

Kansans Go to War

The Wilson's Creek Campaign
as Reported by the
Leavenworth Daily Times

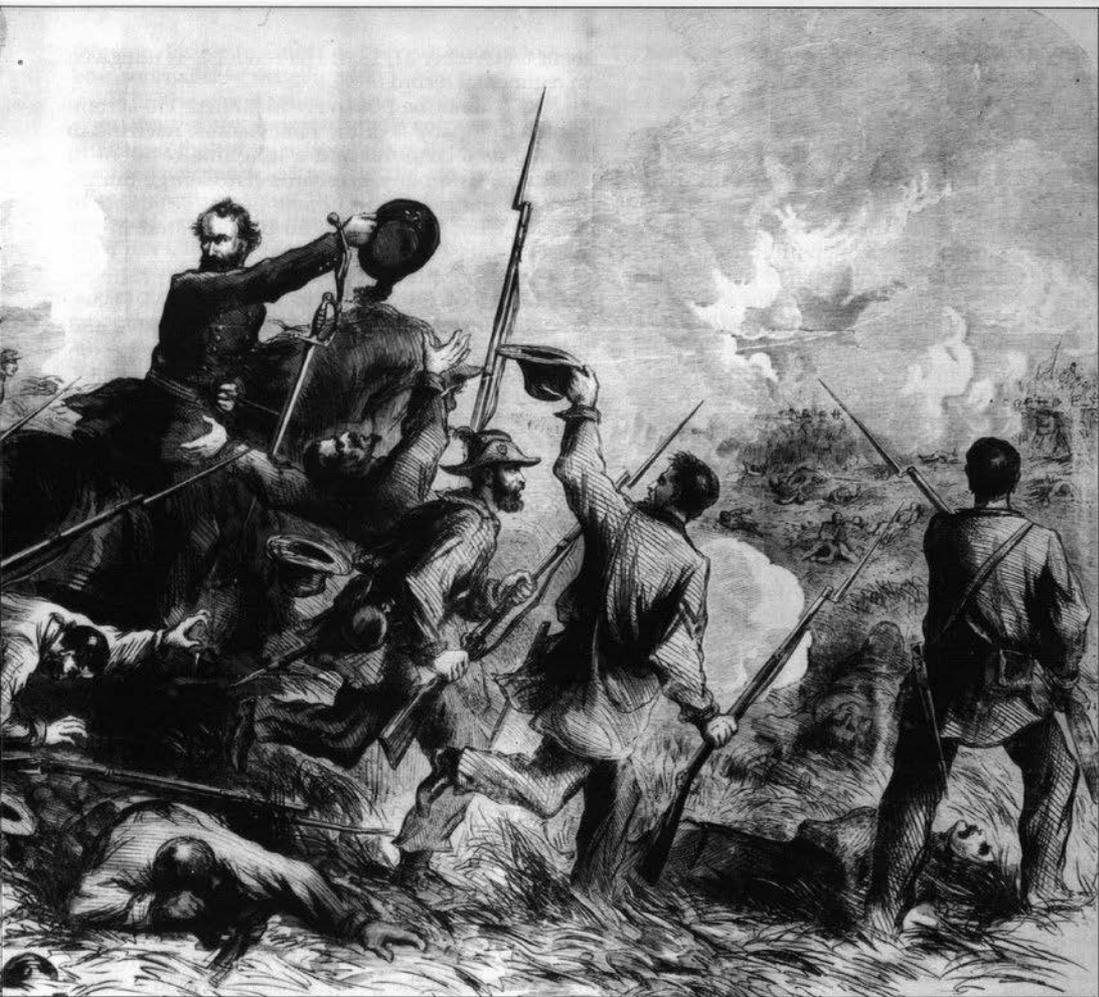
Part I

edited by

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Despite recent scholarship such as Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.'s *The Civil War in the American West*, the Trans-Mississippi theater remains a neglected area of Civil War scholarship.¹ This is particularly true for the early war period. Christopher Phillips's recent biography of Nathaniel Lyon provides an excellent account of the struggle for Missouri in 1861, but his focus is naturally centered upon Lyon.² The "Camp Jackson Affair," the occupation of Jefferson City, and the battles of Boonville and Carthage are familiar to students of Missouri history and their importance cannot be understated. Yet they are only one part of a wider pattern. Scant attention has been given to the Kansas troops or the U.S. Regulars who moved first from Fort Leavenworth to



The Battle of Wilson's Creek as depicted in this sketch by J. S. Schreiber and Thomas Nast. It appeared in the 1899 Official and Illustrated War Record.

Kansas City, and then roughly due south to linkup with Lyon. The letters that follow tell their story.

Kansans, of course, had a unique perspective on the war. For them it was part of a larger conflict that began in 1854 with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.³ In many ways the long struggle to bring Kansas into the Union as a free state must have inured them to violence, and hundreds of them gained at least a modicum of military experience in the many militia and self-defense units that dotted the troubled borderland. It appears, however, that this did little to prepare them for what lay ahead. Recognizing their enlistment as "bold soger boys" as a turning point

in their lives, Kansans wrote home to their friends, relatives, and hometown newspapers to describe their new experiences.

The letters reproduced in this article originally appeared in the *Leavenworth Daily Times* between June and August 1861. Although written by seven different correspondents, they present a surprisingly coherent and accurate picture of the campaign that culminated in the battle of Wilson's Creek. Reading them provides a sense of how news of the war unfolded for the anxious citizen back home.

The correspondents were attached either to the First or Second Kansas infantry regiments, or to the U.S. Regulars. Some of their letters appear to have been unsolicited, while others clearly implied a prior arrangement with the newspaper's owner, Jonathan Kemp Bartlett, or its editor, Edward F. Schneider. Indeed, Schneider himself accompanied the expedition at least part of the way, providing two of the most detailed letters under the signature "Ed.F.S." He remained a civilian until after Wilson's Creek, becoming a major in the Eighth Kansas Infantry in November 1861.⁴

The identity of the other writers is problematical. "M." was apparently John M. Mentzer, a first sergeant in Company G of the Second Kansas, who enlisted on May 14 and mustered out with the regi-

ment on October 31, 1861. His residence is not given in regimental records.⁵

"R." cannot be positively identified. He accompanied Company B of the First Kansas, referring to himself as a corporal and a longtime resident of Missouri. Company B records list George Smith, James Hamilton, and Thomas Lee as residents of Kansas City, Missouri, who participated in the Wilson's Creek campaign as corporals.⁶

"Cosmopolite" of Company G, First Kansas, may have been Edwin S. Johnson, Charles M. Fisher, or George B. Smith, all Company G privates and Leavenworth residents who were in some way connected with journalism. But because "Cosmopolite" implied that he was at the beck and call of the regimental adjutant, he was probably a noncommissioned officer. Corp. William H. Bisbee and Sgt. Alonzo J. Brown were also Leavenworth residents and pre-war journalists. Bisbee, however, was wounded at Wilson's Creek and discharged soon thereafter. As "Cosmopolite"'s post-battle reports make no mention of a wound, the most likely candidate is therefore Brown, who eventually reached the rank of captain and command of Company H. Wounded, he resigned in 1864 and entered the Veteran Reserve Corps.⁷

"Rover," who accompanied the regulars, was probably a pre-war regular himself, judging by the attitudes he expressed toward the flogging of miscreant volunteers. His identity is not otherwise known, nor is that of "L." of the First Kansas. "L." may have been Sgt. James Liddle of Belmont, a pre-war journalist who served with the regiment until it mustered out in 1864.⁸ Finally, "One Who Was There" provided a vivid description of the battle from the perspective of Company G of the First Kansas. This was probably written by a private, as the author associates himself with two men who were privates in the sister regiment, Second Kansas. Of course few social constraints existed between officers and enlisted men, particularly in volunteer regiments so early in the war, and "One Who Was There" may have been either an officer or a noncommissioned officer. Nevertheless, the most likely candidates for authorship of the article are privates

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1. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

2. Christopher Phillips, *Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

3. For a complete list of sources on this period of Kansas history, see Homer E. Socolofsky and Virgil W. Dean, *Kansas History: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992). Standard works include Wiley Britton, *Civil War on the Border* (1891; reprint, Lawrence: Kansas Heritage Press, 1990); Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (1958; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984); Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958); and Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1864-1865* (1955; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

4. Pamela Kontowitz, Leavenworth Historical Society, to Richard W. Hatcher III, May 20, 1992.

5. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Co., 1896), 74, 279.

6. *Ibid.*, 26.

7. *Ibid.*, 45-49, 279.

8. *Ibid.*, 23, 278.

Johnson, Fisher, or Smith, as they are known to have been journalists antebellum.⁹

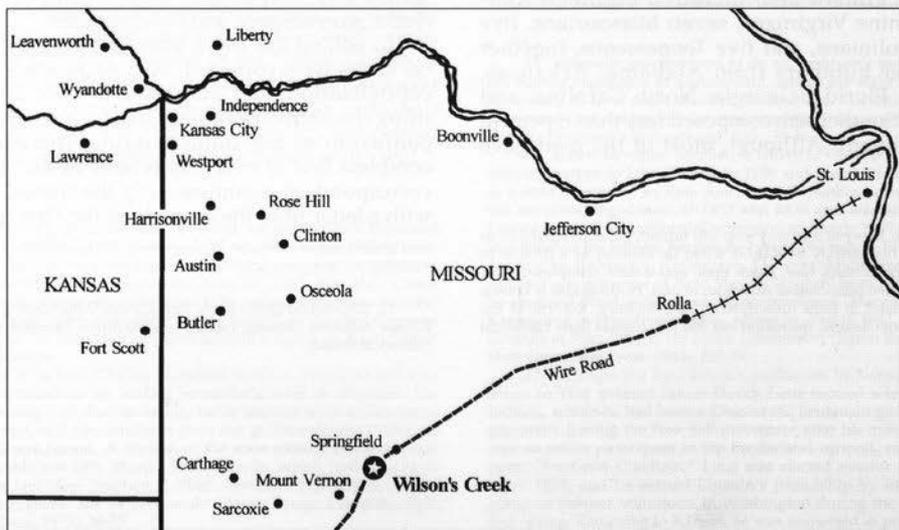
With the exception of "Rover," who was with the regulars, the testimony of these correspondents is similar to that of men from other states, North and South. They intended to "see the elephant" (nineteenth-century slang for a new experience) and wished to share with their readers the occurrences of their lives, from the profound to the trivial. The military provided exciting new perspectives. Food, shelter, clothing, and weather assumed a degree of importance hitherto unknown, and like all new soldiers they struggled to accommodate themselves to the discipline of army life. They griped when their wants were not met and were not above a little sharp practice when dealing with Missourians. "M."s tale of men of the Second Kansas using worthless paper money to obtain beer in Kansas City is typical in this regard. It also evidences, as do several other letters, the dry style of writing humor that Samuel Clemens popularized after the Civil War under the pen name Mark Twain.

