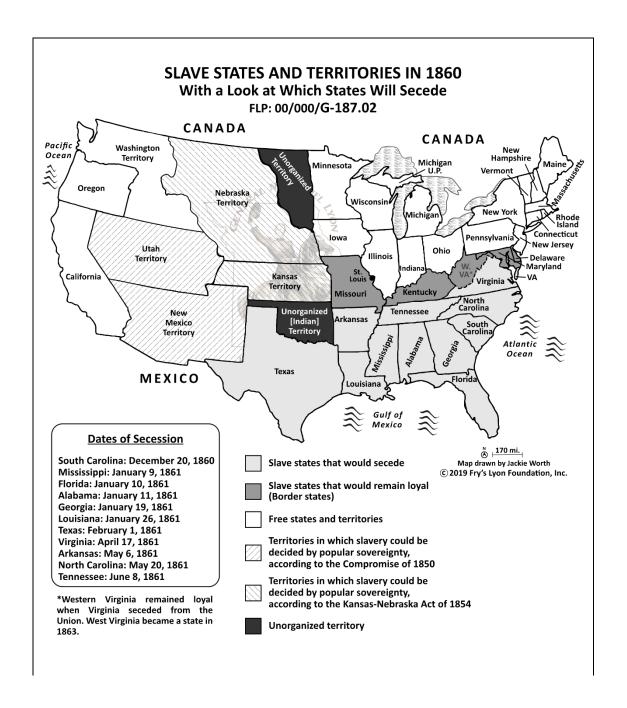
<sup>117 (</sup>FLP: Ser 9AL-Aug63#1)

## DOCUMENT/ARTICLE FINDING AIDS—SELECTIONS

Date	Document (FLP#)	Page
Apr 30	President Lincoln to Capt. Lyon (FLP: Ser 2PS-Apr#107) Lincoln instructs Lyon to muster loyal Unionists in St. Louis into federal service, under his command and not exceeding a total of 10,000 volunteers, to maintain U.S. authority and protect peaceful citizens. He also authorizes Lyon, with the concurrence of the Union Committee of Public Safety, to declare martial law in St. Louis, if necessary, and orders him to ship arsenal arms not needed in St Louis to Illinois. Endorsements included from Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott and Secretary of War Cameron.	110
May 15	Senator Trumbull to President Lincoln (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#66) Trumbull tells Lincoln that Camp Jackson was a bold, wise act, striking terror throughout the state, but it must be followed up by sending a force to Jefferson City. He mentions that Governor Jackson has been armed with full powers by the state legislature, and he suggests the government should be stopped before Jackson's plans are completed. Trumbull also reports on the dynamics between Gens. Lyon and Harney, as well as Frank Blair, Jr. and Harney.	110
May 18	<b>President Lincoln</b> to <b>Frank P. Blair, Jr.</b> (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#92) Lincoln suggests that Blair continue to hold on to the order (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#74) to remove Gen. Harney from his command of the Department of the West and not deliver it unless he thinks it is urgent, explaining that it is better to have Harney as a friend than an enemy, and the action will unsettle those who are now quiet and make the government appear indecisive.	111
Aug 6	Congressman Phelps and Frank Blair, Jr. to President Lincoln (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#62) Phelps and Blair inform Lincoln that the invasion of Missouri by C. S. A. Gen. McCulloch's troops has begun. They recommend that he receive troops to serve in Missouri for six months and asks for 5,000 stand of improved arms and supplies, to be sent to Springfield "for use at that point and its vicinity."	111
Aug 21	<b>President Lincoln</b> <i>to</i> <b>Francis P. Blair, Jr.</b> (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#204.1) Lincoln affirms that he will commission the officers of Missouri Volunteers.	112
Aug 26	Provisional Governor Gamble to President Lincoln (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#240.1) Gamble requests the authority to raise state troops to protect Missouri's citizens and maintain the peace. He explains the current situation, and that it is the "duty of the government to bear the expense incurred in organizing, arming and supporting" the troops.	112
Date	Newspaper Article (FLP#)	
Jun 21	<b>Policy of the Administration Towards Missouri</b> (FLP: Ser 3RN-Jun#55) Extracts from letters by the editor of the German newspaper, <i>Anzeiger</i> , regarding his visit with the president on June 4-5. President Lincoln condemns Gen. Harney's alleged doubletalk. Union-loving citizens did not receive their proper share of protection. Barbarous acts of the secessionists will now be repressed.	115
Sep 7	<b>The Cabinet Question</b> (FLP: Ser 5MR-Sep#23.1) Editorial mentions that the <i>Missouri Democrat</i> and other papers have stopped their attacks on Lincoln's cabinet members after it was judged as aiding the enemy. Lincoln is reported to have said in response to criticism of his cabinet: "Tell your friends, sir, to make war on the enemy and not each other."	116

116

Nov 5 **Citizens of Missouri to President Lincoln** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Nov#7) Letter to the president details the inconsistencies and errors in the accusations against Maj. Gen. Fremont. It suggests that the government needs to make a definitive determination: if in favor of retaining Fremont, then the government should show loyal support and stop all attempts at interference with his authority; if, however, the government is displeased with Fremont, then "the sword is permitted to fall on the devoted head," and the "harassing and demoralizing suspense should come to an end."



### **DOCUMENTS**





(FLP: Ser 2PS-Apr#107) April 30, 1861

### President Lincoln to Capt. Lyon

O.R., I, 1:675

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 30, 1861

Capt. NATHANIEL LYON,

Commanding Department of the West:

SIR: The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of Saint Louis and vicinity, not exceeding, with those heretofore enlisted, ten thousand in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States; for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri; and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose, by yourself and by Messrs. Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. Witzig, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., <sup>118</sup> proclaim martial law in the city of Saint Louis.

The additional force hereby authorized shall be discharged, in part or in whole, if enlisted, as soon as it appears to you and the gentlemen above named that there is no danger of an attempt on the part of the enemies of the government to take military possession of the city of Saint Louis, or put the city in the control of a combination against the Government of the United States; and while such additional force remains in the service, the same shall be governed by the *Rules and Articles of War*, and such special regulations as you may prescribe. I shall like the force heretofore directed to be enrolled to be under your command.

The arms and other military stores in the Saint Louis Arsenal not needed for the forces of the United States in Missouri must be removed to

<sup>118</sup> The aforementioned men were all members of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee, whose goal was to monitor the activities of secessionists and support the

Springfield [Illinois], or some other safe place of deposit in the state of Illinois, as speedily as practicable, by the ordnance officer in charge at Saint Louis.

#### [ENDORSEMENTS]

It is revolutionary times, and therefore I do not object to the irregularity of this.

W.S.<sup>119</sup>

Approved, April 30, 1861.

A. LINCOLN

Colonel Thomas will make this order.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War



(FLP: Ser 2PS-May#66) May 15, 1861

#### Senator Trumbull to President Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress

Alton, May 15, 1861.

My Dear Sir, I was in St. Louis Monday & saw my Lyon Fourour friends, Capt. Lyon, Col. Blair & Gen. Harney. All was quiet that day in St. Louis, & I doubt not will remain so till Gov. Jackson gets forces rallied, if he is permitted to do it, for an attack on the city. The capture of Camp Jackson was a bold but, in my opinion, a wise act, & I hope it will meet the approval of the government, but to be effective, it must be followed up. The time has passed by for timid measures. This one act has stricken terror to the secession ranks, not only at St. Louis, but throughout the state, & if it is followed by sending a force to Jefferson City & dispersing the rebels there or wherever else assembled, there will be no serious difficulty with Missouri.

I found Capt. Lyon & Col. Blair had some feeling against Gen. Harney, & they asked why he had been sent out just at this time, & said, but for him, they

Union cause in Missouri.

 $^{119}$  Winfield Scott, lieutenant general, commanding the U.S. Army.

would have had a regiment or two by that time in Jefferson City. Having previously had a conversation with Gen. Harney, I gave them its message, which amounted to an assurance that he meant to do his duty, & that he was determined to preserve the peace in St. Louis & sustain the government. Gen. Harney talked rightly to me. His arrival at the moment, & without a full knowledge of the things, interfered, condition of doubtless temporarily, with the plans of Capt. Lyon; but I am deceived if he does not cooperate in future. I mention these facts, because there seemed some distrust among the officers at the arsenal, & I thought you might like to know the impressions of one not engaged in the transactions. Gov. Jackson has been armed with full powers by the Legislature, & if permitted to complete his arrangements, will be troublesome. I hope the government will not allow his plans to be perfected. Action efficient, decided, bold is what is now wanted everywhere, & I feel confident we are to have it. Fifty thousand men, & I do now know but a hundred thousand can be raised in this state without difficulty.

Very truly Yours,

Lyman Trumbull<sup>120</sup>







(FLP: Ser 2PS-May#92) May 18, 1861

### President Lincoln to Frank P. Blair, Jr.

Peckham, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon & Missouri: 210 & Abraham Lincoln Papers, LOC

#### PRIVATE

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1861

My Dear Sir:

We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis—I understand an order<sup>121</sup> has gone from the

120 Lyman Trumbull served as U.S. senator from Illinois from 1855-1873. He would sponsor the 13th Amendment that abolished slavery, ratified on

War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion relieving Gen. Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though, on the whole, I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it but to say I wish you would withhold it unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent.

There are several reasons for this. We better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieved him, then restored him, & now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "why all this indecision?"

Still if, in your judgment, it is indispensable, let it be so.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln





(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#62) August 6, 1861

### Congressman Phelps and Frank Blair, Jr. to President Lincoln

O.R., I, 3:430

House of Representatives, August 6, 1861

#### To the President:

SIR: An invasion of the state of Missouri by troops under the command of [C.S.A.] General McCulloch has taken place. Other invasions of that state are threatened by troops from the states of Arkansas and Tennessee. We recommend you receive

December 6, 1865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#74).

into the service of the United States from the state of Missouri, troops to serve for six months, to be employed in preserving peace and quiet in that state, and to repel the threatened invasions, and also to remove the seat of war from among the people of that state to the southward; to invade Arkansas, and to keep the Indians west of that state in subjection.

If this suggestion shall be adopted, <sup>122</sup> we recommend 5,000 stand of improved arms, in addition to those already sent to Missouri, be forthwith sent, with a proper supply of clothing, camp and tent equipage, ammunition, and means with which to obtain commissary and other quartermaster supplies, and also medical supplies, etc. Arms for cavalry and equipments should also be furnished for a battalion or regiment of mounted men to be raised in southwest Missouri, in addition to the arms before mentioned. Arms will be needed when Arkansas shall be invaded to arm men of that state who are Union men and willing to enter the military service of the United States.

The munitions of war we have mentioned, we think should be sent to Springfield [Greene County], Mo., for use at that point and its vicinity.

John S. Phelpse's Lyon Foundation, Inc. Frank P. Blair, Jr. 123



(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#204.1)

### August 21, 1861

### President Lincoln to Francis P. Blair, Jr.

Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (New Brunswick, New Jersey Rutgers U. Press, 1953)

August 21, 1861

Col. Blair:

## I repeat, I will commission the officers of Missouri Volunteers. 124

A. Lincoln



(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#240.1)
August 26, 1861

## Provisional Governor Gamble to President Lincoln

Missouri Historical Society Archives, Hamilton Rowan Gamble Papers, Box 9

Jefferson City. August 26, 1861

To Abraham Lincoln,

President of the United States.

Sir, You are aware that the Convention<sup>125</sup> of Missouri deposed the late governor (Claiborne F. Jackson) and ordered an election of governor to take place on the first Monday of November next [the 4<sup>th</sup>], appointing me to exercise the executive functions until a governor shall be elected. You are aware also that this action of the Convention was occasioned by Gov. Jackson's hostility to the Union.

telegraphed Montgomery Blair, August 21, 1861, "It is necessary for the president to commission our officers as...the law of this state...make[s] it impossible to act under it...at present no officer in the Missouri service has a commission..." (DLC-RTL). (Footnote by Basler, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> For President Lincoln's reply, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#78).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> U.S. Congressman Francis (Frank) P. Blair, Jr., chairman of the committee on military affairs, also served as the colonel of the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Missouri Volunteer Infantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Thirty-seventh Congress, Third Session, Senate Reports, No. 108, III, 115. Colonel Francis P. Blair, Jr.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Refers to the Second Session of the Missouri Constitutional Convention, which took place July 23-31, 1861.

Upon assuming the position assigned to me by the Convention, I found the treasury of the state bankrupt and the militia without any organization whatsoever. The treasury will be still more deeply insolvent because of the entire stagnation of business, the fall in all values, the ravaging of our territory by war and the abandonment of the state by multitudes of her citizens. These causes are likely still further to produce an almost universal bankruptcy of individual citizens.

The state government, which had assumed an attitude of hostility to the Union, passed a law for the organization of the military forces of the state, which was well-adapted to array a strong force against the federal government, but the Convention, because the law was oppressive and odious in many of its provisions, abrogated it and substituted a former militia law, it very cumbersome machinery, rendering inefficient. I found further that in organizing a force under it, there was a danger that I should collect a large portion hostile to the Union, who would join the organization for the purpose of procuring arms and that the arms which might be placed in the hands of Union men would be exposed to seizure by secessionists. These considerations heretofore deterred me from the attempt to effect any general organization of the militia.

The lines, however, between the parties are now more distinctly drawn, and the danger of deception in the sentiments of men and the danger of the capture of arms held by Union men is much diminished. I am now, therefore, attempting to organize the peace of the state and the security of its citizens, which of course involves the dispersion of all armed bodies banded together as the enemies of the federal government and resistance to the invaders of the state.

I anticipate great difficulty in effecting the organization I am now attempting.

The bankrupt condition of the treasury will prevent men from entering the service of the state when they cannot hope for any immediate pay and when even their subsistence will be doubtful except by means that will demoralize the whole force. Again, the state cannot furnish them with arms.

If the government of the United States recognizes the assemblages of armed men within

this state as in open rebellion against its authority, as is certainly the fact, and if it recognizes its constitutional obligation to protect the state from invasion, then it would seem to follow that it is the duty of the government to bear the expense incurred in organizing, arming and supporting all the troops employed in suppressing the rebellion or repelling the invasion, come from what state they may. It is evil enough for us that our state is made the theater of war without being left to maintain the force employed in its prosecution.

There are many regiments formed and being formed within the state under the authority of the commanding officers of the United States forces with the design of entering at once into the service of the general government without any state organization, and so the state will, in reality, furnish men to the government while she still appears in the attitude assumed by Gov. Jackson as either refusing or neglecting to furnish them.

This is the result of the issuing of licenses or permits by the commanding officers to individuals who propose to raise companies, battalions or regiments. I have no other complaint to make of the practice than that it contributes still further to bring the state authority into disrepute and occasions the choice of officers to be made in a different mode from that provided by the state law.

The preference of the men for entering the service of the United States in this irregular mode to entering the service of the state arises from the fact that they are better assured of being armed, paid and subsisted than under any state organization, although they may be informed, as they have been, that they may enter the service of the United States after being organized under the state law.

Allow me to suggest that as all the troops I propose to raise are to be engaged in sustaining the authority and performing the duty of the general government, it is but justice to the state that they be armed and supported by the United States. If I were authorized to give the assurance that they would be so armed and supported, I would have no difficulty in raising the necessary force to put down the bands of rebels who infest the different portions of the country, and I think I could furnish a valuable addition to the troops now serving the

government within this state against the Southern invaders.

There is a class of men of some sort in the service of the government who are irregular in their organization and whose conduct has done more to promote hostility to the Union than any other cause whatsoever. I mean the class called Home Guards. 126 These bodies are without discipline and almost without control. Concerning themselves, charged with the duty of suppressing all opposition to the government, they have not waited for any manifestation of hostility on the part of those favoring secession, but have seized persons and searched houses when there was no sense in the suspicions upon which they acted. The best evidence of the unreasonableness of their conduct is furnished by the fact, as far as I have ever heard, there has been no person arrested by them against appeared.

I do not suppose that all the men arrested or whose houses have been searched were Joyal citizens. I have no doubt that very many of them were secessionists but the arrests and searches were unreasonable and injurious because no sufficient grounds for it could be made to appear, and the cases affected the public mind as would any other oppression by the military. This force acting in small detachments without any responsible and sensible head, acting often upon the promptings of mere prejudice or misrepresentation, has done very much harm to the cause of the Union.

This body should be disbanded and disarmed or made to enter the service of the government regularly or be put under the command of the state government while sustained by the United States.

In my judgment, they would be no value whatsoever in a fight while under their present organization—half soldier, half citizen. If my judgment in relation to them is of any value, it is that they should be thrown into masses and be drilled and disciplined as soldiers or be disbanded. Such would be my treatment of them if I controlled them.

There is still another subject to which I desire

to call to your attention:

When the troops from other states came in Missouri to uphold the authority of government, they came with total misapprehension of the condition of the country and of the feelings of the people. There was then a large majority in favor of the Union, now I greatly fear the majority is the other way. The troops came among people not then in open rebellion, although to the government, and some of them perpetrating acts of violence. Some of the military dealing with outbreaks, which required strong repression, attempted to introduce a system of law by which citizens without regard to the question whether they participated in the violence or not were made responsible for the expenses of military expeditions undertaken for the purpose of punishing those guilty of the outrages. 127 The burdens that were whom any ground of serious accusation has NATE made to fall upon the friends of the Union as well as upon its enemies have had the effect of estranging many from the government, which they have heretofore earnestly supported. I enclose two documents issued by officers which will give you full knowledge of what has been done by military men in command.

> You do not need any statement from one to assure you the effect of such proceedings. You know the spirit of the American people too well to need to be informed that they resent oppression, especially when it is practiced by military authority, and you can well believe that the course of these military gentlemen has done much to embarrass and cripple me in my attempts to restore peace and fidelity to the Union throughout the state. In fact, I have very little hope that peace can be restored while the friends of the Constitution are unable to defend the acts of the military officers of the government. Those friends are first silent and then lukewarm. I am not ignorant of the fact that in all wars there are violations of private rights, but it is seldom in modern times that such abuses have the express sanction of officers high in command.

> I leave this subject to your consideration remarking that I am continually merely embarrassed by the complaints of real Union men

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Home Guards: Locally organized military-style county self-defense force, recognized and eventually supplied by the United States. Members cannot be deployed

outside of their county of muster without their consent. <sup>127</sup> See Series 2, Vol. 4, (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#196) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#219).

against the action of the military, whose conduct I can neither excuse nor control. While I have become burdened with complaints of secessionists, I have a deep interest in the protection of real Union men.

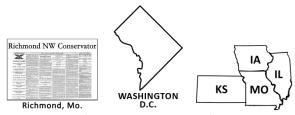
If it were possible to subject the military in acting upon unarmed citizens to any control of a civil officer or of a body of civilians, much of the cause of the present complaints would be removed.

You will not be surprised that I should feel a deep interest in every movement that may affect the state of which I am for a short time, chief magistrate, a state that had determined by a vast majority of its citizens to remain true to the Union but which through the intrigues of its highest officers and the machinations of men in other states has become the theater of a desolating war and is in danger of assuming an attitude of hostility to the Union through the mad excitement aroused and many promoted by designing men. At the bidding of the people represented in the Convention, I have thrown myself into the breach. If I am frankly and cordially sustained by the federal government with money, arms and confidence, I hope with the blessing of a favoring Providence to restore peace to Missouri as a state in the Union, but unarmed and with a bankrupt treasury, I can do nothing but sit still as a spectator of the contest which is to determine the condition of my state.

> I have the honor to be Your obedient servant,

> > [H. R. Gamble]

### **NEWSPAPER ARTICLES**



(FLP: Ser 3RN-Jun#55) June 21, 1861

### **Policy of the Administration**

### towards Missouri

Richmond North-West Conservator

Mr. Bernays, editor of the *Anzeiger*, <sup>128</sup> has been appointed consul to Zurich, Switzerland, and while in Washington, had an interview with the president respecting the policy to be pursued towards Missouri. From his letters in the *Anzeiger* we make the following extracts:

"Washington, June 4.

"Today the Cabinet meets, and will probably determine its policy in regard to Missouri. There can be no doubt that the Cabinet is fully enlightened on all subjects coming up for consultation, for hundreds of letters and dispatches from St. Louis and other cities in Missouri have lately arrived, and, besides, your correspondent had a long interview with the president, in which he explained the actual state of affairs according to his knowledge and ability.

"I take it to be quite certain from the expressions of the president as well as of several members of the Cabinet with whom I have conversed, that the friends of the Union in Missouri will be protected by the powerful arm of the government, and its full authority be maintained throughout the state. I have furthermore the most ample reason to believe that in order—as they chose to express themselves—to prevent certain persons from assuming control of the Union cause, the Military Department of Missouri will be subordinated to a higher military authority. I found that Missouri is very far distant from Washington, and that, looking at her affairs from this point of view and comparing them with the last [illegible] of the war, they appear much more insignificant than we are disposed to think."

June 6

"The policy of the administration in regard to Missouri has now been settled, and all true friends of the Union may take comfort and confidently into the future. They will be protected by the same strong arm which is just falling on treason in Virginia. The doubled-tongued policy of Gen. Harney has been unanimously condemned by the

means "Gazette of the West."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> The *Anzeiger des Westens* was the first Germanlanguage newspaper in St. Louis, Missouri. Its name

President and the Cabinet, while the manly patriotic policy of Gen. Lyon and Col. Blair is sustained.

"It seems that Gen. Harney supposed at one time that the order for his removal, being dated May the 16<sup>th</sup>, and not arriving until the 31<sup>st</sup>, had been revoked, because he received instructions from the War Department as late as May the 27th. However this may be, the character of those instructions should have convinced the general that he was mistaken. The publication would essentially contribute to vindicate the firm and noble attitude of the administration. We know that a copy of these instructions is now in the hands of a man in St. Louis, who will no doubt publish it in the right time. They came like a thunderbolt, etc.

