

SCENARIO ORDER OF BATTLE

WILSON'S CREEK



# BROTHER against BROTHER

the drawing of the sword





## BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK: OPENING SALVO OF THE WAR IN THE WEST (AUGUST 10, 1861)

by Bill Battle

### A STATE DIVIDED

*For Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, the end was near.*

After leading his troops on a charge near the crest of Bloody Hill during the closing stages of the Battle of Wilson's Creek Aug. 10, 1861, life quickly ebbed from the Federal commander of the Army of the West. Wounded for the third time during a hot, humid August morning just southwest of Springfield, Mo., there would be no recovery from the ball which penetrated both lungs and severed Lyon's aorta before exiting.

And as Lyon passed away around 9:30 a.m., so did Federal chances of prevailing in the first major battle in the Trans-Mississippi/Frontier area of the Civil War. The Battle of Wilson's Creek (also called the Battle of Oak Hills) resulted in a victory for the fledgling Confederacy and its allies while cementing a partnership between the new nation and the Missouri State Guard. While Lyon was no longer around to see what became of affairs in the Show-Me State following his death, he played a major role in making the chain of events which led to Wilson's Creek take place.

To fully understand the dynamics of how it



The death of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, as drawn by Frank Leslie

came to Missourian fighting Missourian in the southwest part of the state, one has to go back before the start of the Civil War.

Missourians had seen collateral conflict going back to 1854 and the fate of Kansas Territory, of whether it would eventually enter the Union as a slave state or free state. The balance of the U.S. Senate, and any future legislation, hinged upon the outcome. When supporters of both sides of the issue flooded into Kansas, some of the violence from "Bleeding Kansas" seeped over into the Show-Me State.

That violence against neighbors angered many in the western part of the state, inciting a hatred towards Kansas which remains to this day. The University of Kansas adopted the name Jayhawks, taken from jay hawkers who terrorized the border region both before the Civil War and during the conflict. The Missouri State Militia frequently was assigned to patrol the western part of the state to prevent jayhawker violence against Missouri border communities.

With the clouds of war spreading across the horizon in 1860, Missouri initially sought to stay out of the impending war with armed neutrality.

By 1860, the state had become very diverse in its population. Most citizens were born outside of Missouri and had emigrated from either the South or Midwest. The state also had over 160,000 immigrants from outside the U.S. with most coming from Germany. Many of the Germans, strongly against slavery, settled in the St. Louis area. That set up the next milestone on the road to Wilson's Creek.

### CAMP JACKSON

In the elections of 1860, Missouri narrowly supported Democrat Stephen Douglas for president. Abraham Lincoln actually finished fourth in polling behind John Bell and John C. Breckinridge.

In Jefferson City, Claiborne F. Jackson was elected governor. Jackson was a Douglas backer during the election. Jackson had been sympathetic to the southern cause and later pushed for Missouri's inclusion in the Confederacy, but apparently only after his original idea of armed neutrality had been quashed. Jackson had wanted Missouri to do the same thing as Kentucky and try to stay out of the upcoming war.

The governor was representative of Missourians at this time in history. As Basil W. Duke, a Kentucky native, St. Louis resident (and base ball player) later wrote that Missourians were sympathetic to the Southern cause, but not open and active in expressing that sympathy.



The United States government maintained troops in St. Louis. To watch these forces, and prevent a Federal takeover of the state's largest city, Jackson sent the Missouri Volunteer Militia, the state's legal defense organization, to St. Louis.

"Despite its pro-secessionist leanings, the Missouri Volunteer Militia had violated neither state nor federal law, while Lyon's volunteers had been raised and armed illegally and its formation was against the constitution. The federal commander seemed bent on making war against a state that had not left the Union," wrote William Garrett Piston and Thomas P. Sweeney in the June 1999 edition of North & South Magazine.

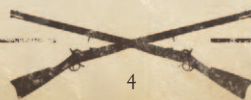
Many of the men had seen action protecting Missouri's western border against Jay Hawkers. Here, the locals trained and drilled in preparations for the upcoming war. Missouri Volunteer Militia Brig. Gen. Daniel Frost was in charge. At the time, the Missouri Volunteer Militia was a very diverse group with men of all political leanings serving with the state's official defensive unit.

Neither side of the upcoming conflict were not going to let Missouri sit out of the upcoming war. Pro-southern factions (Minute Men, St. Louis Grays, Laclede Guards, Washington Blues, Missouri Videttes, etc.) were making plans to bring in artillery from the south and pro-Unionists (Wide Awakes, Schwarze Jaeger, etc.) pressed to eradicate any thoughts of secession.

Events in Charleston, S.C., created shockwaves in St. Louis and pushed both sides closer to conflict. When Fort Sumter was bombarded and forced to surrender, events around the nation escalated.

John Schofield was called back into service from a teaching stint at Washington University in St. Louis and he was called upon to enforce a directive from Washington after Fort Sumter's surrender in Charleston Harbor.

When Secretary of War Simon Cameron called for 4,000 troops from Missouri to be raised and put under Federal service, Schofield was the man picked to visit Gov. Jackson April 16. He received no reply. The next day Jackson stated he would not authorize Missouri troops to put down the rebellion. Jackson sent Basil Duke and Colton Greene to Montgomery, Ala., to try to secure arms from the new Confederate government for the Missouri militia. At the same time, Frank Blair was coming back from Washington, D.C., with permission to draw 5,000 muskets from the St. Louis Arsenal to arm his own home guard and enroll them as U.S. Volunteers. The pressure cooker in St. Louis was heating up to dangerous levels. Additionally, more men joined the U.S. Reserve forces, extra regiments created from those who volunteered.



Some of the camped militia left to join the new Federal forces and five additional regiments of U.S. Reserves were commissioned under Thomas Sweeney, who had come to St. Louis with two companies of U.S. Army Regulars to bolster the arsenal defenses. Blair armed five regiments and the rush to conflict picked up the pace. It all came to a head May 10, 1861.

With Department of the West commander Brig Gen. William S. Harney in Washington, D.C., to seek limitations on the newly enrolled militia, Capt. Nathaniel Lyon of the 2nd U.S. Infantry acted to seize Camp Jackson. The militia camp was then outside the city limits, but today near the campus of Saint Louis University. At that time, it was perceived that the troops there would try to take the Federal Arsenal in St. Louis.

Whether that was the stated goal of the militia is not known. Actually, the militia term was set to expire the next day. It has been stated that Gen. Frost was deeply troubled by his contradicting orders to "faithfully serve the State of Missouri" and "sustain the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Some of the more active Minute Men obviously wanted to see the Federal troops driven out of St. Louis, but no action, other than trying to procure arms, had been taken prior to the next move.

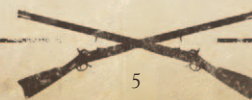
In fact, Lyon's action took Brig. Gen. Frost by surprise. Lyon surrounded the camp and demanded its immediate, and unconditional surrender, promising that the men would be "humanely and kindly treated."

Frost, greatly outnumbered, showed his character in his response: "Sir: I never for a moment having conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional a demand as I have just received from you would be made by an officer of the United States Army. I am wholly unprepared to defend my command from this unwarranted attack, and shall therefore be forced to comply with your demand. I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant."

In a bloodless action, Lyon and his Federal forces, 6,500 now with the five new volunteer regiments, took the Missouri Volunteer Militia members (which now included five companies of Minute Men) into custody and marched them into St. Louis.

During the march, hostile crowds confronted the Federal forces. Eventually, this led to troops, mainly Reserve Corps units, to fire into the masses. A total of 28 civilians were killed and 100 wounded.

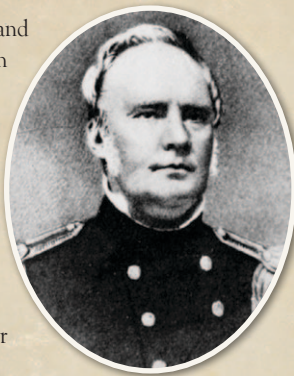
That only served to increase tension between Missourians and the Federal government. Many of the Camp Jackson prisoners eventually went south to fight for the Confederacy.