The letters were not, however, idle entertainment; they served an important social and psychological function. As historians Gerald F. Linderman and Reid Mitchell have noted, such correspondence formed the glue that tied Civil War units to their home communi-

ties and allowed them, amid the moral ambiguity of war, to hold fast to shared assumptions concerning proper behavior. One sees this, for example, in "Cosmopolite"'s account of the execution of Joseph Cole for murder, which takes pains to disassociate the criminal from the regiment. The descriptions of the battle of Wilson's Creek are even more significant in this regard. Having earlier assured their readers that the flags presented to their units by the ladies back home would never be disgraced, the correspondents for the *Times* provided a virtual report card of group and individual performance in combat. Those who did not measure up, such as the luckless Maj. John A. Halderman of the First Kansas, were ridiculed, while heroic deeds were recounted at length. The expectation was that the home community would pass judgment, and that this judgment, positive or negative, would influence the soldiers' behaviors. Correspondents writing later in the war rarely included such detail. Repetition of the combat experience created a gulf between the frontlines and the home front. The soldiers not only ceased to believe that civilians could understand their actions, they also no longer felt that civilians had any right to pass judgment on their behaviors.¹⁰

9. *Ibid.*, 278-79.

10. Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 216-39; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences* (New York: Viking, 1988), 56-89.



Complete muster rolls of the Second Kansas have not survived, but an examination of the records of the First Kansas reveals the diversity of the region's society. More than 90 percent of that regiment's personnel can be identified by nativity. Only one person was actually born in Kansas, which is hardly surprising given its frontier status. Eighteen percent of the men were German. Most of these were enlisted in Company I (recruited largely in Leavenworth) and Company K (recruited largely in Atchison). Twenty-five percent of the men were Irish. Most of these were in Company B (Kansas City and Wyandotte), Company C (Leavenworth), and Company H (Leavenworth). No other ethnic groups were represented in large numbers, but the regiment included men born in Austria, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Sweden, and Switzerland. In all, a surprising 48 percent were foreign-born.¹¹ This almost certainly increased the hostility of Missourians toward the regiment and may have contributed to the feelings of many of the Missouri State Guard that they were defending their homes against Lincoln's "hirelings."

The remaining personnel of the First Kansas came from across the United States. Most were from the North. Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin were all represented. The regiment also included eighteen Kentuckians, nine Virginians, seven Missourians, five South Carolinians, and five Tennesseans, together with lesser numbers from Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas. But Southerners composed less than 6 percent of the regiment. Although most of the men gave

11. Felix L. Bowyer, a twenty-year-old farmer, gave his residence as Atchison and his nativity as Kansas when he enlisted as a private in Company K. With black hair, black eyes, and a dark complexion, his ancestry may have been Native American in part. Nothing else is known about him. Muster in Rolls (descriptive), First Infantry, Records of the Kansas Adjutant General, microfilm roll AR 114, Kansas State Historical Society.

town addresses as their places of residence at the time of enlistment, many may have listed the town nearest to their farm, because farming was the occupation of the majority. Fifty percent claimed residence in the town or county of Leavenworth; 12 percent in Lawrence; 9 percent in Atchison; 7 percent in Elwood; and 5 percent in Wyandotte. The remainder were scattered among twenty-eight locations, including Topeka and a host of small towns in Kansas, as well as Kansas City, Lexington, St. Louis, and Westport, Missouri.

In other ways the First Kansas was similar to most Civil War regiments, North and South. The officers and NCOs were older and usually were married. They tended to be members of the middle class and skilled professions such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, or merchants. These were the leading men of their communities, who won their ranks by election essentially as a reward for bringing in recruits. The imperfections of such a system are amply demonstrated in the regiment's order book, which indicates that a lieutenant, a sergeant, and three corporals were relieved of command or reduced to the ranks between the time the First Kansas mustered in and faced its baptism of fire at Wilson's Creek. Unfortunately, the nature of their shortcomings was not recorded.¹² Enlisted men tended to be younger and were less likely to be married. Most worked in agricultural pursuits, but a wide variety of occupations was represented including painters and plasters, tin-smiths and blacksmiths, river boatmen, carpenters, clerks, storekeepers, and watchmakers.

In editing the *Times* letters, obvious typographical errors were corrected, but anachronistic spelling, capitalization, and punctuation were untouched, using the obtrusive *sic* only when necessary to avoid confusion or misunderstanding. Included is the complete text of every letter sent to the *Times* by a correspondent accompanying the troops, together with a letter from the chaplain of the First Kansas.

12. Regimental Order Book, First Kansas Volunteers, Records of the Kansas Adjutant General, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.

From "M.," with the "Union Guards," Company G, Second Kansas, dated Lawrence, Kansas, June 13, 1861, published June 14, 1861 :

Ed. Times: — The poetry of a "bold soger's" life is quite a different thing from the stern reality. In our march from Leavenworth to this place we had a taste of the latter. The first day we had the heat and dust to contend with; the second day, mud for a change, with the heat intensified. Monday night we camped on the Big Stranger, some fifteen miles from Leavenworth. The only inhabitants at this point were a Pennsylvania Dutchman, who, some twenty years ago, married an Indian squaw, and swarms of pestiferous mosquitoes. The latter made themselves rather familiar, on a short acquaintance, and by impudently thrusting their bills into our faces, made themselves decidedly ridiculous. Soon after dark, and just as we began to think of throwing ourselves into the arms of Morpheus, a heavy rainstorm came dashing down upon us, in all its fury. A stampede immediately followed, some finding shelter under the wagon, others in a small stable, the basement story of which was occupied by porkers, a few in the fat Dutchman's house, while the balance, less fortunate, stood and took it like veteran soldiers. Of course this shower-bath gratuitously sent by nature, had a tendency to dampen our military ardor, yet the "boys" stood it well, and often, amid the roar of thunder and grunting of hogs, would give vent to their feelings by singing "Happy Land of Canaan," and "I'll Be Gay and Happy Still."

We reached Lawrence about 4 o'clock on Tuesday, just as the companies were on "dress parade," and as we passed the line, we were greeted with three hearty cheers, which were promptly returned by the "Union Guards."¹³ We were then conducted to our quarters, which we found very neat and comfortable. Soon after, Capt. Jennison's mounted company of Jay-Hawkers came up, and greeted us with their cheers, which we also returned with a will.¹⁴

13. Following President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers on April 13, 1861, Leavenworth residents began raising companies for federal service. Most adopted colorful company designations. The *Leavenworth Weekly Conservative*, May 23, 1861, lists the "Union Guards" as one of four city companies to be accepted for three months' service. However, their commander at that time, Capt. Edward Cozzens, is not listed in the later state adjutant general's report as a member of the Second Kansas.

14. New York-born Charles Rainsford Jennison, physician and abolitionist, was notorious for leading jayhawking raids on Missouri. The term jayhawking is of obscure origin, but it implied motivations based more on greed and opportunism than the politics of the turbulent Bleeding Kansas period. A captain in the state militia, Jennison commanded the Mound City Sharp's Rifle Guards, which had arrived in Lawrence in late May. Stephen Z. Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers: A Civil War Cavalry Regiment and Its Commander* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 36-37.

There are now ten companies in camp. Many are not yet full, but rapidly recruiting, with a prospect of filling up very soon. There are about 800 men here, all eager to be mustered in, and sent down South where they will have a chance to burn a little powder in defense of their country. Many are from the Southern counties, and a more determined looking set of fellows one hardly ever meets. I have no doubt that when the 2d Regiment once gets well drilled, they will be a formidable set of boys; and should they ever get a chance at the secessionists, they will show them that Kansas boys know how to fight. Capt. Jennison's company is about 120 strong, well mounted, and under good discipline for the short time they have been under drill. They are strongly attached to the Captain, and say that should they fail to get into regular service, they will "go it on their own hook."¹⁵ On Monday one of their number committed suicide by blowing out his brains. It is supposed he did the deed under a fit of derangement, as he was subject to such spells of insanity. Col. Robt. B. Mitchell is the commanding officer here.¹⁶

Those who know, say that they have had positive assurance from Washington that this regiment would be accepted, and that the proper documents, and a recruiting officer, would be on in a few days. We have been ordered to be ready to muster in next Monday.

A petition has been sent by the regiment, to Washington, to have Jas. H. Lane appointed Major General.¹⁷ This regiment is, I think, strongly in favor of him—at all events the petition was largely signed. The rank and file have great confidence in his ability and bravery; some of the political officers are bitter against him.

15. Although unauthorized to do so, Jennison's men accompanied the Kansas regiments to Kansas City, where the sight of two African Americans in their ranks shocked Missourians. The unit soon returned to Mound City. Jennison later organized the infamous Seventh Kansas Cavalry (Jennison's Jayhawkers). *Ibid.*, 38-40.

