With Fremont in Missouri in 1861
WITH FREMONT IN MISSOURI IN 1861

Letters of Samuel Ryan Curtis

EDITED BY KENNETH E. COLTON

This second installment of the letters of Samuel Ryan Curtis, Congressman, engineer, and soldier, continues the publication of his correspondence through the first year of the Civil War, begun in the July issue of The Annals of Iowa as "The Irrepressible Conflict of 1861."

As this second series begins, Colonel S. R. Curtis is on his way east to Washington, to attend the special session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, and hopeful of winning a general's star in the volunteer army of the United States. Meanwhile his troops, the 2nd Iowa Volunteer Infantry, continues to guard the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad line, to which duty they had been ordered in June, one month before.

The reader will be interested in Curtis' comment upon the problems of supply confronting the Federal forces in 1861, problems much in the public mind in 1942, facing another war. Of special interest in this series of the war correspondence are the accounts of the developing crisis in the military command of the Department of the West, under that eccentric, colorful and at times pathetic figure, Major General John Charles Fremont, under whom Curtis served from mid August. The correspondence between Curtis and President Lincoln but highlights the details of Fremont's "One Hundred Days." The fear of unrest and possible mutiny among the troops consequent to Fremont's dismissal is of considerable interest and is well detailed in the flurry of telegrams exchanged between St. Louis and Washington in the second and third weeks of November, 1861.

The year closes with Fremont superseded, and his temporary successor relieved by Major General H. W. Halleck; Brigadier General Curtis in the field near Rolla, Missouri, with his South Western Division, on the eve of
a campaign against the forces of Sterling Price and Benjamin McCullough which in March of the following year was to bring Curtis his greatest military achievement of the war, victory in the battle of Pea Ridge. This triumph in turn was to earn for him his commission as a major general the same month of 1862.

In these letters are reflected important trifles, in the rivalry and jealousy of piqued generals, the fear of the unknown enemy, the homespun details of family problems, the personal quality of army routine and regulations.

And now to Col. Samuel R. Curtis, commanding, 2nd Iowa Volunteer Infantry:

Keokuk June 27, 1861

Dr. Sir

I find locations along the line of rail road much more pleasant and much better for the drill and discipline of the men than our Camp at St. Joseph and therefore recommend you to keep only the most orderly and best commanded companies at that point.

Company drills should be kept up and guard duty should be better learned by the officers and Sentinels. I especially desire Major Crocker's attention to be given to this latter duty. I have ordered our 3d Regiment to be ready to move Saturday morning at Sunrise and design to have them located near together near the center of the line. Capt. Herron is still in Command. They have muskets like ours except they are bright. I shall not trouble our men to change for such. The brown are as good as the bright and less trouble to keep them clean.

But they have no artridgees and I want you to send them a share of what you have in boxes. Say 5 boxes. I will send to Capt. Van Vliet and try everywhere to supply

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1James M. Tuttle, Keosauqua, Iowa, Lt. Col. 2nd Iowa Vol. Inf. May 31, 1861; col., Sept. 6, 1861; brig. gen., June 22, 1862, was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor, 1863.

2Marcellus Monroe Crocker, Des Moines, Iowa, U. S. Military Academy, 1849, was Capt. Co. Dd., 2nd Iowa Vol. Inf. until his election as major May 31, 1861. He was elected Lt. col. Sept. 6, 1861; and Col. 13th Iowa Inf., Dec. 30, 1861. Raised to a brig. gen., Nov. 29, 1862, he died August 26, 1865, of lingering illness.


4Stewart Van Vliet, U. S. Military Academy, 1840, in the quarter master corps in Mexican war, was a major in corps August 3, 1861; later was raised to brig. gen. of volunteers.
you more abundantly with cartridges as soon as possible. I hope the accession of the 3d Regt will make the duties of our Regiment a little easier and give more time to drill. Above all things try to keep up the discipline of the men. There is so much temptation and excitement along the line, there is great danger the discipline will be relaxed and our men become demoralized. Do all you can to counteract this. Check the disposition manifested to take responsibilities. Learn the men never to move without orders, and the officers not to act without ample reason or the orders of superiors.

If officers become insubordinate arrest them and when men transgress have them also arrested and punished. A few bad men must not impair the reputation of the good and brave men under our command.

I may write you again before leaving for Washington. Give my regards to all especially the major & adjutant believe me

truly yours
Saml R. Curtis
Col. Cog

P.S. Send our Quartermaster or some judicious officer down to Leavenworth with my letters to Capt. Van Vleit. I leave the letter open that you and he may see the importance of it.

[In letter to Col. Smith, dated Keokuk, June 27, 1861, Curtis expressed anxiety concerning the 3rd Iowa because it was not "furnished with Cartridge boxes and bayonet scabards," and more importantly it had "no field officers." The 3rd Regt. was ordered to move at 5 A. M. Saturday morning, June 29, via steamboat, to Hannibal, Missouri.]

Keokuk June 28, 1861

Capt R. G. Herron
Comg 3d Regt
Iowa Vols
In persuance [sic] of my former order you will direct
your Command to move at five o'clock tomorrow morning via steamboat with ten days rations to Hannibal Missouri and take position on the line of operations where you may be directed.

You will especially caution the captains of companies to have frequent roll calls and keep their men and company property under their careful supervision. Further orders will be given to you as you proceed as I shall accompany [?] you

Respectfully
Saml R. Curtis
Col Comg Expedition

"Camp Lyon" St. Joseph Mo
July 5th 1861

General Order No 6

[Applications and the granting of leaves from the camp were tightened. Guard mounting at seven o'clock A. M. ordered each day.]

5th A General Court Martial will convene at this post, at the tent of Major Crocker on the 8th day of July, A. D. 1861, for the trial of Lt Hungtington of Co "B" and such other prisoners as may be brought before it . . . .

[Dress Parade at 7 o'clock P.M. each day. After July 8 afternoon drill superceded by drill of the battalion commencing at 3 P.M.]

General Order No. 7

[July 8]

[Court martial trial of Lt. Huntington dispensed oners in custody discharged from arrest.]

"Camp Lyon" St. Joseph Mo
July 7th 1861

—Nathaniel Lyon, United States Military Academy, 1841, engaged in the Seminole war, on the coast in California and stationed in Kansas prior to the outbreak of war, was an ardent northern sympathiser. Appointed in charge of the St. Louis Arsenal in February, 1861, he was made a brigadier general in charge of Union forces in St. Louis in May. With F. P. Blair Jr. helped to save Missouri for the Union. He was killed in the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Aug. 10, 1861.

—John G. Huntington, Le Claire, Iowa, appointed 1st lt. May 28, 1861, and wounded at Fort Donelson, was killed in battle of Corinth, Miss. Oct 3, 1862.
Special Order
No 16.
[Three companies ordered to prepare for an expedition against Marysville with 4 days rations and 20 rounds of cartridges. To leave at 5 P. M. July 8, commanded by Lt. Col. Tuttle]

General Order
No 8
[Orders given for at least one commissioned officer to remain in camp at all times.]

3rd There will hereafter be four regular water calls, beaten as follows 5½ o'clock and 11 o'clock A. M. and 2½ o'clock P. M. and immediately after dress parade. Commanders of Companies will see that these calls be observed by their respective commands. As soldiers will not be permitted to go out of camp for water at other hours.

By Order of
M. M. Crocker, Major Comdg
N. P. Chipman Adjt7

"Camp Lyon" St. Joseph Mo
July 10th 1861

General Order
No 9

1st The use of profane and obscene language by the officers or men is strictly prohibited in camp. The commissioned officers will enforce obedience of this order.

2nd Gambling in Camp is forbidden. Any member found engaged in gambling will be deemed in gross violation of orders and dealt with accordingly.

3rd There will be divine service in camp each sabbath 3½ o'clock P.M. Commissioned Officers will see that their

7Norton Parker Chipman, Washington, Iowa, appointed Adjutant 2nd Iowa Inf. June 1, 1861, was promoted to major Sept. 23, 1861. Assigned to Genl. Curtis' staff in fall of 1861, he was commissioned col. and asst. aid de camp April 16, 1862, later brvt. brig. genl. vois., March 13, 1865.
commands attend such service in proper uniform and conduct themselves in an orderly manner.

By Order of

M. M. Crocker Major Comdg
N. P. Chipman Adjt

"Camp Lyon" July 18th 61

Col Curtis

Dear Sir.

An opportunity offering to send you a word I embrace it. Enclosed is a petition for your appointment as Brig. Genl. Capt Huston undertook to engineer it thro’ & as we all supposed sent it a week ago: he didn’t do it however & Lieut Archer this day handed me to send you. ’Twill reach you too late doubtless for any purpose. ’Twont make any material difference I apprehend as no one would doubt the desire of your own Reg’t to see you promoted.

I don’t know of any very anxious aspirant to the Reg’t for position should your post become vacant except Lieut Col Tuttle & Capt Huston. Both are evidently alarmed. Col T from Maj Crocker, Capt H from some quarter.

The Reg’t are enthusiastic in their preferences [for] Maj. Crocker over Col T. In relation to myself as prospective Candidate for Major I can only say that for some reason, I’m fearful not by merit, (for my position as adj’t necessarily wouldn’t develop qualities for Major) an idea prevails that I deserve promotion, which I by no means discourage, very modestly however holding myself back. Since you left I have had a great deal to do not legitimately belonging to my office, bringing me in contact with all the Regt & instead of my going to the Col to learn everything as when you were here, the scale is somewhat reversed, & I am made a kind of general intelligencer. I hope you may find that your humble adjutant hasn’t gone aside from a modest discharge of

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his duty whatever else he may have done major [before] hand. But leaving this matter I desire only to urge upon your attention one thing which above all others I feel a deep interest in. That is the elevation of Major Crocker to the Colencey.

As I was more than enthusiastic to secure you as our Col, if we have to lose you, the reputation of the Reg't its effectiveness demand some one as its leader beside Col T—. And be the sacrifice what it may I will make it to secure some one else. I ought not to talk so perhaps but you will pardon. Let me cite an instance of his general-ship. He led an expedition to Maryville East of Savannah, 3 companies, from the information which led to the detachment's going only, he had every reason to expect to meet 600 rebels. In the march from Savannah to Maryville a distance of 30 miles, he allowed his Command to string out for 5 miles, Cos intermingling weary men dropping off in force [?] [illegible] & the Col some time a half mile in advance, alone, this is an example but I don't want to always be found complaining. I will support him cordially in a military way if chosen over us, but sincerely hope I many never have to. I must close hastily—Cars about to leave.

I regret to send you tidings of the death of Lieut Strong10 Co "E"—died today—brain fever—was sick but few days—we have sustained a severe loss in him. He was a gentleman of modest attainm'ts [?], amiable, strongly endeared to his company. We all feel deeply the loss.

Health of Camp is pretty good. I am enquired of a hundred times a day when is Col Coming home. You are tho't of continually.

Your good letter was rec'd yesterday & did me much good.

Truly

N P Chipman

10George Strong, Fairfield, Iowa, 1st Lt., Co. E., May 28, 1861, died July 18, 1861, St. Joseph, Mo.
To Abraham Lincoln President of the United States of America Greeting

We your petitioners, Commissioned Officers of the Second Regiment Iowa Volunteers, would most Respectfully beg leave to Express our desire, as well as the wishes of our respective Commands by them unanimously expressed, that the Hon Samuel R. Curtis be appointed our Brigadier General. Believing him to be eminently qualified as a man of ability, Cool Judgment and Discretion, Military education and Experience, to Command as such, and believing the Service would be benefited by the Appointment we would therefore most respectfully beg his appointment to the office of Brigadier General and that he Command us as such.