Witnesses to the Camp Jackson incident and the St. Louis Massacre included future Union generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman.

Following the events in St. Louis, the Missouri state government on May 11 authorized Jackson "to raise money to arm the state, repel invasion and protect the lives and property of Missouri." The result was the Missouri State Guard with former governor Sterling Price named its major general.



### HARNEY-PRICE TRUCE

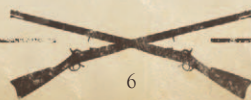
On May 21, Brig. Gens. Harney and Price signed a truce which would assure Missouri's neutrality and calm rising tensions. The agreement would leave Federal troops in charge of military matters in the St. Louis area and the Missouri State Guard in charge of the remainder of the state. This would stay in place as long as Missouri did not send men or supplies to either warring faction.

While the truce briefly calmed tensions in Missouri, the shockwaves resonated to Washington, D.C., where the wheels were in motion to force Missouri to choose between the soon-to-be warring sides.

Spurred by Missouri Senator Frank Blair, President Abraham Lincoln approved Harney's removal as department chairman and gave temporary command to Lyon, newly promoted to brigadier general.

Lyon, an abolitionist and leader of the raid on Camp Jackson, had different ideas than the cautious Harney and he acted to cut the truce. Anyone who knew the fiery Lyon should have known what would happen with his appointment. It was like mixing fire and gasoline, and enflamed an already sensitive issue, due to his past of working with abolitionist groups. Lyon was going to do whatever was necessary for his side to win. This is most likely what helped him secure the department leadership.

Lyon had been active with a number of Unionist groups, including the Wide Awakes, and his appointment sent a clear message to Fox and Price. Lyon met with Jackson and Price June 11, 1861, at the Planter's House Hotel in St. Louis as the Missouri government tried to avert conflict.



The two sides were far apart on any agreement. Lyon refused to stand down militia companies of the Home Guard, formed in the St. Louis area to keep Missouri in the Union. Lyon demanded that Missouri had no right to limit military action within the state and broke off talks, telling Jackson and Price, "[R]ather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to dictate to my government however unimportant, I would rather see you... every man, woman and child in the state, dead and buried This means war!"

Lyon then gave Jackson and Price one hour to leave St. Louis or they would be arrested. Between the Camp Jackson affair and the cancellation of the Price-Harney Truce, many Missouri fence-sitters were forced to choose sides. It was exactly the outcome those championing peace had feared. Price, a supporter of staying in the Union, was forced to change his mind after dealing with Lyon.

### BUILD-UP TO WAR

Whether Lyon ever had any intention of dealing with the Missouri government as long as Jackson was governor is unknown, but on June 13, Federal troops took Jefferson City without a struggle after being transported by steamboat. He continued his work to secure the Show-Me State by advancing to rout Missouri State Guard under John S. Marmaduke (Jackson's nephew) at Boonville, up the river from Jefferson City, June 17. Each side lost five men, but the fight ended with Lyon's forces scattering the ill-trained and supplied guardsmen. Only one company, the Washington Blues from St. Louis, had trained before and was properly supplied.

Another Federal unit struck to the far southwest part of the state, clashing July 5 against the Missouri State Guard under Jackson at Carthage. Outnumbered, but better armed, Sigel squared off in fighting which took much of the day, with Sigel gradually moving south into the town square. With more forces reported to be moving in, Sigel retreated that night to Sarcoxie.

By this time, the Missouri State Guard had taken its side and was flying Confederate flags. As had been the case at Boonville, many guardsmen were unarmed, or poorly equipped. It was the first, and only, time that a sitting governor (Jackson) actively led troops in the field against U.S. Army forces. Marmaduke, so frustrated with his uncle's mishandling of the situation after recommending an orderly retreat from Boonville prior to the fighting, resigned his commission and went to Richmond to apply for service in the Regular Confederate Army.





At the same time, Price was active in the southwest part of the state. He was running a training camp at Cowskin Prairie, near the Arkansas border, for southwest elements of the Missouri State Guard.

Lyon continued his restructuring of Missouri. With Jackson out of the capital and with the Missouri State Guard in the southwest part of the state, the Missouri Constitutional Convention was reconvened. The new government selected former Missouri Supreme Court Chief Justice Hamilton R. Gamble as governor and the state declared for the Union.

Any thoughts of avoiding conflict within Missouri were now finished and both sides were on the march towards the bloody day on the banks of Wilson Creek. (The name of the battle – Wilson’s Creek – was different than the stream.)

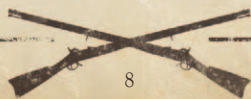
### NATHANIEL LYON

Born near Ashford, Conn., July 14, 1818, Nathaniel Lyon was determined to become a soldier. Relatives had fought in the American Revolution and young Nathaniel wanted to serve his country.

Attending the U.S. Military Academy (West Point), Lyon graduated 11th out of 52 with the Class of 1841. He immediately saw action against the Seminoles in Florida. However, there was criticism, too. In 1842, Lyon beat a sergeant



Gen. Nathaniel Lyon with the 1st Iowa Infantry at Wilson's Creek, as drawn by Frank Leslie



(reportedly drunk) who questioned orders. Lyon received a court martial after beating the man bloody with the flat of his sword and then having him bound and gagged for over an hour.

Lyon fought in the Mexican War, earning praise for gallantry under fire at Mexico City, Contreras and Churubusco. At Mexico City, he captured enemy artillery. His actions earned a promotion to 1st lieutenant and a brevet promotion to captain.

Moving with three companies of the 2nd Infantry and a company of the 2nd Dragoons, Lyon led a punitive mission against the Chomo Indian tribe for the killing of miners. On May 14-15, Lyon's men found the Indians in the Battle of Clear Lake, where over 65 Indians were killed. He continued his pursuit to the present Healdsburg, Calif., on the Russian River, where his men shot down over 75 more of the Chomo warriors. The 2nd Infantry later served in Kansas, where Lyon violated orders to support the Freesoil cause.

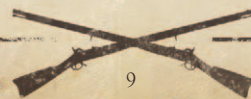
Was Lyon an abolitionist? The records are not clear, but Ezra Warner in his seminal work, *Generals in Blue*, states, "Even though he was far from being an abolitionist and was not in favor of disturbing slavery where it existed, he developed an unconditional adherence to the Union." In fact, Unionism was his religion. He pursued keeping the Union together as a sacred, pious duty. His devotion to duty ranked up with his loyalty to the Union.

In February of 1861, Lyon came to St. Louis with the 2nd Infantry's Co. D. He again chose to meddle in local affairs in St. Louis and personally conducted intelligence (reportedly disguised as a farm woman) on Camp Jackson before leading the raid there. Some reports state he was the one who ordered the troops to fire on the crowds after the sack of Camp Jackson.

At any rate, Lyon's actions drew attention around the country. In Washington, D.C., he was lauded and promoted to department commander. In the rest of Missouri, Lyon enflamed the local population and many of the state's military-age men decided to cast their lot with the fledgling Confederacy after his heavy-handed tactics.

### STERLING PRICE

One of those who decided to go with the South following Lyon's actions was Sterling Price. A conditional Unionist, Price opted to cast his lot with the duly-elected Missouri state government and the South after Lyon's seizure of Camp Jackson and firing into civilians following the camp's capture.





Price was a veteran of Missouri politics and had lived in the state for nearly 30 years before the Civil War. He was born Sept. 20, 1809, in Prince Edward County, Va. He received his education at Hampden-Sydney College and studied law after that. In 1831, he moved to Missouri, settling in Chariton County.