"Part of the instructions stated that the president had seen with much displeasure that in spite of express promise to the country, either from Union men of the state did not receive their proper share of protection. Such a state of things could not be tolerated. It was entirely unbecoming in the general to bestow confidence in state officers whose disaffection and secession tendencies could not have escaped his notice. It was the wish and determination of the administration to suppress all barbarous acts in Missouri, and amply protect all friends of the Union in the exercise of their rights and, in case the forces in Missouri should not suffice for the purpose, that Gen. Harney should call for as many troops from Kansas, Illinois, and Iowa, as would be necessary."



St. Louis, Mo. (FLP: Ser 5MR-Sep#23.1)

September 7, 1861

### The Cabinet Question

Missouri Republican

The agitation of the subject of effecting a change in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet seems to have measurably subsided. Our patriotic neighbor on Locust Street, [The Missouri Democrat] who wants to monopolize all the loyalty of the St. Louis press,

fired one heavy gun at Secretary Cameron, that was echoed in diverse parts of the country, and then fell back. Whether he was silenced by a flank movement, or merely run out of ammunition, of course we cannot precisely tell. The telegraph dispatch from Washington, revised there probably by the authorities who control the telegraph, which dispatch spoke of the attacks on the administration being regarded evidence of secession proclivities, may have alarmed the newspaper editors who have been criticizing the operations of the War Department.

At any rate, we have observed great prudence in the tone of the *Democrat* and other journals of that persuasion in respect to this matter, since the publication of the hint referred to above. No doubt they all cling to their first convictions, but have concluded to mourn in secret, as they have found it dishonest motives or because of incapacity, the NATE impracticable to move the president from what seems to be his unalterable determination in the premises. "Tell your friends, sir, to make war on the enemy and not on each other," was the response of Honest Old Abe to somebody who lately waited on him to counsel the reconstruction of the Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln evidently will not listen to the fault findings of parties who pretend to know more about his business than he does himself, and he claims the right to manage the affairs of his administration in his own way. We admire his pluck.





(FLP: Ser 1MD-Nov#7) November 5, 1861

### Citizens of Missouri to **President Lincoln**

Missouri Democrat

To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

Sir: The undersigned, citizens of Missouri, consider it their duty, and therefore take the liberty to address you on the condition of military affairs in

Missouri.

We may possibly be engaged in a work of redundancy. Abler and more powerful voices may have preceded us in sounding the alarm. But the danger which surrounds us is so imminent, and so greatly affects our material interests, that we have resolved, at the risk of being considered officious and impertinent, to speak to you boldly and plainly, as behooves Western men addressing a Western president, of whose honesty of purpose we never entertained a doubt.

The question of removal of Gen. Fremont has evidently not yet received its final solution, and the effects of the wavering action of the government are painfully apparent. We beg to express it as our firm conviction, that the position of General Fremont has become untenable, that the welfare of the state demands either a radical change in the relations of the government to the general commanding the Department of the West, or his immediate removal.

We are driven to this conclusion, not by a conviction that the charges and accusations brought against General Fremont are well founded and can be sustained; on the contrary, we are persuaded that most, if not all the accusations against him are utterly devoid of truth. General Fremont seems to be determined not to answer his attackers, not to engage in a war of words, not to waste on his enemies at home the time and energy tasked to its utmost by the rebel enemy in whose very presence he stands. We, therefore, have not, and cannot expect to obtain an authoritative answer to his accusers. But if there was no other evidence at our command, the very inconsistency of the complaints, the unparalleled virulence and recklessness of the charges made, would induce us to doubt their veracity.

It is not worth our while to answer those who attempt to throw even a shadow on Gen. Fremont's integrity. The vile slanderers who would make him a contract monger and peculator will soon be exposed and silenced.

That unscrupulous and dishonest men may have found their way into General Fremont's Department, and abused his confidence, may well be believed when we consider that no commanding general has ever yet escaped this affliction, and it is

a remarkable fact that the individuals, whose conduct is now so bitterly complained of, were indebted for their positions to the urgent recommendations and endorsements of the very men who now rise as accusers of General Fremont. He is charged with having commissioned "without the shadow of authority" a large number of officers with different ranks. The fact of the appointment is undeniable, but the alleged want of authority is, to use mild language, a flagrant overthought. When General Fremont was directed to take charge of the Department of the West, the government wisely entrusted him with almost absolute power to do whatever he considered needful for the attainment of the object of his mission. He found Missouri without an army. It was not expected if it had been possible that he should confine himself in the straitjacket of army regulations designed for a peace establishment.

The necessity of creating a general staff, as distinguished from regimental staffs, became apparent to him, as it has become apparent to each of the generals commanding large bodies of troops.

The erection of fortifications at St. Louis, Cape Girardeau [Cape Girardeau County], Paducah [Kentucky] and elsewhere, required the creation of a corps of engineers. He was compelled by the necessities of the occasion, to create new offices, and to fill them with men whom he thought competent; and he undoubtedly had the best reason to believe that his acts would be endorsed by his superiors. It is suggested by some that this would not have been urged quite as strenuously if a number of the officers so appointed had not been of foreign birth, whose alleged incapacity to be of service to the country of their adoption has since been so signally disproved at Carthage [Jasper County] and Centreville [Reynolds County], at Wild Cat [Iron County], and Springfield [Greene County].

We are met at this point by the remarkable coincidence that one of the officers so appointed "without authority" and now serving the country without commission or pay, has lately performed the most daring and brilliant feat thus far recorded in the history of this war. Major Zagonyi, one of General Fremont's appointees, has given a good account of himself and his Body Guard.

The historians tell us that in ancient times

rulers of the Machiavellian school were in the habit of sending their generals into the field with instructions so ambiguously drawn, that, in case of all success attending the operations of the general, he could always be charged with, and convicted of, a violation and transgression of the vague authority given to him. It is true that Gen. Fremont, in his famous proclamation, has given a construction to acts of Congress and to the incidents of Martial Law, which has failed to obtain the endorsement of the government. He has proven his appreciation of the necessity of subordination by submitting to a modification ordered by the government which must have been quite distasteful to himself, and which, according to the opinion of a great majority of the people, would have been more honored in the breach than in the observance. The position of General Fremont on his arrival in Missouri forcibly of Parliament, which declared William and Mary King and Queen of England, by Maynard, the oldest and wisest man in the assembly. "We are," he said, "at this moment out of the beaten path. If therefore, we are determined to move only in that path, we cannot move at all. A man in a revolution resolving to do nothing which is not strictly according to established form resembles a man who has put himself in the wilderness and who stands crying, 'where is the king's highway?' In a wilderness, a man should take the truck, which will carry him home. In a revolution, we must have recourse to the highest law, the safety of the state." While it is an easy task for the slanderers of Gen. Fremont to prove that he has not walked on the king's highway, it is easier still for his friends to prove that the king's highway was blocked up, and even if open would not have led to success.

It is broadly charged that General Fremont has not the capacity to lead and manage a large army. The specifications of this charge are as numerous as they are inconsistent. Springfield and Lexington [Lafayette County] are cited as instances. The hue and cry about Springfield have well-nigh subsided. The attackers of General Fremont have become aware that if the words of the lamented Lyon are to have any weight in the matter, his testimony exonerates General Fremont. Lexington will soon be known as the grave of rebel ascendancy in

Missouri. While Congressional colonels charge the commanding general with criminal slowness in his movements, military wiseacres of the circumlocution school charge him with inordinate haste, exhibited in giving marching orders to an army of 40,000 men without being provided with the necessary means of transportation. He is at once too slow and too fast. We are compelled to admit that there is a semblance of truth in both charges. General Fremont unquestionably has moved too slowly for a general commanding an army well equipped and provisioned—he has certainly moved too fast for a general with an army indifferently equipped poorly provisioned and with and without sufficient means of transportation. It is a matter of notoriety that as long as General Fremont was prevented from making a forward movement by the obstacles thrown in his way by his reminds us of the language used during the session NATE adversaries, by the insufficiency of arms, equipment and stores, those of his enemies who are known to wield the most powerful influence, abused him loudly and without limits for his slowness. As soon as he had overcome those difficulties by a display of rare energy, to an extent sufficient to make a pursuit of the enemy practical, his adversaries changed front and charged him with lunacy for making the very forward movement which, until then, they had so erroneously demanded. The maneuver, if it shows nothing else, proves conclusively that General Fremont's adversaries are skillful tacticians. The truth of the matter seems to be, that from beginning to the end, General Fremont had, to use a homely but historic phrase, "to run the engine as be found it." Impartial history will thus sum up Gen. Fremont's offense: By gaining unparalleled popularity among the masses of the people, he gave offense to a large and powerful political combination, which had believed itself possessed of a hereditary monopoly of power. By his proclamation, he gave mortal offense to that timid though well-meaning act of Missouri politicians who are continually intent compromising with traitors.

> By giving commissions to, and showing confidence in, officers of foreign birth, he gave offense to the latent but still powerful element of nativism.

He has excited the jealousy of many officers of

the regular army, by receiving a high rank in the regular army although not a graduate of West Point.

He has shown a decided lack of political tact by failing to conciliate rivals or pander to prejudices. He has proved himself no more infallible than any other living American General.

Permit us now for a moment to consider the present situation of General Fremont. The government has disavowed his proclamation, revoked his appointments, and arrested the progress of works [fortifications] the erection of which he and his predecessor deemed eminently necessary. The debts incurred by his department on the faith of the government have remained unsatisfied. Officers whom he appointed have been refused their pay. Officials, whose hostility to him is notorious, have been forced, often against their own wishes (to their credit be it said) to become and act as his immediate subordinates. The very fact of existing dissensions between him and his subordinates and all the weak points in the equipment and strength of the army is published for the special benefit of the rebel army. Rumors of his removal have been permitted to float about uncontradicted and unrebuked.

As a necessary consequence of such demoralizing influence, we find insubordination the order of the day. Officers of high rank while intently listening for messages sent over the telegraphic wires announcing the news of Gen. Fremont's removal, do not lend a willing ear or pay ready obedience to the commands of the man whose star they see declining; they have no terror of courtsmartial threatened by a General in disgrace. The enthusiastic love of the rank and file of the army; the loyal support is given to him by many of his officers can be of no avail to him as long as a steady

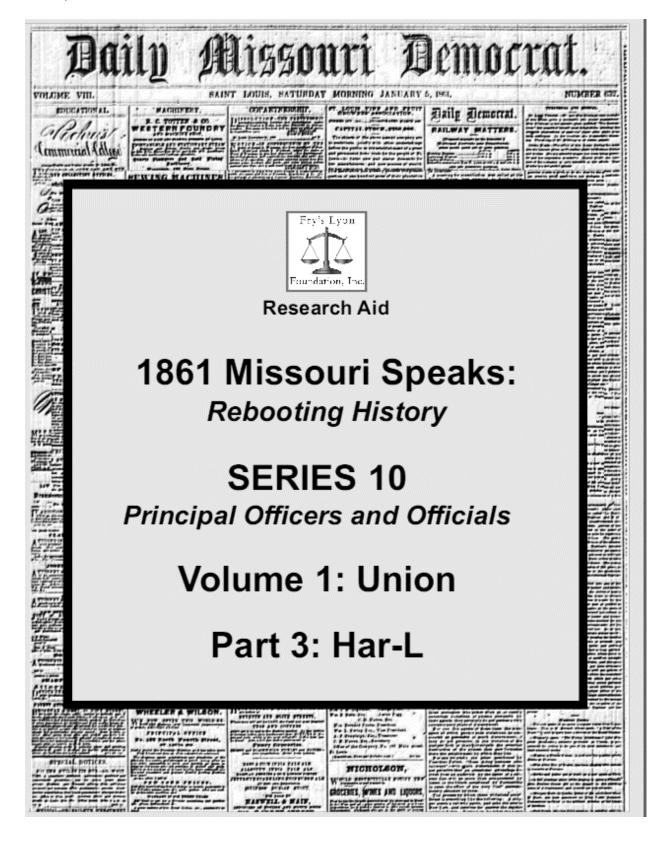
unrelenting fire in the rear continually cripples his resources.

The masses of the people are thoroughly convinced that if one-half of the charges brought against Gen. Fremont were proved true, he should be suspended without delay; they are also satisfied that he has not had, and cannot now obtain a fair hearing.

Should he meet with a reverse [defeat], the people would exonerate him and place the responsibility where it belongs; should he overcome all difficulties and meet with success, the credit which should be shared by him with the government will be given to him alone.

Such a condition of affairs should not be permitted to exist. If the government thinks proper to retain Gen. Fremont in his present position, and to avail itself of his service, justice demands that he should have the benefit of the most vigorous and loyal support at the hands of the Administration; that all attempts at interference with his authority should be frowned down, and that the offenders should be made to feel the strong arm of the government. If, on the other hand, the sword of impending disaster has been kept suspended over Gen. Fremont's head for valid reasons, it is high time that the harassing and demoralizing suspense should come to an end, and the sword is permitted "to fall on the devoted head. Shirking of responsibility will not save the country.

The loyal people of Missouri have an abiding faith in your wisdom and integrity and humbly request you to give your careful consideration to their prayers in this their hour of peril.



## Series 10—Principal Officers and Officials Volumes

As it is difficult to keep track of the actions of any one individual within a chronological presentation of documents, this series consolidates the documents from Series 1 and 2 of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* associated with individual officers and officials. Articles and documents concerning President Lincoln are found in Series 9; those concerning on MGen. Fremont are found in Series 7; those concerning BGen. Lyon are found in Series 8.



## LIST OF OFFICERS/OFFICIALS IN THIS SERIES

Officer/Official	Vol or Part <sup>129</sup>
Bates, Edward, Attorney General in Lincoln's Cabinet	1
Bell, William, Maj., St. Louis Arsenal Commander	1
Blair, Frank Jr., Col./Congressman (See Series 7, Vol. 5)	
Blair, Montgomery, Postmaster General (See Series 7, Vol. 5)	
Broadhead, James O., member of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee	1
Brown, B. Gratz, Vol. Col., quasi-member of the Union Safety Committee	1
Browning, Orville H., influential friend of Lincoln from Illinois	1
Brownlee, J. A., St. Louis secessionist Police Commissioner	1
Cameron, Simon, Secretary of War in Lincoln's Cabinet	1
Clark, John B., C.S.A. Gen. and Sen.	V2
Conant, Horace, Vol. Maj., Lyon's Aide-de-Camp	1
Curtis, Samuel R., Vol. Gen., 130 Congressman from Iowa, West Pointer, and friend of Lincoln	1
Davis, Jefferson, C.S.A. President	V2
Dennison, William Jr., Ohio Governor, 9 Jan 60 –13 Jan 62 (See Series 10, Vol. 3)	V3
Dick, Franklin A., Lyon's Aide-de-Camp, quasi-member of the Union Safety Committee	1
Eads, James B., shipbuilder and contractor who built gunboats and mortar rafts for Fremont	1
Filley, Oliver D., Mayor of St. Louis 1858–1861, member of the Union Safety Committee	1
Foote, Andrew Hall, Navy Commodore, Brown Water Navy Commander (Series 7, Vol. 6)	_
Fremont, Jessie Benton, wife of John C. Fremont (See Series 7)	
Fremont, John C., Maj. Gen., Commander of the Dept. of the West (See Series 7)	
Gamble, Hamilton R., Missouri Provisional Gov. appointed 31 Jul 61 by State Convention (See Series	
10, Vol. 3)	V3
Glover, Samuel T., Union Safety Committee, attorney coordinating Contracts Investigation	2
Grant, Ulysses S., Vol. Gen., West Pointer, initially commanded an IL volunteer regiment in MO	2
Hagner, Peter V., Bvt. Maj., St. Louis Arsenal Commander, replaced by Capt. Lyon	2
Halleck, Henry W., Maj. Gen., Commander, Department of Missouri, following Fremont's relief	2
Hardee, William J., C.S.A. Gen.	V2
Harding, Chester Jr., Vol. Col., Asst. Adj. Gen. to Lyon and Fremont, later Missouri Adj. Gen	3
Harney, William S., Bvt. Maj. Gen., relieved as commander Dept. of the West by Lincoln	3
How, John, member of the Union Safety Committee	3
Hunter, David, Vol. Maj. Gen., Lincoln's friend, West Pointer, replaced Fremont on 3 Nov 61	3
Hurlburt, Stephen A., Vol. Gen. initially commanded IL volunteer regiment in N. Missouri	3
Jackson, Claiborne F., deposed Gov. of Missouri (See Series 10, Vol. 3)	V3
Kelton, John C., Capt., Asst Adj. Gen. under several commanders in St. Louis	3
Kirkwood, Samuel, Iowa Gov. 11 Jan 60–14 Jan 64, and 66–67 (See Series 10, Vol. 3)	V3
Lane, James H., Vol. Gen., U.S. Senator from Kansas	3
Lincoln, Abraham, president (See Series 9)	
Lyon, Nathaniel, Brig. Gen. under Fremont (See Series 8)	
Magoffin, Beriah, Kentucky Gov. 30 Aug 59–18 Aug 62 (See Series 10, Vol. 3)	V3
McBride, James, Rebel (MSG) Gen.	V2
McClellan, George B., Maj. Gen., appointed commander of Missouri forces from 6 Jun - 3 Jul 61	4
McCulloch, Benjamin, C.S.A. Gen.	V2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> All parts are in Volume 1 of this series.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Within the *Missouri Speaks Collection*, when "general" (Gen.) is used, it generally refers to a one-star brigadier general." When a two-star major general is identified, it is spelled out as Major General or MGen. When a three-star lieutenant general is being identified, it is generally written as Lt. Gen. or LGen.

McKinstry, Justus, Maj., Asst. QM Gen. (Briefly Brig. Gen. under Fremont.)
Meigs, Montgomery C., Army Quartermaster General, Washington D.C.
Morton, Oliver P., Gov. of Indiana, 16 Jan 61—23 Jan 67 (See Series 10, Vol. 3)
Mulligan, James A., Col., surrendered his command at the Battle of Lexington on 20 Sep 61
Orr, Sample, unsuccessful 1860 Northern Democratic candidate for Gov. of Missouri
Parsons, Mosby M., Rebel (MSG) Gen.
Pearce, Nicholas B., Arkansas Militia Gen.
Phelps, John S., Vol. Col, U.S. Congressman, representing SW Missouri
Phelps, Mary W., wife of John, cared for Gen. Lyon's body after the Battle of Wilson's Creek
Pillow, Gideon J., C.S.A. Gen.
Polk, Leonidas, C.S.A. Gen.
Pope, John, Gen., West Pointer, Lincoln friend, initial commander for District of North Missouri
Prentiss, Benjamin M., Vol. Gen., initial commander of Illinois troops at Cairo, Illinois
Rains, James, Rebel (MSG) GenV
Price, Sterling, Rebel (MSG) Maj. Gen
Rector, Henry M., Rebel Gov. of Arkansas
Reynolds, Thomas C., deposed Lt. Gov. of Missouri
Robinson, Charles L., first Gov. of Kansas, 9 Feb 61–12 Jan 63 (See Series 10, Vol. 3)
Rodgers, John, Navy Cdre, assisted with the construction of boats for the Brown Water Navy (S7 V6)
Schofield, John M., Maj., West Pointer, Asst. Adj. Gen. under Gen. Lyon
Scott, Winfield, Lt. Gen., Commander U.S. Army
Schurz, Carl, Illinois Republican activist and friend of Lincoln, appointed brig. gen. 1862
Sigel, Franz, Vol. Gen., German officer who performed valuable service in Missouri
Slack, William Y., Rebel (MSG) Gen
Stewart, Robert M., Democratic Gov. of Missouri from 1857 to 3 Jan 61
Strong, William K., Vol. Gen., commanded Benton Barracks/in St. Louis, friend of Lincoln
Sturgeon, Isaac H., Asst. U.S. Treasurer at St. Louis. First to call for troop deployment to Missouri
Sturgis, Samuel D., Maj., assumed command after Lyon's death at the Battle of Wilson's Creek
Thompson, M. Jeff, Rebel (MSG) GenV
Turnley, Parmenas T., Capt., West Pointer, Asst. QM Gen. Dpt. of the West
Waagner, Gustave, Vol. Col., Chief of Artillery, led 1st landing at Belmont on 2 Sep 61
Walker, Leroy P., C.S.A. Secretary of War
Welles, Gideon, Sec. of the Navy (See Series 7, Vol. 6)
Yates, Richard, Gov. of Illinois, 14 Jan 61-16 Jan 65
Zagonyi, Charles, Vol. Maj., commander of MGen Fremont's cavalry guard, led "Zagonyi's Charge" at
Springfield 25 Oct 61

### INTRODUCTION

Chester Harding, Jr. has been selected as an example of this series. Harding was selected for the following reasons.

- 1. Colonel Harding's duties put him in close proximity to almost all major official actions and decisions made and executed in Missouri in 1861. He was the first U.S. volunteer officer identified by Captain Nathaniel Lyon. He served as an adjutant general under both General Lyon and Major General John C. Fremont. On December 1, 1861, he was appointed adjutant general of the state of Missouri by Governor Hamilton R. Gamble. 131
- 2. From the time Gen. Lyon departed St. Louis on his campaign leading to the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and the arrival of Gen. Fremont, Col. Harding was the officer managing military operations in Missouri under the authority of Gen. Lyon. During the period Missouri was placed under an absentee commander, Major General George B McClellan, from June 6 to July 25, 1861, Col. Harding was McClellan's principal contact in Missouri.

### **Background**



Chester Harding, Jr.

After the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a federal call-up for 75,000 state militia in order to "suppress a domestic insurrection, and to cause the laws to be duly executed." After Missouri's Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson refused to provide Missouri's quota, President Lincoln directed Captain Lyon to "enroll in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of Saint Louis and vicinity, not exceeding, with those heretofore enlisted, ten thousand in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States; for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri; and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose, ...proclaim martial law in the city of Saint Louis. 132

The first volunteer accepted by Captain Lyon was St. Louis attorney Chester Harding, Jr.

(FLP: Ser 2PS-May#12)

Lyon Authorizes Col. Harding to Organize Regiments in U.S. Service Peckham, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon & Missouri, p. 117

> ST. LOUIS ARSENAL May 4, 1861.