16. Robert Byington Mitchell, a native of Ohio and a Mexican War veteran, moved to Linn County in 1856 and practiced law. A Democrat in a state dominated by Free Soilers and Republicans, he was elected to the territorial legislature of 1857 and 1858 and was a member of the Leavenworth Constitutional Convention of March 1858. Commissioned as colonel of the Second Kansas, he eventually rose to brigadier general, serving in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Nebraska, and Kansas. Mitchell was governor of New Mexico Territory from 1866 to 1869 when he resigned amid accusations of incompetence. Thereafter he lived in Kansas and in Washington, D.C., where he died in 1882. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 328-29.

17. Perhaps the best-known politician in Kansas, lawyer and Mexican War veteran James Henry Lane moved west in 1855 from Indiana, where he had been a Democratic lieutenant governor and congressman. Joining the Free Soil movement after his move to Kansas, he was an active participant in the borderland turmoil, earning the nickname "the Grim Chieftain." Lane was elected senator from Kansas in April 1861, and he earned Lincoln's friendship by leading a rowdy group of frontier volunteers in Washington during the secession crisis that spring. Returning to Kansas, he was immersed in political and mili-

I find the *people* of Lawrence brim full of the Union spirit. The stars and stripes float from almost every corner of the streets, and most of the public and private buildings. They seem to look upon the volunteers that are quartered here in a far more friendly light than the people of Leavenworth, and seem to take great delight in making them as comfortable as possible. Many of the little delicacies of life, to which a soldier is generally a stranger, find their way into our "quarters," accompanied by the well wishes of fair donors. The people here appreciate the worth of volunteers, and know how to treat them.

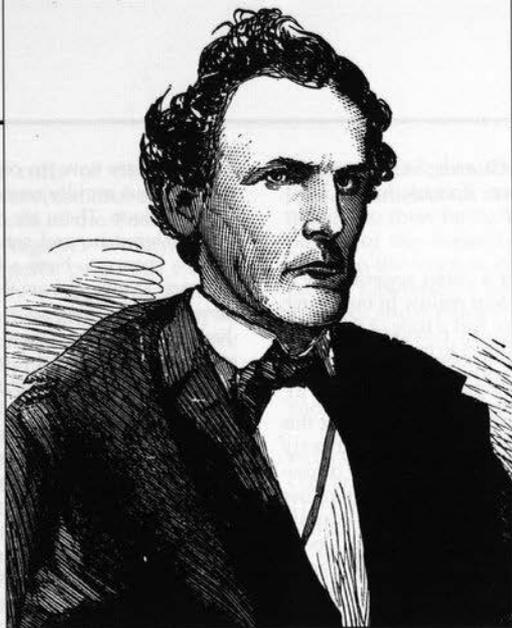
The "Union Guards" receive a great deal of attention, and fully appreciate it. Yesterday we received a large addition to our numbers from Oscalooosa. Our ranks are filling up, and if any of our friends in Leavenworth wish to join us, they must hurry up.

From "Ed.F.S.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated "From Wyandott," June 13, 1861, published June 14, 1861:

Dear Times: — The troops arrived here safely, at 11 o'clock. Nothing occurred worthy of note on the way down, except that we were greeted by the cheers of the Union men of Missouri at various points. The force is under the command of Lieut. Col. Lenard [*sic*], and is

tary events until the war's end, and committed suicide in 1866. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 23 vols., supplements (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1973), 3: 576-77.

18. Oscar E. Learnard of Burlington served as lieutenant colonel of the First Kansas and resigned on July 25, 1862. Gustavus Zesch of Leavenworth commanded Company I, the "Steuben Guards," until the regiment mustered out in June 1864. Job B. Stockton of Leavenworth commanded Company G until he resigned on July 15, 1862. Powell Clayton of Leavenworth commanded Company E, the "Leavenworth Light Infantry." Promoted to lieutenant colonel in February 1862, he transferred to the Fifth Kansas Cavalry and ended the war a brigadier general. In 1868 he was elected governor of Arkansas and was involved with Republican party politics until his death in 1914 in Washington, D.C. Bernard P. Chenoweth of Elwood commanded Company A until he mustered out with the regiment in June 1864. William Y. Roberts of



Gen. James H. Lane

composed of the companies of Captains Zosch [*sic*], Stockton, Clayton, Chenoweth, Roberts, Walker and McCook.¹⁸ A detachment will be stationed at Kaw River bridge, and the balance of the command will encamp in this place.¹⁹ The men are in high spirits, and full of fight.

The latest news from Kansas City is that a large force is stationed at Independence. Some reports place the number at 1,500; others at 1,000. They are making a feint of attacking the Federal troops.

Many secessionists left Kansas City last night, by the advice of their friends.

I do not think there will be a fight, unless the Union forces make the attack.

Reports of the force at Independence is supposed to be much exaggerated.

From "Ed.F.S.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated Camp Union, Kansas City, Missouri, June 14, 1861, published June 16, 1861:

Dear Times: — Heretofore I have found no opportunity to send you more than a few hurried notes of what has transpired since our departure from Leavenworth. Before furnishing you the latest intelligence concerning the movements of the U.S. forces, let me go back to give a detailed account of the adventures of the Kansas volunteers since leaving Camp Lincoln.²⁰

Enlivened by the shouted cheers of friends on the levee at Leavenworth, the "boys" left in high glee, and thoroughly imbued with a desire for fight. They kept up their spirits by singing "The Star Spangled Banner," "Red,

Wyandotte commanded Company B. He was promoted to major in May 1862, to colonel in June 1863, and mustered out with the regiment in June 1864. Samuel Walker of Lawrence commanded Company F, the "Scott Guards." He was promoted to major in May 1862 and transferred to the Fifth Kansas Cavalry. Daniel McCook of Leavenworth commanded Company H and resigned on November 10, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 22, 23, 26, 36, 41, 45, 49, 53.

19. The Kaw River was an alternate name for the Kansas River.

20. Camp Lincoln was on the prairie a quarter mile from Fort Leavenworth. "News from the 'All Hazard Boys,'" *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison City, June 8, 1861.

White and Blue," "Canaan," &c. Nothing of special interest occurred during the trip. The troops were safely landed at Wyandott, and their tents were pitched on a level spot, between the river and the town.

Camp Union

After dinner, in company with several other representatives of the Leavenworth press, I went over to Camp Union, where our boys are now stationed. It was then occupied by the regulars, under command of Capt. Prince.²¹ The camp is situated in the South-West portion of the city, near the edge of a high bluff which runs from the river Southward. This bluff cuts off all communication from the West, and on the other sides, the camp is almost entirely surrounded by deep gullies, which render it difficult of access, save at two places where a wagon road runs through it. It would not be easy to dislodge one thousand men in possession of the point, if properly managed.

On our first visit to this encampment, yesterday, we succeeded in gaining admission, although the strictest regulations were enforced. On inquiry we found that three companies of cavalry had been sent out toward Independence, to ascertain if possible the strength and intentions of the secession forces, at that place. The officers at Camp Union were in consultation on the subject yesterday afternoon, and it was evident that an attack was expected, or an advance on Independence intended. An "aid" [*sic*; aide-de-camp] to Gen. Lyon had just arrived from St. Louis with dispatches.²²

21. William Edgar Prince, a native of Massachusetts, was a Mexican War veteran. He served in the First U.S. Infantry until 1864 when he resigned his commission. Units in the pre-war army were called regulars, while those raised by the states and mustered into federal service were volunteers. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1: 807-8.

22. Actions taken by Nathaniel Lyon, a Connecticut abolitionist and West Point graduate, set the Kansas regiments on the road to battle at Wilson's Creek. Placed in charge of the Federal Arsenal at St. Louis, Captain Lyon issued arms to loyal home guard units, and on May 10 he captured the pro-secessionist Missouri militia during its muster at near-by Camp Jackson. In response, the state legislature granted sweeping military powers to Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson whose dream of adding Missouri to the Confederacy was well known. Both sides recruited vigorously. The dispatches probably contained news of the famous meeting between Lyon, now a brigadier general, and Jackson on June 11 at the Planter's House hotel in St. Louis. Missouri had not passed an ordinance of secession, but fearing that any compromise would favor disunionists, Lyon declared war on Jackson's Missouri State Guard. Most historians credit Lyon's decisive actions at the Planter's House and his subsequent occupation of the state capital, Jefferson City, with saving Missouri for the Union. But in his recent study, Christopher Phillips argues that Lyon's assault on the legal state government and its representatives alienated thousands of Missourians and opened the door to guerrilla warfare. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 164-65; 181-94; 210-14; 262-64.

Missouri Invaded at Night

On returning to Wyandott, we learned that orders had been issued for the removal of the volunteer camp to the Missouri side of the Kaw. By nine o'clock last night, all the companies had crossed the ferry, and were on the march toward Kansas City. Rumors were in circulation among the men that there was a prospect of some fighting, either offensive or defensive; and all were anxious to know what was the plan of operations. Steadily and silently the boys moved through the woods, until they arrived at a point not far from the bluff to which I have referred above. Several of the companies were stationed near the Missouri river, where they were about to form a camp, when the orders to that effect were countermanded, and they were posted along the Wyandott road, as a picket guard. The other companies marched down the Westport road, which runs southward right along the foot of the bluff on which Camp Union is situated. The utmost reticence was observed in regard to the "programme" of operations, and none but captains of companies seemed to know what was going on. Determined to be "in at the death," if the prospects of an attack were realized, I fell in with Capt. Stockton's company, and marched with them down the road to Westport. When we reached a point directly below Camp Union, the men were brought to a halt, and in a few words received their instructions from Capt. Stockton. He told them to lay down at the foot of the bluff, not to talk above a whisper, and when the bugle was sounded, to form in a line, in the road. Beyond us, to the South, was Capt. Roberts company. On the North were the companies of Capt. Clayton, Capt. Zesch, and Capt. Walker. All along in front of the men, and for some distance to the right and left of them, guards were stationed to give warning, on the approach of an enemy. The scene and the occasion were impressive. The night was a lovely one. The moon shone with a mellow and subdued radiance. No sound, save the rustling of the leaves in the neighboring woods, disturbed the solemn stillness. All along the steep sides of the bluff could be seen the dark forms of the reclining soldiers, and here and there a guard moving to and fro was indistinctly visible.