Price entered politics in the Missouri legislature, serving four years as speaker of the house. In 1844, Price was elected to the U.S. Congress, serving as a state representative for less than a term. He resigned to fight in the Mexican War and was commissioned as colonel of the 2nd Missouri Infantry, a unit of mounted volunteers. He led that unit to reinforce New Mexico, being named the military governor by Gen. S.W. Kearny. Price also carried a commission as brigadier general of volunteers.

He had to put down a revolt which killed the civilian Gov. Charles Bent in 1847. Price conducted a campaign which crushed the rebellion. During a trial of the accused, Price ordered the attorney general, Frank Blair Jr., arrested, starting a lifelong feud between the two Show-Me State men.

In 1848, Price invaded Chihuahua, Mexico, winning the Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales. Price's training as military governor of New Mexico gave Price experience he needed to become Missouri's governor from 1853-57. Price was chairman of the state convention which opposed secession, but he nevertheless took command of the Missouri State Guard when Jackson offered him the role.

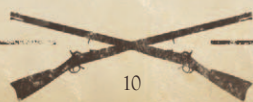
## BEN MCCULLOCH

While Lyon and Price were the principal commanders with major knowledge of each other, they were not the only major players in the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Ben McCulloch commanded the only actual Confederate force in the fight as Price's men technically were only fighting for the Missouri State Guard at the time of the battle. Additionally, a division of the Arkansas State Troops also took part in the battle.

McCulloch was a native of Tennessee who had moved to Texas. Born in Rutherford County, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1811, he heard tales of his neighbor, Davy Crockett, and moved to Texas in time to fight at the Battle of San Jacinto.

McCulloch stayed and became an Indian fighter and surveyor as well as a noted Texas Ranger. In the Mexican War, he led a Texas Rangers company with Gen. Zachary Taylor's forces.

He briefly went to California for the gold rush, but came back to assume the duties of U.S. Marshal for the coast district, a job he had for six years.



In February, 1861, McCulloch was a colonel of Texas state troops. He received the surrender of Brevet Maj. Gen. David Twiggs in San Antonio at the start of the Civil War. On May 11, 1861, McCulloch was commissioned as a Confederate brigadier general and assigned to command in Arkansas. He gathered 2,700 men at his headquarters in Fort Smith, including two regiments of Arkansas Mounted Infantry, the 3rd Louisiana Infantry, cavalry raised in Dallas, Texas, by Elkanah Greer and additional Arkansas forces. He combined his men with the Missouri State Guard and Arkansas State Troops for the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

## OTHER COMMANDERS

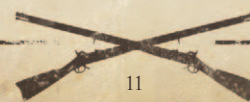
Second in command of Confederate forces was Col. James M. McIntosh. Born at Fort Brooke (later Tampa), Fla., in 1828, McIntosh was the lowest graduate in the U.S. Military Academy Class of 1849. His father, Col. James McIntosh, was killed at the Battle of Molino del Rey during the Mexican War.

McIntosh was sent to the 1st U.S. Cavalry on the frontier and rose to captain before resigning May 7, 1861. He received a captain's commission in the cavalry arm of the Regular Confederate Army and was colonel of the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles at the time of Wilson's Creek. He led McCulloch's brigade in the fight as McCulloch had overall command of his own troops and those of the Arkansas State Guard.

Nicholas B. Pearce commanded a brigade of Arkansas State Troops at Wilson's Creek with a state commission of brigadier general. A native of Kentucky, Pearce was born in Caldwell County July 20, 1828. He graduated 26th of 44 from the U.S. Military Academy's Class of 1850 and went into the infantry. Stationed in Arkansas and Oklahoma, Pearce resigned his lieutenant's commission in 1858 to go into business with his father-in-law in Osage Mills, Ark. Working in the local militia, Pearce soon earned a colonel's commission.

When Arkansas held its secession convention in May of 1861, it appointed Pearce a brigadier general in charge of the 1st (Western) Division. However, despite his willingness to fight for his state, Pearce was an opponent of secession. Wilson's Creek would be his finest hour in uniform.

Franz Sigel already had seen action in the southwest part of Missouri before he commanded part of the Federal army at Wilson's Creek. Sigel was born Nov. 18, 1824, in Sinsheim in the grand duchy of Baden, Germany. He graduated from the military academy in Karlsruhe in 1843, entering service





under Grand Duke Leopold. In the revolution of 1848, Sigel served as minister of war for the revolutionary side. After its defeat, he escaped to Switzerland, briefly resided in England and immigrated to the United States. He initially settled in New York City, but moved to St. Louis. He was a school teacher with a commission as major in the 5th New York Militia. He was one of the colonels commissioned at the original muster of Missouri men prior to the Camp Jackson affair.

At the time of Wilson's Creek, Sigel held a colonel's commission, but his promotion to brigadier general (made Aug. 7), was backdated to May 17. Sigel was popular among the German-American population of St. Louis. "I goes to fight mit Sigel" was a popular song of the day.

Samuel D. Sturgis assumed command of Federal forces during the later phases of the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Born June 11, 1822, Sturgis was a member of the U.S. Military Academy's Class of 1846. He fought in Mexico and was held prisoner for eight days after being captured on reconnaissance near Buena Vista. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Sturgis had command at Fort Smith, Ark. He refused to surrender and took his men, part of the 1st U.S. Cavalry, and much of the government property, to Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

Thomas W. Sweeny was another immigrant, coming from Ireland. Born in County Cork Dec. 25, 1820, Sweeny came to America in 1832 with his mother. Serving in the Mexican War, Sweeny lost his right arm after being injured at the Battle of Churubusco. In 1848, Sweeny received a lieutenant's commission with the 2nd U.S. Infantry. He was with Sigel at Carthage in command of 90-day Missouri militia.

Maj. John Schofield was Lyon's chief of staff and was with the 1st Missouri Infantry. Born Sept. 29, 1831, in New York, Schofield grew up in Freeport, Ill. He was a member of the U.S. Military Academy Class of 1853, graduating eighth among 52. He nearly did not make it, initially being dismissed from West Point in his final year for allowing cadet candidates to make offensive jokes



and drawings. A board overturned the expulsion and Schofield went into the artillery branch of the U.S. Army. After two years, he returned to West Point and served as assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy. In 1860-61, he was on leave from West Point, serving as a physics professor at Washington University in St. Louis. While there, he informed the War Department he was ready to come back into the army.

## OPPOSING FORCES

Lyon formed his Army of the West into a compact four-brigade unit once all of the elements reached Springfield, where Sweeny had been in overall command prior to the return of Sigel and arrival of Lyon.

Maj. Samuel Sturgis commanded the first brigade, a mixed-arms force of nine companies.

Maj. Peter Osterhaus led two companies of the 2nd Missouri Infantry.

Capt. Joseph Plummer had four companies of the 1st U.S. Infantry, a Regular Army outfit.

Capt. Samuel Wood brought Co. I of the 2nd Kansas Infantry, a mounted unit.

Lt. Charles Canfield brought Co. D of the 1st U.S. Cavalry and Capt. James Totten had Co. F of the 2nd U.S. Artillery. Totten had commanded the Federal Arsenal at Little Rock, Ark., prior to the war, but evacuated to St. Louis, where he became part of Lyon's command.

The good people of Little Rock had tried to get Totten to stay, even presenting him with a sword. Still, Totten left. And he had that sword on his belt when he moved with Lyon's forces.

Sigel led the 2nd Brigade, a larger force consisting of the 3rd (Lt. Col. Anselm Albert) and 5th (Col. Charles E Salomon, another of the original colonels during the first muster) Missouri Infantry regiments, Co. I of the 1st U.S. Cavalry (Capt. Eugene Carr), Co. C of the 2nd U.S. Dragoons (2nd Lt. Charles Farrand) and Backof's Battery, Missouri Light Artillery (Lt. Edward Schuetzenbach).