Colonel Chester Harding has authority to proceed with the organization of regiments, to be enrolled in the United States service, for the defense of the loyal citizens of St. Louis, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup>Chester Harding's biography is at (FLP: BIOH10)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> (FLP: Ser 2PS-Apr#107)

protecting the property and enforcing the laws of the United States.

N. LYON.

Captain Second Infantry, commanding

Once all of the volunteer regiments were organized, and after Captain Lyon was elected by the members of those regiment to be their commander, the now Brigadier General Lyon issued orders making Colonel Harding his assistant adjutant general. In the 1861 Army, an adjutant was the commander's principal assistant in all aspects of military operations. As a result, Col. Harding was involved in all the actions and activities of the forces under Lyon's command and Lyon worked through Harding to control the units in Missouri after he departed St. Louis on his campaign that ended with his death at the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

After President Lincoln pulled the rug out from under Gen. Lyon and the people of Missouri by turning operations in Missouri over to an absentee commander, Major General George B. McClellan on June 6, 1861,<sup>134</sup> Col. Harding became a middleman between McClellan and forces in Missouri. Almost two months later, after MGen. Fremont arrived and assumed command of Union forces in Missouri, Col Harding became one of his assistant adjutant generals.

### HARDING DOCUMENT/ARTICLE FINDING AIDS (SELECTIONS)

Date	Document/Article (FLP#)	Page
Jul 1.	Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr. (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#1) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#2) Lyon asks if the troops ordered by Maj. Gen. McClellan from	127
	Illinois can be used against the threatened danger in southeast Missouri.	
Jul 2.	Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr. (1) (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#2) (FLP: Ser	127
	2PS-Jul#7) Lyon directs Harding to supply the forces on the march to	
	Springfield with provisions and to keep their line open at all times. He asks	
	Harding to keep an eye on the southeast and to take measures to put a stop to	
	the anti-Union State Journal, and he advises him on issues concerning Cols.	
	Stevenson and Curtis.	
Jul 2.	Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr. (2) (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#3) (FLP: Ser	128
J	2PS-Jul#8) Lyon requests that his adjutant general send his return to	
	Washington and also put together a report of troop movements in Missouri	
	for the U.S. Adjutant General in Washington, D.C.	
Jul 2.	Gen. Lyon Lists the Line of March for Springfield Leaving the 3 <sup>rd</sup> (FLP:	128
•	Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#4) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8.1) Lyon lists the line of march	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> The difference between an adjutant and an adjutant general, at levels below the Department of the Army, is that an adjutant general is the adjutant for a general officer. Units commanded by colonels or lower, have adjutants, but the functions performed by both adjutants and adjutant generals are the same.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> General Orders, No. 30, War Department, June 6, 1861: 1. The state of Missouri is added to the Military Department of Ohio. MGen. McClellan will extend his command accordingly. 2. The headquarters of the Dpt. of the West are removed from St. Louis to Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> "I attribute our troubles, to a great extent, to the change in the department. There never was a time when we did not need the personal presence of the general who had the power to order what circumstances required." From Colonel Harding's March 14, 1862, testimony before the Congressional Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

	and adds information concerning a union with Maj. Sturgis's force at Osceola; Col. Harding's duties to keep the troops in supplies; and a modification of a Special Orders concerning Col. Stevenson, authorizing him to retain "such companies of the Second Regiment as may wish to remain in the service for three years."	
Jul 3.	Gen. Lyon to Maj. Gen. McClellan (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#5) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#13.1) Lyon ordered Col. Wyman to move to the Arsenal, but Wyman has McClellan's orders sending him to Cairo to reinforce Gen. Prentiss. Lyon inquires if Wyman is still under his command and requests a Quincy [Illinois] regiment be sent to him.	130
Jul 5.	Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#6) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#24) Lyon is moving to Springfield and asks for wagon transportation and quartermasters and commissaries.	130
Jul 5.	Maj. Gen. McClellan to Gen. Lyon (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#7) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#24.1) McClellan warns Lyon not to "lose sight of the importance of Cairo." He informs Lyon that he can speak with Gen. Prentiss and take Col. Wyman if Prentiss does not need him. He also directs him to contact Gens. Pope and Hurlbut to give him (Lyon) a regiment each.	131
Jul 7.	Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (1) (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#12) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#32) Lyon provides a detailed update of the movements of the Missouri troops. He is currently at Springfield, after having secured Boonville and Jefferson City, with plans on moving into Arkansas, depending on the movements of the rebels.	132
Jul 7.	Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (2) (FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#13) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33) Lyon requests attention regarding the ending of the enlistment term for troops in St. Louis and issues in their organization. He offers suggestions for the organization of new corps and recommends two additional regiments be raised kept on duty at all times in St. Louis.	134

## Chester Harding, Jr. Documents and Articles

(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#1) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#2) July 1, 1861

Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr.

O.R., I, 3:388

Lyon asks if the troops ordered by Maj. Gen. McClellan from Illinois can be used against the threatened danger in southeast Missouri.

[By telegraph from Boonville, July 1, 1861.] St. Louis Arsenal, *July* 1, 1861.

Colonel HARDING:

What is going on in the southeast? You sent me word that McClellan<sup>136</sup> would attend to that quarter. He says I may have one regiment from Quincy [Illinois] and one from Caseyville [Illinois], and Prentiss<sup>137</sup> is authorized to call for four more regiments, if he wants them. Cannot all these be put in movement to meet the danger threatened? See what Prentiss says, and send word to McClellan.

N. LYON, Commanding

Editor's Note: Gen. Lyon is obviously frustrated because he knows there is great danger of invasion throughout Missouri, but nothing seems to be being done. Confederate forces are crossing into northeast Arkansas and southeast Missouri, and McClellan has forbidden him to move any troops without receiving his approval.<sup>138</sup>

The reason nothing is being done is because President Lincoln put Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa troops, intended for Missouri, under MGen. McClellan as the commander of the Department of Ohio. During Colonel Harding's testimony before the Joint Committee on the Conduct, he

the Joint Committee on the Conduct,

was asked the impact of putting Missouri under McClellan. His response was:

The effect of attaching Missouri to a command already as large as that of the department of the Ohio was to deprive us [in Missouri] of the supervision and action of a commanding general upon the spot. General McClellan was busy with his column in Western Virginia, and it was very difficult to advise with him, or apprise him of occurrences in the State, and he could not give us the attention which our situation required. I attribute our troubles, to a great extent, to the change in the department. There never was a time when we did not need the personal presence of the general who had the power to order what circumstances required.



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#2) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#7) July 2, 1861

Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr. (1)

O.R., I, 3:388

Lyon directs Harding to supply the forces on the march to Springfield with provisions, and to keep their line open at all times. He asks Harding to keep an eye on the southeast and to take measures to put a stop to the anti-Union State Journal, and he advises him on issues concerning Cols. Stevenson and Curtis. Lyon also expresses the need for a regular quartermaster and commissary and asks Harding whether there is anything that Washington could do for Missouri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> MGen. George McClellan was in command of the Department of Ohio, which at this time included the state of Missouri. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss commanded the 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry.

<sup>138</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#54).

"The State Journal is outrageous and must be stopped; you will take such measures as you think best to effect this. Our cause is suffering from too much indulgence, and you must so advise our friends in Saint Louis."

BOONVILLE [COOPER COUNTY], Mo., July 2, 1861

Colonel HARDING, JR., Saint Louis Arsenal:

Dear COLONEL:

I hope to move tomorrow and think it more important just now to go to Springfield [Greene County]. My force in moving from here will be about 2,400 men. Major Sturgis<sup>139</sup> will have about 2,200 men, and you know what force has gone to Springfield from Saint Louis so that you see what amount of provisions we shall want to be supplied at that point. Please attend to us as effectually as possible.

Our line should be kept open by all means. I must be governed by circumstances at Springfield. You will, of course, have due attention to the southeast.

The State Journal<sup>140</sup> is outrageous, and must be stopped; you will take such measures as you think best to effect this. Our cause is suffering from too much indulgence, and you must so advise our friends in Saint Louis.

Colonel Stevenson must have pretty strong garrisons at the points he occupies on the river, and he must have support from other states as occasion seems to require.

Colonel Curtis<sup>141</sup> is, I suppose, on the Hannibal and Saint Joseph railroad; rigorous measures should

be shown the disorderly in that region.

Our operations are becoming extensive, and our staff officers must keep up with our emergencies. We need here a regular quartermaster and commissary. Cannot something be done for us from Washington? Yours, truly,

N. LYON, Commanding

P. S. I cannot spare more than 300 stand of arms<sup>142</sup> for Home Guards<sup>143</sup> at Jefferson [City]. I shall not be able to supply other portions of the state with the same proportion.



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#3) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8) July 2, 186

### Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding, Jr. (2)

O.R., I, 3:389

Lyon requests that his assistant general send his return. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8.1) to Washington and also put together a report of troop movements in Missouri for the U.S. Adjutant General.

Camp Cameron [Cooper County], July 2, 1861 Colonel Chester Harding, Jr.:

Dear COLONEL:

Please forward to Washington the enclosed return, <sup>144</sup> or incorporate it in a department return to be sent there. Also, it would be well to make a report to the adjutant general of movements of troops in the state.

Yours, very truly,

J. M. SCHOFIELD.

May 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Samuel D. Sturgis, captain of the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry, was marching from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to meet Gen. Lyon at Osceola, St. Clair County. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> The *State Journal* was Governor Jackson's mouthpiece, edited by Joseph W. Tucker, a fellow secessionist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Col. Samuel R. Curtis, a U.S. congressman, was in command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa. He would resign from Congress in August to accept an appointment as brigadier general, which promotion was backdated to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Stand of arms: One weapon and the equipment required by the soldier to use that weapon in combat (ram-rod, cartridge-box and belt, bayonet and scabbard). See insert in (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#180.1). <sup>143</sup> Home Guard: Locally organized military-style county self-defense force, recognized and eventually supplied by the United States. Members cannot be deployed outside of their county of muster without their consent. <sup>144</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8.1).



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#4) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#8.1) July 2, 1861

### Gen. Lyon Lists the Line of March for Springfield Leaving the 3<sup>rd</sup>

O.R., I, 3:389

Lyon lists the line of march, leaving the next morning for Springfield and adds information concerning a union with Maj. Sturgis's force at Osceola; Col. Harding's duties to keep the troops in supplies; and a repetition of Orders concerning Col. Stevenson.

"Special Orders, No. 1, dated June 29, 1861, from these headquarters, are so far modified as to authorize Colonel John D. Stevenson to retain at this post or at Jefferson City such companies of the Second Regiment as may wish to remain in the service for three years, but not necessarily in the regiment to which they now belong."

HEADQUARTERS MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS; oundation Camp Cameron [Cooper County], Mo.,
July 2, 1861

ORDERS, No.—

The following troops, under command of Brigadier General N. Lyon, will take up the line of march for the South at 7 a.m. tomorrow, viz:

	Officers	Men
Brigadier General and staff	4	_
Company B, Second Infantry	_	61
Light Co. F, 2nd Artillery	1	60
Recruits, U. S. Army	1	134
1st Regt. Missouri Volunteers	29	866
(2) comps., 2nd Regt. Mo. Vol.	6	205
Pioneer detachment	1	46
Artillery	1	13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> It is not known why "Colonel Cheater Harding," is identified as the responsible officer for sending commissary items (food stuff) and supplies, that should

1st Regt. Iowa Volunteers	34	892
TOTAL	77	2,277
AGGREGATE	_	2,854

The following troops will remain for the present at this place:

	Officers	Men
(4) comps., 2nd Missouri Vol.	10	381
(4) comps., 7th Regt. Mo. Vol.	13	349
(8) comps., 5th Regt U.S.R.C.	30	558
TOTAL	53	1,288
LEFT BEHIND SICK	44	1,332

The troops which take the field Under General Lyon will be joined by a force of 2,200 regulars and Kansas volunteers, under command of Major Sturgis, United States Army, at Osceola, Missouri. The united command will then proceed toward Springfield, Missouri.

Colonel Chester Harding, adjutant general Missouri Volunteers, will forward to Springfield the commissary supplies necessary for this command, in addition to that already in the field in that portion of the State. Colonel Harding is also charged with the duty of forwarding supplies for the troops that remain at this and other points on the river.<sup>145</sup>

Special Orders, No. 1,<sup>146</sup> dated June 29, 1861, from these headquarters, are so far modified as to authorize Colonel John D. Stevenson to retain at this post or at Jefferson City such companies of the Second Regiment as may wish to remain in the service for three years, but not necessarily in the regiment to which they now belong. Such companies will be reorganized at once and incorporated into regiments.

By order of General Lyon:

J. M. SCHOFIELD, Acting Adjutant General

Editor's Note: On July 3, Missouri and Illinois were removed from MGen. McClellan's Department of Ohio and a new Western Department was created with MGen. Fremont appointed to be the

be the responsibility of Major McKinstry and the Commissary Officer.

<sup>146</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#83).

Department Commander. 147 As Fremont did not arrive in St. Louis to assume command until July 25, Gen. Lyon as the senior officer of the line, officially became the department commander. However, it appears Washington did not advise the parties concerned in Missouri, because as late as July 11, Col. Harding was still sending messages to McClellan as though he were still in command, and as late as July 16, Lyon was still requesting McClellan's approval for troop movements. As a result of the concerned parties in Missouri not being informed of this change, if a Confederate attack had occurred, Col. Harding would have been asking McClellan in West Virginia for permission to move troops in response to the attack.



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#5) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#13.1) July 3, 1861

### Gen. Lyon to Maj. Gen. McClellan

George B. McClellan Papers, A-17:8

Lyon ordered Col. Wyman to move to the arsenal but Wyman has McClellan's orders sending him to Cairo to reinforce Gen. Prentiss. Lyon inquires if Wyman is still under his command and requests a Quincy [Illinois] regiment be sent to him.

St. Louis Arsenal, July 3, 1861

Genl. G. B. McClellan,

Genl. Lyon sent orders last night to Col J. B. Wyman, thirteenth (13) Illinois at Caseyville to move to the Arsenal this morning, preparatory to taking the field in southeast Missouri this morning.

Col. Wyman sends copy [of] your orders [of] twenty-ninth (29th) June, directing him to be ready to go to Cairo for Genl. Prentiss's orders.

<sup>147</sup> General Orders, No. 40, War Department,

Has the regiment been withdrawn from Genl. Lyon's command? Immediate answer respectfully requested. While waiting for the above, I received a dispatch from Gen. Lyon ordering me to call for a Quincy Regt. Is that at his disposal?

Chester Harding, Jr. Assist. Adjt. Genl. Mo. Vols.

Editor's Note: This message is a good example of the problems caused by putting an absentee commander in charge. Gen. Lyon had given Col. Wyman's regiment the mission of securing the St. Louis to Rolla railroad and keeping the Rolla to Springfield road open. Without informing Col. Harding or Lyon, McClellan had ordered Wyman's regiment to Cairo as a reserve force in case one was needed. Harding is also asking if Lyon has the authority to reposition a regiment at Quincy, Illinois, that was previously under Lyon's control.

It is also worthy of note that, from the date of the above, Lyon was officially the commander of the Department of the West and could have ordered any movement he wanted and did not need to request permission from McClellan. On July 3, General Orders, No. 40, War Department, Washington D.C., was issued creating the Department of the West, and appointed MGen. John C. Fremont its commander. As Gen. Lyon was the senior line officer in the new department, he would assume command until Fremont arrived. However, no one in Missouri was aware of the order and both Harding and Lyon continued to respond to and make requests of McClellan for more than two weeks, while McClellan was participating in combat operations in West Virginia. As a result, the troops in both Missouri and Illinois were effectively leaderless.



Washington D.C. July 3, 1861. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#13)

NATHA

(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#6) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#24) July 5, 1861

# Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott

O.R., I, 3:390

Lyon is moving to Springfield and asks for wagon transportation and quartermasters and commissaries.

"It is absolutely necessary that a large amount of wagon transportation should be immediately provided."

SAINT LOUIS ARSENAL,

July 5, 1861

General THOMAS,

Adjutant General, Washington:

General Lyon is moving down from Boonville [Cooper County] toward Springfield, Greene County, Missouri, with 2,400 troops. Major Sturgis<sup>148</sup> is on the way from Fort Leavenworth with 2,200. There are 3,500 on the Southwest Branch of Pacific Railroad and the line from there to Mount Vernon [Lawrence County], beyond Springfield. In a day or two, another regiment will be moved down. There is a depot for supplies at Rolla [Phelps County], the terminus of the Southwest Branch; another must be established at Springfield. All the supplies for, say 10,000 troops, must [move in] that direction. From Rolla on for 60 miles, the country is mountainous and barren. Teams have to take their own forage. It is absolutely necessary that a large amount of wagon transportation should be immediately provided. Will you see that the necessary orders are given by the quartermaster general, by telegraph, to Major McKinstry, 149 early in the morning?

General Lyon urges that regular quartermasters and commissaries be sent him at once.

CHESTER HARDING, JR.,
A. A. G., Missouri Volunteers

Editor's Note: Major McKinstry is an "Assistant Quartermaster General," because he is an assistant to the Quartermaster General in Washington. He does not work for the department commander in Missouri; however, he is responsible for supplying all quartermaster requirements in the department (supplies, wagons, horses, etc.), including the delivery of those supplies where they are needed. McKinstry knew what support Gen. Lyon needed, but he put bureaucratic roadblocks in his way, causing Lyon's men to suffer and preventing Lyon from executing his original plan. After Lyon's death, Frank Blair Jr. wrote, "that Gen Lyon was killed by red tape as he and his men were not properly supported prior to the battle of Wilson's Creek."150 The above letter is a good example of the problems Gen. Lyon had with Assistant Quartermaster General Maj. McKinstry. Col. Harding is sending a telegram to Washington to ask the Adjutant General to have the Quartermaster General order Major McKinstry to do his job and provide the supplies needed by Gen. Lyon and his forces headed for Springfield. Lyon had previously arranged for those supplies to be there and expected them to be there, but they were not and never did arrive. <sup>151</sup>See the New York Tribune article at the end of this section.

few miles back. I have about 5,000 men to be provided for and have expected to find stores [supplies] here, as I have ordered. The failure of stores reaching here seems likely to cause serious embarrassment, [hindrance] which must be aggravated by continued delay, and in proportion to the time, I am forced to wait for supplies.

Maj. Samuel D. Sturgis commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry.
 Maj. Justus McKinstry was chief quartermaster of the Department of the West in St. Louis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#202)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> July 13: From Gen. Lyon to Col. Harding: SIR: I arrived at this place [Springfield] early this evening two or three hours in advance of my troops, who are encamped a



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#7) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#24.1) July 5, 1861

### Maj. Gen. McClellan to Gen. Lyon

Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

McClellan warns Lyon not to "lose sight of the importance of Cairo." He informs Lyon that he can speak with Gen. Prentiss and take Col. Wyman if Prentiss does not need him. He also directs him to contact Gens. Pope and Hurlbut to give him (Lyon) a regiment each.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OHIO,

BUCKHANNON [VIRGINIA]<sup>152</sup>

July 5, 1861

CHESTER HARDING, Assistant Adjutant General.

Communicate freely with Prentiss. If he does not need Wyman, 153 you can take him. Telegraph to General Pope, at Alton [Illinois], to give you a regiment; and to Hurlbut, at Quincy [Illinois], to give you another.

Do not lose sight of the importance of Cairo [Illinois], and of its operations in southeastern Lyon Four Missouri. Write to me fully.

G. B. McClellan Major General, U. S. A.

Editor's Note: McClellan is responding to the July 3 request above. He writes that if Col. Wyman is not needed at Cairo, Lyon can use him in Missouri, and also confirms Lyon can now use two other Illinois units he previously had uncontested control of.



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#12) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#32) July 7, 1861

<sup>152</sup> Buckhannon was located in what is today, West Virginia.

# Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (1)

O.R., I, 3:391-392

Lyon provides a detailed update of the movements of the Missouri troops. He is currently at Springfield, after having secured Boonville and Jefferson City, with plans on moving into Arkansas, depending on the movements of the rebels in the southeastern portion of Missouri.

"As soon as General Lyon's plan of a developed itself. campaign secessionists in the southeast began to organize their forces. They have hitherto been met, as well as possible, by expeditions from Cairo and from this place, and by Home Guards organized and armed under General Lyon's authority. These expeditions were necessarily confined to temporary visits disaffected regions and have accomplished little. The whole of the southeast requires permanent occupancy by our troops, as it contains more enemies than any other portion of the state."

SAINT LOUIS ARSENAL, July 7, 1861

L. THOMAS, *Adjutant General, Washington*:
SIR:

At the suggestion of General Lyon, I write to inform you of the movements of troops in this state. Three columns are in the field, with the design to unite at or near Springfield [Greene County], Mo., and thence to proceed into Arkansas. General Lyon's intention was to go to Little Rock [Arkansas], but movements of the enemy in the southeastern portion of the state may change his plans.

Besides garrisoning Jefferson City, Boonville [Cooper County] and Lexington [Lafayette County], General Lyon has marched southward with 2,400

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Col. John Wyman commanded the 13<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, a.k.a., Fremont's Greyhounds.

men, in round numbers.

There are at Springfield and Mount Vernon [Lawrence County], and on the way there from Rolla [Phelps County], about 3,000 men, under the command of Captain T. W. Sweeney, Second Infantry, acting (under election and by order from Brigadier General Harney)<sup>154</sup> as brigadier general of the U. S. Reserve Corps of Saint Louis.

In addition to these, there are about 1,000 of the Home Guard<sup>155</sup> and Rifle Battalion protecting the line of communication from Saint Louis to Springfield. As this line has become the most important one in the whole state, and as it is threatened by hostile bands under [Mo. State Guard] General McBride<sup>156</sup> and others, it has been deemed best to place it under the command of Colonel Wyman, Thirteenth Illinois Volunteers, who went down to Rolla with his regiment last night. He will establish his headquarters either at Rolla [Phelps County] or Lebanon [Laclede County], beyond the crossings of the Gasconade River, as he finds most expedient.