Hoping it may please you to Grant the prayers of your petitioners we subscribe our selves you most obedient

M. M. Crocker Maj 2nd Reg Iowa Volunteers
J. M. Tuttle Lt. Col 2d Iowa Reg
N. P. Chipman Adjt 2d Reg’t Iowa Vols.
W. R. Marsh Surgeon 2d Reg Ia Vol
R. H. Huston Capt Co. A
F. I. McKenny 1st Lieut Co A.
S. M. Archer 2nd Lieut Co. A.
W. W. Nassau—Asst Surgeon 2 Reg. Ia V.
J. D. Capt Co “C” 2d Iowa Regt
J. S. Slaymaker 1st Lt. Comp “C”
W. F. Holmes 2  
N. W. Mills, Capt. Co. D.
E. T. Ensign 2nd Lieut Co D
Frederick F. Metzler, Capt’n Co E 2nd Reg’t Iowa Vol’s
John T. McCullough 2nd Lieu. Co. E 2nd Reg
A. T. Brooks Capt. Comp F
R. M. Littler Capt Co B 2 Reg
J. G. Huntington 1st Lieut Co. B 2 Reg
Jno Flanagan 2nd Lieut  
S. H. Lunt 1st Lieut Co D 2nd Reg
James Baker Capt. Co. G.
Samuel A. Moore 2d Lieut Co. G
Hugh T. Cox Captn Comp. J
WITH FREMONT IN MISSOURI

N. B. Howard, 1st Lieut
Thomas R. Snowden 2d Lieut
Alonzo Eaton 1 Lieut Co K
J. B. Weaver 1st Lieut Co G.
A. T. Brooks Capt. Co. F. [name repeated, see above]
Abe Wilkin 1st Lieut Co F

Washington July 25 1861

My dear Wife

I met a few moments ago, Col Henry Van Rentzelear11 one of Genl Scotts aids who says he carried in my name and that of Rufus King12 as appointments for Brigadiers. So that matter is a fixed fact. I was requested not to resign and [illegible] till the military bills are carried through the House. You will have seen the mean announcement made by the Tribune the thing [or fling ?] of Fitz Henry Warren13 who has bitterly and boastfully opposed my promotion. I have said and done little or nothing for the responsibilities of such places are so great they should not be sought after.

It comes directly from the President on the recommendation of General Scott and I feel the more proud of the appointment for that reason. It is of no use for me to consider the advantage or disadvantage of thus going into another duties I am called and must go. I will draw less pay than I would if I remain in Congress and at least 3000 $ less than I would if I retained both my place in Congress and my position as Colonel. But to refuse the military appointment would never do, so I would not raise the question as to whether one or the other would be most profitable.

I am to be a Brigadier nolens volens and will resign my seat in Congress as soon as I have done all I can to secure proper military bills through Congress. I dine with General Scott to day and hope to get his views of matters very fully.

13The New York Tribune, under Fitz Henry Warren as an assistant editor, engaged in a sharp and bitter attack on the government for dilatoriness, conducted on "On to Richmond" campaign. Warren, a resident of Burlington, Iowa, shortly became Col. 1st Iowa Cav.
The terrible disorganization of the army caused by the foolish stampede of Sunday evening\textsuperscript{14} is being gradually overcome but things are not safe and an attack on the city to-day would be dangerous to the country.

I expect to go home by Chicago and if you are there I would be pleased to meet you I have a pass on the Rock Island road which I wish you had. By the way I will send it to you and you can use it if you desire to do so. I could send you a draft but have been so busy I have delayed it supposing you can over draw on the bank.

I write in regard to your going to Chicago on the supposition that you think some of coming over there as Mr. Cox says you do.

Affectionately yours
Sam'l R. Curtis

Washington July 26 1861

My dear Wife

The best way to keep an account of my "daily walk and conversations" is to write you very often and trust that my letters to you may serve as a continuance of my journal which I can not carry about the country.

At ½ past 4 I repaired to General Scotts quarters and accompanied him and his aids to his humble residence between 17th & 18th streets.

The party surrounded a very plain table and consisted of Genl Scott Col Van Rentzeler my old classmate acting as volunteer aid and Col Schyler Hamilton of the 7th N York Regt. Also acting as volunteer aid Senator Rice\textsuperscript{15} of Minn and myself.

The dinner was neat but decidedly plain. Three courses of meat, and a finish of ice cream. Good wines—sherry, Champaign, and Claret closing with coffee and finishing with some very choise [sic] wine which the General said had been sent him by Mr Aspinwell to be drunk after

\textsuperscript{14}The battle of Bull Run, begun early Sunday, July 21, 1861, was "one of the best planned and worst fought" of the Civil War. Up to late afternoon the Union forces appeared assured of victory, though by evening it became a rout. See Rhodes, 3. 444-452.

\textsuperscript{15}Henry M. Rice, resident of Fort Snelling since 1839, and prior to that, of Ft. Atkinson and Prairie du Chien, was influential in the passage of the Territory of Minnesota bill, 1849. A delegate in Congress 1853-1855, he was U. S. Senator from 1859-1863. He was a potent power in the Indian affairs and political life of his state.
Coffee. The General said he had often lived in excessive affluence but he did not enjoy it. At one time he was a guest at Mr Prestons when 200 dollars a week was expended in mushrooms and other imported vegetables [sic]. But on a certain day he accidentally dined with another friend when he found bacon and beans—good side bacon—: and he thinks he disposed of over a half pound of it with greater relish than he did imported viands.

In speaking of Keokuk he said "I am going to give you a chapter of miracles. In 1813 I traveled by the falls of the Genesee when there were three chimneys. One attached to a mill one to a tavern and to a store. Now there is the city of Rochester with 60 or 80 thousand people backed up by vast cities in the rear of N York In 1832 he carried the cholera to Chicago when there were half a dozen houses; now there is a city of over two hundred thousand. Keokuk was fired into as an Indian camp and St Louis was a place of only 6 or 8 thousand" Speaking of the Chief Keokuk he said he made him chief. Made him kneel and receive a meddle suspended by a gay ribbon He said Keokuk was a good man and opposed Black Hawk in the war measures against the U S

Speaking of the Cabinet, he said he was on the most agreeable terms with Chase. Considered him a most valuable man Sound head and heart. He had also been well treated by Cameron who thought was a very active and energetic Secretary. Blair he regarded as a man of great will and too obstinate As to the President he thought him a most worthy honest and excellent President. The General spoke of the battle with pain. He said that he was guilty of cowardice, and should be reproached for he yielded his better judgement to popular clammer [sic] and suffered men to go into battle before they were properly prepared.

We had many passing jokes and current events discussed and the Genl. seemed in all things quite sound

16Montgomery Blair, eldest scion of Francis P. Blair, was graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, 1835, soon settled in St. Louis to practice law. A Democrat under Pierce and Buchanan, his Free Soil sympathies led him into the Republican ranks in 1860, he later returned to the Democratic party in 1868. An obstinate and determined man.
in mind and fresh in memory. But physically he is very unwell for he rises from his chair with great difficulty cannot ride on horseback and cannot ride in a carriage but with great pain.

I have not time to dwell on all the little incidents that occurred although hereafter everything concerning our great General will [be] of interest to humanity. General Scott cannot survive many years but his head seems to be as sound as it was when I saw him in Mexico.

To show how well he recollects men and periods without any reference to the subject he said “Col (no General now) I was 61 when I met you on the Rio grande but 14 years have since transpired and I am now 75”

It happened to be the anniversary of “Lundys Lane” and the General spoke of the incidents of that battle with great pleasure and accurate recollection.

General McClelland\(^{17}\) is expected today and we hope he will re animate the drooping hopes of our troops. New regiments are beginning to arrive and are filling the place of the 3 months men who seem delighted to leave although the enemy is only a few (4) miles in front and the Capitol is in danger.

I was urged by General Scott and staff not to start homewards till the military bills have passed the house. This will probably be within a day or two and I hope to get off soon.

Affectionately yours
Saml R. Curtis

[an “Address of Hon. Samuel R. Curtis to the People of the 1st Congressional District of Iowa” dated Washington, July 28, 1861, announced his intention of resigning his seat in Congress and reviewed briefly the conditions which preceded his elevation to that rank with the 2nd Iowa and the country at large.

\(^{17}\)George B. McClellan, U. S. Military Academy, 1846, veteran of the Mexican War, was later prominent in railroad surveys of the west and southwest. In 1857 he became the chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad. First appointed in command of Ohio troops at the outbreak of the war, he was shortly made a major general in the regular army. Appointed chief of staff to succeed Gen. Scott in Nov., 1861, he led the drawn campaign against Richmond in 1862, later, after being deposed; he was again briefly returned to that post in the fall of 1862. In 1864 he was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for president.
St Louis Mo. August 5, 1861

My dear wife

I arrived here some time last night, and had a very comfortable rest on a good large bed in the Ladies Cabin till 6½ Oclock. On opening the mornings papers, I found General Fremont had returned to this city yesterday: so I was fortunate in being here, just right to meet him. I called at ½ past 7 and found him at Mrs. Brand’s house, a large new residence of hers on Cheandean [?] Avenue. The General said he was glad to see me and told me all his difficulties. Besides the general fuss throughout Northern Missouri he is threatened with three armies in the South. Pillow is near Bird’s Point, Hardie is near Pilot Knob and McCullough still further West. As a further vexation, he has but few troops, many of them without arms and no arms to give those who are being mustered into the service. He says they are diverting towards Washington all the troops and arms that he had coming this way. The General seemed excited and perplexed, and I confess things look a little squally.

He directed me to remain here in order to aid in procuring further organization and arms. I have therefore taken rooms here at the Everett House, on 4th Street, where I can have convenient intercourse with the Commanding General and arrange for more active duty. He thinks Birds Point is now safe enough but in order to...
act offensively against Pillow and others, he must have more force and will try to secure it by arming Home guards and drawing off the mustered Regiments. He told me when I met him, he had just ordered down the two regiments at Keokuk and the Cavelry regiment forming at Burlington.

I know their [illegible] ungainly appearance, and really feel sorry they have to come in such an unprepared condition. But we must try to get equipment and fix them up as soon as possible. While I am everywhere trying make excuses for our Government I confess it is humiliating to see how destitute we now are when the enemy is at our very doors.

William* has a room adjoining mine. The weather is still very hot but probably no worse than you have it at Keokuk.

I hope you are making yourselves as comfortable as possible. I am trying to do so. I hope Sadie is relieved of her lingering head ache. If I stay here long I shall want some of you to come down and spend a few days with me. I have not had time to call on Henry yet. Hope to do so soon. William is well and trying to make himself useful. Kiss our dear daughters for Pa and give my love to I am

Affectionately yours
Saml R. Curtis

What I write about our troops and the enemy must not be published

S.R.C.

St Louis August 6. 1861

My dear wife & daughters

I have a little more leasure [sic] than I ought to have in these times of troubles; but not being here long enough to learn the ropes I can find a little more time to write you. I have been busy writing and telegraphing to get troops forward, as this seems to be the main business of Genl Fremont at present. I see however that both our Keokuk

Regiments have gone out to Athens where a fight took place yesterday. I hope Green will now be Satisfied and I trust his army will go to their homes and behave themselves or go off to hunt Claib Jackson. We want all the Iowa troops down here and must get the Home guards so well armed and ready that they can take care of the rebels in North Missouri.

The success at Athens will help to strengthen the union men at the right time and place. I want to hear the particulars. Hope our men took the cannon from the rebils, but the Telegraph does not say any thing about the matter.

I feel great anxiety about Genl Lyons command. Pillow, Haris, Hardie and McCullough are all according to accounts, pressing the south part of this state and we have very little force to check them with. General Fremont is moving Heaven and Earth to get troops so as to repel them but we are evidently behind the times. A few days of doubt and danger evidently exists in Southern Missouri. Many think this city is to be taken, but I cannot bring myself to the belief that Pillow and Hardie will venture so far North.

There are evidently, however, great numbers of Secessionists in this city, and in the event of Pillows success there may be trouble here.

I shall evidently be here a few days. Have a nice room on 4th Street with little back room for William who busys himself taking care of my clothes &c &c If it were not so very hot I could wish indeed you were here with me, all of you. I see however none of our old friends that I cared most for. The Aristocracy here are very generally secessionists and keep very shy

General Fremont is so busy he can hardly find time to speak even to his Generals but seems very cordial when we do meet.