Lt. Col. George Andrews led the 3rd Brigade consisting of his own 1st Missouri Infantry, four companies of the 2nd U.S. Infantry under Capt. Frederick Steele, and a battery under Lt. John Du Bois. Andrews was in charge as the unit's regular colonel, Frank Blair, was in Washington for a special session of the U.S. Congress.

Col. George Deitzler of the 1st Kansas Infantry led the 4th Brigade. An Ohio native and recently mayor of Lawrence, Kan., Deitzler also had the 1st



Iowa Infantry under Col. John Bates, the 2nd Kansas Infantry of Col. Robert B. Mitchell, the Home Guards of Capt. Clark Wright and a 21-man detachment of the 13th Illinois Infantry under Lt. James Beardsley.

The 1st Iowa was called the Greyhounds, based upon both its gray uniforms and its marching pace. The gray uniforms would play a major role in mistaken identification at Wilson's Creek. The unit consisted of a mix of Iowa natives and German immigrants, two groups slow to mix at the unit's inception. The 1st Iowa initially was sent to Hannibal, Mo., to keep the peace. The Greyhounds then moved to Boonville. Accounts describe the unit's weapons as they had been issued smoothbore flintlocks from the 1820s.

The Kansas units were armed with modern rifles and uniformed in blue, a stark contrast to some of the other units raised in different states.

Many of the Federal forces were 90-day enlistments and some expired literally the day before the fighting, leaving the Union army shorthanded.

Discipline also was an issue as the 1st Kansas had the dishonor of performing the first execution of the war on one of its own, who had stabbed a fellow soldier to death during an argument.

The self-styled Western Army under Brig. Gen. Benjamin McCulloch had three different forces under its command.

The only Confederates were in McCulloch's Brigade, which was led by Col. James McIntosh of the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles as McCulloch ran the overall effort along with Missouri Maj. Gen. Sterling Price.

McCulloch's Brigade consisted of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry of Col. Louis Hebert, the 3rd Arkansas Infantry Battalion of Lt. Col. Dandridge McRae, the 1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles of Col. Thomas Churchill, the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles of McIntosh (Lt. Col. Benjamin Embry commanded as McIntosh led the brigade) and the South Kansas-Texas Mounted Regiment (also known as the 3rd Texas Cavalry) of Col. Elkanah Greer. That unit had been assembled in Dallas, Texas.

Commanding the 1st (Western) Division of the Arkansas State Guard (the militia guaranteed by the Confederate constitution, not the U.S. one), Pearce had a mixed unit. Col. De Rosey Carroll led the 1st Arkansas Cavalry while Capt. Charles Carroll had his own cavalry force. Col. John Gratiot led the 3rd Regiment, Arkansas State Troops. Col. J.D. Walker commanded the 4th Regiment, Arkansas State Troops (but Col. Frank Rector, division adjutant general, commanded in the fight as Walker was sick) and Col. Thomas Dockery

had the 5th Regiment, Arkansas State Troops. Artillery was provided by the batteries of Capt. William Woodruff and Capt. J.G. Reid.

Woodruff commanded the Pulaski Light Battery, which had just been renamed from the Totten Artillery. It was named for Dr. William Totten, commander of the U.S. Arsenal in Little Rock. Capt. James Totten, now in charge of Federal artillery, had been its prewar commander. The Reid unit was called the Fort Smith Light Battery.

Price had five divisions of the Missouri State Guard in his command.

Rains commanded the second division with two brigades and artillery support.

Division artillery was led by Capt. Hiram Bledsoe. Among the men were the Lafayette County Cavalry, led by Jo Shelby. A Kentucky native, Shelby was a cousin of Frank Blair and B. Gratz Brown, who were Unionist leaders in St. Louis. Both tried to get Shelby to join the Federal forces, but he stuck with his neighbors and joined the Missouri State Guard. Shelby's force had joined the Missouri State Guard units at the Lamar training camp.

Col. Richard Weightman led the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Missouri State Guard Infantry regiments. Weightman, originally from Washington, D.C., had been kicked out of West Point, but still fought in the Mexican War as an artillery captain and had been a congressional delegate from New Mexico Territory. Here also fought in the Bleeding Kansas conflicts.

The cavalry arm was under Col. James Cawthorn and consisted of Peyton's McCowen's and Hunter's Cavalry units.

The other divisions were much smaller.

Brig. Gen. John B. Clark Jr. led the 3rd division of Col. John Burbridge's Infantry and Lt. Col. James Major's cavalry.

The 4th Division was led by Brig. Gen. William Slack and consisted of infantry units of Col. John Hughes and Maj. C.C. Thornton and the cavalry of Col. Benjamin Rives.

Brig. Gen. Mosby Parsons led the 6th Division of Col. Joseph Kelly's infantry, Col. Ben Browne's cavalry and Capt. Henry Guibor's artillery battery. Kelly had been leader of the Washington Blues militia company, which missed the Camp Jackson affair as it had been detailed to transport arms and gunpowder to Jefferson City.

The Washington Blues had been formed in St. Louis in 1857. Mainly Irish, the unit was led by Kelly, who was a former British soldier and said to be a strict disciplinarian. It was one of the cornerstone units of its division



Brig. Gen. James McBride led the 7th Division of Col. Edmund Wingo's and Col. John Foster's infantry units and Capt. Campbell's cavalry.

The Missouri men represented the full spectrum of political thought. Many took to arms to protect their homes from Jayhawkers, anticipating more border conflict. Like a good number of men, many chose allegiance to Missouri after President Lincoln's call for volunteers to put down the rebellion.

The Polk County Rangers were one such unit which cast its lot with Missouri. In a letter, the Rangers announcing their sympathies, it was stated that President Lincoln had "ignored his constitutional obligations" and the "rights of states as sovereignties."

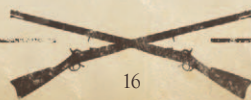
Arming the Missourians was a problem during the early phases of the war. Many of the Missouri State Guardsmen went to battle with shotguns, farm implements or ancient muskets. This played a role in McCulloch's decision to delay his attack on Springfield and led to the battle location along the banks of Wilson Creek.

According to Col. Thomas L. Snead in his article written for *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("The First Year of War in Missouri"), there could have been more Confederate forces in the movement. Snead stated Brig. Gen. William J. Hardee had a large command (several thousand good soldiers) at Pitman's Ferry, Ark., close to the Missouri border. When invited to join the expedition, Hardee declined as he "did not wish to march to their assistance with less than 5,000 men, well appointed, and a full complement of artillery."

## MOVEMENT TO CONTACT

Lyon began his plan to sweep Missouri of forces which wouldn't cooperate with his will. After winning at Boonville, Lyon united with the forces of Sturgis, who came from Fort Leavenworth. Lyon met Sturgis at Clinton, but failed to cut off the Missouri State Guard forces retreating from Boonville and Lexington. Other Federal troops, under Sigel, came by rail from St. Louis to Rolla, where they then headed southwest on the Springfield Road to concentrate at Springfield.

The two sides were getting closer and closer to sparring on a large scale, and that was just fine with many of the soldiers. "The boys are absolutely spoiling for a fight," wrote a 2nd Kansas soldier. "They are getting tired of marching all the team, and want to try their hand at a fight."



Meanwhile, the opposing forces also were concentrating in the same area. Missouri State Guard forces came together after the Boonville defeat. Jackson was able to reform at Lamar and conduct some training.

Price met at Maysville, Ark., with McCulloch and convinced the Confederates to join his force. Price brought Pearce's Arkansas troops into an agreement to fight. Other reports cite McCulloch was under orders to move into either Missouri or Kansas, whatever was deemed to be necessary to protect Arkansas and the Indian Territory.

The Confederate-Missouri-Arkansas force included many unarmed men and camp followers as most of the Missouri State Guardsmen had not been supplied with weapons.

Sweltering Missouri weather (reported as high as 110 F), slowed Lyon's push away from Springfield as he attempted to pin down and defeat Price.