Passing the Picket Guard

For nearly an hour after the troops had been stationed, the same mysterious silence prevailed. Thinking to gain some information by observing the condition of affairs at Camp Union, I sallied out down the road, in company with a friend from Wyandott, intending, if possible, to pass the volunteer guard, and get round to the camp of the regulars. We had no trouble passing where the troops were stationed in a body, the guards being mostly Leavenworth men, with whom I was acquainted.

All along the road, however, beyond the main body of troops, pickets were stationed about three rods apart, and we experienced much difficulty in making them understand that we were friends. We were fortunate in meeting, before we had gone far, Lieut. Tucker of Capt. Walker's company, who recognized us, and furnished us with an escort.²³ Even then we could scarcely pass the guard. The men were certainly not lacking in vigilance and caution. Indeed, there was danger that they would go to the other extreme, through ignorance in regards to what duty required of them. Two well-meaning, but inexperienced fellows, without challenging us or giving the least warning, stepped into the middle of the road, fronting us, cocked their pieces, and leveled them at us. After considerable parleying, they shouldered their muskets and allowed us to pass. Two others positively refused to let us go by, notwithstanding they recognized our escort. We endeavoured to assure them that we were from Leavenworth—connected with the press there—and threw out a delicate hint that the pen was mightier than the sword. This later proposition did not seem to have any effect; they evidently thought Bulwer was behind the times, and that a loaded musket, with bayonet attached, was preferable to either of the useful implements mentioned by that distinguished author.²⁴ Fortune favored us, for a sergeant came up while we were talking, and the question was speedily settled. We then marched on, without further molestations.

"It's a Mistake"

But a short time after we passed the outside guard, a shot was fired. Another, and another followed in quick succession, intermingled with shouts of "Here they come!" In a moment a whole volley was discharged almost simultaneously. The flash, the report, and the whizzing of the bullets, roused the entire force in an instant, and for a little while all was confusion and excitement. Then it was discovered that the alarm was a false one, and order was speedily restored. It afterwards appeared that

an old chap who lived along the road, being somewhat overcome with liquor,—in fact, drunk,—attempted to pass one of the guards; when he was arrested and taken prisoner. His wife, who was nearby, thinking the secessionists had come, set up a terrible screaming, that would certainly have frightened them away, had her conjecture been correct. This alarmed some drowsy soldier, who discharged his piece; one of his comrades "followed suit," the men were aroused; and in the flurry of the moment, banged away, not knowing what they were shooting at. It is almost miraculous that there was "nobody hurt." There were some narrow escapes, however. One of Lieut. McGonigle's men had the breach of his gun shattered to pieces.²⁵ A member of the Fencibles received a slight wound in the hand from a passing ball.²⁶ The regulars who were stationed along the brow of the bluff, thinking that the volunteers had been driven from their position, and that the rebels were advancing up the sides of the bluff, were about to fire, when they heard Capt. Stockton give the order: "Cease firing; it's a mistake."

Nothing else unusual occurred, and with watching and waiting, the night wore away.

From "Ed.F.S.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated Camp Union, Kansas City, Missouri, June 15, 1861, published June 16, 1861:

Five Traitors Killed

Dear Times: — Yesterday morning at four o'clock, the regulars, under Capt. Prince, left Camp Union, and marched toward Independence, to meet the secession forces at that place. The day previous, three companies of cavalry, under Capt. Stanley, had gone with a flag of truce to the secession encampment.²⁷ They halted when about seventy-five yards distant from the guard, and while waiting for a response to their white banner, observed that the traitors were endeavoring to out flank them and cut off their retreat. As the regulars were instructed not to fire on the rebels, they immediately retired, to avoid a fight. They had no sooner commenced their backward movement, than they were fired on by the scoundrels to whom they had

23. Theron Tucker of Topeka joined Company F as a second lieutenant in June 1861. He rose to the rank of captain and command of the company in May 1862. Wounded at Lake Providence, Louisiana, in February 1863, he served until the regiment mustered out in 1864. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 41.

24. "Beneath the rule of men entirely great, the pen is mightier than the sword," is from *Richelieu* (1839) by Edward Bulwer Lytton, one of the most popular British authors of the middle nineteenth century. He was best known for his novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834). John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 13th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1955), 510.

25. First Lt. James A. McGonigle of Leavenworth served in Company H until October 1861 when he resigned his commission. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 49.

26. Stockton's Company G was nicknamed the "Leavenworth Fencibles." The term, which means defenders, was popularized by militia units in the United Kingdom. "Volunteers," *Leavenworth Weekly Conservative*, May 23, 1861.

27. David Sloan Stanley, an Ohio native, was a captain in the First U.S. Cavalry when the war began. He fought at Wilson's Creek, Stones River, and Franklin, retiring from the army as a brigadier general in 1864. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 915.

come with peaceful intentions. Instead, however, of the shots taking effect on the regulars, the rebels were the principal sufferers from their violation of the rules of civilized warfare. Five of their own men were shot dead, viz: Capt. E. B. Holloway, J. B. McClanahan, Samuel Rolson, Henry Stonestreet, and Mr. Harbaugh.²⁸ One other was mortally wounded.

Several of the U.S. cavalry horses were slightly wounded, and one U.S. soldier received a small rifle ball in his left shoulder. The wound is not a serious one. The cavalry soldiers were very much enraged at the action of the traitors, and were anxious to have vengeance. The wounded man desired to go back with the troopers yesterday, and was very much disgusted when ordered to remain at Camp Union.

The Kansas Boys in Camp

As soon as the regulars marched, yesterday morning, the Kansas volunteers took possession of the encampment. The post is now under strict military regulations. The boys were somewhat fatigued by their experience, on Thursday, but have, nevertheless, been "spoilin'" for a skirmish with the enemy. The representatives of the Leavenworth press are quartered with Capt. Stockton and Lieut. Ketner.²⁹ I am under many obligations to them for their courtesy. We dined yesterday with Capt. Clayton, and had an excellent camp dinner.

Good News From Independence

Towards evening yesterday the quiet of the camp was disturbed by a messenger from Capt. Prince, who rode up at full speed. The officers and men immediately sur-



rounded him, and learned that the rebels had retreated from their position near Independence, and that the Federal troops had taken possession of their camp. The rebels retreated so rapidly that they left a large portion of their clothing and camp equipment, and other "contraband" articles, behind them. These were seized by the regulars, who also captured two horses. They then marched towards Independence. On the outskirts of the town, they were met by Capt. Reid, who desired to know whether they intended to molest the citizens. Capt. Prince told him their hostility was to men in

arms against the Government; they would not interfere with the people of Independence, unless insulted or attacked, in which case the insult would be resented or the attack repelled. The U.S. soldiers then moved through the town, with their colors flying, and their bands playing National airs. When a short distance beyond Independence, it was found to be impossible to overtake the rebels that day, and a retreat was ordered, the best camping ground in the vicinity being that deserted by the secessionists. When this news was imparted to the volunteers at Camp Lincoln, they were very jubilant, and indulged in various demonstrations of rejoicing.

The Union Feeling in Kansas City—Business

A large majority of the Kansas City people welcome the troops cordially. The Union feeling is strong here, the secessionists numbering only about seventy-five. The town is completely dead, so far as business is concerned, and, in this respect presents a marked contrast to its appearance in '56, when I first visited it. A perpetual Sabbath now reigns there, and this is due, in a great measure, to the discredit which a few noisy traitors have brought upon the whole place.³⁰

28. Edmunds Balard Holloway, an Ohio native and West Point graduate, resigned his captaincy in the Eighth U.S. Infantry in May 1861. He was appointed a colonel in the Missouri State Guard and raised a troop of cavalry in Jackson County. The other individuals cannot be identified. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 538; John C. Moore, *Missouri*, vol. 9, pt. 2 of *Confederate Military History* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1962), 43-44.

29. An Ohioan living in Leavenworth, James Ketner joined Company G in May 1861 as a first lieutenant. He ended the war a brevet brigadier general of volunteers, having served with the Sixteenth Kansas Cavalry. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 45; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 595.

30. Active secessionists were a distinct minority in Kansas City, probably numbering no more than 130 out of a population of just over 4,000. But they thoroughly intimidated their fellow citizens in April and May. At the request of Mayor Robert T. Van Horn, Union troops from Fort Leavenworth under Captain Prince occupied the city on June 9. The local economy, however, did not revive until war's end. A. Theodore Brown, *Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1963), 165-66.

Latest

Since the above was written, I learn that Capt. Prince and a large portion of his command, are on their way to Camp Union. There will be no fighting hereabouts very soon.

From "R.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated Camp Lyon [near Kansas City, Missouri], June 15, 1861, published June 18, 1861:

Dear Times: — As this is the first letter I have found leisure to write since starting out as a "bold Soger boy," with Co. B, Capt. Stockton, 1st Regiment, Kansas Volunteers, (or in view of the dilapidated condition of some of the clothing, Kansas vagabonds, as has been justly remarked) and not having seen the Times, I do not know at what point your special [correspondent] left off in his record of the war movements on the frontier.³¹ However, hoping to get "on the track" soon, I send you a few items, though not of a startling nature.

Early this morning we were notified to prepare for a move, and many were the conjectures as to the probable destination of the command. Rumors, of course, of every character were afloat, and anticipation said that we were to have a brush with the "secesh" for certain this time. It turned out, however, that we were only to evacuate Camp Union for the regulars, who were on the return march from Independence. Before we had finished striking our tents, the command of Captain Prince, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to the number probably of six hundred, came in and took up their old quarters. The command of Col. Leonard is now in camp near the bank of the river, just above the city, from which point I date this letter.