Keep me well informed of all of yourselves as that is

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Claiborne Fox Jackson, Governor of Missouri, 1860-1861, was a compromise, pro-slavery, advocate. He was frustrated at the outbreak of war in the seizure of government posts in St. Louis by Lyons and F. P. Blair, Jr. The battle of Athens, listed officially as a skirmish and of which no reports were filed, took place near that town Aug. 5, 1861. Less than 600 Union men were reportedly attacked by between 1400 and 1500 of the opposing forces.
what I most desire to know. The Athens matter will no doubt give occasion to much talk and the Tableau [?] party too that will no doubt be subject of interest. Telegraphed Harry today about troops

Affectionately yours
S.R. Curtis

Head Quarters Jefferson Barracks Mo
August 12th 1861

My dear wife

Being ordered to take command at this post I came down here yesterday evening, and stayed all night with Major Macrae the former commandant. Being senior officer I am entitled to choice of quarters, and have taken rooms (5 or 6) here within the enclosure.

William is up town trying to get some necessary articles and I am busy issuing orders, seeing friends and preparing for business operations generally.

It is cool and pleasant. About 4000 troops are camped around me, under my command. I am directed to establish "a school instruction," "to teach the young ideas how to shoot". Jack Falstaffs Regiment was a dress parade compared to my command. Some have guns but none have uniforms, and many are destitute of shoes. They lay round loose on the side hills, without tents or covering, and generally bear their trials with becoming patience and forbearance. I felt ashamed of myself last night, for while I was sleeping on a nice mattress, the pelting rain was pouring down on thousands who slept without roof or even a blanket.

Certain it is we have reason to be ashamed of our country that after so much preparation has no accommodation for the assembling troops.

It is cool and pleasant here. Major Macrae and other officers have their family arrangements, & think I ought to have mine. How long or short my stay is to be is just as uncertain as the wind; still I do not know but I may as well have your company when I can. I have a cooking

24 Probably D. McRae, later lt. col. Arkansas vols.
stove & utensils. A kitchen table, and a rough table which does for the dining room. I have ordered a cot and half dozen camp stools. A few more kitchen, din’g, and sleeping arrangements; would make it nice for you and the children to be with me. Transportation would cost little or nothing, except the transportation to the S. boat. If I am to stay many weeks I am sure you would prefer to be with me, and it would not be much trouble to go back when I am ordered forward, as I hope to be when the grand army goes South. You can think of this and write me. In the mean time I will think more of it and write you. We have no fears of being taken by Pillow or any body else soon, but the State of Missouri is in a disturbed condition and that may be a serious objection to leaving our quiet home.

I hope you will write very often. The franking privilege extends for at least six months and I may therefore write and receive letters without cost till December.

I telegraphed Henry\textsuperscript{25} to “Come soon via of Keo’k” I meant by that to give him a chance to make you a visit and remit [?] his health if need be. When convenient I should like to have him here, but he need not hurry, and if you and the children come I will assign him the duty of giving you transports from our door to my head quarters. Everything should be packed carefully, and the contents of each box should be put down on the box or in a little book corresponding in great care. Then you can bring, leave, or otherwise dispose of boxes as you may see proper. The house must not be rented till we can get a proper tenant. Better close it with “To Let” marked on the door.

I have seen H H Curtis daily almost but I have not had time to enjoy much visiting and expect hereafter to be as busy as possible. None of my staff have made their appearance yet. If any come to Keokuk tell them they had better report to me soon.

Affectionately & ever yours

Saml. R. Curtis

\textsuperscript{25}Son of S. R. Curtis.
[By Special Order No. 42, Head Quarters Western Dept. St. Louis, dated Aug. 9, 1861, Curtis was ordered to “command a Camp of Instruction for Volunteers at Jefferson Barracks. General Curtis will use the utmost expedition in drilling and disciplining the Regiments which will be directed to report to him. The School of the Company and Battalion will be commenced at once.” By order of Genl Fremont.]

[By Special Order No 43, dated as above Aug 11, 1861, Curtis’ command “is extended to include Jefferson Barracks where he will establish his Head Quarters.” The former commander, Lt. Col. Burbank assigned to the Arsenal.]

Jefferson Barracks August 14, 1861

My dear wife

You have no doubt heard the sad news of the death of General Lyon and the reverses of our troops under his command. I deplore the divided Condition of our force which seems to expose us to defeat in all portions of our line. It is so contrary to first principles I cannot help feeling disposed to join in the general clammer against the Commander in chief who ought to admonish his Generals everywhere against such detachments. This has been a day of toil and anxiety here. At 12 Oclock I had orders to have my entire force ready to move to the Arsenal and was informed transports would be furnished this after noon. I had about 6 thousand troops in all forms and conditions Cavalry horses without riders and Cavalry Companies without horses All without arms except some 300. As the order was to move all the troops my first trouble was to dispose of the stores which are very extensive and the sick and dead for we had two of the latter without Coffins and no lumber to make them. I set to work having

26Sidney Burbank, U. S. Military Academy, 1827, maj. of infantry, 1856, lt. col. May 14, 1861, col. Sept. 16, 1862, was made a brvt brig. gen. for services at Gettysburg.

27Battle of Wilson’s Creek, or battle of Oak Ridge or Springfield, was fought Aug. 10, 1861. It was one of the bloodiest of the war; in this engagement Gen. Lyons was mortally wounded. The 1st Iowa Vol. Inf., a 90 day regiment, shared the heavy brunt of the battle.
everything Carried to the landing. At ¼ of 1 I received an order to send three Regiments to town. This I did very promptly. At 2 I received directions that one of these should go to the Depot on 7th Street St. Louis. The rest of the force is still (5 PM) waiting transports which I hope are not going to arrive. I dislike the Arsenal for many reasons, and especially as a place to meet a foe.

It seems Genl Fremont has seised some of the leading Secessionists and declared a sort of Martial law. 28 I know this will exasperate many people and no doubt grave threats are made against him.

It is a bad time here in Missouri throughout the length and breadth of the State, and we have great need of decisive and strong demonstrations. I regret that we are not better prepared to meet the exigency.

John Avery arrived here just now from his farm. He brought me a basket of nice ripe peaches and said he had prepared go if we have to. I hope we may remain. I do not believe we could be of any use anywhere till we are better organized and equipped. I was sorely grieved at having to send Col Laumans 29 Regiment, raged and without arms through St. Louis to 7th Street Depot—But that was the order and so they went. They will get arms at the Depot. Col McDowell's 30 regiment goes to the Arsenal, So he will get arms, and I trust soon be permitted to return here for drill. Of course am glad you are not here now and no doubt you are.

I have only a half sheet and must close

Affectionately & Ever yours

Saml. R. Curtis

Jefferson Barracks Mo
August 16 1861

My dear wife

Since my last letter matters have quieted down a little,

28Fremont declared martial law for the city and county of St. Louis Aug. 14, 1861. Presumably this was a repercussion of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and apprehended dangers to St. Louis. Maj. J. McKinstry was appointed provost marshal. See Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln, 4, 411: Official Records, War of the Rebellion, 1st ser., 3, 442.
30Probably John Adair McDowell, Keokuk, Iowa, appointed Col., 6th Iowa Vol. Inf., June 20, 1861, he resigned March 12, 1862.
and I still remain here in Command of the unarmed and undisciplined regiment that remains after I have sent away everything that could be of use for fighting purposes.

Henry telegraphed that he would start over to Keokuk on the 14th. He need not hurry down although I will be glad to see him when he comes. He ought to have a comfort a blanket and a pillow for his bed. I will have a cot made for him. We ought to have two good horses, and if he brings two with him it would be well enough for him to bring them down. We may get them exchanged for better ones there or here and probably his little wagon could be used to advantage. Transportation will be allowed on the steamboat upon his order or requisition.

Of course you lament with me the disastrous aspect of our affairs: but we must hope on and hope ever. If arms can be had, the tables can be turned against the rebels and must be.

I am utterly astonished at the falling back of Iowa troops from the face of their enemies in and about the Iowa border. I have not seen the Commanding General to enquire after it but General Pope should be called on by your people to know the why and wherefore they have to do the fighting when several hundred United States troops under pay fall back to a safe position.

Poor fellows, I suppose they had to go to Burlington to give Fitz Henry Warren a grand reception!

William has called me to dinner and I must go—I resume in about 10 minutes. My dinner was good enough. A piece of boiled ham, 3 boiled potatoes, tomatoes sliced raw and dressed by myself with sugar salt pepper and

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31 This may have referred to the flight of a detachment of cavalry under one flushed lieut. at the battle of Athens, or to the affray of 50 infantry men and cavalry which crossed the border to Gentry, Mo., forced a number of suspected secessionists to take the oath, and retreated when a force of southern sympathisers gathered. See Iowa State Register, Aug., 1861.

32 John Pope, U. S. Military Academy, 1842, veteran of the Mexican War, railroad surveyor for Pacific railroads, was named a brig. gen. of vols. May 17, 1861, and assigned to Dept. of the West. Commissioned a maj. gen. March 21, 1862, he was later assigned to commands in the East where his reputation suffered considerably.

33 Fitz Henry Warren, stormy petrol in Whig and Iowa Republican politics, was appointed Col. 1st Iowa Cav., June 13, 1861. The cavalry rendezvoused at Burlington the forepart of August, 1861, and saw service in Missouri in October.
vinegar. Veritable “apple sauce” finishing with a peach which I eat while writing to you. An that nice and handy

I suppose you would like to know who I have around me. Well I find here some young Lieutenants who belong to the new regt (13th) and I have appointed them acting Adjutents Aids Quartermasters, &c. They are some of them graduates and some of them appointed from Citizens life but all on their good behavior. Lieut Powell a graduate is a small size very young man actg adt Genl. 2nd Lt Boies is a medium size nice young man. Lieut Knox Aid do. do. Lieut Cliff Commissary rather thick set Capt Rankin tall and I fear not so steady Lieut Van Rentzalier a tall fine looking but a little stammery young man mustering officer—

Major McCrea I spoke of in my former letter

I am preparing orders by which camp is to be governed and hope to have them ready for use tomorrow.

I receive my letters pretty soon after they come to St. Louis but they should be directed here to Jefferson Barracks.

I intended this letter should go this train, but I suppose the whistle is for being off and it will therefore lay over.

Write very often and very fully. Kiss the children for Pa I hope you will write more frequently to Sam

Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

Jefferson Barracks Mo
August 31 1861

My dear wife

This is the last day of the long month which closes another summer. It has been full of stirring events in which I have extensively participated. The country has been in great commotion and the gloom that has overshadowed us does not seem to lessen. On the contrary the “combat deepens” and grows wider and longer and more and more interminable.

^34 Probably Albert Micajah Powell, U. S. Military Academy, 1860; Justus A. Boises, formerly of the 7th N. Y. Militia, who later died of wounds received at Vicksburg.

^35 Son of S. R. Curtis.
This day General Fremont proclaims Martial law as extended throughout Missouri which of course gives him a kind of supreme command over everything in this state a specious of Despotic power which in some mens hands may be made extremely oppressive.

I being subordinate, must yield, and aid in carrying it out; but I here record my entire disapproval, believing the exigencies do not require it, and the prudent fraught with too much peril to the future liberties of the people. Indeed I doubt the success of it in a military point of view for I fear it will involve the Military officers in all the police regulations of the state that could be better supervised by the civil power and absorb the time of military men that should be employed in commanding soldiers.

The proclamation too is carelessly worded and open to a thousand objections which in after times will meet with severe reprehensions. But these are revolutionary times and the justification may at present rest on a revolutionary necessity which the world may never take the trouble to investigate. It is a short quick way we have here of sliding into a Military Government, which has no parallel in the history of this war elsewhere and which I privately condemn. This is just between you and I and the post, for right or wrong I must support the plans of the Commanding General, and having got us into it I am for doing the best I can to render it available.

I was indeed surprised to meet Henry and Sadie and Carrie here and only regret that you should have imposed such restraints on all of them as to make them very discontented even for the very short stay they made me. I enjoyed their visit very much, but poor Carrie was under your injunction (without your letters which would if received made her infinitely more unhappy) to hurry home because you would be so lonesome, and they had

36Fremont startled the whole country, the President as well as all others, by his proclamation of Aug. 30. Claiming the unrest and disorders in Missouri, and dangers of marauding bands of irregulars impelled him to take the step, Fremont declared martial law for all but the southwestern third of Missouri, proclaimed in part that.