Sweeny won a skirmish at Forsyth July 22, and proceeded to loot the town and arrest about 100 citizens. If Lyon's reputation in St. Louis harmed his interaction with neutral Missourians, Sweeny did his best to make enemies as well.

"The persons and property of law-abiding citizens will not be molested," Lyon ordered.

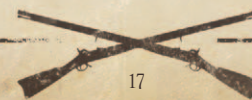
The unified force of Missouri and Arkansas troops came together at Cassville July 29, and at the same time, Brig. Gen. Gideon Pillow began the invasion of Missouri near New Madrid in the southeast corner of the state. By July 31, the Anti-Federals had 10,000 effectives as well as the unarmed Missourians. Lyon's scouts actually reported twice that number.

Near Dug Springs Aug. 2, the two sides met as Lyon's men pushed along the Wire Road. Soon, forces under Missouri State Guard Brig. Gen. James Rains were routed. A camp at Curran Post Office also was broken up by Lyon's men.

Despite the success, Lyon pulled his men back to Springfield Aug. 5.

Realizing he was now outnumbered, Lyon wired Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont, who was named Department of the West commander July 25, for additional troops. Fremont, who was building up the St. Louis defenses and endeavoring to make sure Cairo, Ill., at the juncture of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, was secure, declined to send more men and advised Lyon to retreat in front the larger combined force.

In that theater, Fremont was trying to counter Confederate Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk. The overall Confederate strategy endeavored to come into Missouri around New Madrid and push up the Mississippi River Valley to take St. Louis. He had Col. Jeff Thompson's First Missouri State Guard Division in





his command. Price hoped that pinning Lyon in Springfield while the offensive proceeded would give him the time to train, and hopefully arm, the majority of the men in the Missouri State Guard.

"The situation of Lyon at Springfield was critical, and the small disintegrating garrison at Cairo was hourly exposed to assault by an overpowering force," Fremont wrote after the war in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("In Command In Missouri"). "Among the various points threatened, Cairo was the key to the success of my operations. The waterways and the district around Cairo were of first importance. Upon the possession of this district depended the descent and control of the Mississippi Valley by Union armies, or the inroad by the Confederate forces into the loyal States."

On the Federal side, Lyon was not blind to what was happening in his corner of the state. Lyon knew about the joining of the Missouri State Guard, Arkansas State Troops and the Confederate Brigade. Lyon now believed he faced a force at least five times larger than his own. However, help was not coming from the department level.

The proposed move from the east never came for the Confederates, as the army along the Mississippi faced the same difficulties as the Missouri State Guard, little time for training and scarce weapons to arm the new soldiers with.

That left Lyon with some hard choices, either retreat to Rolla and regroup, or attack. It is likely that Lyon, who had not been impressed with what he had seen in his opponents, did not feel overly threatened by the thought of offensive action against a numerically superior, but tactically inferior foe.

"We shall attack [the enemy] in his position, and endeavor to hurt him so that he cannot follow us," he declared. "I propose to march this evening with all our available force... throw our whole force upon him at once, and endeavor to rout him before he can recover from his surprise," Lyon told his war council.

Sigel prevailed with a plan for an envelopment attack against the encamped rebels, which, if pulled off correctly, would result in the enemies fleeing without a heavy fight. Aware that most of his troops followed Sigel like a messiah, Lyon agreed to the plan.

On the other side, McCulloch took charge of the collected forces and named it the Western Army. Price pushed for an attack on Springfield, but McCulloch delayed. While many of the men lacked arms, most also did not have leather cartridge boxes. McCulloch halted the force at Wilson Creek Aug. 9 due to rain as he feared most of the men would have wet powder and would not be effective in battle.

On the rainy night of Aug. 9, the Confederates camped, but did not put out pickets.





## SURPRISE ATTACK

While the combined forces halted Aug. 9, the Federals were in action. Lyon was on the move early and he surprised the opposition at 5 a.m. Aug. 10. The Western Army had a little advance warning, but not enough to form up before the onslaught.

Lyon had three brigades with the main attack force, including Sturgis' men and Capt. Frederick Steele's regulars. The final unit consisted of two Kansas regiments and the 1st Iowa. Lyon's column had 4,300 men, including 3,800 infantry, 350 on horse and 10 guns with 150 artillerymen.

Sigel's force was not quite as strong with 1,100 men, and many of them were either raw or nearing the end of their enlistments. In fact, it's thought that Sigel's force was reduced by as many as 300 men not long before the battle.

Around 5 a.m., the two sides made contact. Initially, fighting went Lyon's way. The Federals ripped through the opposing forces. At the same time, Sigel's artillery opened fire on the Western Army camps from the southeast side. Lyon appeared to have the Confederates trapped against the creek.

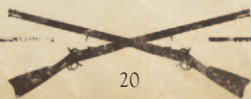
Col. James Cawthorn's mounted brigade of the 8th Missouri State Guard Division became the first unit to try and defend the crest of Oak Hill, which forever became known as Bloody Hill after the battle. Lyon was able to prevail with his superior force. Next to engage was Rains' brigade of the Missouri State Guard and Lyon's advance was slowed near the top of Bloody Hill.

Initially, McCulloch did not believe reports of the fighting. The army commander was within an acoustic shadow – a rare meteorological phenomenon that could dampen even sounds as loud as gunfire and artillery fire – and he was skeptical of anything coming from Rains after the Dug Springs encounter a few days previously.

Capt. William E. Woodruff Jr., put his Arkansas guns to work and slowed the Federal advance long enough to give McCulloch's forces the chance to regroup. The Federal Co. F, 2nd U.S. Artillery under Capt. James Totten, soon targeted Woodruff's guns, the battery which once bore his name, with counterbattery fire.

Fighting then turned to the Ray Cornfield, where part of Sturgis' 1st Brigade consisting of U.S. Army Regulars under Capt. Joseph Plummer, were sent to secure the Federal left flank and cross the creek.

Plummer's 300-man force crossed the creek around 6:30 a.m. and soon entered a field of "Indian corn of moderate height."



From the northeast, the Pulaski Arkansas Battery was delivering devastating fire against the top of Bloody (Oak) Hill. Plummer spotted the well-positioned Pulaski Light Artillery and sought to silence its guns. The target change gave the Western Army the chance to counter Plummer's movement.

Fighting in the cornfield soon broke out between Plummer's 300 and a 1,200-man column under McIntosh coming up the Wire Road. For some time, Plummer's men kept the Confederates from exercising that numerical superiority. Eventually, the 3rd Louisiana was able to flank Plummer and McIntosh ordered a charge which drove the Federals from the cornfield. In the haste to follow up the success, the Confederate forces became disorganized. As McIntosh halted them to reform, Plummer's survivors withdrew, eventually recrossing to the west side of Wilson Creek.

Now, it was the Federals' turn to exercise control. The Du Bois battery, four guns, fired on the Confederates and routed them back out of the fields. The issue was McIntosh's men had never faced artillery before and it was a new experience. When action in the area halted around 7:30 a.m., the Confederates had lost 100 men and about 80 of the Federals were casualties, including Plummer. Capt. Arch Houston assumed command of those forces.

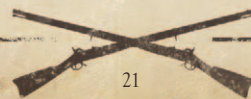
## SIGEL ATTACKS FROM THE SOUTH

On the southern end of the battlefield, Sigel had put Backof's Missouri Light Battery into action, firing on unsuspecting Confederate camps from a high hill, and from a position in which it could not be seen by those below. He also sent part of the battery to block the Wire Road, along with the bulk of his column.

Sigel's plan worked initially, taking the camps by surprise. Being hit first were cavalry under Col. Elkanah Greer (South Kansas-Texas Cavalry) and Col. De Rosey Carroll's 1st Arkansas Cavalry. Many unarmed men and camp followers also were in the fields first shelled by Sigel.