The men are in the best of spirits, and in the Gaelic, "barin' the mate," would be very comfortably situated. Our new camp is much pleasanter than the old ground on the hill, there being an abundance of shade trees in this vicinity, and the proximity to the river renders our ablutions here less difficult.

31. "Vagabonds" is a reference to the fact that at this point the men of the First and Second were wearing civilian clothes.



Claib Jackson's proclamation calling upon fifty thousand of the "true and loyal" citizens to arm to repel invasion, is one topic of conversation, and excites universal derision, as the ability of the amiable Executive to raise and equip that number of troops may be very safely questioned.³² Hotspur could call spirits from the vasty deep; but would they come?³³ Having been a resident of Missouri for some time, I can speak with some truth in regard to the sentiments of the people. The utmost number that can be raised will not reach 20,000, and the difficulty of concentrating these will

be somewhat puzzle even Fox, who will find that, with Gen. Lyon as an opponent, military maneuvering requires something beyond a "bookish theory."³⁴

The "Enquirer and Star" is in a perfect agony in regard to the armed occupation, but has the truthfulness to admit that both officers and soldiers are gentlemanly and courteous in their intercourse with the citizens.³⁵ The Star, however, persists in its denials of any outrages being perpetrated upon Union men hereabouts, in the face of evidence to the contrary of the strongest possible character. I was informed by a substantial farmer, who lives just below the camp, that a perfect terrorism was exercised over Union men previous to the arrival of the troops, often reaching personal indignities to those suspected. Large numbers have left, but now the "boot is on the other foot," and it is the "secesh" who are afflicted with the mania for travel, to escape the penalties justly due.

An instance of "drumming out" occurred this morning in the regular camp, which was witnessed by a large

32. Following the Planter's House meeting, Jackson issued a proclamation on June 12 calling for fifty thousand volunteers to "rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties." *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, v. 53 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 696-98.

33. A reference to Shakespeare's *The History of Henry the Fourth*, act 3, scene 1:

Clydwrd: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;

But will they come when you do call for them?

34. A reference to Jackson, whose middle name was Fox.

35. A Kansas City, Missouri, newspaper.

concourse of people, who felt that the punishment was well merited. I was unable to learn the name of the offender, but understand that he is a deserter from both the regular and volunteer forces. Having become tired of the latter, he took "French leave" of the regiment, and soon after joined the command of Capt. Prince, from which he deserted a few days since. He was stripped of his clothing and was forced to run the gauntlet between two files of men, coming out in a slightly fatigued condition.³⁶

If your compositors can decipher this letter written under difficulties, I will endeavor to be more legible hereafter, though venturing the assertion that lying on one's back, propped up by a pile of baggage, is not the most convenient position for newspaper correspondence. I will endeavor to keep you advised of any movements of interest that may transpire, though being only a corporal in the rear rank, I am not supposed to be aware of the plans of our commandant, especially before they are formed, as is the faculty with those who write from the army of occupation further eastward.³⁷

From "R.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated Camp Lyon, June 16, 1861, published June 18, 1861:

Dear Times: — I closed my first letter yesterday, almost totally devoid of interesting items, and indeed there is little of a very exciting nature to engage our attention now. Of course conjectures are rife, and rumor, with her hundred tongues, is flying throughout the camp. The prospect of an engagement soon with the command of Gen. Price, does not, in the least, dampen the ardor and hilarity which has existed with the men, in spite of the uncomfortable circumstances in which they have necessarily been placed since we left Camp Lincoln.³⁸ The regi-

ment is gradually "coming down" to discipline, though, of course, it will take some time for it to attain that precision of manoeuvre, characteristic of the regulars. Everyone seems in the best of spirits, and from sun up until "taps" at nine, may be heard from the quarters snatches of popular songs, mingled, sometimes, with the gentle notes of the guitar.

"Let the wide world wag as it will,
We'll be gay and happy still."

Our mess went fishing this morning, albeit it was Sunday, and succeeded in "confiscating," from his native element, a huge catfish, weighing about sixty pounds, which, after a liberal ration for the "staff," furnished a good dinner for fifteen men, who, at least, have learned, since they went into camp, how to eat.³⁹

A special messenger, in the regular service, arrived this morning, from Clay county. He reports a considerable movement of secessionists toward Independence; but without any regularity or discipline, and very indifferently armed. Some are mounted and others on foot, but a large majority are from the rural districts, and all were very much elated by a report they had received, that the regulars had been driven back, by Capt. Halloway's command. This they will find this [sic] pretty much of a "roorback" when they reach Independence.⁴⁰

Judging from indications, the principal contribution of the "Jackson" army will be on the South side of the river, and from what I can learn, Gen. Lyon's movements are directed thither.⁴¹ Madness seems to have seized on the Executive of this State, in thus declaring open war

Price concentrated his forces at Boonville. Illness prevented him from commanding on June 17 when Lyon defeated the State Guard and seized the city, winning a major political victory. Cut off from the central portion of the state where support for secession was strong, Price withdrew most of his ill-trained and poorly equipped men to Cowskin Prairie in logistically barren, pro-Union southwestern Missouri. Robert E. Shalhope, *Sterling Price: Portrait of a Southerner* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 166-67.

39. On active campaign, soldiers prepared their food in small groups, each of which was referred to as a "mess." The men often contrasted the primitiveness of these arrangements with the comforts of civilian life by naming their messes after fine restaurants, such as the "Astor House Mess." Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), 106.

40. "Roorback" was slang for a defamatory falsehood. If local secessionists exaggerated the success of the skirmish in which Holloway was killed, it was misreported elsewhere in Missouri as part of a large-scale invasion of Missouri from Kansas. The Missouri State Guard rallied in the vicinity of Boonville and Lexington. James Truslow Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, 5 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 4: 501; Moore, *Missouri*, 43-44.

41. Lyon was forced to remain in central Missouri for some time amassing the supplies and reinforcements necessary to continue his campaign. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 220-22.

36. Desertion, or "French leave," was a chronic problem in the regulars. The men forming the gauntlet probably struck their victim with the ramrods from their muskets. Actual flogging with a whip was still authorized in the army although it was rarely used. The desertion rate among volunteers was low at the beginning of the conflict, increased steadily as the war progressed, and reached its highest level during the last year of hostilities. In the time frame covered by part one of this article, June 14-July 2, 1861, the First Kansas had forty-one desertions. However, no mention is made of this in any of the correspondence. Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 193, 196-97; James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 135; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 22-65.

37. This may be a reference to a rival reporter nearby, or to the elaborate newspaper reportage of the operations of federal forces gathering around Washington, D.C.

38. A Virginia native and Mexican War veteran, Sterling Price had served Missouri in the state legislature, in Congress, and as governor; he initially opposed secession. Jackson named him major general commanding of the Missouri State Guard in May. After hostilities began,

with the Federal Government, the result of which cannot, for a moment, be questioned.

The horses and other property taken by Captain Prince's command, on Friday, have been returned, with the exception of one fine animal, which is retained by the messenger above alluded to. This horse will be sent up to Leavenworth, I think, to-morrow, where all will have an opportunity of seeing the first contraband article from this section. It is said he belonged to the Ray county artillery. The messenger also has a musket, which he found in the deserted camp of the rebels, marked "Independence Guards."

It is rumored, to-day, that Jennison's command has gone out on a scouting expedition below us.⁴² The Second Regiment will be sworn into the service to-morrow and will, probably, encamp near us soon. I noticed several of their officers in camp to day, among them Major Cloud, who had an interview with Capt. Prince.⁴³

A report says that the rebels have returned to their old camp, near Independence, and are bitterly hostile to Union men there, having torn down houses and subjected the owners to more indignities.

The First Regiment is much in need of its uniform, and considerable "growling" is occasioned by its non-receipt, especially since it has been reported that Gov. Stanton either brought them on or ordered them, previous to his departure from New York.⁴⁴ If the delay is unnecessary, it is reprehensible in no small degree.

From "R.," with Company B, First Kansas, dated Camp Wyandott, June 18, 1861, published June 20, 1861:

Dear Times: — I write again to-day, more perhaps for the purpose of keeping my "hand in," than because I have anything new or of a startling nature to communicate. We, i.e., the First Regiment, or a part thereof, are now encamped upon a delightful eminence in the rear of Wyandott, and near the placid Kaw, which, aside from the fish it furnishes, is one of the best bathing places in

42. Throughout the summer, Jennison's men "plundered and burned their way through as much of western Missouri as they could reach." Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers*, 22.

43. Captain William F. Cloud of Emporia commanded Company H; he was promoted to major on May 23, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 75.

44. Frederick Perry Stanton, a native of Alexandria, Virginia, entered politics as a Democrat. His brief service as acting governor of Kansas in 1857, however, converted him to the free-state position. An unsuccessful candidate for the senate in 1861, Stanton also failed to secure a general's commission in the Union army, and he spent most of the war practicing law in Washington. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 17: 523-24.

the State. It is said that "three removes are as bad as a fire;" but during our brief campaign, we have changed our quarters five times, and I do not see that we are any the worse for it. We certainly lost nothing in the exchange of Camp Lyon for the present site, which is, as yet, a camp without a name; but if we keep on in the ratio we have commenced, I think we shall include, within six months, the President and his Cabinet, the Governors, Majors and Brigadier Generals, and perhaps get down to Colonels. Yesterday, at noon, we were ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march at four o'clock; but, as usual, conjecture only condescended to inform us where we were going, and learning that the forces at Camp Union were also under marching orders, perhaps a suspicion was entertained that we were about to try the metal of the "secesh" in and about Independence. However, upon inquiring I learned that six companies were to take position on the hill above Wyandott, while Capt. Roberts' company were to encamp at the bridge some distance above. Having struck tents and packed up in readiness for the march, a countermand came to the order, rather a request that we should remain "at present" in Camp Lyon, as the wagons could not be spared to transport our equipage. This, however, did not deter our Colonel, who, having got ready to move, was determined to move anyhow, and move we did, though it was just mid-night when the last of the rear guard crossed the river.⁴⁵ During the preparations for the march, a squad of Dragoons from Camp Union came in sight, moving at a quick trot towards us, when one or two of our impulsive Captains, imagining, perhaps, that the commandant was about to employ a little "coercive persuasion" to keep us in camp, ordered their men to "fall in and load." Before the order was accomplished, however, the Dragoons wheeled and were off for the South, having been assembled only of drill, a fact which all who were acquainted with cavalry tactics knew as soon as they came in sight. We enjoyed the confusion, but admired the readiness with which the men obeyed the order to "fall in."