"All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines [from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi] shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty will be shot."
hardly paid their fare and got seated, before arrange-
ments for a return had to be arranged. Such a journey
should not have been so planned. It was a pleasant visit
but cost more than it was worth.

I have determined on the adjournment of the House-
keeping, in Keokuk. We cannot carry it on without costing
more than it comes to. Henry and Sadie will explain my
views on that subject You need not hurry yourself about
leaving, if you retain three rooms, as you will find it
pleasant enough boarding with Mrs. Mc—and sleeping
in your own house. Day board there will be a much more
economical arrangement especially if you have your wash-
ing done at home which you could have by hiring a woman
once a week.

But as to this I do not know as you have no room for
a wash woman to work in. The rest of the house should
be rented to a choise [sic] tenant.

There is room enough left for any ordinary family, and
our rooms must be under lock and key exclusively for our
own things and for no body else to have occasional or any
use of. While the war lasts, we may as well prepare for
all kind of accidents, and being entirely free to come and
go is the best condition for all of us. You can then bring
the children down near me and board, or if occasion re-
quires or renders it more agreeable you can go back and
take possession of the rooms at Keokuk which you must
retain as a means of holding our homestead. When times
can better we may better determine how to dispose of our
effects which you will find it difficult to stow away.

Do not loan them around. Everything will be needed by
ourselves or our children. I know it will perplex you

*All 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 de-
clared freemen.

Equally stringent penalties were imposed on treasonable intercourse with the
enemy and all public demonstrations of a hostile nature. The object of this
declaration, Fremont wrote, “is to place in the hands of the military authorities
the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such de-
ficiencies as conditions of war demand.” Wherever existing civil law and juris-
diction was functioning, however, the civil authorities were not to be disturbed.
This proclamation announced policies which had not yet been decided upon
by the Congress, and contravened an enactment of Aug. 6, 1861. To Lincoln’s
tactful remonstrance and suggestion that Fremont modify the proclamation, the
latter refused, consequently, Lincoln so ordered such modifications as of Sept. 11.
See Official Records, War of the Rebellion, 1st ser., 3, 466-467, 469-470, 477-479,
485-486, also Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln, 4, 416-424, reflecting an administration view.
somewhat to get matters stowed away and I wish you had William there to help you. I think Henry had better pick me out a tried servant from some of those Laiffe has about him so I can let William go back to Keokuk. If Leonard goes away I will have to make some new arrangement with that farm and it may be your place [plan?] will be the best. The trouble is, Mr. West could not carry on so large a farm without hiring too much. I want Henry to settle with Mr. Leonard. I do not wish to hurry the sale of my stock. In fact it would bring nothing. I wish Mr. Leonard would certify the amount of hay he furnished the troops there in Keokuk so the amount can be paid. He furnished two loads, and he will remember when and how much. Chambers ought to pay for it. It was for the troops but if he does not it will be proper to present the amount to the state officers who will have it audited and paid. While I think of it, I wish Henry would look over the papers and pick up such as I ought have sent to Washington. I want a copy of my order to Muster Iowa troops. It is among the files and also the receipt and Invoices for guns that are in the case. I especially need an army register. There are several about the house. Send by mail.

I bought several articles in the way of cooking utensils and table furniture yesterday such as they get up for the service.

I saw a mess chest which I thought a great temptation [?]. Tell Henry not to get up anything of that kind as I can get them here or in St Louis to far better advantage.

I hope dear little Caddie was rejoiced by finding you entirely safe and well for the dear child suffered with anxiety for you. Kiss all our dear children [for] me and believe me ever

Affectionately yours
Saml R. Curtis

[By Special Order No. 113 Genl Curtis ordered to St. Louis to assume command of Camp Benton there. Assumed command September 8, by date of his Headquarters orders No. 1.]
Jefferson Barracks Mo
Sept. 2. 1861

My dear wife

I have received your nice basket of plums and cake by express. The plums are some of them decayed but the major part are fresh and beautiful. The cake too is nice and plump but a little smeared over with plum juice. I will distribute the contents among friends who will appreciate them quite as well as I can.

Nothing important has transpired here since I wrote you. We had a sword presentation to Col Ellis of the 1s Mo Cavelry [sic] by the officers of his Regiment The Col was quite overwhelmed and could only say "I hope if I disgrace this bright emblem I may be pieced to the hear with a sharper one." A sharp speech you perceive. The Col looks daggers however, and I have no doubt he will make his mark. I have labored considerably in getting up his regiment which is now nearly ready for service. The Colonel has presented me with a beautiful pair of silver spurs.

I have just been informed that an order has been made out relieving me from this post and I suppose it directs me to report to Head Quarters in St Louis. Genl Polk [Pope] goes up North to fix up the troubles on the Hannibal road which his contributive order only made worse as I predicted it would.37

Indeed matters do not seem to improve in Missouri save in the increases of Military force.

The martial law38 has not yet been sufficiently tested and under the order restricting the military action in carrying it out I do not think it can make much show. The abolition Clause will make more noise than any thing and when we go south if the Negroes get a knowledge of it the effect may be serious. It will help to increase the cry of "Fremont and freedom" that so alarmed the South in 1856. In that view of the matter I would not be

37Gen. John Pope in an order of July 21, 1861, declared that all residents within five miles of any bridge, culvert, and railroad track damaged or willfully destroyed by southern sympathisers, would be held liable for costs of repair, etc. See Official Records, 1st ser., 3, 404-404.
38Fremont's declaration of Aug. 30, 1861.
surprised at stirring consequences; but without that clause martial law would not be perceived [?].

I see by the papers you now have troops in Keokuk and I hope our citizens will not be required to do any more guard duty. The insinuations of the Hawkey[e] that your pains are to get the depot is almost diabolical.

It is enough for our people to stand guard over this state and the states honor without being sneered at by cowards that skulk away from scenes of danger just to give a little patronage to a pitiful pack of pusillaminous whelps that have lost the public advantages that once gave them power.

It is very hot this evening. It had been cool and fall like to day but now it is so warm I will postpone the completion of my letter till tomorrow.

Sept 3d

My orders for being relieved at this post are said to be made out. Of course this is necessary as my command has dwineded down to such insignificance as to make it unnecessary for a Brigadier to remain here. I see too that General Pope who has been staying in the city is now ordered up north and I presume I will again be directed to remain near the Commanding General.

However this may be I shall follow my orders which I look for this evening.

Capt. McAllister, my Commissary, has been sick for a week or ten days in the city, and has now come down and is spending his time with me. He is convalescent but quite poorly yet. We had the cake and plums at dinner and enjoyed them very much.

Sept 4

This letter runs along very well. I have just received Henrys letter of the 30th giving news of his safe arrival home &c He erred in writing Secry of War instead of Genl L. Thomas Adt Genl. But it matters nothing. He needs no further orders but may report at any time to Genl Fremont as Capt. Rankin did when he was down

Rivalry between Burlington and Keokuk as the rendezvous points for the first Iowa regiments was keen, as were the contests for designation as supply centers and hospital bases for federal troops.

John W. Rankin.
here. But there is no hurry about it. Henry says you would like to visit me while I am down here. Of course I will not be here long enough, but will expect you all ready to come down soon enough to visit me at St Louis before we move South.

How are you progressing with the packing up business? It is exceedingly dull at this camp although the Post duties keep me very busy. Captain McAllister is still quite poorly and I fear yet he may have prolonged fever.

I hope Genl Pope has gone into the matter of fighting the rebels in N Missouri to some purpose before this time. It is certain matters have been poorly managed heretofore.

Give my love to all
Affectionately yours
Saml R. Curtis

Camp Benton Mo. Sept. 8. 1861

My dear wife

I started from Jefferson Barracks at 4 oclock yesterday but got along so slow it was dark when the train left the city. I had sent a wagon with my furniture, so William got here, but I remained at the Everett house, sleeping once more in a full grown bed.

I found the Barrack got up on a vast scale. Two long rows of plank buildings extending in the following form:
This extends about a mile in length. The house is quite commodious built in 4½ days. I will have to have you to take charge of it so you may as well bring our whole household furniture, and our Carriage along. There is no doging it. I am to have the “Camp of instruction” now with a certainty. My command is to be very large if the Generals plans are carried out and I will want you and Sadie to help me with your taste in keeping the household affairs all snug.

Genl Fremont will be out here to inaugurate matters on Thursday, and I wish you could, all be here. I will Telegraph I believe tomorrow and possibly you may some of you get here.

Sadie might come. But on the whole I guess you will not be able to get ready in time. However this may be, prepare to come. I don’t want the cooking stove or stove furniture, and I can have dining table kitchen table and such things made here. But carpets, beds, chairs (except very old ones, and including the hickory ones) stand ornaments for rooms and Bureaus will be convenient and necessary. The rest you can stow away in the extra rooms reserved as before directed. Always retaining one permanent residence as I have before arranged it.

If you have one or two girls that you prefer to keep, let them come also, although you know best about that.

It will not cost much to move our things. The packing will be the worst job. Steam boats wont charge much for the freight and I will send teams and men from here to haul the things from the river right into Camp. That man on Main Street should paint up the Carriage. He owes me.

All this will give you much care and trouble I fear but we are in for the war and must suit ourselves to the occasion. The pomp and circumstance of war has to be arranged and our Major General wants it done up on a grand scale here at Camp Benton.

While the plaster and paint are drying in my quarters I have taken a very humble place in a company quarters at the point marked “A” in the diagram. I have issued
order No 1 assuming Command and a special order detailing 1/20th of each command for police and white washing duty.

Having thus begun my duties and concluded this letter I will close the labors of a weary Sunday with this epistle to you and repair to my cot which William has carefully spread for the occasion

Affectionately yours
Saml R. Curtis

Headquarters Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks Mo September 18th 1861

General Orders
No. 4

Troops are stationed at this post especially to recruit organize and drill, commanders thereof after the first day (which should be devoted to clearing quarters and accoutrements, and airing tents and clothing) officers and men will be expected to conform to the rules of this contonment. Idleness is everywhere pernicious especially in armies, as it leads to vice or stupidity and degrades the profession. We are paid to labor and should be willing to work: and when we willfully fail to do so, we should lose wages and expect punishment.

To secure daily duty and note delinquencies, frequent roll calls are required, when absentees are to be ascertained and properly reported. The calls for daily duty are to be strictly enforced by the officers. [Reveille and roll call were ordered at 6 A.M., breakfast at 7:15, following a morning drill, drill again following breakfast, dinner call at 12 M., drill again in the afternoon, with retreat at 5:45. Taps and roll call, 9: P.M., lights out 9:15]

General Regulations
Head Quarters
Camp of Instruction Benton Barracks Sept 19, 1861

General Orders
No 5

* * *
Order in Camp

It is the special province of the Guard to see that all these and other rules of the service are complied with... Foraging, pilfering, rioting, mutiny, drunkenness, profane swearing, and vulgarity, are to be rebuked and restrained; and all soldiers should unite in preserving the decency and general decorum of all troops who should carry to their homes an unsullied name.”

* * *

Camp of Instruction
Benton Barrack
Sept. 19, 1861

Major J. C. Kelton41
Asst. Adt Genl
Sir

The matter of a Company of Sappers and minors [sic] raised in Illinois Commanded by Capt. Snyder has been referred to me, with direction to ascertain whether fraud had been practised to prevent the Company from joining Col Bissels Regiment and if so to dispose of them according to the justice of the matter.

The Company was and is divided in Counsils on several questions, but the matters in dispute did not so much refer to their regiment as to the kind of duty they would have to perform. They have been tampered with and to some extent deceived as to their duties by being told Sappers mean one thing Engineers another and Soldiers another. They are generally Mechanics and hope as such to be employed. I have told them as far as the Service would allow they would be so employed but the first thing they have to do is to learn military duty. Upon this injunction they have now settled down to drill and duty. If the regiment called Engineers is to be specially devoted to Mechanical persuits [sic] it would be well to attach them to that regiment. If otherwise they could and should remain as the regular Sappers and Minors.