"Sigel's movement was a bold one, and we really could not tell, on his first appearance, whether he was friend or foe," Pearce wrote in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("Arkansas Troops In the Battle of Wilson's Creek"). "An accidental gust of wind having unfurled his flag, we were no longer in doubt." Pearce reported he ordered Reid's Battery (Fort Smith Artillery) to open fire on Sigel's attackers.

Flush with victory and expecting the same from Lyon's force, Sigel soon advanced and moved past the Sharp house onto the Wire Road. He placed four pieces of artillery and a battalion of the 3rd Missouri near the house while





keeping the rest in reserve at the Wire Road, waiting for the opposing force expected to be driven his way by Lyon's assault. Sigel saw more success as about 100 unarmed soldiers filed down the Wire Road only to surrender to Sigel's force.

"We were now on the principal line of retreat of the enemy, and had arrived there in perfect order and discipline," Sigel wrote in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("The Flanking Column At Wilson's Creek"). "Up to this time, we had made 15 miles, had been constantly in motion, had had a successful engagement, and the troops felt encouraged by what they had accomplished."

Sigel sent some skirmishers into the woods and hills, keeping the rest of the men in column, waiting for the easy capture of the routed rebels. However, Sigel left the rest of his formation in column formation and did not deploy his men. He had no reason to at that time as he really had not been tested.

Sigel spotted a group of soldiers in gray, about 400 men, which he assumed to be part of the 1st Iowa. Instead, those were troops of the 3rd Louisiana, who had been reformed after the chase through Ray's cornfield. McCulloch felt comfortable that the right flank was secure, and now turned to deal with Sigel.

At this point, Lyon reported that he felt the enemy was in retreat.

"This opinion became stronger by the report of Dr. Melcher, who was in advance on the road to Skegg's Branch, that 'Lyon's troops' were coming up the road and that we must not fire."

Led by McIntosh, the formation picked up men and approached Sigel's position. The skirmishers failed Sigel, pulling back at first contact and then reporting it was Lyon approaching. That gave McIntosh enough time to set a trap of his own, deploying infantry and artillery to handle Sigel.

Because the men were assumed to be the 1st Iowa "Greyhounds," Sigel's force did not take it as being hostile. At point-blank range, it discovered the truth as the Louisiana men poured fire into Sigel's force.

"At this juncture, Gen. McCulloch in person led two companies of the Louisiana infantry in a charge and captured five of the guns (Sigel's artillery)," Pearce wrote.

When McIntosh's force opened fire, about one-third of Sigel's forces fell as casualties and the situation quickly turned into a rout.

"I instantly ordered the artillery and infantry to fire," Sigel wrote. "But it was too late - the artillery fired one or two shots, but the infantry, as though paralyzed, did not fire; the 3rd Louisiana, which we had mistaken for the gray-clay 1st Iowa, rushed up to the plateau, while Bledsoe's battery in front and

Reid's from the heights on our right flank opened with canister at point-blank range against us."

Because the Federals were not deployed in line of battle, it did not take much for the Confederates to rout them. The southern part of the Federal attack had failed. Sigel and 250 of his men and one piece of artillery retreated toward Springfield. Because pursuit was not coordinated, Sigel made it back to Springfield with some of his troops. Estimates were that 64 were killed and 147 captured during the pursuit.

Sigel failed to get word to Lyon that he had been repulsed, and that lack of communication later played a large role during the next phase of fighting. Because Lyon had no idea Sigel had turned tail, he assumed relief was coming from the south.

One more important fact from Plummer's retreat and Sigel's rout was that the Federals now did not have access to Wilson Creek and its water. That would add to the Union misery on what had become a steamy, hot Missouri morning.

## OAK HILL TURNS BLOODY

With fighting on the sides now done, all troops concentrated on Bloody Hill.

Lyon continued to hold the hill with Totten's guns still duelling with the Pulaski Arkansas Battery. Price worked to put his Missouri State Guard into



Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Civil War Museum



line of battle at the bottom of the hill on the south side. Soon, they faced Lyon's onslaught.

Under fire, Lyon showed renewed vigor. "He maintained an imperturbable coolness, and his eye shone with the ardor of conflict," wrote William M Wherry, an aide de camp to Lyon and a member of the 6th U.S. Infantry for *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("Wilson's Creek, And The Death of Lyon"). "He directed, encouraged and rallied his troops in person, sending his staff in all directions, and was frequently without an attendant except one or two faithful orderlies."

Fighting was uneven, sometimes at the range of 100 yards, but often much closer than that. The closeness of the action helped the Missouri State Guard, which was not as well-armed as other units. The range allowed shotguns and other weapons to become deadly. There were few volleys, instead knots of troops fired at will.

Lyon based his line around Totten's guns, which still were dueling with the Pulaski Arkansas Battery, or bluntly, Totten vs. Totten.

Because Lyon could not see the Missouri State Guard from the top of the hill, Price was able to prepare his men for action. Capt. Henry Guibor's Missouri Light Artillery joined the fray to the left side of Price's center. Soon, Price's men had enough of an advantage that Brig. Gen. James McBride's 7th Division, Missouri State Guard, got around the Federal right flank and pushed the 1st Missouri (U.S.) back up the hill. Lyon now was put on the defensive.

Parsons and Clark moved around McBride and continued to overlap the Federals.

Lyon put his trust into the Kansans. He brought up his reserve unit, the 2nd Kansas, while ordering the 1st Kansas to fix bayonets. Col. George Deitzler led about 200 men into the charge. While he was wounded, it forced the Missouri units back temporarily. The 2nd Kansas joined the attack, firing buck and ball (a load of one musket ball along with three buckshot) and the Missourians were driven back to the bottom of the hill around 8 a.m. Both sides paused to reform.

As more units joined the fighting, the casualties rose as they mostly just stood and shot at each other. Finally, ammunition running out, the sides took another break.

Price had been lightly wounded in the side during the fighting. "That isn't fair; if I were as slim as Lyon, that fellow would have missed me entirely," Price remarked. But Lyon's charmed existence among the speedy projectiles was about to end. As he walked among his men, encouraging them while leading his horse,

he was grazed along the right calf and had to be treated. Returning to the front lines, his horse was shot and killed. Lyon then was grazed in the head. Coupled with the hot day, Lyon found a quiet spot and sat down.

When Schofield found Lyon, the general reported that he felt the day was lost. Schofield encouraged Lyon to try again and the general resumed the fight.

Taking the horse of one of the orderlies, Lyon went back to the front. Between the 1st Iowa and 1st Missouri, Lyon spotted Price. He gave orders for his escort, about 6-8 men, to draw pistols and follow. Lt. William Wherry dissuaded him from charging after Price. Delegating Sweeny to rally the 1st Iowa, Lyon supervised as the 2nd Kansas was brought up into the gap around 9:30 a.m. When that force was in place, Lyon decided to personally lead the charge, waving his hat and yelling.

"Come on my brave boys, I will lead you! Forward!" Lyon yelled.

About that time, fire erupted from thick brush in front of the Federals. Lyon was hit in the left side and this time, the wound was fatal.

Pvt. Albert Lehmann, Lyon's personal aide, tried to catch Lyon as he fell from the saddle.

"Lehmann, I am going," proved to be Lyon's final words, according to one source. Another stated Lyon fell without any words. At any rate, the Federal Army of the West commander was dead.

"General Lyon was killed gallantly leading his men to what he and they supposed was victory, but which proved disastrous defeat," Pearce wrote. "In the light of the present day, even, it is difficult to measure the vast results had Lyon lived and the battle gone against us."

Solders from many units claimed having shot Lyon. "Several of our boys who had Mississippi rifles captured from the enemy at Neosho took shots at him," reported J.N. Boyd of the 1st Arkansas Mounted Riflemen.