Fatigue parties will be sent out this morning, and every day hereafter, to excavate entrenchments, and throw up breastworks opposite the camp, more for the purpose of drill in that branch of service, than from any anticipation that fortifications will be needed in this part

45. The First Kansas was commanded by George Washington Deitzler, a Pennsylvanian who moved to Kansas in 1855 and played a highly prominent role in state politics. Following the Wilson's Creek battle, he was promoted to brigadier general and fought in Louisiana before resigning in 1863 for health reasons. He later commanded the Kansas militia. Active in railroads following the war, Deitzler died in 1884. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 116-17.

of the country. Capt. Jennison and his "Jay-hawkers" are in camp a short distance from us, and the Doctor visits our camp often, seemingly very much interested in cavalry tactics, and making frequent rides to Camp Union, where the dragoons are stationed. Of course, your readers are nearly all aware of the *personel* of the "notorious" Doctor; but I must confess I was considerably surprised at his appearance, having formed an idea almost the opposite of the reality. He is in fact one of the most quiet and unassuming persons I ever saw, to have gained the notoriety which attaches to him in Missouri. I should never have imagined that the small, keen-eyed man, sitting so quietly on his horse, was the veritable Jennison, who had caused so much consternation among the Blue Lodge men of '56, now re-organized as the State guard of Missouri.⁴⁶

In spite of the discomforts of camp life, its frequent marches, drills and fatigue parties for fortifications, there is a fascination about it, something akin to that which draws us all to the West. Neither is it altogether devoid of sentiment and poetry, should we remain here more than twenty-four hours, I may indulge my pencil in a slight fancy flight, but for the present confine it to a plain record of facts in regard to our movements.

The thick black clouds of war are gathering fast, and through their murkiness no rift is seen, no gleam from the sun of peace. Civil war is upon us—the most horrible calamity which can befall a nation—but we must meet it as becomes Americans and freemen, battling against the encroachments of an old feudal and decrepid system, an oligarchic rule. May Heaven yet interfere and avert the storm.

46. "Blue Lodges" were self-defense associations first formed in northwestern Missouri in the summer of 1854 by proslavery advocates who intended to claim land in Kansas. David D. March, *The History of Missouri*, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1967), 3: 842.



From "The Chaplain of the Regiment," with the First Kansas, dated Camp Lincoln [near Kansas City, Missouri], June 20, 1861, published June 22, 1861:

Are not the citizens of the largest and most prosperous city in our State, somewhat too indifferent to the welfare of the gallant band who have volunteered for the public defense? The First Regiment has been in camp for the last two weeks in a wretched state of unfitness as to clothing and camp comforts—liable at any hour to be called into action. Seven companies of the regiment have marched away to meet and repel the advancing foe, not half supplied with blankets, shoes, or a change of flannels; and now the balance of the regiment are to

move to-morrow morning toward the field of threatened action, in a pitiful state of destitution as to the prime requisites for health and efficient service.

Are there no patriotic, or humane, or farsighted spirits in Leavenworth, that all can sit with folded hands in a security which depends, as all are soon to learn, upon the fidelity and efficiency of these neglected defenders? Not so have the loyal sons and daughters of the other States met the appeal of our country for the best and readiest, each can render in this her day of trying emergency.

The regular government supplies have far to come, and through much obstruction of red tape formality. The army of the Union has suddenly grown up to a great magnitude, and Government has, for the time, its hands more than full of work to feed, clothe, and fit all these troops for service. This part of the force, hardened by the experience of pioneer life, seem disposed to work cheerfully, and await with patience for the coming supply of these pressing wants.

The families hitherto dependent for support on those who have entered the service, have a claim on those who remain at home to which no generous spirit can be utterly insensible. Can you not instigate some movement of the people for the relief of such? That at least credit may be extended to them for the supply of their urgent wants, while their natural protectors are meeting the privations and perils of the common defense. The cry of distress from some of this class has already reached us. On such a

head and under such circumstances there can be no need of a charity sermon from THE CHAPLAIN OF THE REGIMENT.⁴⁷

The foregoing appeal having been submitted to us, we give it our hearty assent, and earnestly join in recommending that some action be taken by the citizens in response thereto.

[Signed,]

G. W. Deitzler, Col. Com.

J. A. Halderman, Major, 1st Reg. K. V's⁴⁸

From "Cosmopolite," with the First Kansas, dated Camp Fremont [near Kansas City, Missouri], June 20, 1861, published June 23, 1861:

Dear Times: — I have been for some time in a study as to whether to-day is Thursday or some other day; the monotony of camp life mixes things so considerable. In short to use Ike Marvel's words, slightly altered, "the hours pass without knowledge and the Summer winds whistle uncared for."⁴⁹ Day after day drags its sometimes not very slow length along, diversified by drills and fatigue parties, roll calls and guard mountings, and the other et ceteras of a soldier's life, too often associated with indolence and ease. The camp is the gymnasium of the Nation now, and dyspeptic, thin limbed Americans will become robust and hearty; sleep sound o' nights, and relish keenly the mess pork and hard bread, which Uncle Sam provides in no stinted quantity, for them who now aid him in the struggle for existence. Each meal is eaten with a zest and appetite which only healthy exercise can give, and one feels, as it were, so rejuvenated after long years of mental toil in the realm of the quill and tripod, that he may be tempted to exclaim, "No middle



ground for me; give me the tent of the Nomad, or a moon stone palace in the gorgeous realms of the ideal."

Camp fare, after all, is not the poorest that has ever fallen to the lot of man. I have had more limited rations during the early days of Kansas, and of a poorer quality, than are furnished to the gallant 1st. Rations for ten days include seven pounds of fresh meat to three of salt junk; rice, beans, coffee, hard and soft bread, are the "condiments;" apropos of which, *a la* Corwin, we have sugar and salt, but no mustard. An occasional supply of what Dr. Jennison terms field

onions, lettuce, and other "garden sass," finds its way in some mysterious manner, through the lines.

But to the news, which is akin to currency just now—very little in circulation.

Yesterday morning, about two o'clock, we were notified to be ready to march at six o'clock, with rations for a full day; and here again report was busy as to our destination this time. We had little idea that a fight was intended, as we had heard of the retreat of the secession forces from Independence, and were not aware of a new concentration at any point within a day's march. In this view I set it down as one of the lessons in the school of the soldier, as it proved; though the march was made to prepare against a barely possible contingency—the retreat of Captain Prince from Clay Co. That officer having started for Liberty with a portion of his command, and not being absolutely certain as to the character of his reception, had recommended that a detachment of the 1st should be in readiness to cross the river upon the first intimation that their service were required. Acting upon this recommendation, six companies took station near the warehouse of Chick & Co., and after exercising for an hour or two in battalion drill, proceeded to the levee in Kansas City, and after a review were marched back to the warehouse, and took a second lesson in the prevailing school. Meantime a detail of twenty men was made from Co. G., at random, as a guard for the ferry boat, J.R. Weller, then occupied by a detachment of U.S. Reserve

47. Ephraim Nute, Jr., of Lawrence, served as chaplain from June 10, 1861, until the regiment mustered out on June 17, 1864. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 22.

48. John A. Halderman of Leavenworth served as major from the regiment's organization in May 1861 until April 30, 1862, when he resigned for unknown reasons. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 22.

49. "Ik. Marvel" was a pseudonym for poet Donald Grant Mitchell (1822-1908). Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 625.

Corps.⁵⁰ On the arrival of the detail at the boat, an inquiry was made as to whether there was an engineer present, when one stepped forward, ditto a pilot, and as the others, your correspondent included, were gratified to act as firemen and "roustabouts," we soon had the craft in running order. Another engineer was sent for from Co. A, when, after running the indication up to 100, we provided to take on board a number of passengers who had been waiting some time, and the J.R. Weller made her first trip under the auspices of the representatives of the Government. We made two trips during the afternoon, for the accommodation of the public, while waiting the arrival of the command of Capt. Prince, the last part of which, including two field pieces, we crossed about sundown last night. All trades and professions are represented in the First, from the ranks of which men may be detailed for any service, from publishing a paper to running a steamboat, or a train of cars. To-day Capt. Prince is again in possession of the boat, but says that when he has occasion to use it, he will send for Co. G's boys. We ran the craft last night from Kansas City to Camp Fremont, and came up the Kaw, the whistle playing Yankee Doodle as intelligibly as could be expected. We anticipate advertising the steamer soon, something after this style: "The steamer ferry, J. R. Weller, Capt. J. B. Stockton, will run regularly between Kansas City and such other landings as occasion require."

You have heard of the "invasion" of Clay county, the occupation by "armed mercenaries" of the city of Liberty, and the downfall of secession bunting thereabouts. The discomfiture of the rebels was complete. They were struck, to use a nautical phrase, "between wind and water," and soon backed their mainsail and hove to. About fifty were taken prisoners and made to take the oath of fealty in the public square. The new Brig. General, Jesse Morin, was among the prisoners, and I learn was not released with the rest. About one hundred horses were taken, but were restored to their owners upon taking the oath. The rebels were to lay down their arms, empty their powder-horns and bullet pouches in the street, and swear to support the Government of the United States against all enemies. Will the oath be considered binding? is the question. The man who has so little regard for honor as to advocate treason and rebellion, will not be likely to regard an oath. The secession flag staff was cut down, and the plague-spotted banner which erst flouted treasonable defiance, was torn to shreds by the

soldiers, in spite of the efforts of some of the officers, who wished to preserve it as a trophy entire.