41John C. Kelton, U. S. Military Academy, 1851, brvt capt. by May 1861, capt. Aug. 3, 1861, Col. 9 Missouri Inf. Sept. 19, 1861, Kelton rose in rank after the close of the war to that of brig. gen adjt. gen. by 1880.
are, an independent or separate organization to do mechanical work similar to that done by such corps in the U States Service. They were mustered as Sappers and Minors. The law relating to volunteers authorizes the organization "as in the regular service" and under this clause I can find the only legal authority for carrying out the expectations and promises made to this Company (See Sec 2 Page 21 Statutes 37th Congress) Finding no evidence of fraud towards anybody but finding the company mustered as sappers and minors I report the facts.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Sert.
Saml. R. Curtis
Camp of Instruction

Benton Barracks Mo
Sept 19, 1861

Dr General

In Conformity with your instructions I send a Complete requisition for Clothing nine regiments Iowa volunteers. When in Washington I made a partial requisition for two regiments but nothing has yet arrived. If it does, it does not matter, as we are receiving from Iowa several more regiments and the clothing will all be properly applied to Iowa troops.

To secure proper safety in my absence I wish the boxes directed to Capt Henry Z. Curtis42 Quincy from whence he can supervise the proper direction to the regiments wherever they may be located.

I am very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
Saml R. Curtis
Brig Genl. U.S.A.

Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks Sept 21. 1861

Dr Major

I find the skeleton Regiment in camp requires much time and attention. Men come and stay a few days with-

42Son of S. R. Curtis
out being mustered in, and slip away from camp cheating the Government out of subsistence and causing insubordination. I have therefore detailed an officer (Lieut Freeman of the Regular Army) to muster them in as fast as they come, so that in case they leave they may be regarded as deserters. They generally comply without much complaint. Col Burge has a small squad of men who he calls Rifles or Sharp Shooters. They are about 150 in number and claimed by about a Doz quasi Captains but none of them either officers or privates mustered into the service. I ordered the Colonel to have this floating population mustered into the service. He seems to dread it, and holds back unless it can be done on conditions &c &c I have insisted and told him I would not approve provision rations for his men unless they are mustered. In the mean time he has gone to Head Quarters and I report the facts to prevent misunderstandings. I have told him we will let him have riffles if they can be got; but soldiers must be soldiers and I could see no need of keeping these men and officers for weeks in an unorganized condition Good order of camp and economy of service requires this.

Very Respectfully yours
Saml. R. Curtis
Brigr Genl Com. Camp

[By special order no. 244, H.Q. Western Division, dated Sept. 23, 1861, "Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis Volunteer Service, will extend his Command over the City of St. Louis, and will assume the control during the absence of the Commanding General of the Department, of all matters affecting the public interests in and near St. Louis.]

Headquarters Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks Sept 24th 1861

General Orders
No 7
In profound respect to the Sovereign Ruler of nations, and in obedience to the Proclamation of the President of
the United States, Thursday the 26th inst will be observed as a day of fasting humiliation and prayer within the limits of this command.43

All drinking Saloons will be closed during the entire day and night and all business houses except drug stores will suspend business and close their establishments during the day, the Assistant Provost Marshall of St. Louis, and the Officers within this Command will see to the faithful execution of these injunctions.

By Order of Brig General Samuel R Curtis

Robert A. Howard,
A A Adj’t General

Head Quarters Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks (near St. Louis) Oct 7. 1861

Governor H R Gamble44

Dear Sir

Yours of the 5th inst. on the subject of conflicting enrollment by States and United States Officers, is just received. When I have been informed of men brought in this camp who had been previously enrolled by your proper officers, I have sent them out with a reproach for leaving your enrollments.

But it is proper to say the men and officers have generally acted in good faith; supposing that by joining the United States service, they would relieve the State from the expense of their organization and equipment, and with equal certainty accomplish the object of their enrollment.

I see very many dangers of conflicting exertions and efforts among officers who desire to fill up their command, but I will do all I can to prevent a laudable zeal from doing injury to either kind of service.

Very respectfully yours

Saml R Curtis
Brig Gen’l Commandg

43The proclamation which set the last Thurs. in Sept. as a national day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, was issued by Lincoln August 12, 1861. The day was generally observed in all Iowa communities. Not until 1864 did Lincoln formally establish a Thanksgiving day by proclamation.

44Hamilton R. Gamble was selected provisional governor of Missouri, June 18, 1861, to succeed Claiborne F. Jackson, who had thrown his lot with the Con-
Head Quarters Camp of Instruction  
Benton Barracks Oct 9th 1861  

John McCune Esq*  
Prest Keokuk & St Louis Packet Co  

Sir  
I am informed by an officer of the mail service that you have reproached him for expressing Union sentiments and denouncing secession in the presence of the passengers on your boats. 
I wish to know of you whether it is your purpose to conduct your boats on such terms of equality, and especially, whether you are going to foster in any way, sentiments of rebellion and insolence towards officers of the United States Government whose duty it is at all times & in all places to vindicate our National Government.

Very Respectfully  
Your obdt Servt  
Saml R Curtis  
Brig Genl Commanding Post

[copy]

[Copy]  
St Louis Oct 10th/61

Brig Genl Saml. R. Curtis  
Sir  
Your[s] of the 9th in relation to Mr. Taylor,* Mail Agt is recd. You say you are informed that I have reproached a Mail Agt for expressing Union Sentiments, and denouncing Secession; in this you are misinformed, the Captain of the boat informed me that he (Mail Agt) was neglectful of his business and would have his mail bags put off & read by unauthorized Deck Hands or Watchmen, and at times would leave his room door unprotected, and instead of attending to his duties was annoying passengers by making speeches. I then said to Mr Taylor that I have been requested by the Asst Post Master General,

*federacy. Gamble, who disagreed with Fremont and later with Curtis over the status of negroes, was a brother-in-law of Edward Bates, atty. gen. in Lincoln's cabinet.

*McCune may possibly have been a Keokuk acquaintance of Curtis'.

*Hawkins Taylor, Keokuk, Iowa, who was nominated for the post by Curtis when the latter was in Congress, spring of 1861.
to see that the Mail Agts. discharged their duties & when they were remiss to report to him. You also wish to know whether I am going to conduct the boats in such a way as to foster sentiments of Secession or rebellion.

I would answer, that I have done all in my power to assist the Union cause, since the war commenced, but it has not been my habit to make much noise in any of my business relations, but feel safe in saying that I have done more than many others, similarly situated, and am still doing all in my power for the cause.

Hoping the above will be Satisfactory

I remain

Yours Respectfully

J. S. McCune

President

Head-Quarters Camp of Instruction,
Benton Barracks, (near St. Louis, Mo.,)
Oct 11th 1861

Honored and dear Sir

Your excellency’s letter of the 7th Ins’t desiring me to express my views, in regard to Genl Fremont frankly and Confidentially to the Secretary of War; was presented by him this morning, and I have complied with your Excellency’s request.

I have complained of assaults on the General, because I considered it our duty to sustain and correct errors which I supposed grew out of embarrassments in a new avocation to which he is called, and a consequent ignorance of details and laws relating to the service, and I still re-

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47President A. Lincoln. See Nicolay & Hay, *Lincoln*, 4, 482, for excerpt of letter. Date given by Nicolay & Hay is Oct. 12, probably the date Curtis wrote his finished copy of the letter.
48Not found. The letter was probably an open letter used by Secretary Cameron to show the authority of his quest to secure information.
49Lincoln had shown an increasing uneasiness over Fremont’s course in Missouri since the latter’s proclamation of Aug. 30. Fremont, who had succeeded in alienating the support of the powerful Blair family, formerly his supporters, was charged with reckless expenditures, excessive and irregular issuance of commissions, and moreover, of surrounding himself with too many foreigners. Cameron’s visit was the second investigation within a month. Montgomery Blair and Montgomery C. Meigs, the latter being quartermaster gen. of the army, had inspected the situation in Sept. Cameron was accompanied by L. Thomas. See Official Records, *War of the Rebellion* 1st ser. 3, 466-486, *Pamphlets*, 533-551, passim; Nicolay & Hay, 1st ser., 4, 411-15, Allen Nevins, *Fremont, Pathfinder of the West*, 498, passim.
proach some who were early associated in intimate terms with him.

But he has been surrounded with strangers, and adopted citizens, who do not know our language or laws, and for myself, although I tried to be agreeable, I have had very little opportunity to make suggestions to him. In the meantime things seemed at loose ends and utterly inconsistent with law and usage.

Since I was placed in Command here, I have become more acquainted with the erratic course and irregularity of his orders, and I am greatly obliged to your Excellency's letter which breaks the restraints of military etiquette & enables me to relieve myself of a painful silence.

In my judgement General Fremont lacks the intelligence the experience the sagacity and regard for system and economy necessary to such a command as he now holds. I have arrived at this conclusion reluctantly and gradually. There is a kind of reserve which he maintains that evinces embarrassment or vanity which I never could overcome so as to fully ascertain his views. He would talk of plans, but when he attempted to explain them they were trifling movements of a General here or there "to drive away the enemy" with no relation to a general purpose, which I have finally believed he never conceived.

Forces are scattered and isolated without being in supporting arrangements, and when I hoped in painful apprehension which I have expressed to him I perceived no special exertion to repel or relieve the danger till it was too late. I know the demands made on him to guard every point have been oppressive; but there stood the exposed unsupported points inviting assault and so some continue to remain beyond supporting distance. This is a professional criticism which you may not care to consider but the forces should be concentrated, with arrangements which the rivers and railroads furnish, of sudden movements to any desirable points. What has particularly surprised me is the General's mode of calling, organizing, and officering troops and workmen, introducing the greatest irregularity which must lead to interminable controversy, extravagance and insubordination. He ap-
points one a General to raise a Brigade, another a Colonel to raise a Regiment another to be chief of engineers and gives a Col [Fiala] Fiedla\(^{50}\) entire control of all the forts, and another command of all the troops in the fort, and then gives me command of the city and vicinity: but fortunately owing to the good sense of these quasi Colonels, without any refusal on their part to respect my commands.

These officers are given printed Commissions "subject to the approval of the President," but they are so lavishly awarded, and men being paid on them, the holders feel confident of their validity, and even regular army officers flourish their Cheverons under such acquisitions of rank and power to the mortification of their seniors and associates. Your excellency will perceive the basis of such a fabric is ruinous to the structure and to the subordination of the army. Everything rests on the personal favor of the General.

The expense and insubordination which must ensue and the evils growing out of the pendency and discussions of the question you propound "Ought General Fremont to be relieved from, or retained in his present Command" seem to require early and final determination.

The public opinion is an element in this war and must not be neglected. Unfortunately the question has assumed a personal form and some are anxious to make it more so. The masses, and especially the German element, have espoused Fremont's side, and the press is entirely under his control. Identity of interest is supposed to exist, and while commissions and pay are vested in him, the sentiment is well founded. His proclamation \textit{confiscating the rebels Negroes} was popular, and I confess the negro part received my cordial approval. Col O'Fallon says "if I turn traitor take my Negroes be confiscated" and this sentiment prevails in this country. I thought his onward progress with freedom to the rebel's slaves as a war cry would carry great terror among rebels who use the slaves

\(^{50}\)John T. Fiala, Hungarian born, Lt. Col. 2nd Missouri Reserve Corps, May 7, 1861, later Col. topographical engineers, was a member of Fremont's staff, Sept.-Nov. 19, 1861; resigned from the service June, 1864.
as sappers & miners against us. But he was not prepared to carry it out, and like the proclamation leverying contributions on the vicinage in North Missouri, was not successfully attempted.

Yet the public was pleased, and a sympathy for Fremont is deep seated and should be respected. Hopes and expectations which his promises and agreements have created, should be kindly and liberally regarded.

Your Commissions should immediately be disturbed to reasonable pretenders, while upstarts should be reduced to their natural level. A large sum of money should be sent out to be cauticisly, [sic] honestly, and wisely disbursed by the Commissary Quartermaster and Paymaster; discriminating as far as possible towards Loyal creditors. Some force and more arms should be moved this way. These acts should precede or be cotemperanious with any change. I take the liberty to name these things, because I would fortify you against all possible danger of reaction; and believing as I do that in any view of the question, and to support any course you may pursue, some effort must be made to silence clammer and insure harmony among our associates. Determine as you may, your army and country will sustain you. The notice of Genl Wools coming did not as the papers said create disturbances in my camp. Some acts of resentment may insue but they will be temporary. (but I desire unanimity in our ranks. In my judgement Fremont must be superceded, but the time and manner should be well considered. I would evince no apprehension of resentment, but would be prepared for it. In the meantime, whatever be your determination, I shall faithfully and earnestly sustain you.—crossed out)

Do as you would be done by in view of our cause and country and leave the rest to an overruling Providence which I implore for your direction and support.