Fighting continued to rage around that location. Eventually, the Kansas troops secured the location. Wherry, worried the news of Lyon's death would cause disorder among the men, decided to hide the fact as long as possible. Quietly, Wherry found Schofield and Schofield passed command to Sturgis, who was the ranking regular army officer left in the fight. By this time, Sweeny also had been wounded in a leg.

Meanwhile, McCulloch, still near the Sharp farm, was contacted to send reinforcements to Bloody Hill. He found Pearce's Arkansas men and a battalion of the 3rd Louisiana, which he led to the fight.



"You have beaten the enemy's right and left wings, only their centre is left, and with all our forces concentrated upon that we will soon make short work of it," McCulloch told the Louisiana men. McCulloch also ordered Col. Greer to take his South Kansas-Texas Cavalry and turn the Federal right flank. The uncoordinated charge was easily repulsed. "Their cavalry is utterly worthless on the battle-field," Capt. Totten later stated.

Still, the combined forces gathered and Price was ready to move again.

On the other side, Sturgis had tough decisions to make. Nobody had any clue what had happened to Sigel. If they gave up the hill and Sigel was closing the trap, all would be lost.

The third assault by the combined Confederate, Missouri and Arkansas men proved to be a bloody one. Men hid in the tall grass, but that was not safe cover as many still perished. Totten's guns fired canister. This continued until about 11:30 a.m., when Price pulled his men back.

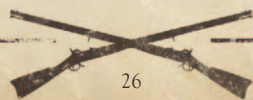
Taking advantage of the lull, Sturgis started to shift his troops, especially those low on ammunition. The 2nd Kansas led the way, followed by Du Bois' Battery and the 2nd Missouri. Next to go were the 1st Kansas and the 1st Iowa. Except for a weak attempt to hit the Federal rear guard, this proved to be the end of the fighting.

Sturgis retreated the forces to Springfield, and the next day the Federals were on the road for Rolla.

By percentage, Federal losses at Wilson's Creek were higher than Antietam. A total of 24.5 percent of Federals fighting at Wilson's Creek became casualties. The Federals lost 285 killed, 873 wounded and 186 missing among 5,400 ready for action. The rate at Antietam was 16.5 percent among those present for duty. Not only that, but the losses were greater than any battle from the Mexican War.

Among the combined Confederate, Missouri and Arkansas troops, the rate was 12 percent. The Western Army had 277 killed and 945 wounded for 1,222 casualties among 10,200 men. The combined casualty rate was 16 percent, which could be higher if one considers the fact that many were unarmed and took no active role in the day's combat.

Exactly what happened in southwest Missouri was not clear to the rest of the country. Both sides claimed victory. The New York Times proclaimed it as a "Great National Victory in Missouri" which showed the lack of immediate information available from the battlefield.



## LYON LOST AND FOUND

Somewhere along the line, Lyon's body was misplaced. It was found by the victorious army and turned over to Dr. Samuel Melcher, an assistant surgeon who remained on the field to look after Federal wounded. "They left their dying chieftain to the mercy of a victorious but magnanimous enemy," stated R.G. Childress of the 3rd Texas.

After identifying the body at the Ray Farmhouse, Melcher and an escort delivered the body to Sturgis in Springfield. It was his intention to take it with him to Rolla, but due to the wounds, embalming was impossible. Instead, the body was taken to the farm of U.S. Congressman John Phelps south of Springfield.

With the body being stored in the ice house there and being threatened by drunken rebels, Mrs. Mary Phelps asked Gen. Price to arrange a burial to keep it from further damage. Capt. Henry Guibor's artillery battery performed the task in the Phelps family garden Aug. 13.

"In death his features wore the same troubled and puzzled expression that had been fixed upon them for the past week," New York Herald reporter Thomas W. Knox who had been with the Federals.

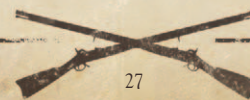
On Aug. 22, 1861, Lyon family members Danford Knowlton and John Hasler exhumed the coffin and transported it to St. Louis, where it lay in state for two days. A military funeral was held Aug. 28 and the body was sent by train to Lyon's home state of Connecticut. Along the way, ceremonies were held in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and numerous smaller cities. He was finally buried in Phoenixville, Conn., next to his mother and sister, Sept. 4, 1861.

On the battlefield, Lyon won praise from his foes. "(He) was a very able and capable man who doubtless have reached the highest rank in Federal service if he had lived," Capt. W.H. King of the 3rd Missouri State Guards Division stated.

## AFTERMATH

The victors did not stay together for long. McCulloch's first priority still was to secure northern Arkansas and the Indian Territory for the Confederacy. And Pearce's Arkansas State Troops had done their job in thwarting the Federal threat. That left Price to continue operations in the Show-Me State. Thus, the Western Army broke up as the individual commanders set off to their next tasks.

Just because Lyon was gone did not mean the Federals decided to be nice to Missouri's general population. Missourians were still subject to being harassed at any time by Federal troops who could force anyone to proclaim his





or her allegiance to the Union. Acting Aug. 30, Maj. Gen. Fremont issued his Emancipation Proclamation, forever freeing the slave population of Missouri.

The move was not received well in Washington, D.C., where President Abraham Lincoln asked Fremont to modify it to comply with the Confiscation Act of 1861 (freeing only slaves used by Confederates to aid in the war effort). Lincoln eventually had to remove Fremont from department command and rescinded the order, but the movement to free all slaves had started.

Price was the immediate benefactor of the victory at Wilson's Creek. On Sept. 12, he laid siege to Lexington. The siege lasted until Sept. 20. With 20,000 men, Price captured the town and a large Federal garrison under Col. James Mulligan in a fight which also became known as the Battle of the Hemp Bales. From the time of the Battle of Wilson's Creek to Lexington proved to be the high-water mark for the Confederacy in Missouri.

Jackson and the government-in-exile passed an ordinance of secession Oct. 28, 1861, in Neosho. The Confederacy recognized Missouri as its 12th state Nov. 28, 1861. However Jackson had to flee to Arkansas with Missouri forces. After a defeat at Pea Ridge, Jackson died in Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 6, 1862, of stomach cancer. He was initially buried at Mount Holly Cemetery in Little Rock before being exhumed and reburied in Sappington Cemetery (the Sappingtons were his in-laws) near Arrow Rock.

Price received a commission as a Confederate major general March 6, 1862. After fighting at Pea Ridge, Price went to the Army of the West. He led troops at Iuka, Corinth and Helena, Ark. In 1864, he helped to repulse the raid of another Wilson's Creek veteran, Maj. Gen Frederick Steele during the Camden Expedition.

Life in the Show-Me State did not get much better. The average citizen had to be ready for oath tests at any time. Some bold Confederate commanders braved the home guard to make recruiting forays back to their home areas. Bushwhackers, riding under the flags of both sides, raided and pillaged throughout the state. Kansas used the opportunity of war to settle old scores on the western side of the state. The result was much turmoil and friction throughout Missouri, despite the fact most of the state remained under Federal control.

Price made one final attempt to liberate Missouri, raiding into the Show-Me State in the fall of 1864. His forces bled at Pilot Knob, suffering enough casualties at Fort Davidson to make an attempt to take St. Louis impossible. Instead, his army raided as close as Franklin (today's Pacific) and fought at

Union before taking Washington and Hermann. Avoiding Jefferson City, Price's army went west along the Missouri River, briefly holding Boonville and Glasgow before continuing west. At the Battle of Westport, Price's forces were defeated. Another costly rear-guard action was fought at Marais Des Cygnes River. Price's force fought 43 battles during the campaign and only about half of the men were still fighting at the end of the run.

Price, and some of his men, went to Mexico after the end of the Civil War (which was inspiration for the movie *The Undefeated*), but came back to St. Louis in January of 1867. Out of money and in poor health, "Old Pap" died Sept. 29, 1867. His funeral, to Bellefontaine Cemetery, was one of the biggest seen in St. Louis to that time.