The secessionists of Missouri have seen their schemes bud, blossom and burst to fruit, "the Dead Sea's fruit of ashes," which, by the brave hearts who are rallying to the starry standard, will be scattered to the winds. Union men in the State have long seen the dread vortex into which they were being hustled—they have seen treason twining its smoky fields around high places, but they have been powerless to avert the evil; and now that the storm has come, they, too, must suffer the pitiless peltings perhaps in a greater degree than those who have sown the whirlwind. Desolation is already written upon the walls of her cities, her commerce stagnant; the plow will rust in the furrow, and the scythe hang neglected upon the beam, if treason and traitors are allowed to rule. The bitterest senses of a deceived and outraged people will follow Jackson, the Governor, who is infinitely more worthy [of] the bayonet of a Zouave than was the murderer of the gallant, truehearted Ellsworth.⁵¹ But the trap has been sprung in Missouri ere the bait was ready; and the application of the Executive for an interview with Gen. Lyon, was only to secure time for furtherance of his by another hollow truce.⁵² The prophet is unveiled. Mokanna in his hideousness is before us and in the same words may Jackson "Ask if hell with all its powers to damn Can add one curse to the foul thing that I am."

From "M.," with the "Union Guards," Company G, Second Kansas, dated Camp Valley, Kansas City, Missouri, June 20, 1861, published June 23, 1861:

Ed. Times: — On Tuesday evening about 6 o'clock, p.m., the Second Regiment of Kansas Volunteers crossed the Kaw River and invaded the "sacred soil" of Missouri.

51. As leader of a touring drill team, Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth popularized the fancy North African Zouave-style uniform among antebellum volunteer militia units, North and South. When war broke out he commanded a Zouave regiment drawn from New York City firemen. Ellsworth was killed in Alexandria, Virginia, on May 24, 1861, by James W. Jackson, proprietor of the Marshall House, when he tore down a Confederate flag flying from the hotel. Jackson was bayoneted to death by one of Ellsworth's men. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6: 109-10.

52. A reference to the "Price-Harney" agreement of May 21, 1861. Before Lyon assumed direction of federal affairs in Missouri, his predecessor, Brig. Gen. William S. Harney, signed a truce with Maj. Gen. Sterling Price, who commanded the Missouri State Guard. "They drafted a formal agreement that the state would assume responsibility for keeping order in Missouri, and that so long as order was maintained, Harney would take no military action that might provoke conflict between state and federal forces." Lyon's declaration of war at the Planter's House meeting abruptly negated this arrangement. He considered it a hollow truce under which Missouri secessionists were arming for battle. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 205.

50. In May 1861 Lincoln authorized the arming of Missourians loyal to the Union and their organization into a Reserve Corps. Most of this organization's members were German immigrants. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 168.

The order was given about 1 o'clock and received with three hearty cheers. "Ho! for Missouri," was the watchword with the boys; and never did a set of soldiers set to work gathering up their traps with lighter and gayer hearts, than did the 2d Regiment when they were told that it was to camp in Kansas City.⁵³ All disappointments were forgotten; sore feet and weary limbs suddenly became transformed to sound, active instruments of transportation. The change was wonderful. Songs rang out upon the calm evening air during the whole march except while passing through Kansas City; and whenever a Union flag was displayed, or ladies waved their white handkerchiefs, it was the signal for roars of applause.

On the Levee, just before entering the main street of the city, the regiment was formed into platoons, and in this order marched through the town to their quarters, in a fine block building in McGee's Addition. Nothing special occurred while passing through the streets. At many places the stars and stripes floated proudly, to the breeze, and frequently groups of ladies were gathered in front of private dwellings, gracefully waving a welcome to our boys with their white handkerchiefs. Union men seemed, and were, happy, and felt free to express their feeling in loud huzzas. Their faces betokened great relief and joy at the sight of the defenders of their country's honor, and their lives. But the secessionists hung their heads and looked the very pictures of distress and chagrin. If they had curses to utter, they uttered them with clenched teeth, for not a sound was heard to ruffle the tempers of the volunteers. Our guns were not loaded, but bayonets were fixed, and had the least demonstration of insult been offered, I am satisfied the men would have charged upon them at once.

Our quarters here are very comfortable, and from the citizens generally we receive kind treatment. Strict orders were issued to the men not to violate the rights of private property in the least manner, and, as far as I know, that order has been respected—with the exception, perhaps, of a few vegetables, and a "taste" of poultry. The boys complain that an exclusive salt meat diet is not conducive to health, and as a way of preserving their health, occasionally "spot" a few onions, lettuce, pullets, &c. Not being flush of change, they have a novel way of getting their "rashions" of beer. A party of six or eight go into a saloon, call for the beer, and drink it, of course. One of their number offers a Nebraska V, which, of course, is rejected as being worthless. Expressions of regret follow, and strong "affirmation" that swindling had been practiced upon

53. "Traps" is nineteenth-century slang for a bundle of belongings.

them, when the whole party leaves, with a promise to call again. They hardly ever return the visit. There is a Nebraska \$5 bill in the camp that has been presented more than a dozen times, with success, and the boys say they begin to believe that it is not worth much, as every person says so.

This morning the Union Guards made another capture. Soon after breakfast, a swarm of bees passed over our quarters and stopped in a tree close by. A barrel was procured, and the swarm soon safely hived and taken care of. To-night they propose to trade it off for beer. They have a weakness for this beverage.

Our regiment was not "mustered in" until to-day. The Union Guards were sworn in soon after dinner. But one, named Diefendorf, refused to take the oath.⁵⁴ He has been with us, boarding off the State, for near a month, and at the last moment found that he was *not prepared* to be sworn in yet. I regard this as a small way of sponging board.

The secessionists captured at Wyandott, of which I made mention in my last, were released by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. Several have been captured here, but released upon the same terms. If they are to be set free so easily, what use in arresting them? The oath amounts to just nothing at all with them.

Some of the regulars brought in the report this evening that a discharged member of this regiment, on his way home, was murdered at Westport. A detachment of the regulars, I believe, will go down.

From "M.," with the "Union Guards," Company G, Second Kansas, dated Camp Valley, Kansas City, Missouri, June 20, 1861, published June 29, 1861:

Ed. Times: — The "detachment of Union Guards" ordered on the special duty of receiving the Regimental Flag, prepared by the ladies of the Union Society of Leavenworth, reached camp this morning about 9 o'clock, all safe and sound, and in excellent spirits. As soon as the boat landed, the "squad" was formed, and marched to the levee, where the flag was unfurled for the first time on Missouri soil. Our Second Lieutenant took his position in front, bearing the beautiful banner, and with proud step, and still prouder hearts, the "boys" followed, marching directly through the heart of the city.⁵⁵ It seemed to me

54. Norman Diefendorf served with Company G of the Second Kansas. His reasons for refusing the oath are not known. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 74.

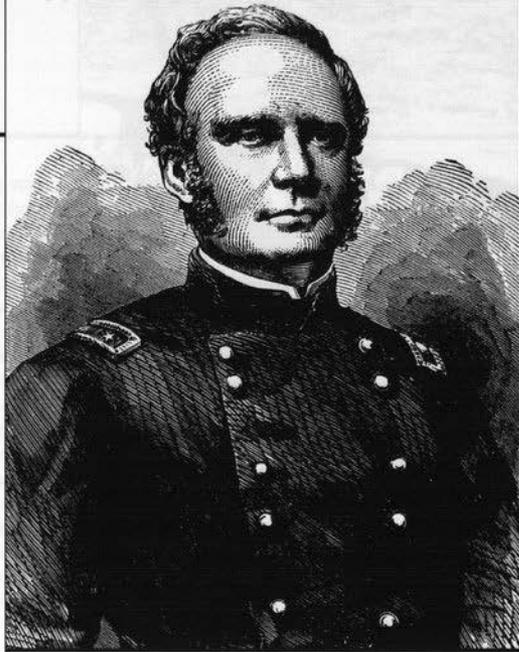
55. The second lieutenant was Hugh D. McCarty. See the letter from "Cosmopolite," July 30, 1861.

that the boys never marched off with a firmer step or more determined look than they did while passing up street, with the new flag before them; and I felt satisfied that had ten times their number of secessionists offered the slightest insult to it, they would have resented it, even at the cost of the last man's life. The boys feel very proud of the flag, and fully appreciate the patriotic motives of the ladies who entrusted it to their special care. At the camp we found many of the men assembled to get the first sight of the flag; and as we neared our quarters, shouts of applause went up, plainly indicating the feelings with which it was received, and the determination of every man in the Second Regiment to defend it to the last extremity, and bear it off the battlefield without a single stain of dishonor, or die beneath its folds. Everyone admired it, and all were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and praise to the fair donors.

To all who had a hand in preparing the flag, we all return our warmest thanks; and to the few who were specially active in preparing it for us, we feel under very especial obligation, and pledge them that no traitor hands shall ever desecrate it, or wrest it from our charge, so long as we are able to raise a hand in its defense; and often, amid the dangers and hardships through which we may be called to pass in serving our country, the pleasant associations connected with it will serve to move our hearts to suffer and serve cheerfully in defense of the flag of the Union.

Arrived here I found that the regulars, together with the 1st Regiment, had left their camp and gone South.⁵⁶ The Second was under orders to march as soon as possible, but having a great many preparations to make for camping out, we did not get ready until late in the evening. A rain storm came up about 6 o'clock, and we were ordered to quarter for the night, and be ready to march at 3 o'clock in

56. Following his victory at Boonville, Lyon ordered the forces in the vicinity of Kansas City, some 2,200 Kansans and a few regulars, to meet him at Clinton, Missouri, to pursue Jackson. The expedition was commanded by Maj. Samuel Davis Sturgis, a Pennsylvania-born West Point graduate who served in the Mexican War. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 223; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 486-87.