Colonel Marsh's Twentieth Illinois Volunteers are now at this point to be equipped. After being fitted for field service, they will move down to Cape Girardeau [Cape Girardeau County], within 50 miles of Cairo [Illinois], where they will, in case of necessity, by subject to the orders of General Prentiss, but if not called for at that point, will stop the transportation of arms, munitions, and supplies, which has been carried on between New Madrid [New Madrid County] and Cape Girardeau, and break up the rebel camps that have been formed in the vicinity.

General McClellan<sup>157</sup> has placed, at the

154 Gen. William S. Harney, in command of the Department of the West since before the Civil War began, was relieved from his command permanently on May 30, 1861. He had been called to Washington in April due to his negligence in taking the threats against the St. Louis Arsenal seriously and blocking (then) Capt. Lyon's attempts to defend the Arsenal. Although he returned to his command of the Department of the West on May 11, his position was short-lived, and he was relieved permanently from his command due to his agreement with then Missouri State Guard MGen. Price, which gave the secessionists more time to organize. For the text of the Price-Harney Agreement, see (FLP: Vol 8-May#107).

disposal of General Lyon, one of the regiments at Quincy [Illinois]. Orders have been sent for it to come here, where it will be equipped and then sent down the Iron Mountain Railroad to Ironton [Iron County], from where it will proceed to Greenville, in Wayne County. Five companies of the Sixth Regiment U. S. Volunteers are at Ironton, or in the vicinity, and the remainder of the regiment will proceed there as soon as it is fully organized. General McClellan has also placed the remainder of General Pope's brigade at the disposal of General Lyon. No more troops will be called for at present, but there may hereafter be an occasion for a large force, with artillery and cavalry, in the southeastern counties.

As soon as General Lyon's plan of a campaign developed itself, the secessionists in the southeast began to organize their forces. They have hitherto been met, as well as possible, by expeditions from Cairo and from this place, and by Home Guards organized and armed under General Lyon's authority. These expeditions were necessarily confined to temporary visits to disaffected regions and have accomplished little. The whole of the southeast requires permanent occupancy by our troops, as it contains more enemies than any other portion of the state. Apart from this, information has been and is received here daily from different Sources, including the reports of our own scouts, who have gone as far as Pocahontas, Ark., that our disloyal citizens are being armed with Baton Rouge muskets, brought up the White River, and troops from Tennessee and Arkansas are concentrating in the vicinity of the state line. These reports differ as to numbers but agree in all other important

U.S. Reserve Corps (USRC) units, commonly referred to as "Home Guard" as they were organized to defend St. Louis County. Units mustered into service for 90 days by Captain Lyon at the St. Louis Arsenal in April 1861. These units could not be deployed outside of St. Louis County without their consent. Their enlistments expired between August 7 and 11, 1861. Part of the 5<sup>th</sup> USRC agreed to deploy to Lexington, Missouri during their term of service.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Missouri State Guard Gen. James H. McBride was in command of the 7<sup>th</sup> Military Division.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> MGen. George B. McClellan was in command of the Department of the Ohio.

particulars. It is apparent that the enemy designs an invasion of the southeastern portion of the state with a considerable force, and rely upon the inhabitants of the swamp counties for active cooperation. The country in the lower part of Scott County and in Stoddard, Dunklin, Mississippi, Pemiscot, New Madrid, and Butler Counties is what is known familiarly as the "earthquake country," having been turned from prairie into swamp land by the earthquake of 1811. It is a country as difficult to overrun, if held by hostile people, as the Florida Everglades, and the bear-hunters of that region will be hostile the moment that an advancing column of the rebels enters it.

The troops sent to Cape Girardeau and to Greenville [Wayne County] are not designed to enter the swamp country but to hold the approaches by which an advancing enemy must pass, and overawe and keep down the organization of hostile bands of our own citizens, as well as to encourage, organize, and distribute arms to those who are loyal. Time will show how much this force will have to be increased. There is no occasion for immediate reinforcement. I will send a communication upon another subject by this mail.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHESTER HARDING, JR.,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Missouri Volunteers



(FLP: Ser 10PO-V1-CH-Jul#13) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#33) July 7, 1861

Gen. Lyon to Cmd. Gen. of the U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Scott (2)

O.R., I, 3:392-393

Lyon requests attention regarding the ending of the enlistment term for troops in St. Louis and issues in their organization. He offers suggestions for the organization of new corps and recommends two

<sup>158</sup> The first session of the Missouri State Convention was held from February 28 until March 22, 1861. It was at this convention when the issue of secession was

additional regiments be raised, armed, and kept on duty at all times in St. Louis.

"The time is drawing near when their term of enlistment will expire. It will be necessary that a force be kept in Saint Louis, and at the same time, there are defects in the present organization which should be avoided in establishing a more permanent corps."

SAINT LOUIS ARSENAL, Mo., July 7, 1861 General L. THOMAS, Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.:

SIR: I wish to call your attention to a matter which needs speedy action on the part of Congress. Before the call for the Convention which met in this state on February 28th last, 158 citizens of Saint Louis organized and partially armed themselves with the intent to hold the city and county true to the government, without regard to the remainder of the state.

In addition to furnishing troops for four regiments of volunteers, who entered the service for three months immediately after the president's first proclamation, <sup>159</sup> five regiments of these citizens, numbering about 4,700 men, were enrolled on May 7, 8, and 11, under the name of the U. S. Reserve Corps, by authority of the president. The condition of their enlistment was that they should not be called upon for service outside of Saint Louis County without their consent.

This corps has accomplished and is accomplishing much good. Half of it is now in the field at Boonville [Cooper County], Jefferson City, Lexington [Lafayette County], and in the southwest. The other half is in Saint Louis, anxious for active duty, but retained as a matter of precaution. The time is drawing near when their term of enlistment will expire. It will be necessary that a force be kept in Saint Louis, and at the same time, there are defects in the present organization which should be avoided in establishing a more permanent corps. The men have false notions about discipline and

discussed, and the delegates voted in favor of the Union.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> See (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#6).

subordination, thinking that, as they are privileged soldiers, as well as substantial men of families, they have the right to determine by vote what they will do. In one instance, two companies volunteered to go to Jefferson City at a time when that exact amount of force was required; came to the Arsenal, were equipped, provisioned, and quartered for the night. Transportation was provided, and in the morning at reveille, the men were ordered to fall in. Seventy of them refused to go, pleading their privilege of not being sent out of the county as their excuse. I disarmed them, took away their equipment, and sent them out of the garrison, but have since restored their arms, in consequence of explanations that their officers had not informed them of the service which they had been called upon to perform. I mention this as one instance, showing that in certain cases these troops cannot be depended upon. NATHA

As I was connected with the Reserve Corps organization up to May 11, at which time I came here, I will respectfully offer some suggestions as to a reorganization of that body: I would recommend that Colonel John McNeil,160 senior colonel of the corps, and Lieutenant Colonel Robert White, 161 of the Fifth Regiment, now at Boonville, be authorized to raise two regiments for the war by enlistment from the Reserve Corps. It is important that Americans should command. These regiments should have no condition attached to their enrollment, except, perhaps, that they will not be ordered out of the state. Even this will not be necessary, if they understand that their chief duty will be to garrison this place and defend the city. Two regiments will be enough. The remainder of the corps can be disbanded, and their arms returned. These arms are rifled and of a newer pattern than any which the Illinois troops and a

portion of ours have.

I would further recommend that these two regiments be kept on duty at all times. At present, the men, when not on guard or other duty, attend to their ordinary occupations. I would suggest also that there be a brigade organization of the two regiments, with or without a brigadier, but that the commanding officer have the necessary staff officers to assist him. Colonel Blair<sup>162</sup> and F. A. Dick, Esq. <sup>163</sup> may be able to give valuable information.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHESTER HARDING, JR.,
Assistant Adjutant General, Missouri Volunteers

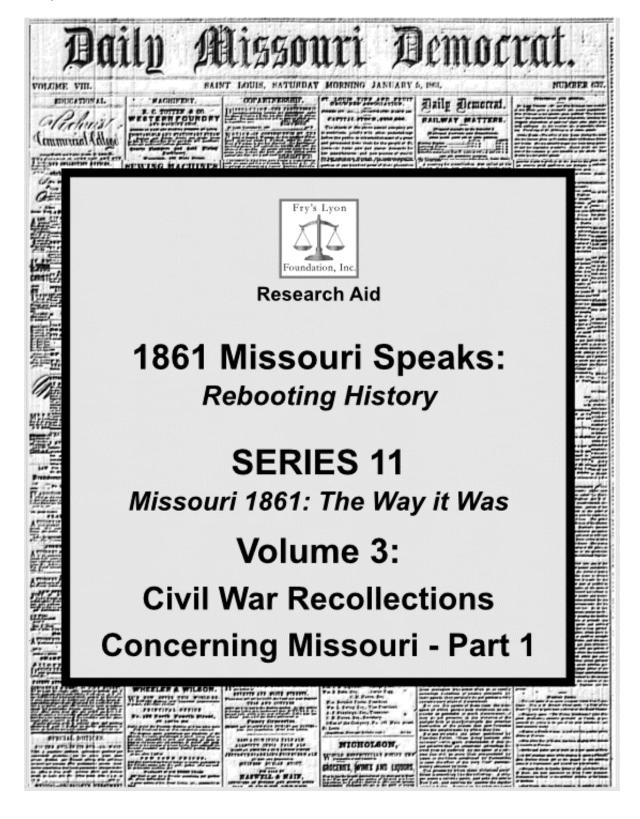


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Col. John McNeil was a former member of the Missouri State Legislature and a strong Democrat, closely allied with Southern men. For this reason, Missouri State Guard MGen. Price and pro-secession Governor Jackson had counted on his support, but, instead, McNeil enlisted with the Union Volunteers in May 1861 and supported the Union throughout the war.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> When Col. Robert White's three months expired with the 5<sup>th</sup> U.S. Reserve Corps, he entered duty into the 14<sup>th</sup>

Regiment, Missouri Volunteers Home Guards. <sup>162</sup> U.S. Congressman/Col. Francis P. Blair, Jr., brother of U.S. Postmaster Gen. Montgomery Blair, was in command of the St. Louis Arsenal. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#4).

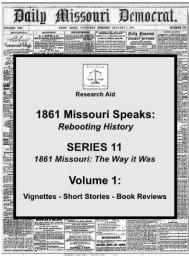
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Franklin A. Dick, Frank Blair, Jr.'s brother-in-law (Dick and Blair were married to sisters), served as (then) Capt. Lyon's assistant adjutant general during the Camp Jackson Affair (May 10, 1861).

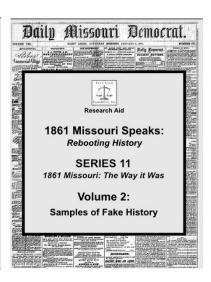


## Series 11—Missouri 1861: The Way it Was

Volume 3: Civil War Recollections Concerning Missouri contains eighty-nine articles written by those who served in Missouri during the war years, taken from multiple sources, including *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS)'s magazine, *The Loyal Legion Historical Journal*, the 1885-1887 *Missouri Republican* series of articles entitled "Tales of the War," and the *Confederate Veteran* magazine.

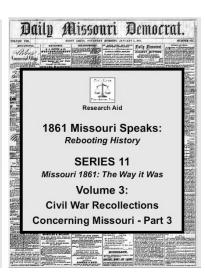


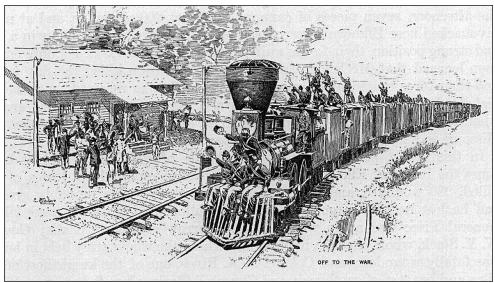












Excerpt from (FLP: Ser 11WW-V3#21)

### IN COMMAND IN MISSOURI.

BY JOHN C. FRÉMONT, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A.

AT the outbreak of the war, in the spring of '61, being then in England, I offered my services to the Government, and was appointed one of the four major-generals of the regular army. General McClellan and myself were commissioned of even date, ranking next after General Scott. On my arrival I reported to the President, using a few days to arrange in some order the business which had carried me abroad. There was great confusion and indecision in affairs, and the people in power were slow to realize the actuality of war; it was long before they realized its magnitude. Several commands in the East were suggested to me, but I preferred the West, which I knew, and I held the opinion that the possession of the immediate valley of the Mississippi river would control the result of the war. Who held the Mississippi would hold the country by the heart.

A command was agreed upon between President Lincoln, Montgomery Blair, his Postmaster-General, who was a graduate of West Point, and myself, of which the great object was the descent of the Mississippi river. Necessary to this was first the firm possession of the State of Missouri, freed and protected from the secession forces within and around it. In pursuance of this plan "The Western Department" was created, comprehending, with Illinois, the states and territories west of the Mississippi river to the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico. For reasons not wholly military, the President reserved the State of Kentucky, but assured me that so soon as I had succeeded in raising and organizing an army for the descent of the Mississippi river, he would extend my command over that State and the left bank of the Mississippi.

The President had gone carefully over with me the subject of my intended campaign, and this with the single desire to find out what was best to do and

how to do it. This he did in the unpretending and kindly manner which invited suggestion, and which with him was characteristic. When I took leave of him he accompanied me down the stairs, coming out to the steps of the portico. I asked him then if there was anything further in the way of instruction that he wished to say to me. "No," he answered. "I have given you carte blanche. You must use your own judgment and do the best you can. I doubt if the states will ever come back."

Governor Yates, of Illinois, then in Washington, informed me fully of the unarmed and unprepared condition of the West. I immediately began a search for arms at Washington, and out of those at hand was able to obtain an order for only seven thousand stand.

Arriving at New York, I found that the order for the seven thousand stand of arms had been countermanded. Upon my complaint to Washington, and through the personal interposition of the President, Major Peter V. Hagner was sent to aid me in procuring what I judged immediately necessary for my department. With him I arranged for gathering from various arsenals and forwarding to St. Louis arms and equipments for 23,000 men. This detained me some weeks in New York. Before leaving, I telegraphed to Lieutenant-General Scott, to ask if he had any instructions to give me. He replied that he had none.

At Philadelphia we heard the news of the disaster of Bull Run. On the 25th of July I reached St. Louis, and at the start I found myself in an enemy's country, the enemy's flag displayed from houses and recruiting offices. St. Louis was in sympathy with the South, and the State of Missouri was in active rebellion against the national authority. The Bull Run defeat had been a damaging blow to the prestige of the Union.

In this condensed sketch I can give only the strong outline of the threatening situation I found, and, in part, the chief measures I adopted to convert our *defensive* position into one that was vigorously *offensive*, going into detail only enough to show some of the difficulties that beset me.

There was a wide difference between the situation here and that at Washington. The army of the East was organized under the eyes of the President and Congress; in the midst of loyal surroundings and loyal advisers where there was no need to go outside of prescribed military usage, or to assume responsibilities. But in Missouri all operations had to be initiated in the midst of upturned and revolutionary conditions and a rebellious people, where all laws were set at defiance. In addition to the bodies of armed men that swarmed over the State, a Confederate force of nearly 50,000 men was already on the Southern frontier: Pillow, with 12,000, advancing upon Cairo; Thompson, with 5000, upon Girardeau; Hardee, with 5000, upon Ironton; and Price, with an estimated force of 25,000, upon Lyon, at Springfield. Their movement was intended to overrun Missouri, and, supported by a friendly population of over a million, to seize upon St. Louis and make that city a center of operations for the invasion of the loyal States.

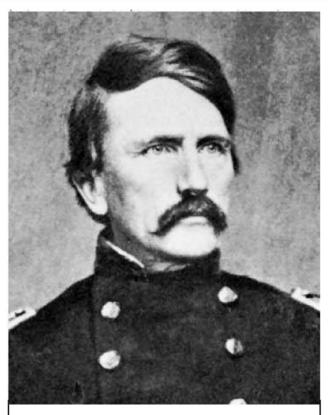
To meet this advancing force I had 23,000 men of all arms. Of this only some 15,000 were available, the remainder being three-months men whose

term of service was expiring. General John Pope was fully occupied in North Missouri with nearly all my disposable force, which was required to hold in check rebellion in that quarter. For the defense of Cairo B. M. Prentiss had 8 regiments, but 6 were three-months men, at the end of their term, unpaid, and unwilling to reënlist. At Springfield General Lyon had about 6000 men, unpaid and badly fed, and in need of clothing. In this condition he was in hourly expectation of being attacked by the enemy, who was advancing in three times his nominal strength.

This was the situation to be met at the outset. The arms and equipments for 23,000 men which I had gathered at New York I now found had been diverted from my department and sent to Virginia. I had no money and the Government no credit; but the chief difficulty was the want of arms. There was no want of men. The loyal population of the North-western States flocked to the Union standard; the German population with a noble unanimity.

Having these conditions to face, on the 26th of July I telegraphed my needs to Montgomery Blair, whom I had known intimately. In reply he telegraphed, "I find it impossible to get any attention to Missouri or Western matters from the authorities here. You will have to do the best you can and take all needful responsibility to defend and protect the people over whom you are specially set." Two days afterward Secretary Seward telegraphed to ask what disposition I had made of the arms I had purchased in Europe, asking for an invoice. I telegraphed him that I needed to use these arms for my department, that I had absolutely no arms, and that the situation of the State was critical. On the 30th I sent to the President, as had been arranged, an unofficial letter setting forth the condition of my command. I informed him that the treasurer of the United States at St. Louis had \$300,000 entirely unappropriated, but had refused my request for \$100,000 to be delivered to my paymaster-general. I said to him that there were three courses open to me: "First, to let the enemy possess himself of some of the strongest points in the State and threaten St. Louis, which is insurrectionary; second, to force a loan from the secession banks here; third, to use the money belonging to the Government which is in the treasury. . . . This morning I will order the treasurer to deliver the money in his possession to General Andrews and will send a force to the treasury to take the money, and will direct such payments as the exigency requires. I will hazard everything for the defense of the department you have confided to me, and I trust to you for support." To the propositions of this letter the President gave the tacit approval of not replying, and I acted upon it.

I had no time to lose. The situation of Lyon at Springfield was critical, and the small disintegrating garrison at Cairo was hourly exposed to assault by an overpowering force. Among the various points threatened, Cairo was the key to the success of my operations. The waterways and the district around Cairo were of first importance. Upon the possession of this district depended the descent and control of the Mississippi Valley by the Union armies, or the inroad by the Confederate forces into the loyal States.



Frank P. Blair, Jr.

I now sent within the Confederate lines a capable engineer officer possessed of the necessary military knowledge, with instructions to go into the States of Kentucky and Tennessee to observe the situation of the enemy, ascertain his strength and probable plans, and make rough maps of important localities occupied by troops or likely to be.

Five days after my arrival, hearing that Pillow was moving upon Cairo, I left St. Louis for that place, with all my available force, 3800 men. I distributed my command over a transport fleet of eight large steamboats, in order to create in the enemy an impression of greater strength than I possessed. I found the garrison demoralized. From the chief of artillery I learned

there were only about six hundred effective men under arms. These troops had enlisted for three months, which had now expired. They had not been paid, and there was much sickness among them. The reënforcement I brought, and such assurances as I was able to give, restored confidence; and I prevailed on one of the garrison regiments to remain.

Cairo was the most unhealthy post within my command. Fever and dysentery were prevailing. The roomy, shaded decks and convenient cabins of the large steamboats which brought the reënforcements, and the breeze from the water blowing through them, were in strong contrast with the steaming heat of the low, moist grounds of Cairo. This suggested the idea of floating hospitals. Before the sun went down the greater number of the sick were carried to one of the roomiest boats, thus securing good ventilation and perfect drainage.

The sudden relief of Cairo and the exaggerated form in which the news of it reached Pillow had the intended effect. He abandoned his proposed attack, and gave time to put it effectually beyond reach of the enemy, and eventually to secure a firm hold on the whole of that important district.

Having secured the initial point in my campaign, I returned to St. Louis on August 4th. Meantime I had ordered Stevenson's 7th Missouri regiment from Boonville, and Montgomery's Kansas regiment near Leavenworth, to the support of Lyon at Springfield. Amidst incessant and conflicting demands, my immediate care was to provide aid for him.

Before my arrival at St. Louis General Lyon had borne a decisive and important part in Missouri. Together with Francis P. Blair, the younger, he had saved Missouri from secession. For this reason I had left his movements to his own discretion, but had myself made every possible effort to reënforce him. The defeat at Bull Run had made a change in affairs from that which was existing when General Lyon left Boonville for Springfield on the 5th of July. To any other officer in his actual situation, I should have issued peremptory orders to fall back upon the railroad at Rolla.

On the 6th I had sent an officer by special engine to Rolla, with dispatches for Lyon, and for news of him. In his letter of August 9th, the day before the battle, Lyon states, in answer to mine of the 6th, that he was unable to determine whether he could maintain his ground or would have to retire. At a council of war a fortnight before the battle, the opinion of his officers was unanimous for retreating upon Rolla.

On the 13th news reached me of the battle fought at Wilson's Creek on the 10th between about 6000 Union troops, under Lyon, and a greatly superior force under Price and McCulloch. I was informed that General Lyon had been killed, and that the Union troops under Sigel were retreating unmolested upon Rolla. In telegraphing a report of the battle to Washington, I informed the Department of the need of some organized force to repel the enemy, reported

to be advancing on other points in considerable strength. I again asked the Secretary of War for Groesbeck's 39th Ohio regiment, and to order from the governors of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin their disposable force. I informed him that we were badly in want of field artillery and that few small-arms had arrived. I also asked the President to read my dispatches.

In answer to my appeal to the loyal governors for troops, regiment after regiment arrived at St. Louis from the whole North-west, but they were entirely without tents or camp equipage. The chief quartermaster of my department was an officer of the regular army, Major McKinstry, experienced, able, and energetic. But there were no supplies on hand, of any kind, to meet the necessities of the troops arriving without notice, and entirely unprovided. In this exigency he made requisition on the head of his department in Washington, but was informed in reply that the department could not meet the requisitions that were being made by the Army of the Potomac; that the preservation of the capital was deemed of more importance than the State of Missouri; that their entire time and attention was devoted to meeting requisitions made upon them; that General Frémont had full power, and that he, as Frémont's chief quartermaster, must use his own judgment and do the best he could toward meeting the wants of the department.