I have the honor dear sir to remain

Your Excellency's obedient friend & Servt

Saml. R. Curtis Brig Gen USA
[Copy]
Head Quarters Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks Oct 17th 1861

Captain
The street order from the Commanding Genl Fremont, sending back my patrols, which with much trouble I had found means to equip, was, in the face of surrounding circumstances, more than a surprise, but your explanation to me of the pendency of an order for the regiment, will prevent further notice of the matter at present.

Of course direct orders to Pickets Patroll & Batteries, not only supersede my command but confound it and disparage me. But the enemy is in front; let it pass. The Battallion is saddled and ready to move West as ordered.

Very Respectfully
S R Curtis
Brig Gen'l Comdg Post

To Capt. Chauncey McKeever\textsuperscript{51}

A A G
St. Louis Mo.

Head-Quarters Camp of Instruction,
Benton Barracks, (near St. Louis, Mo.,) Oct 16 1861

Brig Gen'l L. Thomas

Sir
I am exceedingly embarrassed in the matter of Staff officers. I am entitled to 2 Aids and you know I need them. Yet I have none.

I now ask that Geo S. Pierce distinguished in the fight at Springfield, and educated at West Point, of Dubuque Iowa, be appointed a Captain or Lieutenant in the Regular Army and be ordered to my Command.

I again ask that young Elbert be detailed as another Aid. I beg for immediate response to this letter. I study only the good of the Service. Things look worse and worse here. The enemy in force within 30 or 40 miles and I do not know who Commands our forces. I think probable

\textsuperscript{51}Chauncey McKeever, U. S. Military Academy, 1849, was brvt capt. and asst. adjt. gen. July 1861, on Fremont's staff; he rose to maj. and lt. col. a. a. g. assigned, 1862.
Ironton is take by Genl Thom[son]. I have sent out almost every gun (small arms) within my command which is limited to this county

Truly yours
Saml R. Curtis
Brig Genl Cdg

Oct 27
I send this back to the Secy of War. Since I wrote we have whipped Thompson and drove out of the region but it was done by using force that was ordered away and by my taking the responsibility to neglect the order to withdraw the force. But I hope the Hon Secy will perceive the delicacy and danger of my position and relieve me [of] such occasion. I have served many years and was never arrested and never reproached until my connection with this command.

Head-Quarters Camp of Instruction
Benton Barracks, (near St. Louis, Mo.,) Oct 18 1861

General

I asked by Telegraph a suspension of your order directing the 8th Wisconsin to report at Jeffersonville to Genl Sherman; mainly because General Fremont was draining this point when Thomson was moving against us, to pursue Price who was retreating far towards Arkansas, and I saw that any accident or apparent danger in this vicinity would renew the cry of persecution and neglect. I therefore pressed the Wisconsin and another regiment towards Pilot Knob and Telegraphed the Commander at Cairo to send a force through from St. Jenevive [Genevieve] towards Pilot Knob to save our force and stores at that point and peradventure close in on Thompson. I hear the Wisconsin has reached Pilot Knob but I have no response from Cairo. If we save Pilot Knob this time, I shall rejoice. The only importance attached to the point is our guns and stores.

52Adjt. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas
53Sterling Price, former governor of Missouri, and Congressman, a veteran of the Mexican War with the rank of brig. gen., cast his lot with the southern forces, though moderate in views. A maj. gen., C. S. A., he fought at Wilson's Creek, and led most of the actions in Missouri in 1861. After a brief post-war sojourn in Mexico, he returned to Missouri in 1866.
If they were not there no army would be tempted to within fifty miles of the poor sterril volcanic labarynth of hills and defiles. True it is the end of a Railroad, but the end of a railroad *without the rolling stock* which should be held here in this city; is of no use to a foe, and hence there is no need of half a million of stores and useful force at that point to invite the starving scoundrals of McCul- lough to come and steal them. Whatever be the result then, do not overlook the movements of the enemy this side which took Capt Elliot and his company and faught the Home guards in the vicinity. The Wisconsin 8th and Boyds Regiment were needed. I started about 300 Cavelry, but Capt. McKeever very sumeraly [sic] ordered them back and sent them to Genl Fremont taking away every armed cavalier in this Command.

At last accounts Genl Fremont was about 30 miles south of the Railroad—Price far below.

I hope that persuit [sic] will not be prolonged far in that direction, with the large force now accumulated out there; as it will be very expensive, and no considerable force of the enemy will make a stand there.

If I had Cavelry *arms* I could send 3000 to the Pilot Knob and that is the force most needed. But every arm goes West, and my Cavelry is useless. My infantry is very little better being mainly with no arms and what is armed is 300 old smoothbores and about 900 Belgium muskets that are absolutely worthless.

Yet I have no fears of this city as the rebils cannot or dare not squeese themselves into this interior angle.

To an intimation which I gave to Capt McKeever that orders were awaiting the 8th Wisconsin he responds “I do not understand how you could receive orders from Washington to send that regiment to Indiana No troops can leave this Dept without an order from Major Genl Fremont.” This being only a few hours after he had order my Patroll back, and a battery out of my Command without my knowledge; I did not respond to enlighten his “understanding” but left him to consider “how.”
The importance of matters here must excuse the length of this communication.

Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt
Saml. R. Curtis
Brig Genl Com.

Head-Quarters Camp of Instruction,
Benton Barracks, (near St. Louis, Mo.,) Oct 20, 1861
His Ecy Abraham Lincoln
President

In further response to your letter Concerning affairs in this Department I feel it my duty to present, that orders from the Commanding General are draining the Northern and Eastern portions of this State, and pressing them west, so out of the way, I fear they will be lost to actual necessities that grow out of the weakness of this section. Every Cavalier is removed from Rolla where mounted Scouts are of the greatest necessity. All the armed Cavalry is removed from here and all the infantry that is properly arrived also. Regiments are drawn from the Hannibal and St Joseph Rail Road and sent forward to Augment the Western Column which was fled from by the rebels when it had not a tithe of its present strength.

I regret also to see the forces being much divided in small and great Columns scattering and consuming the momentum they should carry with them, and offering occasion for more rebel victories such as the past has painfully witnessed.

Seven Companies (Infantry and Cavalry) are 90 miles South of Rolla with no support.

Also called Brigr General Harding\(^5^4\) is gathering troops to lead a similar expedition.

At the same time here is a force of irregular rascals under Thompson forty or fifty miles below me who could be driven to Arkansas or caught in the swamp of New Madrid, if I could arm and move the Cavalry now here under special orders to go west just as fast as Squadrons can be armed.

\(^5^4\)Chester Harding Jr., Lt. Col. Asst. Adjt. Gen. Missouri Vols., May, 1861, Col. 10th Mo. Inf., and later of the 25th Mo. Inf., was one of those who held a brig.
WITH FREMONT IN MISSOURI

I am sorry to trouble your Excellency about matters which ought to be otherwise disposed of but the anxiety expressed in your letter induces me to keep you advised.

[no signature]

Benton Barracks Mo
Oct 22, 1861

General

I was ordered yesterday by Telegraph to march back all the troops I had sent down on the Iron Mountain road, which was no doubt intended as a preliminary for sending them West. The order conveyed also a scathing reproof saying "the whole affair has been grossly exaggerated Col Carlon should have kept the road open without any additional force."^55

An hour after I had to day responded by a kind of remonstrance showing the probability of conflict and [illegible] all I had sent; I received the telegraphic report of our success at Fredericktown, and farther that the execution of the order to withdraw all I had sent would have left Pilot Knob and [illegible] without a man to guard them.

It is not therefore safe to withdraw the force [guarding the bridges—crossed out], and it would in my judgment be far better to send more and drive the enemy to the swamps or to Arkansas which is easy to do. But I am standing under two suspended orders, yours to send the Wisconsin 8th East, and Fremonts to bring them back here for the purpose of sending them West.

The first at my instance was suspended by you, the latter is suspended by me [and between you both, I suppose I will be suspended!—crossed out] to secure Pilot Knob and the railroad from scattering rebels.

In this dilemma I shall do just as near right as my judgment can dictate conscious as I am that being on the spot I ought to take some responsibility.


^56"Col. Carlon" was likely W. P. Carlin, Col. 38th Ill. Vols, who commanded the forces at Pilot Knob, Mo. during engagements there, October 12-25, 1861. The censure referred to above apparently referred to his retreat Oct. 17-18 from superior forces under Jeff Thompson.
I have no fears of this place although I have no armed Cavelry and only about 600 Servisable muskets. Price may hold out a shadow to draw General Fremont forward, but his force is insignificant. So is Hardies and Ben McCulloughs, and both these are far south and not supporting either Thompson who we have just routed, or Price who began to retreat when Seagles\(^5\) [Sigel] Brigade moved forward.

I should be pleased to receive orders concerning the 8th Wisconsin and further instructions from you.

No order has been given me to suspend work on the forts.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
Saml R. Curtis
Brig. Genl Comg

Copy to Genl Fremont
Oct 22. 1861

State of Missouri
County of St Louis

Harrison B Branch makes his oath and says that he is Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Central Superintendancy acting in that capacity under a Commission from the President of the United States; that in the month of May he caused to be insured five thousand five hundred dollars worth of Goods shiped on the Steam Boat Chippeway for the Black feet Indians in the Merchants Insurance Company and the Great Republic Insurance Company of St. Louis and that the said goods were destroyed by the burning of the said Boat about the 23rd of June last and that the said Insurance Companies in the latter part of August and in the month of September last paid the said loss to affiant in Missouri Bank notes according to a stipulation in the policy to that effect that among the said Bank notes their [sic] was a part on the Bank of St Louis two thousand Dollars of which on the

\(^5\)Franz Sigel, native of Germany, and an active 1848 revolutionist with military experience, helped organize the 3rd Mo. Inf. in 1861 and became its col. Raised to brig. gen. of volunteers, May 17, 1861, he became a maj. gen. March 21, 1862, later served as a corp commander with Pope in Virginia.
Bank of St. Louis he now has on hand and he ask the Commanding General (Brigadier General Curtis Commanding in and around the military Post of St Louis for a premtory [sic] order upon the United States Express Co who now has possession of a large amount of Coin of the said Bank of St Louis to redeem of the notes of the said Bank 2000 $ now in affiants hands as Government money, and further affiant sayeth not.

St Louis Mo
Oct 28th 1861

Sworn to and subscribed
October 28” 1861 before me
Mathew Williams
Notary Public
St. Louis County
Missouri

Dear Sir
I have left the money refered to in the foregoing affidavit with Thomas E Tutt & Co as I am compelled to leave the city who are instructed if the coin is paid to place the same in the subtreasury in this city to my credit.

H. B. Branch

St Louis 6 Nov 1861

This is to certify that we this day called on Mr. Thos. E Tutt & Co with reference to the matters contained in the foregoing affidavit, and from them, learned the following particulars, viz: that as agents for Branch they settled the claim against the Insurance Company or Companies, receiving in payment a check on Bank for bankable funds. This check they deposited in Bank to their own credit; and two or three days afterwards, (Branch being in St Joseph and wanting the money,) they drew their check on Bank for the amount they were to send Branch being some $5,000, received Mo bank notes and did send the sum so drawn to said Branch, but they did not pretend to be able to identify any of the money so sent. The Bank
of St Louis notes exhibited to us were a parcel of loose notes *not in a package*, and said by Tutt to amount to the sum of exactly $1,900 not $2000 as stated by affiant Branch. Witness our hands and seals this 6th November 1861

William E. Barr
Az Eddy Jr.
Benton Barracks Mo

Executive Mansion
Washington Octo. 24th 1861.