Maj. Gen. Sterling Price

guishing them from citizens. Perhaps it is no fault of the Government, but still it seems to me that the Kansas volunteers have been treated with gross neglect in the way of clothing. The men grumble not a little about it. Another cause of complaint with the Second Regiment is the character of arms issued to us. They are the common musket, in a very bad condition, and I believe they are condemned—if they are not condemned they ought to be.⁵⁷

Should I see any secessionists and get a "pop" at them and escape their bullets, you will hear from me again.

From "Cosmopolite," with the First Kansas, dated Camp Near Westport, Missouri, June 24, 1861, published June 27, 1861:

Dear Times: Well, here we are, encamped a little Southwest of the well known City of Westport. At last the gallant 1st is fairly on the march into the enemy's country, though thus far we have been treated with every kindness and consideration. On Sunday afternoon, as your correspondent was enjoying the luxury of a bath in the almost tepid waters of the Kaw, an unusual movement was perceived in camp, and immediately the shrill bugle

57. Many of the arms issued to volunteers by the federal government at the beginning of the war were antiquated conversions of smoothbore flintlocks dating to the early 1800s. In contrast to the Second Kansas, some companies of the First Kansas were armed with rifles. "Letter from Camp Lincoln," *Freedom's Champion*, June 22, 1861.

notes, sounding a recall, rang through the woods. As the companies had been notified to attend religious services at 5 p.m. the order to march induced a belief that something urgent was on hand, and tents were struck, mess property packed, and the line formed with a celerity which would reflect credit upon other than an infant regiment. At about 5 o'clock the steamer Majors came up from Kansas City, and the whole regiment embarked for *somewhere*, but having, however, a very indistinct idea of the location of the aforesaid. One thing may be said of our field officers, without being accused of a criticism of their actions or ability; they are remarkably secretive, and the order is given to prepare for a march, with scarce a hint to even company officers as to whether our direction is North, South, East or West. Of course this is in accordance with army practice, and I only mention it as an apology for any lack of information which may exist in my letters. As the steamer left the levee, the band playing national airs, a cheer from the lookers on arose for the 1st regiment, hearty, loud, and with a will. Capt. Fairchild then proposed three for the Kansas boys behind, and the "gay and festive" 1st responded in a manner that made the welkin ring.⁵⁸ Gaily, right gaily, above the densely crowded decks floated our starry flag, and not an eye looked on the scene, not a heart beat in all that multitude, but felt it was an honor and a pride to march beneath its folds. The steamer made the landing at Kansas City, and the regiment disembarked,—the baggage being sent across the river in U.S. wagons—and were received on the levee by a detachment of dragoons which had recently arrived from the Fort. Being detailed on special duty, as a guard over some thousand kegs of secession powder, I did not participate in the march to camp, beyond McGee's Addition, but only reached it in time to join my company just as the regiment started on its Southern march, the first point of importance on which, I believe, will be Fort Scott.⁵⁹ I say this on my



own judgement, not having been informed as to our destination, and not having opportunity of inquiring at headquarters. The Southern border of Missouri will need to be closely watched, to cut off the march of Ben. McCulloch, or "any other man" who may imagine that he has a special call to fight the battles of the C.S.A.⁶⁰ Fort Scott, then, I think, from observation, and from a little knowledge of military operations, will be made a depot for a considerable number of troops, should events render this course necessary. Rumors are, however, afloat that the State forces have disbanded, and there is an indefinite idea that we shall soon either return to the Fort or be ordered elsewhere. We are preceded by a considerable number of regulars, including cavalry, dragoons, infantry and artillery, six, twelve and twenty-four pounders, the latter, I suppose, for the Fort.

The First begins now to present a more martial appearance, having to-day drawn a considerable portion of its clothing, so that we are now comfortable so far as these things go; indeed, I may say, we want scarcely anything, and the men are in the most exuberant spirits, and profess to be anxious for an opportunity to try their fighting qualities in the field. But, after all, a battle, to raw recruits,

that ran parallel to and west of the Missouri border. The military post was abandoned in 1853, but by that time the settlement of Fort Scott had been established. The army reactivated Fort Scott from March 1862 through October 1865. Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts in the United States, 1789-1895* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), 106.

60. A native of Tennessee, Ben McCulloch's record of service to the state of Texas began with the battle of San Jacinto and extended through the Mexican War and numerous conflicts with Native Americans. An active participant in the secession movement in Texas, he was appointed a brigadier general in the Confederate forces in May 1861 to command a district comprising Texas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and southern Kansas. He reached Fort Smith, Arkansas, on May 20. By late June he was in Maysville, Arkansas. Near there he met Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Bartlett Pearce, an 1850 graduate of West Point who commanded a brigade of more than two thousand Arkansas militia and was charged with defending the northwestern portion of the state. McCulloch soon convinced Pearce to join with his own Texans in moving to Cowson Prairie where Price was rallying the Missouri State Guard. This brought together on July 9 the various Southern forces that fought at Wilson's Creek. Victor M. Rose, *The Life and Services of Gen. Ben McCulloch* (Philadelphia: Pictorial Bureau of the Press, 1888; reprint, Austin, Tex.: Steck Co., 1958), 28, 42, 69, 55, 129-32; Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri from the Election of Abraham Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), 234-36, 239.

58. George A. Fairchild of Atchison commanded Company K. *Report of the Adjutant General*, 57.

59. Fort Scott was established in 1842 midway between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, in Indian Territory, on the Military Road

is a terrible ordeal, though I have no doubt the 1st will acquit itself with honor when the bugle sounds the alarm.

Along our line of march from Kansas to Westport, the banner of stars was displayed from many houses, and we were greeted with glad huzzas from the Union men and handkerchiefs were waved from fair hands, and bright eyes looked approvingly upon the moving line. We passed through Westport in splendid order, the regimental band playing some of its finest pieces. Not a vestige of the Confederate flag was visible, where but a few weeks ago it floated without a rival; and wild hurrahs rent the air from people who evidently felt that the dark clouds of the reign of terror were passing away, and that soon Missouri would stand unquestioned in her loyalty. We have a splendid camping place, located, I should judge, from my geographical knowledge, in Johnson County, Kansas, but within sight of Westport, and nearly on the Missouri line. But the camp curfew "taps" will soon sound, and I must close, having opportunity to send this by private hand. And so, with a wish for now and a hope for then, with the pleasant strains of music floating on the air, I bid you, dear Times,—you and all other friends,—good night.

From "M.," with the "Union Guards," Company G, Second Kansas, dated Camp Sturgis [Austin, Missouri], July 2, 1861, published July 9, 1861:

Ed. Times: — The last camp from which I wrote you was very appropriately named "Camp Dismal."⁶¹ Long before we were ordered to strike our tents and move forward, it became one of the most dismal swamps it has ever been my misfortune to camp in.⁶² The constant tramping about of the men soon reduced the grass and soil to the consistency of very thin mortar, and at every step the poor pedestrian was in danger of sinking into the soil clear out of sight. Indeed I am not sure but some one did sink to rise no more. While there, we enjoyed, exclusively, the luxury of wet blankets. Such "sojering" is decidedly borous. On Saturday, five companies were sent off to look up better quarters; and on Sunday the balance were ordered to march, greatly to the relief of every man in camp.

About 11 o'clock A.M., we reached Austin, eight miles distant. Here we camped for the balance of the day, in good, dry quarters. Just as we came in sight of the town, we saw the Regulars and 1st Regiment moving across the prairies, being South of East. Nothing of special interest occurred here, except the capture of a leading secessionist, who was known to have been in the army of

Claib. Jackson. He was made to take the oath of allegiance, and let go. I learned here, from Union men, that a Home Guard was being formed, and would soon go into camp, near that place, about 800 strong. In this neighborhood there are many Union men, but heretofore [they] have been forced to keep quiet by the superior numbers of the secessionists. Now that aid is at hand, they begin to look up, and assert their rights. Many gathered in to see us, and the sight of the stars and stripes seemed to do their hearts good. Their countenance brightened up amazingly.

On Monday, the 1st, we took an early start, and about three o'clock, p.m., overtook and passed the 1st Regiment, having marched fifteen miles. We camped on the banks of Big Creek, between the camps of the Regulars and the First, and directly on the old camping ground that had been there about one week previous. Some of the citizens reported the company 3,000 strong, but this I think is an exaggeration, as no signs of so large a force as that was visible.

They report that the secessionists were moving in a South-west direction. While passing, they "pressed" a lot of horses, and other stock, for which they gave State bonds for pay. They had a few small pieces of artillery, drawn by oxen.

To-day we made a short march—about five miles. The whole force is now camped almost within hailing distance, and doubtless will continue together, at least for the present. Here we had the first Court Martial we have had since we started. A sentinel was tried for sleeping at his post, found guilty, and sentenced to four days hard labor in camp, and compelled to march behind the regiment, in charge of a guard, without his arms, and carrying a spade.

I was told by one of the officers, to-day, that our destination was to cut off the retreat of Jackson, in the East. It is reported that Gen. Lyon has driven him up North, beyond Nevada, and cut off his retreat to the South. If we head him off, his only retreat left is into Kansas. As yet, he has shown no fight. His forces are represented by secessionists as being about 12,000. I am not inclined to believe this. Some of the officers think we will get a chance to burn a little powder about the 4th. I hope so, for the "boys" are absolutely spoiling for a fight. They are getting tired of marching all the time, and want to try their hand on a fight.

I could give you a great many reports, but they are not reliable. As soon as the facts develop themselves, if an opportunity offers, I will give them.

The Leavenworth boys are all well, and in excellent spirits. [KH]

Part two, the conclusion of "Kansas Go to War," will be presented in the winter 1993-1994 issue of Kansas History.

61. A reference to a letter not published in the newspaper.

62. The march south began on June 25. Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 226.