In July, at Washington, the subject of mortar-boats for the Mississippi expedition had been discussed between General M. C. Meigs, Gustavus V. Fox, afterward the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and myself, and had been referred to me for decision, as having in charge military operations on the Mississippi. On the 31st of July the Secretary of War directed

that the 16 nine-inch guns made at Pittsburg for the navy should be forwarded to me with the greatest dispatch, and that 30 thirteeninch mortars be made as soon as possible and forwarded to me, together with shells for both guns and mortars. On the 24th of August I directed the construction of 38 mortar-boats, and later of 8 steam-tugs to move them, and the purchase and alteration into gunboats of two strongly built river vessels,-the New Era, a large ferry-boat, and the Submarine, a powerful snag-boat; they were renamed Essex and Benton. At my suggestion and order, the sides of all these vessels were to be clad with iron. On the 3d of September General Meigs advised me to order from Pittsburg fifteen-inch guns for my gun-boats, as "able to empty any battery the enemy could make." Work on these gun-boats was driven forward night and day. As in the case of the fortifications, the work was carried on by torchlight.

August 25th an expedition was ordered under Colonel G. Waagner with one regiment, accompanied by Commander John Rodgers with



Nathaniel Lyon Image Courtesy Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

two gun-boats, to destroy the enemy's fortifications that were being constructed at Belmont. [See map, page 263.]

August 28th I assigned Brigadier-General U. S. Grant to the command of South-east Missouri, with headquarters at Cairo. He was fully instructed concerning the actual and intended movements on the Mississippi and the more immediate movements upon the Kentucky shore, together with the intention to hold the mouths of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. In his written instructions General Grant was directed to act in concert with Commander Rodgers and Colonel Waagner, and to take possession of points threatened by the Confederates on the Missouri and Kentucky shores.

August 31st Captain Neustadter was ordered to Cairo, to select a site opposite Paducah for a battery to command the mouth of the Tennessee river.

September 4th I sent heavy guns and an artillery officer to Cairo, where General Grant had just arrived from Girardeau. I telegraphed the President informing him that the enemy was beginning to occupy, on the Kentucky shore, every good point between Paducah and Hickman, and that Paducah should be occupied by us. I asked him now to include Kentucky in my command.

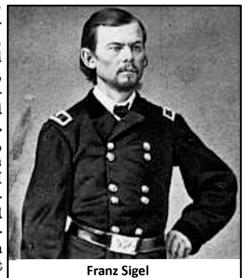
September 5th I sent to General Grant a letter of instruction, in which I required him to push forward with the utmost speed all work on the point selected on the Kentucky shore ten miles from Paducah, to be called Fort Holt. In this letter I directed him to take possession of Paducah if he felt strong enough to do so; but if not, then to plant a battery opposite Paducah on the Illinois side to command the Ohio River and the mouth of the Tennessee. On the evening of the day on which this letter was sent to General Grant, the officer who had been sent by me within the Confederate lines reached Cairo on his way to St. Louis to let me know that the enemy was advancing on Paducah. He judged it right to inform General Grant, urging him to take Paducah without delay. General Grant decided to do so, and in accordance with his instructions of the 28th immediately moved on Paducah with an adequate force and two gun-boats. He reached the town on the morning of the 6th, having only about six hours' advance of the enemy. Taking undisputed possession, he returned to Cairo the same day.

In answer to my persistent application for Colonel C. F. Smith he was ordered to join me, having meantime been made by the President a brigadier-general at my special request. I at once sent him forward to the command I had designed for him,—Paducah and the Kentucky shore of the Mississippi. His letter of instructions made known to him all the previous measures taken to hold the Kentucky shore and the mouths of the Tennessee and Cumberland. The execution of this part of my plans broke in upon the Confederate lines, drove them back, and dispersed their combinations for transferring the war to the loyal States.

I now on the 8th of September wrote to the President, giving him in the following extract the general features of my plan of campaign:

. . . "As the rebel forces outnumber ours, and the counties of Kentucky between the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers, as well as those along the latter and the Cumberland, are strongly secessionist, it becomes imperatively necessary to have the cooperation of the loyal Union forces under Generals Anderson and Nelson, as well as of those already encamped opposite Louisville, under Colonel Rousseau. I have reënforced, yesterday, Paducah with two regiments, and will continue to strengthen the position with men and artillery. As soon as General Smith, who commands there, is reënforced sufficiently to enable him to spread his forces, he will have to take and hold Mayfield and Lovelaceville, to be in the rear and flank of Columbus, and to occupy Smithland, controlling in this way the mouths of both the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers. At the same time Colonel Rousseau should bring his force, increased if possible, by two Ohio regiments, in boats to Henderson, and, taking the Henderson and Nashville railroad, occupy Hopkinsville; while General Nelson should go with a force of five thousand by railroad to Louisville, and from there to Bowling Green. As the population in all the counties through which the above railroads pass are loyal, this movement could be made without delay or molestation to the troops. Meanwhile General Grant would take possession of the entire Cairo and Fulton railroad, Piketon, New Madrid, and the shore of the Mississippi opposite Hickman and Columbus. The foregoing disposition having been effected, a combined attack will be made upon Columbus, and, if successful in that, upon Hickman, while Rousseau and Nelson will move in concert by railroad to Nashville, Tenn., occupying the State capital, and, with an adequate force, New Providence. The conclusion of this movement would be a combined advance toward Memphis, on the Mississippi, as well as the Memphis and Ohio railroad." Meantime the untoward and obstructing conduct of the people of Missouri had decided me to assert the power of the Government. Accordingly, on the 30th of August, I issued a proclamation affixing penalties to rebellion and extending martial law over the State of Missouri. By this proclamation the property of persons in rebellion against the United States was held to be confiscated, and their slaves were declared free. As a war measure this,

in my opinion, was equal to winning a deciding battle. The President disapproved it, as likely to lose us Kentucky, the loyalty of which was so strained and the temper of which was so doubtful, that he had agreed to the neutral attitude Kentucky demanded. He desired me to withdraw it as of my own motion. Unwilling to put myself in this position, I asked him to order it withdrawn, which he did. Shortly following upon this act, I was in many ways made to feel the withdrawal from me of the confidence and support of the Administration, but, acceding to strong representations from leading citizens of St. Louis, I did not resign my command.



Franz Sigel
Library of Congress

I had already been brought into collision with the intrigues of men who were

in confidential relations with the President, and the occasion was promptly seized by them to urge misrepresentations which were readily accepted as reasons for my removal. The visits of high officers charged with inquiry into the affairs of my department, and the simultaneous and sustained attacks of leading journals, accumulated obstructions and weakened my authority. In fact, my command at the end of August had virtually existed little over a month; but the measures which I had initiated had already taken enduring shape, and eventually worked their intended result.

The inadequate space to which I am restricted compels me to pass over here the circumstances which made inevitable the loss of Lexington, upon which Price advanced after his victory at Wilson's Creek. All possible efforts were made to relieve Colonel Mulligan, but, notwithstanding the large concentration of troops for his relief, these efforts were baffled by absolute want of transportation and by river obstructions. To the Confederate general it was a barren success, and he was shortly forced to retreat to the south-west. As a military position Lexington was of no value to him. In the midst of the demand for troops for Lexington, I was on the 14th ordered by General Scott to "send five thousand well-armed infantry to Washington without a moment's delay." Two thousand were sent.

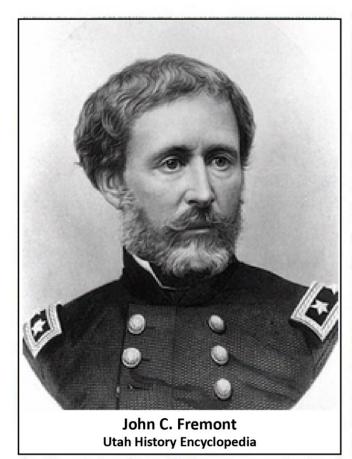
At the end of September I left St. Louis to take the field against Price. The army numbered 38,000 men. To complete the defenses of St. Louis, after

the advance of the army, I left 5 regiments of infantry, with 1 battalion of cavalry, and 2 batteries of field artillery. The five divisions which composed it were assigned positions, their lines of march converging to Springfield; and in the beginning of October I moved against Price. Transportation and, consequently, supplies were very inadequate; but in exigencies an army sometimes moves without either. The September rains were over; the fine weather of the Indian summer had come; the hay was gathered, and the corn was hardening, and we were about to carry out the great object of the campaign with fewer hardships from exposure, and fewer impediments from want of transport, than could have been expected at any other season. The spirit of the army was high. A finer body of men could not have been brought together, and we had every reason to believe that the campaign would open with a signal victory in the defeat or dispersion of the enemy, with a move on Memphis as the immediate result. Had I possessed means of transport when Price moved on Lexington I should have compelled him to give me battle on the north side of the Osage; as he could not cross the Missouri without exposing himself to certain defeat, no other course would have remained open to him. In fact, when I did go forward, the appearance of my advance at Sedalia was the signal for his precipitate retreat. The first contact now with the enemy was at Fredericktown and Springfield,—the former one of the most admirably conducted engagements of the war, and the latter action a glorious victory. Along the whole extent of our lines we were uniformly successful against the enemy.

At the end of October I was in Springfield with 21,000 effective men. Price had terminated his retreat, and his movements showed that he had decided to offer battle. This was confirmed by information obtained from his headquarters that the Missourians were refusing to leave the State.

Recognizing the rights of humanity, and remembering that this conflict was among our own people, and that the whole State of Missouri was a battle-field, General Price and myself had been engaged in arranging the terms of a convention which was concluded and signed by us on the 1st of November. It provided: 1st, for an exchange of prisoners, hitherto refused by our Government; 2d, that guerrilla fighting should be suppressed, and the war confined to the organized armies in the field; 3d, that there should be no arrests for opinion, the preservation of order being left to the State courts.

Generals Asboth and Sigel, division commanders, now reported that the enemy's advance-guard was at Wilson's Creek, nine miles distant, several thousand strong; his main body occupying the roads in the direction of Cassville, at which place General Price had his headquarters with his reserves. On November 2d the dispositions for the expected battle were being planned, when late in the evening a messenger arrived bearing an order from General Scott which removed me from my command. This order had been hurried forward by General Hunter, who superseded me, and who was behind with his division. The next day, Hunter not arriving, the plan of battle was agreed on, the divisions were assigned conformably, and in the evening the troops began to occupy their positions. About 10 o'clock at night



Hunter arrived at my headquarters, where the officers were assembled. I handed to him the plan of battle and turned over my command.

The order which gave my command to General Hunter was dated October 24th, and had been sent to one of my subordinate officers in St. Louis, to be served on me at his discretion. Accompanying it was a letter from the President in which he directed that it should not be served on me if I had fought a battle or was about to fight one. His intention was disregarded; the order was put in force when both ourselves and the enemy were ready and intending battle. In the face of posi-

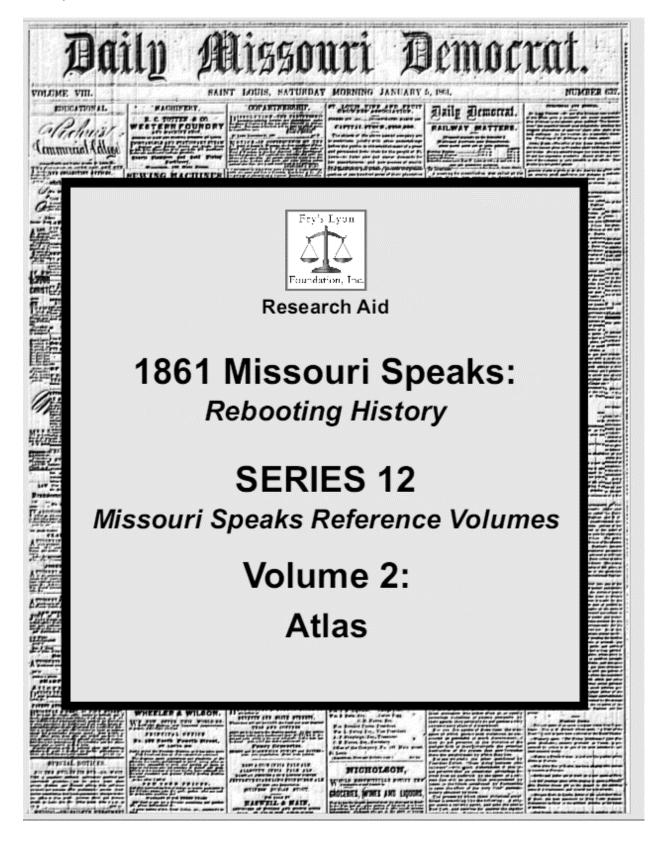
tive knowledge, General Hunter assumed that there was no enemy near and no battle possible, and withdrew the army. \$\pprex\$

The correctness of the operations in this campaign to meet the intended movements of the enemy, have all been corroborated and proved by subsequent information. My expenditures to raise and equip this army were vindicated and sustained by decisions of the United States courts. The establishment of martial law at St. Louis, which was denounced as arbitrary and unnecessary, was maintained and acted upon by all my successors until peace was declared; and the fortifications of that city, upon which all lines of defense rested, aided its enforcement and made the dyke between the Northwest and the South. The taking of Paducah, for which I was censured, has since been made the pivot of success to others. And the gun-boats, for the preparation of which, also, I was censured, the work being countermanded as a "useless extravagance," became historic in the progress of the war.

the ground to be selected by General Price and myself." Official Records, III., 748.—J. C. F.

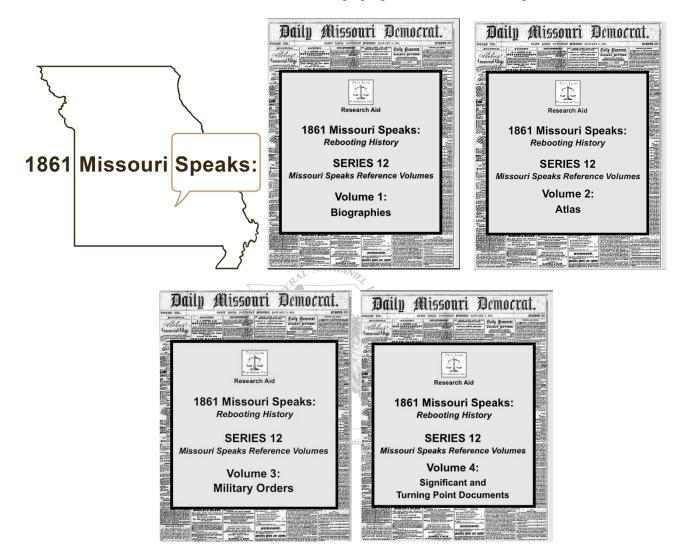
Hunter's withdrawal was in pursuance of instructions of a general nature from President Lincoln, dated October 24th, 1861, and accompanying the orders relieving General Frémont.—EDITORS.

Extracted from Johnson, Robert Underwood and Clarence Clough Buel (Eds.). *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (Vol. 1). New York: The Century Company, 1884-1887.: 278-288.



# Series 12—Missouri Speaks Reference Volumes

Volume 2: A Collection of over 300 maps prepared for the Missouri Speaks Collection.



## Fry's Lyon Project (FLP) Map Identifier Key

(FLP: 00/000/G-174.22)

## **Example:**

FLP: NW/DNM/M-142.01 represents:

## Northwest Missouri / District of North Missouri / FLP Number

#### **Geographic Region:**

NW (Northwest)

NE (Northeast)

WC (West Central)

SW (Southwest)

SC (South Central)

#### Missouri River Regions:

KC (Kansas City)

JC (Jefferson City)

SL (St. Louis)

00 (Not Region Specific)

### Military District (If Needed):

DNM (North Missouri)

DCM (Central)

DSL (St. Louis)

DSW (Southwest)

DSE (Southeast )\*

CMD Cairo Military District

000 (Not Military District Specific)

\*Names and area changed over time: District of Ironton - 03-11 to 09-01-61 District of SE Missouri - 09-01 to 12-23 Part of Western KY added on 09-05-61 Redesignated District of Cairo, 12-23

#### **Letter and Numbers:**

M-000.01 (Military Map)

B-000.01 (Battle Map)

S-000.01 (Specific Location

Map)

G-000.01 (General Map)

C-000.01 (County Map)\*\*

M-000.01 (Military Map)

#### \*\*County Map Key

C-099 (Carter County)

C-100 (Wayne County)

C-114 (Pemiscot County)

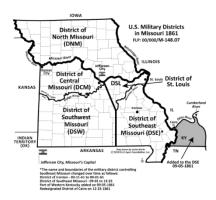
The number after the point shows the version of the map.
The current version for all maps will be listed on
1861MissouriSpeaks.com/maps

County Map Key:

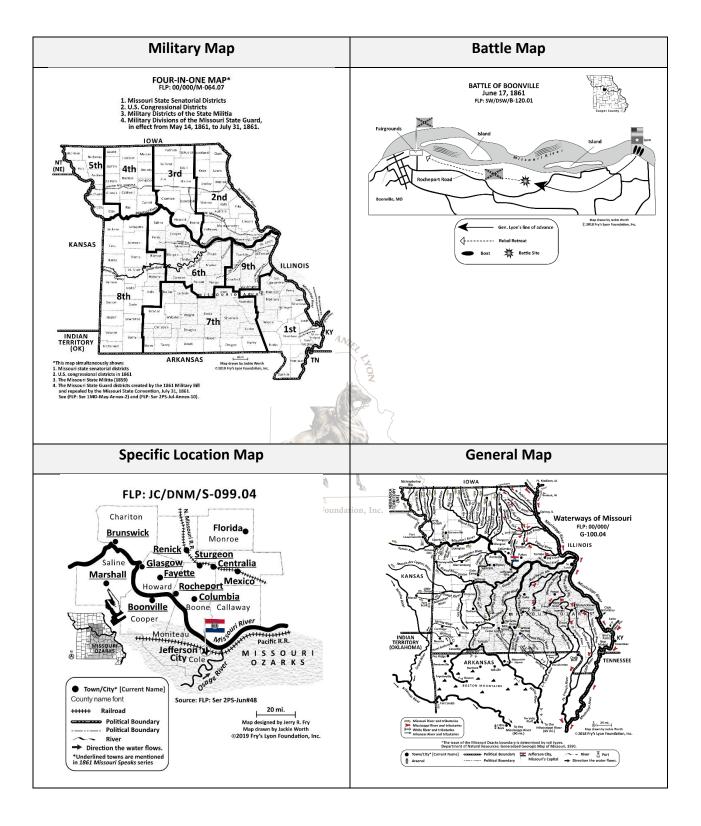
### **Geographic Regions:**

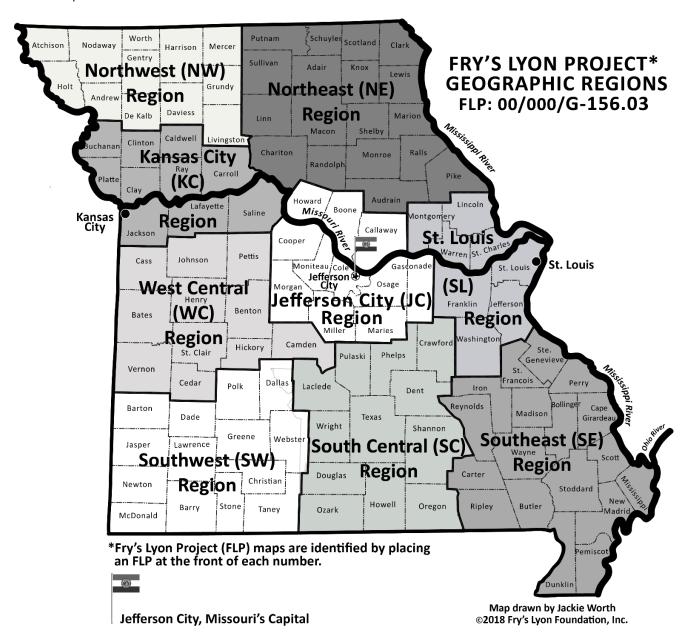


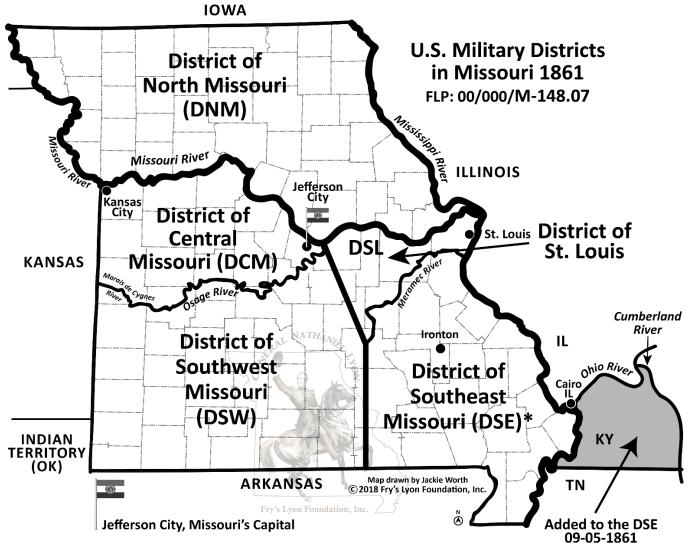
#### **Military Districts:**



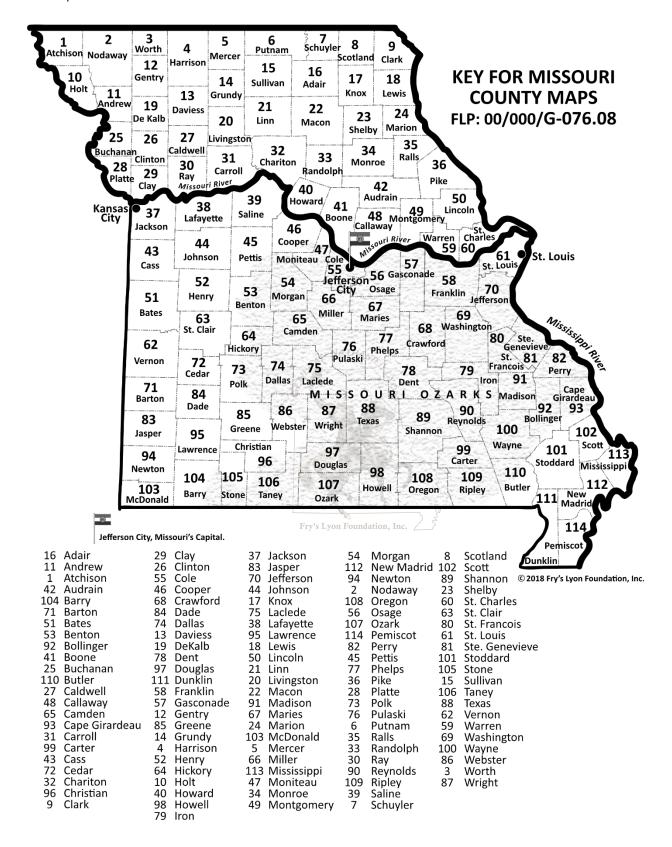








\*The name and boundaries of the military district controlling Southeast Missouri changed over time as follows: District of Ironton - 03-11-61 to 09-01-61 District of Southeast Missouri - 09-01 to 12-23 Part of Western Kentucky added on 09-05-1861 Redesignated District of Cairo on 12-23-1861