Brigr Genl. S. R. Curtis

Dear Sir

On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major General Fremont, delivered to him with all reasonable dispatch—subject to these conditions only, that if, when Gen Fremont shall be reached by the messenger (youself, or any one sent by you) he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in the immediate presence of the enemy, in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for further orders. After, and not till after the delivery to Gen Fremont, let the inclosed addressed to Gen. Hunter be delivered to him.

Your obdt Servt
A. Lincoln

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The first inclosure was General Orders No. 18, of same date, Oct. 24, from Gen. Winfield Scott, directing Fremont to relinquish his command to Maj. Gen. Hunter. The second inclosure was one of specific suggestions to Hunter, or "the Commander of the Department of the West," not to pursue Price further, but to restore order and discipline in the army, and to maintain secure defensive positions. Probably accompanying these dispatches was this second letter from Lincoln to Curtis bearing the same date, Oct. 24:

"My Dear Sir: Herewith is a document—half letter, half order—which, wishing you to see, but not to make public, I send unsealed. Please read it, and then inclose it to the officer who may be in command of the Department of the West at the time it reaches him. I cannot now know whether Fremont or Hunter will then be in command. Yours truly, A. Lincoln." 59

59David Hunter, U. S. Military Academy, 1822, served in the Mexican War, settled in Kansas, became a trusted friend of Lincoln's, and accompanied the President-elect part way to Washington. One of the numerous brig. gens. appointed May 17, 1861, he was made a maj. gen. Aug. 13, 1861. His succession to Fremont was designed to be temporary, he being succeeded Nov. 18, by Maj. Gen. W. H. Halleck. Hunter later held commands in the South, where his liberal slavery views had to be restrained by Lincoln.
A delicate but important duty is devolved on you. One of two Communications, one directed to Major General John C. Fremont and the other to Major General Hunter, are to be delivered to these Generals under certain Conditions which are given in a letter from the President of the United States, a Copy of which is given you. You have charge of the letter to General Fremont. You will see by the instructions the letter you carry must be delivered unless

1. Genl Fremont has won a battle
2. Is fighting a battle
3. Is in immediate presence of the enemy in expectation of a battle.

Neither of these exigencies are likely to occur, as the enemy at last accounts, is not near the General. You will, after delivery of the letter, give me the earliest possible advices of the fact by Telegraphing to me that my orders have been obeyed.

Respectfully yours
Saml R. Curtis
Brig Genl U.S.V.

Benton Barracks, Mo.
November 1st 1861

General,
The President of the United States has devolved upon me delicate and painful duties relating to the Command of this district which I have endeavored to execute with all the secrecy accuracy and dispatch directed and expected by the Executive. He has to-day sent the enclosed letter of instruction which I forward by my son Captain H. Z. Curtis, who will deliver it as intended to the Officer in Command. It was sent to me open because the President at his own instance confided his plans in me and

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60 Three messengers were reportedly used by Curtis, the successful bearer was T. I. McKenny, who disguised himself as a southern planter in order to penetrate to Fremont's quarters. See Ida M. Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, 2, 66-69.
because he expects my hearty co-operation in carrying out results.

I have the honor to be, General

Your obdt. Servt.

Saml R Curtis
Brig Genl. U.S.V.

To the Major General
Commanding Western Department
U.S.A.

Head Quarters Western Department
Springfield, Missouri,
4th November 1861.

Orders
No 3
Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis will assume command of all the posts in Missouri in the immediate neighborhood of St Louis.

By Order of Maj. Gen. Hunter
Chas G Halpine* 62
Major and A.A.G.

Head Quarters Western Department
Springfield, Mo. 4th Novr 1861.

Brigadier General Saml. R. Curtis
Commanding at St. Louis, Mo.

General:

You are hereby directed to remove the present Provost-Marshall of St. Louis and appoint one in whom you have all confidence. You will also take such action as you may deem necessary concerning the present detective force and management of the City. You will take immediate possession of all telegraph lines running into St. Louis and place them under surveillance of a proper officer. You will assume command of all forces on the Iron Mountain R. Road and relieve E. H. Castle (heretofore called Acting Director of Transportation) turning such matters

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*Charles Graham Halpine, born in Ireland, enlisted as a private in the N. Y. State militia, April. 1861. Resigning, was made a maj. asst. adjt. gen. of vols., Sept. 5, 1861, later was raised to lt. col. a. a. g. assigned, 1862-1863.
over to the Major Quartermaster of St. Louis; and you will also relieve Col. Harding by Col. Vandever\(^65\) at Pacific Station and in command of that particular section of the Railroad.

The General Commanding suggests further that you should, at your earliest convenience, remove your Head Quarters to the City of St. Louis.

You may publish the order relieving Major Genl. Fremont from his Command, and my order assuming command.

Very Respectfully

Yours mo. obt. serv.

D Hunter

Maj. Gen.

Com.

[By cipher Curtis received telegraph order from Asst Adjt Genl. Washington, D. C., directing Capt. McKeever, asst. adjt Genl. to Fremont, to report immediately to Washington. dated Nov. 6.]

[By second cypher telegraphed order, Curtis was informed “The General-in-Chief directs you to take at once the control of affairs in and around St. Louis. Look to safety of the arsenal. Take charge of the Telegraph Station Act promptly under these orders till you receive instructions from Genl Hunter. Report frequently.

Asst. A. Genl.”\(^64\)]
dated Nov 6, 1861

By Telegraph 5 O’Clock P.M.

Washington Novr 7th 1861

Brig. Genl Curtis

Arrest the Pay Master\(^65\) alluded to in your telegram of today if you find there are grounds for your suspicions and if you find it necessary to accomplish the object arrest Genl Fremont. Seize the funds.

Geo. B. McClelland [sic]

Commander in Chief

\(^60\)Official Records, War of the Rebellion, 1st ser. 3, 560

\(^61\)William Vandever, Iowa Congressman, and Col. of the Iowa.

\(^62\)Maj. Phinney
To E. D. Townsend,
Asst. Adj’t Gen.

Order received. All right in and around the City. Have been and will be on the alert.

Respectfully Saml. R. Curtis

St Louis October 28th 1861

Hon Simon Cameron
Secretary of War
Dear Sir,

Some ten days since, Col Saml. B. Churchill, late Senator of Ex Gov Jackson’s deposed Legislature, was imprisoned, from apprehension of complying with said Jackson’s calls for convening said Legislature, on the 4th proximo.

I am convinced he had no such intention.
At his, and, his family’s instance, I write, to say, if liberated, I will be responsible for his daily appearance, at the Provost Martial’s office, in this city.

Col. Churchill and myself are nearly connected, he is also with Mr. Guthries; his father, a resident of Louisville, about 85 years old, is a strong and influential union man. We were born near Louisville, and, reared on adjoining plantations.

I have the honor
to be your friend [?] & obt
J O’Fallon

[Secretary of State, William Seward advised Curtis on November 7 that he deemed “it inexpedient” to release Samuel B. Churchill unless he, Curtis, was “satisfied that he will take and observe the oath of allegiance.”]
house. Easily and quietly dispersed. All quiet Had Hunters order assuming command in morning papers.

My messenger says Genl Fremonts paymaster has brought all the money (about 360 thousand dollars) away with him. I am expecting telegraph from West on that subject, and will try to arrest the paymaster & funds

Saml R Curtis
Brig Genl

St. Louis Mo Nov 7th 7 P M

Your order received and will be attended to I have detectives on the alert in waiting for the train. The Germans are preparing to receive Fremont but assure me they will only give the General a grand reception. Things are quiet the General is expected tomorrow.

Paymaster Andrews this afternoon received the following dispatch

'Springfield Novr 6th 1861

'Major Phinney of the Pay department has deserted his post here carrying with him three hundred thousand (300,000) dollars & leaving the Army entirely without money. He is said to have left with Genl Fremont & gone towards St. Louis.

D. Hunter
Major Gen'l Comg

Col Andrews thinks this an over estimate of the amount. This matter is yet a secret here.

S. R. Curtis
Brig Gen'l

St. Louis, Nov. 7, 5 P.M.

E. D. Townsend
Asst. Adj't Gen. Washington, D. C.

False & extravagant dispatches are attempted to be sent forward to create a sensation in regard to matters at Springfield. I have suppressed all the lies I could get hold of and trust the public will appreciate the rest.

radical Republican of Missouri. A col. of Missouri inf. in April, 1861, he was named a brig. gen. of vols. in Aug., 1862, a maj. gen. in Nov., same year. He bitterly opposed Fremont after first espousing his cause.
All was quiet & satisfactory at last accounts at Springfield.

Saml. R. Curtis
Brig. Gen.

[about Nov. 7—pencil]
Benton Barracks. Mo. 10. P.M. 1861

E. D. Townsend,
Asst. Adj’t Gen.

My messenger returned. Hunter took command at Springfield on 4th. All quiet there. Enemy not offering battle. Fremont very indignant at my messenger and at me. Fremont will arrive at Sedalia to-night. All quiet in St. Louis.

Saml. R. Curtis
Brig Gen.

Nov [7—in pencil] 1861

To E. D. Townsend
A a Gen’l Washington D C

Fialas telegraph is from one of Gen’l Fremonts staff, and seems to flourish the premature movement on Belmont as a Fremont victory which I sincerely hope it was. Although improperly addressed, and coming from an irregular source (3 days after Gen Hunter’s order was published) after sending a copy to Gen’l Hunter I have concluded not to delay it but allow it to go on the wires to you. A Crowd, principally Germans are waiting the arrival of Gen’l Fremont. It may be impossible to withdraw the money but my officers are mixed in with the crowd to secure it if possible. All quiet.

S. R. Curtis Brig Gen’l U.S.A

[On November 8, 1861, Brig. Gen. Curtis issued his announcement in General Orders No. 40, that in obedience to the orders of the Commanding General, D. Hunter, his command was extended to an area within fifty miles of St. Louis on the west side of the river]

[Telegram]
Washington Nov 5 6 PM 1861

67T. I. McKenny.
68Published in Official Records, 1st ser. 3, 566-567
To Brig Genl Curtis

What has been done in the matter sent to you by me. Speed.

(Signed)

A Lincoln
Prest U S

Received in cypher

To the President of the United States
Washington

Place no faith in reports of a mutinous spirit in the army at Springfield in consequence of the removal of General Fremont. There is no material dissatisfaction and no prospect of a battle.

Scouts returned to camp on Monday night from thirty to forty miles & report no enemy.

This city quiet the subject is very little discussed and all parties acquiesce in the action of the Government.

Leonard Swett

SRC

St. Louis, Nov. 9, 1861. 11. A.M.

Colonel.

The Paymaster and money chest have gone under a strong escort. All quiet. Yesterday Colonel Fiala sent report of Grants movement on Belmont as ordered by Gen. Fremont. To-day Capt. McKeever telegraphs from Cincinnati to Gen. Fremont that Grant had no orders from Fremont to attack Belmont or Columbus.

Somebody has scattered the force in the region of Pilot Knob; creating anxiety at Posts and offering feeble detachments to the enemy. Have reported to Gen. Hunter.

S. R. Curtis,
Brigr Gen.

Col. E. D. Townsend.
A.A.G. Washington, D.C.
St Louis, Mo. Nov. 8th 10. P.M.

Colonel E. D. Townsend
A. A. Gen. Washington, DC

The General arrived. Major Phinney arrested. Money chest taken & guarded. It will be sent back to-morrow with Major P. in custody.

Torchlight procession over. A small affair. All quiet.

Sam'l R. Curtis
Brig. Gen. Com'd'g

St Louis, Nov. 10. 1861.

Colonel E. D. Townsend, A.A.G.

I want an officer of Engineers to forwith relieve Franz Kappner who has published an impudent letter concerning the investigation committee. Holds a large amount of tools and other property and heads an "Engineering Corps" in this Department that has no legal authority and conflicts with our command of the forts. All quiet here.

S. R. Curtis
Brig. Gen. Com'd'g

[To Col E. D. Townsend The following order has been published
AAG

S R Curtis, Brig. Genl.]