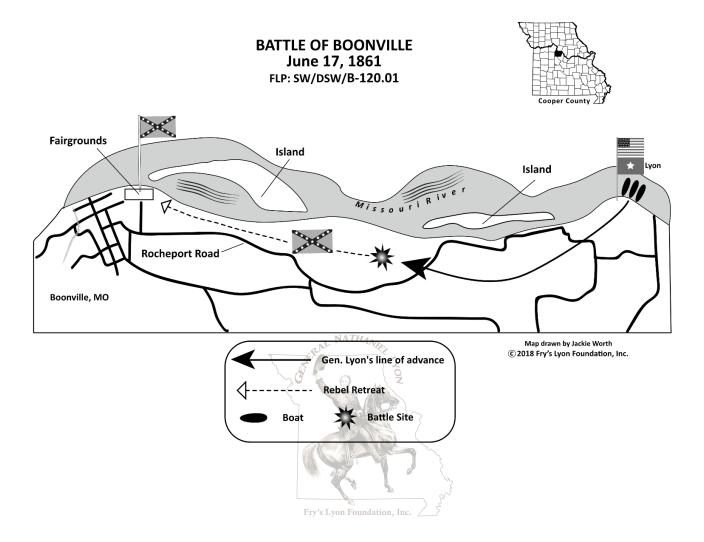


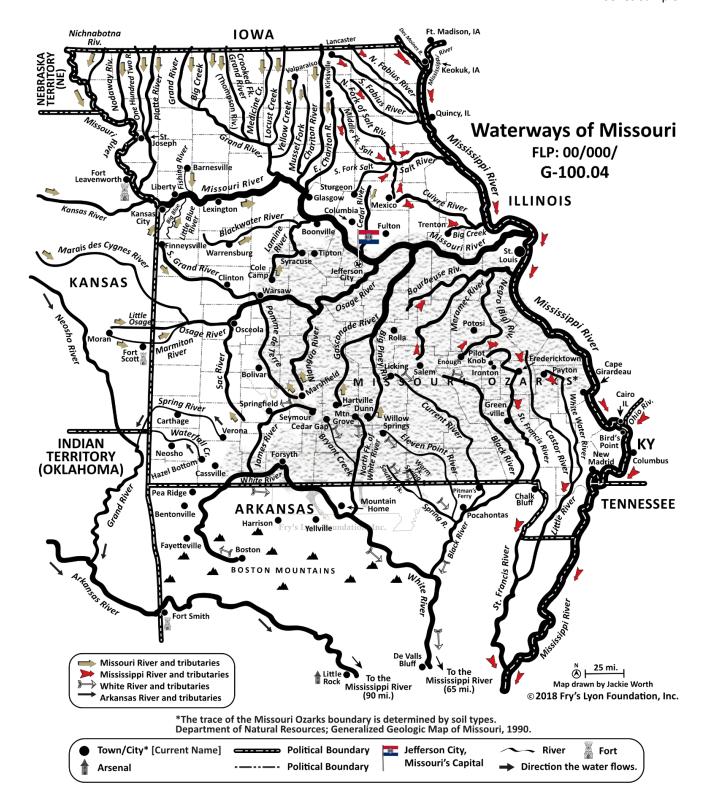
# FOUR-IN-ONE MAP\* FLP: 00/000/M-064.07

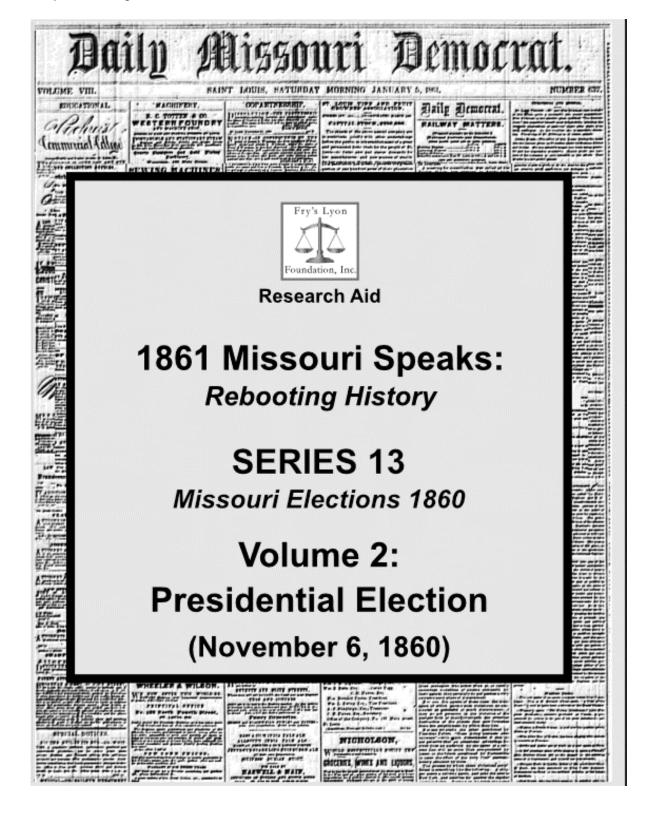
- 1. Missouri State Senatorial Districts
- 2. U.S. Congressional Districts
- 3. Military Districts of the State Militia4. Military Divisions of the Missouri State Guard, in effect from May 14, 1861, to July 31, 1861.



4. The Missouri State Guard districts created by the 1861 Military Bill and repealed by the Missouri State Convention, July 31, 1861. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul-Annex-10).

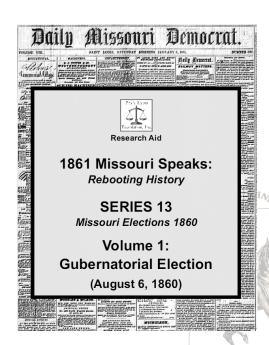


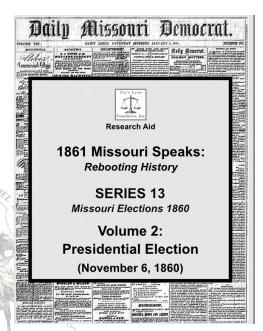




## Series 13—Missouri Elections 1860 Volumes:

Transcribed newspaper articles from multiple sources published from July to December 1860. These articles cover the gubernatorial and presidential elections in Missouri, including the election campaigns, the results of the elections, and comments on the results. Volume 2 also provides reports on the attitudes of Missourians toward the secession of South Carolina.





## 1860 CALENDAR (July-Dec)

			July	,					A	ugu	st					Sep	tem	ber		
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
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16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30
30	31																			
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М	Т	O w	c <b>tob</b> T	er F	S	S	M	Т	Nov W	vem T	ber F	S	S	M	Т	Dec W	cem) T	ber F	S	S
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		W	Т	F		_	M 5	T 6		Т	F			M 3	T 4				_	
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1	2	W 3 10	T 4 11	F 5 12	6 13	7 14	5	6	W 7	T 1 8	F 2 9	3 10	4 11	3	4	W 5	T 6	F 7	1	2
1 8 15	2 9 16	W 3 10 17	T 4 11 18	F 5 12 19	6 13 20	7 14 21	5 12	6	W 7 14	T 1 8 15	F 2 9 16	3 10 17	4 11 18	3 10	4	W 5 12	T 6 13	F 7 14	1 8 15	2 9 16

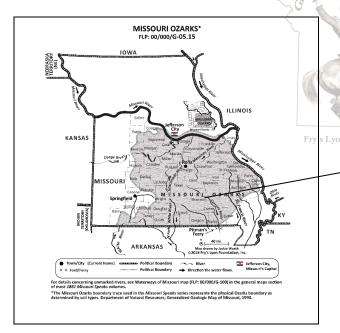
#### Introduction To Series 13, Vol. 2

#### The Missouri Ozarks and Secession Col. Jerry R. Fry (US Army, Ret.) Fry's Lyon Foundation, Inc.

The significance of voters in the Missouri Ozarks during the run-up to the Civil War cannot be overstated. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, slavery was already established in Missouri, initially causing both Northerners and foreign immigrants to avoid immigrating into Missouri. Consequently, the majority of the settlers entering the territory were from slave states, giving them de facto control of the government and resulting in Missouri eventually entering the Union as a slave state.

surrounding the stony soil and hilly topography of the Ozarks. Those that settled in the Ozarks came from the Appalachian region of the South, and were already accustomed to subsistence farming on rocky, thin soil. In the Ozarks, they could squat on un-surveyed government land, and supplement their nutritional needs by hunting, fishing, and harvesting the wild edible fruits, nuts, and plants that were plentiful in the Ozarks. This is not to say that there was no fertile land in the Ozarks, as there were fertile strips of soil along creeks and rivers, but as early settlers entered the Ozarks by traveling up the river valleys, the fertile areas were only available to the earliest arrivals.

As a result of the steep-sided valleys, sharp or rounded ridges, and the large number of



As settlers spread across the state after 1803, the settlers that could afford land and slaves settled on the fertile lands along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and then spread out into the fertile agricultural flat lands

Ozark Waterways

ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS

Oxark Waterways

Ox

north-south flowing waterways, crossing the Ozarks from east to west was nearly impossible by wagon. In 1819, the year after the territorial legislature first applied for statehood, it was reported that there were no roads crossing the Ozarks. 164 While the Ozark road between Rolla

Arkansas Ozarks during the winter of 1818–1819 and wrote the first published account of the Missouri and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Henry Rowe Schoolcraft made a nine-hundred-mile journey through the thinly populated Missouri and

and Springfield was not "across" the Ozarks, a New York Herald reporter wrote the following about it in 1861.

The road from Rolla to this place is one of the worst in the country, bad even for Missouri. I have travelled by stage some thousands of miles, over prairie, plains, and among the Rocky Mountains, but never found a ride of one hundred and twenty miles that furnished as many horrors for the same money as did mine between Rolla and Springfield. The road is like a nutmeg grater, constructed on a most scale, gigantic and the accommodations furnished by the company, which runs a tri-weekly stage for the transportation of the mail and a few deluded passengers, are meagre in the extreme. If any reader of this ever has occasion to pass between these two points, let him travel in any way than by stage. 165

Over the years, the road system slowly improved, but was almost 180 years after Missouri became a state before four-lane highways were completed across the Ozarks from north to south and east to west.

As concerns the number of slaves in the Ozarks, according to the census of 1860, six Ozark counties along the southern border of Missouri, averaged 47 slaves; Douglas County, further north, had 2,414 whites but zero slaves; and Shannon County reported only 13 slaves. On the other hand, Calloway County, on the Missouri River, had 12,895 whites and 4,523 slaves, and its votes went for a candidate that

campaigned as a Unionist.

During the August 1860 statewide election for governor, the only counties that supported the candidate of the disunionists were six counties in the Ozarks containing less than 2% of Missouri's population. In the presidential election, 19 Ozark and 3 non-Ozark counties were won by the disunionist candidate, or 15% of the state's 144 counties.

While the Ozark vote did not give the anti-Union politicians an absolute majority in the legislature, when their numbers were added to the anti-Union candidates that campaigned and won as Unionist, like the governor and lieutenant governor, 166 the resulting total in the legislature was close enough to a majority that the lieutenant governor, who was also the president of the Senate, was able to manipulate affairs so that anti-Unionists headed all Senate committees, allowing anti-Unionists to control the Senate's agenda. 167 The Speaker of the House did the same, which allowed the legislature to authorize a Secession Convention and pass a military bill that was considered an indirect article of secession. 168

The reasons the voters in the more isolated regions of the Ozarks voted the way they did are beyond the scope of this discussion, except to say that while they were pro-slavery, their voting probably reflected more their anti-Yankee abolitionist and anti-Republican attitudes more than any desire to secede from the United States.

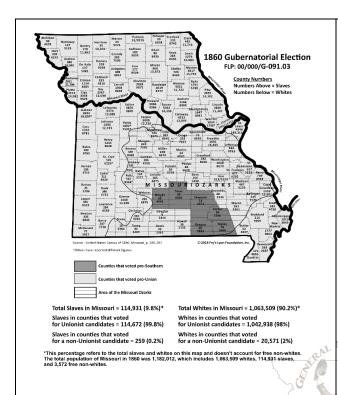
Arkansas Ozarks. It was not until the year 2000 that four-lane highways were completed that traversed the Ozarks from north to south and east to west. https://historicmissourians.shsmo.org/henry-rowe-schoolcraft

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jul#55.5) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-July-Annex-14)

<sup>166</sup> See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> See (FLP: Ser 1MD-May#71.1).

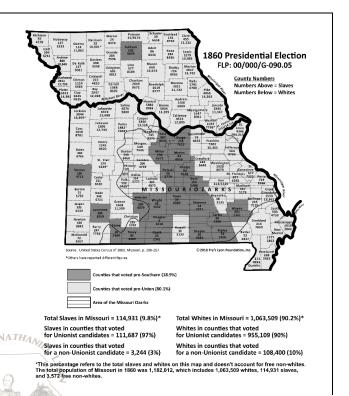


It is interesting that while the residents of the Missouri Ozarks supported secessionist candidates, the residents of the adjoining Ozark counties in Arkansas, that had immigrated from the same areas of the South, resisted efforts of secessionists to carry Arkansas out of the Union. In both the Arkansas Ozarks and part of the Appalachian region of Virginia, the voters resented the political dominance of the slave powers and remained loyal to the Union. In fact, during the Civil War, the mountain counties of western Virginia partitioned congress to become a state, and on June 20, 1863, West Virginia became the 35th state.

#### The Rest of The Story

In Brooks Blevins' book, that I highly recommend, A History of the Ozarks, Volume 2, The Conflicted Ozarks, he wrote the following:

Whether they voted for Breckenridge, Douglas, or Bell, most



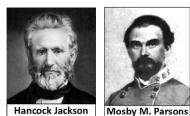
residents of the Ozarks came out the losers...But the loss of an election was a minor setback compared to the losses that awaited the people of the Ozarks in the years to come...thousands of unrecorded encounters between mostly defenseless civilians and the men who tormented them—bushwhackers, jayhawkers, partisan rangers, home guard, even regular troops [on both sides] who requisitioned livestock and grain, stole household goods, pursued men of fighting age, and pillaged and tortured in search of money.

There is probably no quantitative way to judge one region's suffering in wartime in comparison with others. If there were, you can bet that few places in North America bore the brunt of war as completely and devastatingly as did the Ozarks...The border region ultimately devolved into a no-man's-land plagued by the breakdown of civil law, by the inability of either side to

establish effective martial law, and a vicious cycle of murders and revenge killings. Thus, the Ozarks became the ideal theater for unrestrained querrilla warfare. 169



The three newspaper articles below from the Missouri Speaks Collection are provided to support the statements made above. Below the articles are larger versions of the small maps provided above.



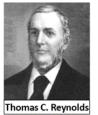


(FLP: Ser 13EL-Jul#31.1) July 10, 1860

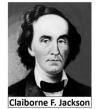
Missouri Republican (A Pro-slavery Democratic Party Newspaper) (Extract)

The Disunion Candidates

Hancock Jackson, Lt. Gov. of Missouri, and U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of the state, and M. M. Parsons, Senator from the Cole District, 170 have signified their acceptance of the nominations for governor and lieutenant governor, tendered them by the office holders of St. Louis at a late meeting, are therefore to be regarded as [the Southern Democratic Party] candidates for consideration.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#15) January 5, 1861

#### Lt. Gov. Shows His Secessionist Colors

Missouri Democrat (A Pro-Union Republican Party Newspaper) (Letter to the Editors Extract)

Lt. Gov. Reynolds is so marvelously impressed with the grave responsibilities of his temporary position as lieutenant governor of Missouri that he rushes with hot haste to put himself on the record by the side of Gov. C. Fox Jackson for disunion. We are glad of this, for the sooner we know how and where our state officials stand in regard to secession, the better.

These men were elected by the Unionist friends of Judge Douglas, and Douglas men are men opposed to disunion. They have cheated the men who voted for them and thus verified what the Breckinridge men said of them before the election.

Now that we have Jackson and Reynolds upon the record for and in favor of secession, we call upon all Union men to watch their traitorous designs and be prepared to meet all their attempts to place Missouri in a false position.

Let Lt. Gov. T. C. Reynolds beware how he strives to commit Missouri to South Carolina doctrine. South Carolina is today the victim of traitors far more censurable than Benedict Arnold. She has resolved herself out of the Union without just cause; and when the general government releases her citizens from the tyranny of her

to Maj. Gen. by C.S.A. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, but the promotion was never confirmed by C.S.A. President Jefferson Davis. After the war, Parsons fled to Mexico, where he joined the forces of Emperor Maximilian. He was later killed by the Republican followers of Benito Juarez. (FLP: BIOP3)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Brooks Blevins, A History of the Ozarks, Volume 2, The Conflicted Ozarks (Univ. of Illinois Press, 2019) pp 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Mosby M. Parsons was appointed a State Guard brigadier general by Gov. Jackson. He commanded the State Guard's 6th Division at the battles of Carthage, Wilson's Creek, and Pea Ridge. He was later promoted

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

traitorous leaders, they will find their state erect within the Union, though much "tattered and torn" by the conspiracy of her public men.

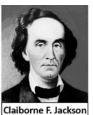
Missouri will have enough to do to pay her own debts—carry on her public works. We are amazed, and so are thousands who voted for Lt. Gov. Reynolds, to hear him talking of throwing this state in opposition to the United States Government.

[You] can tell Lt. Gov. T. C. Reynolds, in very good earnest, that Missouri will never, in our day, belong to a southern slave confederacy or find herself out of the present Union. Nor will her people ever commit the insane folly of opposing by force the general government. The legislature will have enough to do on behalf of the interests of Missouri, within the Union, without stirring up the blood of her citizens and inaugurating civil war within her borders.

boldly expressed and the passions and prejudices of the people are to be appealed to instead of their sound judgment and deliberation.

Violent and inflammatory speeches will undoubtedly be the order of the session, and the really pressing claims of great matters of state legislation, which are vital to the interests of the commonwealth, will be made to stand back and languish. As will be seen by the action of the Senate today, a bill was introduced appropriating \$250,000 for the arming of the state. Also, a motion to call a state convention.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2)

January 7, 1861

## **Disunionists in Control of Legislature**

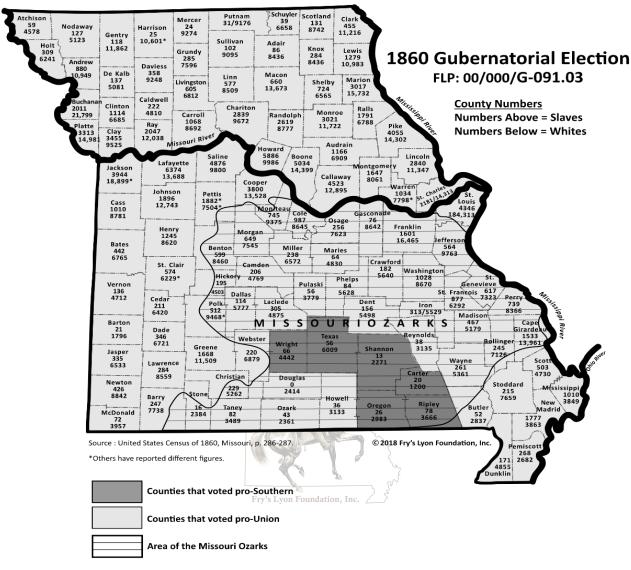
Missouri Democrat
(A Pro-Union Republican Party Newspaper)
(Extract)

Jefferson City, Jan. 6, 1861.

Both Houses have now fairly got into working operation, and we should expect the business of the session to be pushed forward with vigor. The proceedings of today have brought out the opinions of senators and members on the important question of Union and disunion.

The reunited Democratic Party, with Gov. Jackson at its head, is determined, if possible, to force a state secession convention on the people, and the usual Southern machinery necessary to render the movement successful, is being rapidly put into motion. Ultra-disunion sentiments are

Fry's Lyon Foundation, Inc



Total Slaves in Missouri = 114,931 (9.8%)\*

Slaves in counties that voted for Unionist candidates = 114,672 (99.8%)

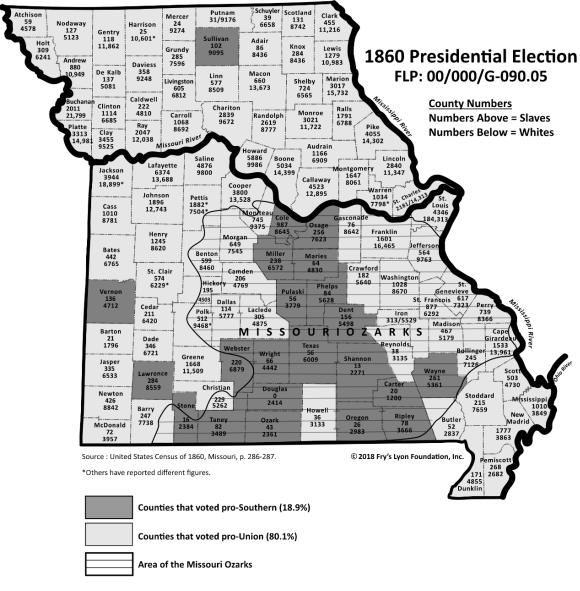
Slaves in counties that voted for a non-Unionist candidate = 259 (0.2%)

Total Whites in Missouri = 1,063,509 (90.2%)\*

Whites in counties that voted for Unionist candidates = 1,042,938 (98%)

Whites in counties that voted for a non-Unionist candidate = 20,571 (2%)

\*This percentage refers to the total slaves and whites on this map and doesn't account for free non-whites. The total population of Missouri in 1860 was 1,182,012, which includes 1,063,509 whites, 114,931 slaves, and 3,572 free non-whites.



Total Slaves in Missouri = 114,931 (9.8%)\*

Slaves in counties that voted for Unionist candidates = 111,687 (97%)

Slaves in counties that voted for a non-Unionist candidate = 3,244 (3%)

Total Whites in Missouri = 1,063,509 (90.2%)\*

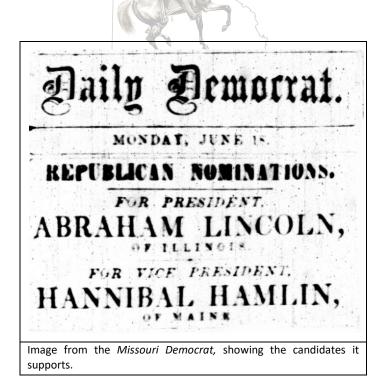
Whites in counties that voted for Unionist candidates = 955,109 (90%)

Whites in counties that voted for a non-Unionist candidate = 108,400 (10%)

<sup>\*</sup>This percentage refers to the total slaves and whites on this map and doesn't account for free non-whites. The total population of Missouri in 1860 was 1,182,012, which includes 1,063,509 whites, 114,931 slaves, and 3,572 free non-whites.

## **NOVEMBER 1860 FINDING AIDS--SELECTIONS**

Week	Date	Article Headline (FLP#)	Page
Week 3	Nov 16.	Give Lincoln a Fair Chance (FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#48) The editor of the <i>Liberty Tribune</i> believes President-elect Lincoln deserves a fair chance, as he will likely improve industry and begin the great work of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a railroad.	168
	Nov 16.	The Difficulties in the Way of Secession (FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#49) The <i>Missouri Democrat</i> talks about the problems that would come if a state had the right to secede at any time. For example, it could secede during a war or after federal improvements. It quotes from a NY <i>Post</i> article and also from letters between Founding Fathers Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.	169
	Nov 17.		170



#### **NOVEMBER ARTICLES**

# 3. ELECTION ARTICLES NOVEMBER WEEK THREE

## November 16, 1860







(FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#48) November 16, 1860

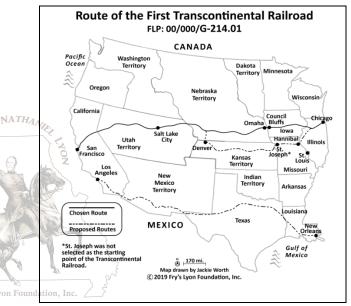
#### **Give Lincoln a Fair Chance**

Liberty Tribune [Clay County]

"It may turn out in the end, that Lincoln's election will prove a blessing to the country. Certain it is that the present administration is woefully unpopular and has lost the confidence of nearly every man and every party."

We are pleased to see that most of our exchanges take about the same view of Lincoln's election that we have done in another article in this issue of our paper. 171 (FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#46) No fact is better demonstrated than that conservatism is a principle; a living vital principle, in the breasts of the American people, generally. They struggle hard, struggle violently—even so much so as at times to produce the impression that the very political heavens would be torn, but there comes a calm after the contest is over, and conservatism assumes its office. Liberty is too great a prize to be thrown away or to be rashly dealt with. It may turn out in the end, that Lincoln's election will prove a blessing to the country. Certain it is that the present administration is woefully unpopular and has lost the confidence of nearly every man and every party. Our impressions are that the financial condition of

the country, its internal improvements, its mining, manufacturing, and industrial interests generally will suffer no injury, but, on the contrary, may be greatly improved. Then again, we may expect to see the commencement of the great work of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a railroad. Mr. Lincoln will, we trust, aim to build for himself a name that will be honored in history, rather than one like that of Burr or Arnold. He can, if he will, unite the country in stronger cords than ever, and he can sever it in two and drench it in blood. He deserves a fair trial, and, for one, we will give him such a trial.



Let him call around him, of his own party, men like Corwin, Pennington, Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, and Dayton of New Jersey, and such of the "Opposition" as William C. Rives, Bell, Crittenden, Houston, Dickinson, Stevens and Guthrie, and, at one, the public mind will be easy. He has been Constitutionally elected, and deserves just such treatment as would have been extended to Bell, Douglas, or Breckinridge. Any man who would denounce a good man as a traitor who accepts office under Lincoln, is himself an unwise man.

this case, the writer is saying the newspapers with which they exchange issues seem to agree.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Newspapers of this period exchanged papers with each other and often reprinted one another's articles. In







St. Louis, Mo.

(FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#49) November 16, 1860

#### The Difficulties in the Way of Secession

(Editorial/Extract)

Missouri Democrat [St. Louis County]

We have ventured to predict that one great obstacle in the way of the secession movement would be

the incompetency of the airheaded and hotheaded politicians who now occupy the ear and eye of the nation to arrange those practical details which, in the case of a state setting up for itself, require the patient and intelligent supervision of men possessing a thorough knowledge of the business of the world and of affairs of state—men of executive capacity, with more fondness for the figures of mathematics than figures of speech. This is a class who are now in the background, biding their time, but without whose help the politicians cannot so much as get into secession nor get out of it.

To practical men of this class, considerations like the following, urged by the Post last evening, will have some weight. 172

"A more monstrous and absurd doctrine than that of the right of any state at its pleasure to secede from the Union has never been put forth. The Government in such case would indeed be a mere rope of sand. According to this dogma, Cuba, after we shall have paid \$200,000,000 for her purchase as a state may at once secede, and leave the United States treasury to place that small item

"So, too, states in which the largest amounts of public property may be situated may at any time secede with that property. When the Pacific Railroad shall be constructed, at an expense of countless millions, paid from the common treasure, the two or three states through which it will run may leave with the plunder and plant a custom house on the site of our storehouses. Vermont, New Hampshire, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the other inland states, which will have contributed to these great disbursements, and in which states hardly a dollar of the public treasure is even expended, are to look quietly and approvingly on the exodus of those which have been thus purchased and enriched at their expense, and to recognize the right of each of them to secede and take the property with them.

"Now, this right of secession, if it exist at all, is an absolute one, and a state has as much right to exercise it at one time as at another. If she may secede at will, she may do so in anticipation of war "or in time of war. If she can secede when she chooses, she owes no allegiance to the government an hour after she decides to secede, but will then be just as independent of the government as she is of any other nation. In the midst of war, then, it will be the right of any state not only to desert our own government, but at the same time to ally herself to the enemy.

"The government, under such a principle, could not have twenty-four hours of assured existence. Neither other nations, nor its own citizens, could have confidence in its permanence. It would lack the vital principle of existence, because it would wholly lack credit. Nobody would lend it a dollar, for nobody could be sure that it would hold together long enough to pay a six months' loan, to say nothing of loans for long terms of years. The public faith, on which alone all who deal with governments can rest, would be utterly

Eagle, Brooklyn, New York.

to the account of 'profit and loss.' Texas, when she came into the Union, after we had paid many millions to discharge her debts, and other millions to go into her treasury, was and is entirely at liberty to secede with the booty. Each and all the states carved out of the Louisiana Purchase, for which we also paid an immense sum, may do the like.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> The quote that follows is from the Brooklyn *Daily* 

lacking. Business could have no security or stability, for men would not embark either their industry or their capital, unless under the shelter of laws and institutions not liable to change."

## November 17, 1860







(FLP: Ser 13EL-Nov#51) November 17, 1860

# Preventing Disunion Extract

Saturday Weekly Visitor [Lafayette County]

"On the organization of his cabinet and the appointments he shall make. depend the success of his administration and peace of the Union. If he bows to imprudent advisors and radical men, the excitement now pervading the country will only be aggravated. Wise and conservative men should fill every office, men who breathe the atmosphere of the Union; no secessionist, North or South, should disgrace an executive responsibility. Let Mr. Lincoln spurn filthy every [Northern] abolitionist, from his presence, and every treacherous [Southern] fire-eater from his sight."

How do we judge the future, but by the past? History has recorded the events of this world, and every intelligent reader has stored in his memory the leading points. Having studied the history of

<sup>173</sup> The 1860 Republican Party was a new political party, created from the recently defunct Whig Party, and antislavery defectors from the Democratic Party. The first

events since the organization of our government, we shall attempt a glance at the future.

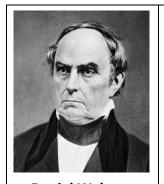
The nineteenth national election has just closed, and a new party with new measures is soon to take the helm of state. 173 A foaming, billowy sea is already looming up at a distance, and dangerous rocks are in the channel. The old beacon lights are nearly obliterated. We have buried our [Henry] Clay, our [Daniel] Webster, our [Andrew] Jackson, and scores of those master spirits and noble patriots, who filled the forums of our legislative halls only a few years since. A short period has wrought a wonderful revolution improvements of our country. All nations acknowledge her greatness, and admire her forms of government. She stands first in rank with the greatest powers.

Shall we retrograde? Shall we suffer a mere abstract difference of opinion to tarnish the noble flag of our devoted country! Shall the folds of that victorious banner be perforated by American bullets? Shall brothers engage with brothers in the bloody field of conflict? Shall unnatural internal bickering and estrangements baptize our country in blood? Shall friends become unrelenting antagonists, and draw the current of life to appease their vengeance?

The first event of importance in our future history is the meeting of Congress in December. The president, James Buchanan, has then to show his devotion to the country he has sworn to defend; he has either to honor his oath, or perjure himself. He has to fill the seat of George Washington and Andrew Jackson, or that of Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold. He has the laws to enforce, or the curse of his country to bear. Next will follow the action of Congress. That body will only have three short months to cover itself with honors or with disgrace. Immediately following its adjournment, the

Republican Party presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, ran for office and lost in 1856.

inauguration of a new president comes off and the organization of a new Senate.





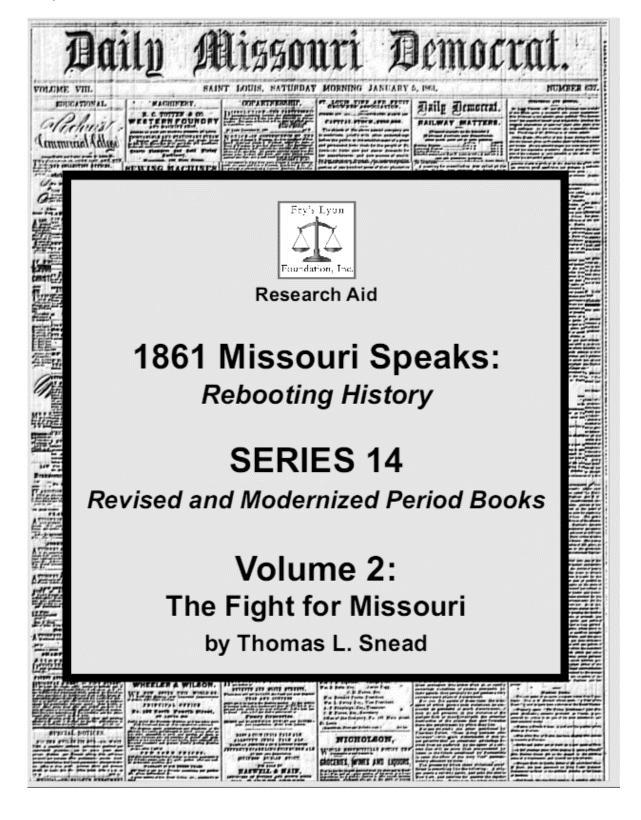


**Henry Clay** Photo: History.com

Here Mr. Lincoln will realize the most critical juncture in his administration. All the foresight of a Clay will be needed, and all the firmness of a Jackson will be required in taking the initial steps. On the organization of his cabinet and the appointments he shall make, depend the success of his administration and peace of the Union. If he bows to imprudent advisors and radical men, the excitement now pervading the country will only be aggravated. Wise and conservative men should fill every office, men who breathe the atmosphere of the Union; no secessionist, North or South, should disgrace an executive responsibility. Let Mr. Lincoln spurn every filthy [Northern] abolitionist, from his presence, and every treacherous [Southern] fireeater from his sight. Let him exhibit his attachment to his country, by calling around him men who are its defenses, men of untarnished character, men law-abiding and law-enforcing, men of nerve and sound judgment. If Mr. Lincoln can throw off his

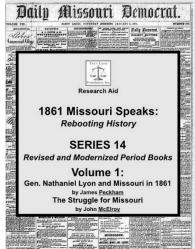
Republican Party shackles, disregard the Northern clamor, avoid Southern threats, and embrace the whole country, he will enjoy one of the most prosperous administrations. A new era for our country is open with the new president; a new census has just been completed; a new apportionment has to be made; a new start has to be made in the finances of the nation. President Buchanan has had bad advisers around him, and has involved his country in debt and trouble. When he assumed the reins we heard nothing of secession, but soon after turmoil began and have continued, and on his leaving office, the country will present the disgraceful and degrading spectacle of civil commotion. He has only three months in which to redeem himself and his country. If wisdom and patriotism shall characterize his course, for that short period, his country will forgive past offenses. If not, let him be accursed! It will then fall upon the new administration to rectify all the errors of the past one and pay its liabilities. Partisan advisers, or sectionalists, can never accomplish either. A Republican cabinet, even if the Senate allows one, could never cause either. An ultra-Southern Cabinet can do nothing satisfactory. None but truly conservative Union men can give the country quiet.

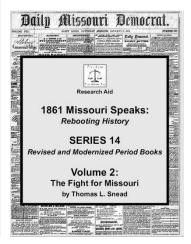
Now we have reached a crisis truly pregnant with interest. Peace, or its opposite, is to reign in our devoted country. If peace, all will be happy and prosperous; if civil strife, all will be misery and destruction. Let secession be encouraged, and ruination will be the consequence. Our destiny, if the Union is preserved as a nation, is beyond the comprehension of man.

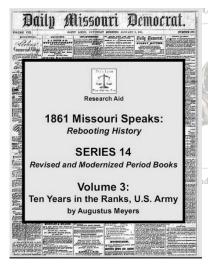


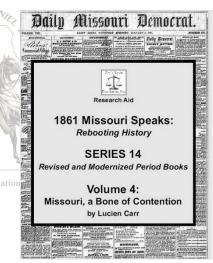
## Series 14—Revised and Modernized Period Books











### 19th Century Book Reviews

(FLP: Ser 14PB-V2-BR#1) March 11, 1886

# The Fight for Missouri Extract

Missouri Republican

THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI—From the election of Lincoln to the death of Lyon. By Thomas L. Snead. Published by Chas. Scribners Sons, New York. Price \$1.50.

Col. Thomas L. Snead has been absent from Missouri many years, but he is yet well remembered among his old friends and associates. In 1860 he had the political management of the St. Louis Bulletin and took an active part in the state and national elections of that year, earnestly supporting the candidacy of Breckenridge for president and Claiborne F. Jackson for governor. In the midst of the campaign, however, Jackson announced his determination to support Mr. Douglas for the presidency and the Breckenridge Democrats refused to support him any longer, nominating a candidate of their own, named Hancock Jackson. But Claiborne F. Jackson was elected and inasmuch as the governor, in his inaugural address, placed himself squarely in favor of making common cause with the other slave-holding states, the Bulletin went zealously to his support. Col. Snead spent most of his time thereafter in Jefferson City looking after measures tending to the secession of Missouri and the arming of the state militia. In February he disposed of the Bulletin and remained at the capital as the guest of Gov. Jackson until driven therefrom by Blair and Lyon in June. During that time he assisted Gov. Jackson in conducting his correspondence and in other confidential matters, and upon the enactment of the military law in May was commissioned one of the governor's aides-de-camp. He accompanied Gov. Jackson to Boonville, Carthage and Cowskin Prairie, and at the last named place, where the governor relinquished the command of the militia to Gen. Price, Col. Snead was assigned to duty as Price's chief of ordnance. A few days later he was appointed acting adjutant-general of the State Guard and served in that position during the battles of Wilson's Creek, Fort Scott and Lexington. Col. Snead remained with Gen. Price until the last year of the war, as adjutant-general and sometimes as chief of staff of the commands he held, but he left Price in the summer of 1864 in order to attend a meeting of the confederate

congress, of which he was a member and did not return to the army. After the war Gen. Price turned over to Col. Snead all the records and papers relating to his several commands, with the understanding that the latter would one day write the story of his campaigns. The work under consideration is, therefore, the first volume of the official history of Gen. Price's career as a soldier and statesman, but a history which involves all the civil and military incidents with which Missouri was connected during the war. Col. Snead is a plain, vigorous writer, utterly devoid of rhetorical ornamentation, but so filled with earnestness and sincerity that his very simplicity is fascinating and eloquent. He has divided his first volume into two parts, embracing the civil and military history of the period between the election of Lincoln and the death of Lyon. The necessities of space compel the editor to make a similar division of the book, reserving the military sketch for a future issue.



(FLP: Ser 14PB-V2-BR#3) July 29, 1886

## The Fight for Missouri: From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon

National Tribune

yon Foundation, The author of this most interesting volume was successively aid-de-camp to the governor, acting adjutant-general of the Missouri State Guard, chief of staff of the Confederate Army of the West, and a member of the Confederate Congress. Although identified with the Southern cause, he has told his story with marked fairness, impartiality, and truthfulness. The conflict during the first few months of the war which decided the fate of Missouri is minutely and graphically described, all material facts being supported by citations from the record and other evidence from official sources. He gives a full measure of credit to Gen. Lyon, whom he says, "had not fought and died in vain. By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying he had won the fight for Missouri." As showing the excellent material in Lyon's little army that fought at Wilson's Creek, he cites the fact that it furnished to the Union cause seven major-generals and 13 brigadier-generals.



NATHANIE

## THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI

# From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon

By Thomas L. Snead

Aide-de-camp of the governor; acting adjutant general of the Missouri State Guard; Chief of Staff of the Army of the West; member of the Confederate Congress



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#### **VOLUME INTRODUCTION**

It seems to me that no man unselfishly and honorably fought harder for what he believed during the Civil War than Colonel Thomas L. Snead, the author of this book published in 1886. However, human nature being what it is, Snead was not able to acknowledge that he had fought for a bad cause, which at its core was protecting the institution of slavery and trying to force its spread into the western United States. In his attempt to justify the unjustifiable, he ignores the suffering he and his cohorts put Missouri through, which caused an Iowa soldier to write, "Missouri is neither North nor South, it is hell; where no man could be assured of living through the night." Finally, it is worthy of note that from 1886 onward his book has probably been the most widely "source" memoir for writing on Civil War Missouri; but it is also the source of many popular misconceptions of that period, especially by Civil War revisionists, who in modern times have attempted to popularize the lie that the majority of Missourians in 1861 wanted to secede and were only kept in the Union by military force.

Jerry R. Fry, January 2018

#### **SNEAD'S 1886 PREFACE**

I HAVE written this book because it was my duty to write it, and because I fancy that I know more about the events that are narrated in it than does anyone who will ever take the trouble to write about them; and because I am the only living witness to many facts, the remembrance of which ought to be preserved.

That the reader may know whereon I ground these assertions, and that he may, before reading my testimony, be able to decide whether it be worth his attention, I will tell him frankly how I happen to know about these things.

In the elections of 1860—for governor of Missouri, and for president of the United States—I took an active, though inconspicuous part, chiefly in the political management of the St. Louis *Bulletin*<sup>175</sup>, which was owned and edited by one of my friends, Mr. Longuemare <sup>176</sup>. In its columns and elsewhere, I advocated earnestly the election of Southern Democratic candidate, John C. Breckinridge <sup>177</sup> to the presidency, and of Claiborne F. Jackson <sup>178</sup> to the governorship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> H. M. Byers, Major, With Fire and Sword; Neale Publishing Company, New York 1911, Page 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> A newspaper that advocated for secession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Eugene Longuemare (circa 1834 - 1924) was born and died in St. Louis, Missouri; he graduated from Georgetown in 1854.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Breckinridge was considered the secession candidate; therefore, he only received 18.12% of the vote. After the fall of Fort Sumter, he was commissioned a Confederate major general.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Claiborne F. Jackson was a closet secessionist. He campaigned as a Unionist but after being elected, he worked tirelessly to take Missouri out of the Union, against the wishes of eighty percent of Missouri's voters.

But when the latter, in obedience to the manifest will of a majority of the Democratic Party of Missouri whose candidate he was, announced his determination to support Mr. Douglas<sup>179</sup> for the presidency, we Breckinridge Democrats refused to support him any longer, and nominated a candidate of our own, Hancock Jackson<sup>180</sup>. We did this because we believed that the slaveholding states could not remain in the Union, with either safety or honor unless the North should consent to give them constitutional guarantees that their rights as coequal states of the Union should be both respected and protected by the federal government, and because we thought that this question should be plainly submitted to the North in the then pending presidential election, and a positive answer demanded. As Mr. Douglas's candidacy, with his policy of avoiding commitment with misleading positions, prevented this question from being put fairly to the North, we opposed Douglas and everybody who supported him. Nevertheless, Claiborne Fox Jackson was elected governor in August, and then, Missouri was the only state that went for Stephan A. Douglas in the November 1860 election, won by Abraham Lincoln.