Head Quarters Western Department
November 10. 1861

General orders
No

Commanders of Troops in this Department will avoid extensive movements which offer battle or divide and prolong our lines until further concert and concentration of action can be arranged and instructions given. Full and concise reports will be forwarded immediately to Brigadier General Sam. R. Curtis at St. Louis giving the strength position and condition of every Command

Franz Kappner, one of the numerous German born officers with whom Fremont surrounded himself, held the rank of maj. asst. adjt. gen. in 1862. His letter referred to was but one of many critical newspaper comments on the removal of Fremont.
in the Department. These reports will be consolidated under his direction and a weekly abstract forwarded to the Commanding General.

By order of
Major Genl. Hunter
R.M.Hough
maj. & A.D.C.

[Telegram]
Washington Nov 11th 1861 4 PM

Brig Genl S R Curtis
Comdg St Louis

Have directed Genl Hunter to arrest McKinstry & send him to the arsenal at St Louis to report to you. Allow the least possible communication between him and his friends in the city. Be sure that you have reliable troops at the arsenal. Send on the charges against Mc Keever. Is there any objection to suspending Martial law in St. Louis.

If necessary exchange some of your regiments with Gen'l Grant that you may have reliable troops. Send me statement in full of force under your command. Sketch of fortifications &c.

(signed)
Geo. B. McClellan
Comdr in Chief
U.S.A.

above was received in cypher

[Telegram]
9 P.M.
Washington Nov 11th 61

Brig Genl Curtis

Seize all public books and papers belonging to McKinstry and place them under Seal. Place in close arrest

¹²Justus McKinstry, U. S. Military Academy, 1838, was commissioned a brig. gen. of vols. in Sept., 1861, and commanded one of the divisions of Fremont's army at the time the latter was superseded by Hunter. McKinstry was dismissed from service, Jan., 1863.
his Chief Clerk W. G. Clements and his Cashier Hahn. Report result and communicate with Holt and Davis
Geo. B. McClellan
Com in Chief

Cypher
E. C. Bush

[Telegram]
Washington Novr 11th 1861

Brig Genl Curtis
Brush up the Legion Body Guard\textsuperscript{73} and distribute them among other Regiments or disband them entirely as you deem best and secure all their arms.
Geo. B. McClellan
Com in Chief

This Came in Cypher
E. C. Bush

[Order suspended by telegram received later same day]

[Telegram]

Washington November 11th 1861
4 Oclock P.M.

Brig Genl Curtis
Arrest Franz Kappner and keep him in custody until arrival of Genl Halleck, do the same to any who give you trouble. Let the Quarter master take possession of the tools and other property in Kappners possession. If the Wheatton Corps does not quietly submit arrest the prominent members and disband the rest, if they remain quiet place them in some positions where they cannot give annoyance and occupy the Forts and arsenal with reliable troops. Allow no interference nor insubordination, use vigorous measures to preserve discipline and perfect quiet.
Geo. B. McClellan
Commander in Chief

Above came in cypher
E. C. Bush

\textsuperscript{73}Refers to the Fremont Body Guard under Maj. Charles Zagonyi, composed of Missouri Cavalry, a small body of about 150 men. Body Guard was eventually disbanded in November, 1861, although Zagonyi served as col. asst. aid de camp in 1862, resigning from the service in 1864.
[Telegram]
St. Louis Nov 11 1861

General

Your three dispatches received. All quiet here. I have the right men in the right place. Gen F is preparing a defence. He ought to be called away from here, but he cannot do much more harm.

I shall be neither rash or timid. Shall comply with your directions in regard to the plans of forts. I have a large show of troops, and more coming: but arms are scarce. Will write to your Adjutant General.

S. R. Curtis Brigr Genl

[Telegram]
Head Quarters Western Department
Warsaw Mo. Novr 12th 1861

Brig. Genl. Curtis
St Louis Mo. Genl

You will at once order the Fremont Body Guard into Benton Barracks and when there you will have them turn in and take away from them their Arms Horses & Equipment, this done you will have them await further orders. You will immediately place Genl Justus McKinstry under arrest and confine him within the walls of the Arsenal. He is now on his way to St Louis and will probably arrive by the next train.

Hunter
Maj Genl

In Cypher
E. C. Bush

[J. C. Fremont sent a telegram to McClellan, Nov 12, 1861, stating “I am not informed of any expression of sentiments by the cavalry known as my Guard that should create a doubt as to the expediency of their being retained in service, while on the contrary the service rendered to the country by their extraordinary gallantry at Spring-

74 Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, see Official Records, War of the Rebellion, 1st ser. 3, 569
field on the 25th of October justly entitles them to the favorable consideration of the Government.

"In view of this fact I request that the Commanding General will reconsider the case if any severe measure has been directed against them"

[Disbandment of the Zagony Body guard suspended until further order, by direction of McClellan, Nov. 11, 1861]

St. Louis Arsenal
Novr 14. 1861

General

In obedience to orders from General Hunter I arrived in this City last evening with the intention of reporting to you by letter. At Chamois station on the Pacific Rail Road about one hundred miles distant from St. Louis I was met by an officer who by direction of Brigadier General Curtis by an order from the "Major General Commanding the Army" ordered me to communicate with no one. Not even my family; and also informed me that he was directed to confine me at the Arsenal. On my arrival at Fourteenth Street I was met by three additional officers one of them the Commandant of this post, I was paraded before a Mounted guard of Dragoons, who were finally dismissed at my solicitation, and am now confined a close prisoner within the wall of this Post and denied Communication with any one.

The charges against me are withheld and a close surveillance maintained over me.

I simply ask as a mere act of justice that the investigation of whatever charges exist against me shall be had at the earliest day possible by any tribunal the Government may select.

Since penning the foregoing Capt. Granger who is in command of this Post informs me that he received no such order regarding surveillance &c as Capt Sheridan the officer who arrested me informed me of.

Respectfully General
Your obt Servant
J. McKinstry
Brig Genl Vols.
To Brigadier Genl L. Thomas
Adjutant General U S A
Washington D C

[Endorsed on the McKinstry letter to General Thomas
'This statement is overcoloured I have directed the order of Genl. McClellan to be carried out strictly giv-
ing Capt. Granger a copy thereof. Before his arrival I had directed comfortable quarters for himself & family & scarcity of room may prevent accommodations for his wife but I have again directed that she may visit him'

'S. R. Curtis
Brig. Genl']

St. Louis Nov. 16. 1861

To his Excy
The President
Hon & Dr Sir

The Telegraph has long since advised you of the execution of your orders and I transmit a detailed report which was drawn out of my messenger for publicity without my consent, to show how your orders were executed. I regret the publicity of General Thomas's report of conversations drawn out of me by your Confidential assurance, because I had not aided in creating the incumbrance of General Fremonts appointment and until called on by your Hon. Secretary had escaped a conflict that others seemed to desire. But I do not murmur at my fate which has imposed on me disagreeable duties, and I trust that in alienating the friends of General Fremont I have not lost the respect of those who best know all the circumstances. The confidence reposed in me by your Excellency will compensate for some malignant reproaches which the press has cast upon me.

[Thomas accompanied Sec. of War Simon Cameron on his western investigation trip at the latter's request. Also at Cameron's request [Oct. 19] prepared a report based on notes he had been directed to make. This report, dated Washington, Oct. 21, 1861, quoted Curtis regarding the difficulties of conferring with Fremont, comparing him with Scott, complaining that Fremont never consulted or advised him regarding his plans, and declaring that he [Curtis] "deemed General Fremont unequal to the command of an army, and [that] he was no more bound by law than by the winds." See Official Records, op cit., 538, 540.
Curtis naturally objected to this publication of confidentially given opinion, elicited from him at the President's request.]
I have since labored assiduously to subdue feelings of resentment and preserve the peace of society. I had gained the friendship and force of the German element although their infatuation for General Fremont was and still is excessive. All acts of mutiny and insubordination has been suppressed and the possibility of anything of that sort is entirely removed.

General Hunter arrived here to day. He is in good health and awaits the arrival of General Halleck with tranquility although he says it seems to leaf [sic] him "on the shelf."

For myself I can see a better prospect for the future although the crowded scense of wickedness passing by me, give me little or no time to contemplate the remote consequences of things.

The intense, eternal present has been enough to sicken and sour me with the world; but I trust that persistent exertions will scatter the elements of darkness and destruction that surround the affairs of this Command.

It has been my wish to relieve you from vexations pending difficulties by diverting and destroying them, and in the burden of your cares I congratulate you on the change for the better in this quarter of your vast responsibilities. I have the honor my dear Sir to remain You Excellency's obt. servt.

Saml R. Curtis Brig. Genl.

St. Louis Mo. Nov. 29. 1861.

General Geo. B. McClellan
Washington City.

After thoroughly sifting for a whole week all information received from scouts, spies &c. I am satisfied that the enemy is operating in and against this State with a much larger force than was supposed when I left Washington, and also that a general insurrection is organizing in the counties near the Missouri River between Boonville & St. Joseph. A desperate effort will be made to supply and winter their troops in this State, so as to spare their own resources for a summer campaign. What
is wanted here *most*, is *arms*. Many of our regiments have none of any kind.

H. W. Halleck
Major General.

St Louis Novr 30th 1861

Major Genl. G. B. McClellan
Comg in Chief &c

My letter of the 25th explains in relation to Martial Law. The authority to be given only to myself. I can do nothing here without it surrounded as I am by traitors & spies. I must have.

I know nothing of Koerner—never heard of him before—cannot appoint him till I make inquiries.

H. W. Halleck
Major Genl.

Cypher

H'd Q'rs St Louis District
Dec 6th 1861

Lieut Col Von Deutch

I am sorry to hear that some hesitation was manifested by some of the Benton Hussars in regard to moving out of town before being paid. I had about concluded arrangements for the payment of the command and only awaited the complete mustering in of one or two portions and a little patience on the part of the companies to secure success. Any flare up at the first call to duty is calculated to impair confidence in men I had earnestly labored to serve.

But I trust they will see the fallacy of their ways and I will forgive them on easy terms.

\(^{39}\)Henry Wager Halleck, U. S. Mil. Academy, 1839, a successful engineer and business man in California following his Mexican War career, was named a maj. gen. in the regular army in Aug., 1861. He relieved Gen. Hunter of his temporary command of the Dept. of the West Nov. 18, 1861. In July, 1862, Halleck was named military adviser to Lincoln, a position he retained until named chief of staff under Grant.

\(^{40}\)Gustav Philipp Koerner (Koerner), a political refugee from Germany, a successful lawyer, jurist and public official in Illinois, served briefly with Fremont as asst. aid de camp from Sept. to Nov., 1861. Halleck did not appoint him to continued service.
But the least repetition of such insubordinations will be severely punished.

I am very truly yours
Sam'l R. Curtis
Brig Genl Comg

H'd Q'rs St Louis District
Dec 6th 1861

Colonel

Iowa soldiers must not make conditions upon which they will obey orders. Your requisition for ammunition should be forthwith presented to the proper Chief of Ordance. If your comrades had waited for "Regimental flags" and "camp colors" the rebels would have swept the State. You must not delay a moment in obeying orders if you expect to preserve the high reputation for subordination, energy; and gallantry heretofore manifested by Iowa troops.

It is just as easy to get pay and equipment at Jefferson City as here and I cannot excuse a delay of an hour on the grounds you have placed yourself except that of procuring ammunition which only require a half hour.

Your prompt efforts and obedience to the orders you have received will correct what I deem a very improper expression of hesitation in your letter of yesterday.

I am very truly yours
Sam'l R Curtis
Brig Gen'l

A. M. Hare
Benton Barracks.

Head Quarters St Louis District
Dec 7th 1861

J. C. Borlund Esq
Sir
You will proceed on the Steamboat J W Cheeseman to require all the officers crew and passengers to take and

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78Abraham M. Hare, Muscatine, Iowa, was appointed Col. 11th Iowa Vol. Inf., Oct. 1, 1861. He resigned Aug. 31, 1862.
subscribe the oath I have designated for persons traveling and trading on the Mississippi river.

You will also require the same from persons shipping goods as far as you may deem it expedient and commence to carry out my orders in relation to the commerce on the Mississippi. You will report to Commanding officer at Cape Girardeau and at other military posts where the boat stops, and get such information and orders as they may deem necessary and proper. At Cairo you will report for orders and return as the Commanding Officer at that place may direct.

Respectfully yours
Sam'l R Curtis
Brig Gen'l