On assuming the office of governor just after the formal secession of South Carolina, Governor Jackson declared in his Inaugural Address that, in his opinion, it was both the interest and the duty [Duty?] of Missouri to make common cause with the other slaveholding states in the impending conflict. This declaration brought the *Bulletin*, which had meanwhile fallen under my absolute control, to his zealous support. The great interest which I felt in the matter caused me to spend most of the time at Jefferson City, where measures looking to the secession of Missouri, and to arming her militia, and getting the State ready otherwise for the emergency, were pending before the General Assembly; and finally, toward the middle of February, I disposed of the *Bulletin*, and took up my abode at Jefferson City, and remained there as the guest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Stephen A. Douglas was best known for his participation in the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. However, as chairman of the powerful Committee on Territories in the Senate, the Illinois senator was at the center of the slavery debate. Trying to walk a tightrope between the North and the South, he alienated both sides. Running as a Northern Democratic presidential candidate in 1860, Missouri was the only state he won.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Hancock Lee Jackson (1796 – 1876) was Claiborne Fox Jackson's cousin. When C. F. Jackson switched his public support from the secessionist wing of Missouri's Democratic Party, because he knew a secessionist could not win, his cousin Hancock Jackson became the secessionist candidate. As the citizens of Missouri were not interested in secession, Hancock only received 7% of the vote. Unionist candidates received 93% of the vote.

of the governor till we were all driven from there in June by Blair<sup>181</sup> and Lyon<sup>182</sup>. During this time, I assisted Governor Jackson in conducting his correspondence and in other confidential matters, and upon the enactment of the Military Bill<sup>183</sup> on May 12, was commissioned as one of his *aides-de-camp*<sup>184</sup>. General Price<sup>185</sup> has asked me to accept the position of adjutant-general of the state forces [State Guard], to the command of which he had just been appointed, but I introduced to him and got him to appoint instead, Captain Henry Little<sup>186</sup> who had just resigned his commission in the United States Army and was a thousand times better fitted than myself to discharge the duties of the place.

10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Francis (Frank) P. Blair, Jr. was a member of Missouri's U.S. House of Representatives from 1857 until August 1862, when he resigned to accept a commission as a brigadier general of volunteers. In January 1861, he was an organizer and member of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee. After the surrender of Fort Sumter, when President Lincoln called for 75,000 militia to put down the Southern rebellion, he organized and commanded the First Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment. He was the Chairman of the Military Affair Committee of the 37th Congress, which opened on July 4, 1861. In November 1861, he was promoted to major general of volunteers and given command of a division in Sherman's Corps. At the close of the war, he was the commander of the US Army XVII Corps. He was the Democratic Party's vice-presidential nominee in 1868 but lost that election. A statue of Blair stands today in Statuary Hall, in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Nathaniel Lyon was a Regular Army captain. He was assigned, with his infantry company, to protect the Saint Louis Federal Arsenal in early February 1861. After his arrival, he discovered that those who should have been working to protect the arsenal did not recognize the threat and would not support his efforts to improve the arsenal's defenses. In fact, they resented his assignment and worked to block him from accomplishing his mission. Lyon, working behind the scenes with Frank Blair and the Union Safety Committee, was able to have his detractors replaced, and successfully protected the arsenal. On May 11, 1861, he surrounded and defanged Governor Jackson's secessionist-minded militia at Camp Jackson. After being given command of the Department of the West, he was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers. In that capacity, he blocked the governor's efforts to carry Missouri out of the Union by forcing him out of the Capitol and pushing his forces to the southwest corner of the state. Eventually, Jackson's secessionist force linked up with Confederate forces in the process of invading Missouri. On August 10, 1861, General Lyon attacked the invading force and was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> The Military Bill passed on May 12, 1861, the day after the capture of Camp Jackson. General Harney called it "an indirect secession ordinance" that "cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri." See (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#58) for General Harney's proclamation supporting Lyon and attacking the Military Bill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Aides-de-camp: officers who are personal assistants to a general officer or high government official.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> After the passage of the Military Bill, Governor Jackson appointed Sterling Price a State Guard major general (two-star) and gave him command of the newly created Missouri State Guard. In that capacity, Price had the responsibility of recruiting and training a state force capable of resisting outside aggression, understood to mean the United States Army. After the Military Bill, and Price's position specifically, were abrogated by the State Convention on July 31, 1861, the Missouri State Guard technically ceased to exist as a state-sponsored force and became a rebel force that Price continued to lead. However, on March 6, 1862, Price was commissioned into the Confederate army and, thereafter, commanded Confederate troops until the end of the war, mostly outside of Missouri. In late 1864, he led a Confederate raid across Missouri but was eventually defeated at the Battle of West Port on October 23, 1864, near modern day Kansas City.

<sup>186</sup> Henry Little (1817-1862) was a Missouri State Guard colonel who served as adjutant general for Sterling Price. Was appointed a brigadier general in the Confederate army in April 1862. He was killed in the Battle of luka, Mississippi, in September 1862.

I therefore remained with the governor; followed him when he left Jefferson City; was with him at the battles of Booneville, and Carthage; and went with him to Cowskin Prairie<sup>187</sup>, in the southwestern corner of the state. When, however, on arriving there, he relinquished the command of all the state forces to General Price, and was about to go east, I got his permission to remain with the army, and was the next day assigned to duty by General Price as his chief of ordnance. A few days later, Colonel Little left for Richmond in order to secure his commission in the regular army of the Confederate States, and I was then assigned to duty as acting adjutant general of the State Guard. This position I held during all of the eventful campaign, in which were won the Battles of Wilson's Creek, Fort Scott, and Lexington.

During this time—from the election of Lincoln in November 1860, to the death of Lyon at Wilson's Creek on the 10th of August 1861—occurred all the events that I have narrated in this volume; but I remained with General Price till the last year of the war, as adjutant general and sometimes as chief of staff, of the commands that he held, except that for brief periods I was entrusted with special duties. I left him in the summer of 1864, in order to attend a meeting of the Confederate Congress in Richmond, Virginia, of which I was a member, and did not return to the army.

When the war ended, General Price took to Mexico the records of the several commands which he had held, and also other important papers relating to the war. On returning to this country he brought these records and papers with him and gave them to me, with the understanding that I would one day write the story of his campaigns. I turned over most of them to the War Department several years ago, and many of them have been, and the rest will be, published in the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*<sup>188</sup>.

In preparing the political part of the volume, I have relied chiefly upon the journals of the General Assembly of Missouri, and of the State Convention, and on the official reports of their debates, and upon contemporaneous publications, particularly the *Missouri Republican*<sup>189</sup>; and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Cowskin Prairie (Mc Donald County) was an area in extreme southwest Missouri, where Governor Jackson and General Price fled with their forces after being forced out of the capital of Missouri by General Lyon. It was the first place where General Price had an opportunity to start organizing and training his force.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> The *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* is commonly known simply as the *O.R.* Many O.R. documents dealing with Missouri are published in *1861 Missouri Speaks*, Series 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Many *Missouri Republican* articles dealing with the political and military situation in Missouri in 1861 are published in

upon the original documents published in Peckham's *Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in* 1861<sup>190</sup>—a book whose glaring faults are more than compensated by the important facts the remembrance whereof it has preserved.

For military details I am indebted above all to the *Official Records*, which the government is publishing. The zeal, the fairness, the intelligence, the care, and the ability with which they have been collected, compiled, arranged, and edited by Lieutenant Colonel Robert N. Scott, U. S. A., entitle that gentleman to the gratitude of every one who took an honorable part in the war, and of all who shall ever desire to learn its true history. Valuable as these *Records* are to the student, they need nevertheless the elucidation<sup>191</sup> of those, who, by reason of their personal knowledge of the men, and in other ways, are competent to sift the statements of those witnesses—most of them now silent forever—whose testimony they perpetuate. As it was my fortune to know personally most of the men who took a prominent part in the struggle for Missouri, and something about the character and credibility of every one of them, I feel sure that my little book will for that reason be a useful guide to those who may wish to comprehend that struggle aright.

I have been greatly assisted in my search after the truth by many of the survivors of the war, who have furnished me important documents and valuable reminiscences, all of which I have freely used. I would, perhaps, win favor for this volume if I were to mention their names, but higher considerations. induce me to be silent. I must, however, express my great obligations to Mr. R. I. Holcombe, author of *An Account of the Battle of Wilson's Creek*, for much valuable information.

I have doubtless made many trifling mistakes and may have made some that are important, but no man ever labored more earnestly to ascertain the truth and to tell it plainly and impartially, than I have done, in preparing to write, and in writing, this account of the fight that was made for Missouri in 1861.

NEW YORK, January 1886.

Series 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Peckham's *Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861* is available in its entirety in Series 14, Vol 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Elucidation: the act of explaining or throwing light on any obscure subject.

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## Index

Α Compromises, 8-9, 36, 40-41, 61, 155 Almstedt, Henry, 8, 82 Constitutional Union Party, 5, 9, 160–165 Anderson, Robert, 12-13 Conventions, 5-6, 11-12, 30, 36, 39, 41, 43, 48, 50, Andrews, George L., 57, 102-103 63, 77, 90, 107, 113, 115, 122, 134, 161, 164 Armed Neutrality, 44, 63 Cornyn, Florence M., 102–103 Arsenals, 7-8, 76, 89, 110, 122, 126, 128, 130, Corwin, Thomas, 104, 168 Crittenden Compromise, 36, 40 132-135 Crittenden, John J., 36, 40, 168 В Curtis, Samuel R., 18, 22–23, 27, 122, 126–128 Backoff, Franz, 90-91 Bates, Edward, 10-11, 107, 122 D Bell, John, 5, 8, 9, 162, 168 Dallam, Francis A., 81-82 Davis, C.S.A. President Jefferson, 14, 21, 39-40, 45, Bell, William H., 7, 8 Belmont, Missouri, 26-27, 123 59, 81, 87, 122, 163 Benton Barracks, 123 Dennison, William Jr., 122 Bird's Point, Missouri, 18, 25, 27, 66, 74, 76, 81, 89 THANK Dick, Franklin A., 9, 122, 135 Blair, Francis (Frank) P., Jr., 28, 64-70, 75-77, 82-Douglas, Stephen A., 5, 9, 11, 160-165, 168 83, 90, 92, 97, 108, 110–112, 116, 122, 131, Dug Springs, Battle of, 49, 54-58 135 Blair, Montgomery, 28, 112, 135 Boats, 79, 123 Eads, James B., 122 Editorials, 13-14, 30, 36-38, 42-45, 64, 66, 96, gunboats, 122 103, 105, 108, 169 Boernstein, Henry, 75, 78-79, 90 Essential Information, 8, 14 Breckinridge, John C., 5, 164, 168 Broadhead, James O., 96-98, 110, 122 Fry's Lyon Foundation, Irg. 2 Browning, Orville H., 122 Filley, Oliver D., 110, 122 Brownlee, John A., 122 Floyd, John B., 14, 59 Buchanan, James, 14, 167, 170-171 Foote, Andrew H., 122 Buckingham, William A., 96, 98 Forts, 12-13, 18-20, 40-41, 43, 86, 124, 128, 131 Burke, Patrick E., 99, 102 Fort Leavenworth, 18, 128, 131 Butler, Benjamin F., 20-21 Fort Moultrie, 12-13 Fort Scott, 18-19 C Fort Sumter, 12-13, 20, 40-41, 43, 86, 124 Cairo, Illinois, 18, 23, 25–26, 66, 68, 74–76, 80, 89, Fortifications, 15, 24, 26, 82, 117, 119 91-93, 123, 126, 130-133, 150 Fremont, Jessie Benton, 122 Cameron, Simon, 64, 74, 86, 108, 116, 122, 129 Fremont, John C., 18-20, 22-29, 31, 64-70, 85-93, Camp Jackson, 68-69, 101, 107-108, 110, 135 96-98, 100-101, 105, 109, 116-119, 121-125, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 18, 23–27, 29, 66, 74, 129-130, 132, 170 90, 92, 99, 117, 133 Frost, Daniel M., 7-8 Carthage, 48, 52-53, 118, 155, 163 Cavender, John S., 99, 102-103 Clay, Henry, 170–171 Gamble, Hamilton R., 6, 48, 50, 88, 96, 98, 107-Coffee, John T., 52, 54 108, 112, 115, 122, 124 Cole, Nelson D., 102 Gardenhire, James B., 160-165 Columbus, Kentucky, 27, 80 General Orders, 31, 88, 125, 129-130

Germans, 5–7, 83	Lyon, Nathaniel, 9–10, 21, 48–49, 52–58, 64, 67–
Glover, Samuel T., 110, 122	68, 75–80, 82–83, 86, 88, 91–93, 95–105, 108
Grant, Ulysses S., 18, 23–27, 51, 54, 92, 122	110-111, 116, 118, 121-135, 150, 155, 160
Gratiot, John R., 58	
Gratz, Cary, 99, 102	M
Green, James S., 56	Madison, James, 167
Green, Martin E., 49, 55–56	Magoffin, Beriah, 36, 38, 122
. , ,	Manter, Frank H., 102
Н	Marsh, Charles C., 24, 26, 92, 133
Hagner, Peter V., 122	Martial Law, 18, 29–30, 118
Hall, Willard P., 48, 50	Martin, Luther, 12
Halleck, Henry W., 20–21, 23, 122	McBride, James H., 58, 90, 92, 122, 133
Hardee, William J., 23, 27, 98, 100, 122	McClellan, George B., 53, 55, 70, 77, 86–88, 90–92
Harding, Chester, Jr., 88–90, 92, 122, 124–131	122, 124–127, 129–133
Harney, William S., 80, 108, 110–111, 115–116,	McClernand, John A., 18, 25–26
122, 132, 161	McCulloch, Benjamin, 23, 48, 52–54, 56–59, 75, 77
Home Guards, 48, 51, 53, 55, 57, 79, 97–98, 100,	82–83, 96–97, 99, 101, 103, 108, 111, 122
103, 112, 114, 132–133, 135	McDowell, Irvin, 87
How, John, 110, 122	McIntosh, James M., 57
Hunter, David, 27, 86–88, 122	McKinstry, Justus, 92, 123, 129, 131
Hurlbut, Stephen A., 48, 50–51, 54, 126, 131–132	McNeil, John, 134
Tidilbat, Stephen 7t., 40, 50 51, 54, 120, 151 132	McRae, Dandridge, 57
	Meigs, Montgomery C., 123
Irishmen, 21	Melcher, S. H., 99, 103
Ironton, Missouri, 23, 25–26, 28–29, 74, 90–92,	Merritt, William H., 57
133, 150	Messages, 40, 42, 111, 130
133, 130	Miller, Madison, 99, 102
1	Mississippi River, 27, 29, 40
Jackson Resolutions, 59 Fry's Lyon Fot	Missouri River, 77, 82–83, 150, 161
	Missouri State Convention, 90, 134
Jackson, Claiborne Fox, 5, 7, 9–10, 19, 24–25, 28, 30, 36, 38, 40, 48, 52–53, 59, 63–64, 68–69,	Mitchell, Robert B., 57, 99
75–78, 80, 82–83, 88, 101, 103, 107–108,	Montgomery, James, 77, 100
110–111, 113, 122, 124, 128, 134–135, 155,	Moore, David, 49, 55–57
160–165, 170–171	Morton, Oliver P., 18, 21–22, 100, 123
Jackson, Hancock, 160–165	Mulligan, James A., 64, 68, 123
Jefferson Barracks, 65, 76	•1
Jennison, Charles R., 20, 100–101	N
	Neosho, Missouri, 64, 74
K	New Madrid, Missouri, 26, 90, 133
Kelton, John C., 122	Newspapers, 8, 33, 63, 168
Kirkwood, Samuel J., 122	Anzeiger des Westens, 115
	Central City and Brunswicker, 44
L	Charleston Courier, 39
Lane, James H., 18–21, 77, 100–101, 122, 168	Equal Rights Gazette, 59
Lightner, James S., 52	La Grange National American, 44–45
Lincoln, Abraham, 5, 8–11, 14, 20–21, 23, 25, 27–	Liberty Tribune, 38, 167–168
29, 36–44, 62, 64, 69, 86–88, 92, 107–112,	Louisiana Journal, 101
116–117, 121–125, 127, 160–165, 167–168,	Louisville Journal, 43, 45
170–171	Missouri (Fulton) Telegraph, 38, 42

Missouri Democrat, 5, 8-9, 15, 61-63, 79-82, Railroads, 87 98, 101-103, 105, 108, 116, 163-164, 167, Hannibal & St. Joseph, 48, 50, 76 169 Iron Mountain, 87, 133 Missouri Republican, 8-9, 11, 13, 30, 61-64, North Missouri, 76, 122 Pacific Railroad, 6, 76-77, 83, 169 67, 78, 116, 137, 163 Missouri State Journal, 9-10 Rains, James S., 56-58, 123 Missouri Statesman, 36, 39 Rector, Henry M., 123 Resolutions, 6-7, 104 New York Herald, 161 New York Tribune, 5, 39, 47, 50-56, 59, 63, 76, Reynolds, Thomas C., 75-76, 80, 123, 164 Richardson, John M., 102 82. 100 Richmond North-West Conservator, 115 Robinson, Charles L., 18-20, 100, 123 Saturday Weekly Visitor, 170 Rodgers, John, 123 St. Joseph Gazette, 36, 39 St. Louis Bulletin, 8, 10, 59 Salomon, Charles E., 48, 51, 53, 57, 102 St. Louis Evening News, 8-10, 44 Northern Democratic Party, 160-165 Schofield, John M., 123 Schuettner, Nicholas, 81, 90 0 Scott, Thomas A., 21–22 Oglesby, Richard J., 81 Scott, Winfield, 18, 40, 64, 68-70, 96-97, 108, 110, Oliver, Mordecai, 48, 50 123, 126, 130, 132, 134 Sigel, Franz, 48, 51-53, 57-58, 91, 96-100, 102-Orr, Sample, 8, 123, 160-165 Osceola, Missouri, 74, 126, 128-129 103, 123, 155 Osterhaus, Peter J., 57 Smith, Morgan L., 18, 26, 80, 82 Snead, Thomas L., 9, 59 South Carolina, 5, 9-10, 12, 14, 40, 43, 86, 100, Paducah, Kentucky, 66, 68, 74, 117 159, 164 Parsons, Mosby M., 56-57, 75, 82, 123, 163 Southern Democratic Party, 160-165 Pearce, Nicholas B., 58, 123 Speeches, 13, 36, 40, 59, 83, 101, 169 Phelps, John S., 76–77, 92, 97, 108, 111–112, 123, Springfield, First Battle of, 49, 123 133 St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee, 7, 9, 110, 122 Pillow, Gideon J., 23, 27, 90, 123 State Conventions, 43, 63, 90, 107, 122, 134 Pitman's Ferry, Arkansas, 28, 90-91 Stevenson, John D., 126-129 Plummer, Joseph B., 57, 99 Sturgeon, Isaac H., 51, 74, 123 Pocahontas, Arkansas, 90-91, 133 Sturgis, Samuel D., 21, 59, 97-99, 123, 126, 128-Polk, Leonidas, 27, 49, 123 129, 131 Sweeney, Thomas W., 48, 52–53, 99, 132 Polk, Trusten, 59 Pope, John, 18, 23, 27–28, 48, 50–51, 54, 90–91, Syracuse, Missouri, 74-75, 80, 82 123, 126, 131-133 Prentiss, Benjamin M., 24-27, 81, 89-92, 123, 126-127, 130-133 Thompson, M. Jeff, 90, 123 Totten, James, 56-57, 99, 102 Price, Sterling, 50, 56–58, 64, 69, 78, 80, 92, 96–97, 99, 103, 123, 132, 134 Trumbull, Lyman, 108, 110-111 Price, Thomas L., 50 Tucker, Joseph W., 10, 128 Price-Harney Agreement, 80, 132 Turnley, Parmenas T., 123 Prisoners, 78, 102 Proclamations, 18, 30-31, 39, 41, 43, 45, 63, 75-76, 79, 118–119, 134, 155, 161

Waagner, Gustave, 26-27, 123

Wallace, William H. L., 18, 25-27

1861 Missouri Speaks Series Sampler

Watkins, Nathaniel W., 90
Webster, Daniel, 170–171
Weightman, Richard H., 58
Welles, Gideon, 123
Whig Party, 8–9, 170
White, Robert, 135
Wilson's Creek, Battle of, 21, 49, 57–59, 65, 67, 86, 88, 92, 96–102, 105, 123–125, 131, 163
Witzig, John J., 110
Wright, Clark, 57
Wyman, John B., 91–92, 126, 130–133

#### Υ

Yates, Richard, 23, 123 Yates, Theodore, 102

#### Z

Zagonyi, Charles, 118, 123



## 1860 CALENDAR

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## 1861 CALENDAR

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## 1862 CALENDAR

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6 13 20 27	7 14 21 28	1 8 15 22 29	W 2 9 16 23	T 3 10 17 24 31	4 11 18	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	4 11 18 25	5 12 19 26	W 6 13 20 27	7 14 21 28	1 8 15 22 29	9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	1 8 15 22	T 2 9 16 23 30	W 3 10 17	T 4 11 18 25	5 12 19	6 13 20 27
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6 13 20 27 S 5	7 14 21 28 M 6 13	1 8 15 22 29 T	W 2 9 16 23 30 ctob W 1 8 15	T 3 10 17 24 31 T 2 9 16	4 11 18 25 F 3 10	5 12 19 26 S 4 11	3 10 17 24 31 S	4 11 18 25 M	T 5 12 19 26 Nov T 4 11	W 6 13 20 27 Vem W 5 12	7 14 21 28 ber T 6 13	1 8 15 22 29 F	2 9 16 23 30 S 1 8 15	7 14 21 28 S	1 8 15 22 29 M 1 8 15	T 2 9 16 23 30 Dec T 2 9 16	W 3 10 17 24 Ceml W 3 10 17	T 4 11 18 25 ber T 4 11 18	5 12 19 26 F 5 12	6 13 20 27 S 6 13 20