The war ended for both McCulloch and McIntosh March 7, 1862, at the Battle of Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern). McCulloch was killed by a Federal sharpshooter while scouting positions. About a half-hour later, McIntosh was killed by a shot to the chest while leading a charge against troops of Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis and Col. Osterhaus. McIntosh died a brigadier general, having been promoted to the rank in January.

Pearce's command ended soon after Wilson's Creek as he opposed transfer of his men into Confederate service. Eventually, Pearce gave in and accepted a commission in the Confederate army as a major in the commissary department of Arkansas, Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and Texas. He ended the war in Houston and later was pardoned by President Andrew Johnson. After a teaching stint at the University of Arkansas, he held different jobs. For the benefit of his wife's health, he moved to Texas and died in Dallas March 8, 1894.

Elkanah Greer, the cavalry leader, was wounded at Pea Ridge and commissioned a Confederate brigadier general Oct. 8, 1862. he served out the war as conscription chief of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He also led reserves. He died DeVall's Bluff, Ark, March 25, 1877.

Louis Hebert, the colonel of the 3rd Louisiana cited for bravery at Wilson's Creek, had an adventurous war. He was initially reported as killed in action after he was captured with many of his men at Pea Ridge. Exchanged, he was promoted to brigadier general in Brig. Gen. Lewis Little's Division of Price's Army of the West. His brigade absorbed the brunt of the Federal attack at Iuka and saw action both at Corinth and Vicksburg. Exchanged again, he was sent to North Carolina and supervised heavy artillery around Fort Fisher. He became a newspaper editor and school teacher until he died Jan. 7, 1901.



Of the Missouri generals, Rains declined to follow others to Mississippi and led a mixed unit in northwest Arkansas. He was removed from command in October of 1862 and was inactive after that. He recruited during Price's raid, but pulled back. After the war, Rains moved to Texas, where he died May 19, 1880, in Dallas County.

John B. Clark, also a Missouri senator in the First Confederate Congress and representative in the Second Confederate Congress, returned to Fayette after the war and died there Oct. 29, 1885.

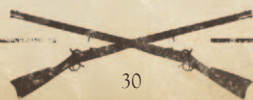
Slack recovered from his Wilson's Creek wound, but was wounded in the same hip at Pea Ridge. He seemed to be recovering, but had to be evacuated to another field hospital to keep him from falling into enemy hands. His condition deteriorated and he died March 21, 1862. Still, he was promoted to brigadier general in Confederate service April 12, 1862, as authorities in Richmond did not know he had died.

Parsons missed Pea Ridge, but was appointed a Confederate brigadier general Nov. 5, 1862. He led his men at Prairie Grove and Helena in Arkansas and was a commander opposing the Red River Campaign and the Camden Expedition. Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith appointed Parsons a major general April 30, 1864, but it was never approved by Richmond.

After the war, Parsons was another former Confederate who saw no future in the United States. He went to Mexico, where his party was executed by Mexican Army cavalry near China, Mexico, Aug. 15, 1865.

McBride, who commanded the local division of the Missouri State Guard, participated in the win at Lexington. In 1862, he was captured and exchanged. He resigned his state commission in an attempt to receive a similar rank in the Confederate army. Still awaiting word, he was ordered into a recruiting role to find soldiers in Missouri and Arkansas for the Confederacy. Eventually, he was commissioned as a colonel. Suffering from pneumonia, McBride died in March near Bluffton in Yell County, Ark.

Among the Federals, Sigel's star rose quickly and his promotion to brigadier general came soon after the fight. He was a recruiting star, energizing German immigrants to sign up for the Federal cause at a fast rate. However, Sigel's battlefield reputation was already being questioned. In the aftermath of Wilson's Creek, Sigel's tactics were debated. The officers studied Sigel's day-long retreat in front of Carthage, his decision to pull back to Springfield and Sigel's lack of proper preparation during his attack from the south side.



However, these concerns were outweighed by his contributions in bringing the German community to the Union cause.

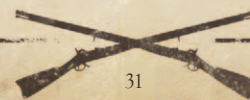
Sigel made the best of his chance, playing a massive role in the Federal victory at Pea Ridge. There, he led two divisions and personally directed artillery which devastated the Confederates. However, that's where his battlefield excellence came to an end.

Pea Ridge led to Sigel's promotion to major general March 21, 1862, and transfer east to lead a division. He was thrown into the Shenandoah Valley against Confederate Maj. Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. During the Second Bull Run Campaign, he commanded the I Corps in Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. Wounded at Second Battle of Bull Run, Sigel became XI Corps Commander in the Army of the Potomac, where his presence was very popular among the Germans who comprised much of the corps. In February of 1863, Sigel left the corps and he was replaced by Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard. Under Howard, many of Sigel's men suffered heavily at Chancellorsville and again at Gettysburg.

Sigel served in eastern Pennsylvania until being placed in charge of the Department of West Virginia in March of 1864. Invading the Shenandoah Valley, Sigel was whipped by Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge at the Battle of New Market May 15, 1864. Virginia Military Institute cadets played a major role in the Confederate victory. Soon after, Sigel was replaced by Maj. Gen. David Hunter. His final action came against Lt. Gen. Jubal Early at Harper's Ferry. After the war, Sigel worked in newspapers in Baltimore and New York. He was pension agent for New York City under President Grover Cleveland. He died Aug. 21, 1902.

Sturgis also received a commission as brigadier general of volunteers, dated to the day of the Wilson's Creek battle. He was brought to the Washington, D.C. defenses before being sent out to support Maj. Gen. John Pope during the Second Bull Run Campaign. Here, he tried to draw railroad assets to move his men where he had a famous conversation with Brig. Gen. Herman Haupt about priory movements. Haupt was using the railroad to supply Pope. Sturgis was not thrilled about having to wait. "I don't care for John Pope one pinch of owl dung," he said.

Sturgis led the 2nd Division of the IX Corps at South Mountain and Antietam during the Maryland Campaign of 1862 and again at Fredericksburg. When the IX Corps was shifted west, Sturgis also went. He had command roles





away from the front as cavalry commander of the Department of the Ohio in Tennessee and Mississippi before he tangled with the "Wizard of the Saddle," Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, at the Battle of Brice's Crossroads, June 10, 1864. In a fight considered to be Forrest's greatest tactical victory, Sturgis squandered a 5,000-man advantage while being routed. Sturgis took no further active role in the war.

At the end of the war, Sturgis received a brevet promotion to major general, but reverted back to lieutenant colonel of the 6th U.S. Cavalry. On May 6, 1869, he was promoted to colonel of the 7th U.S. Cavalry with Lt. Col. George A. Custer as his second-in-command.

While Sturgis was not present at the Battle of Little Big Horn, one of his sons, 2nd Lt. James G. Strugis, was killed along with Custer. Sturgis later led the 7th Cavalry against the Nez Perce tribe in 1877. He retired in 1886 and died in St. Paul, Minn. Sturgis was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Besides having a son and grandson reach the rank of general in the army, Sturgis also had a town in South Dakota named after him (the site of major annual motorcycle rallies) as well as a World War II troop transport.

Schofield, who later received the Medal of Honor for "conspicuous gallantry" at Wilson's Creek, received his promotion to brigadier general Nov. 21, 1861. Commanding the Army of the Frontier, Sturgis was promoted to major general Nov. 29, 1862. A feud with Maj. Gen. Samuel Curtis resulted in a brief transfer to command the XIV Corps 3rd Division in the Army of the Cumberland before he went back to Missouri later in the year. After Missourians sent a delegation to Washington, D.C., insisting Schofield was too lenient with bushwhackers, Schofield was sent to take charge of the Army of the Ohio under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman advancing on Atlanta in 1864. After further controversy, Sherman put him under command of Gen. David S. Stanley, commanding the U.S. IV Corps, Aug. 30, 1864.

Schofield was sent to Tennessee to counter Gen. John Hood's Army of Tennessee incursion. Cut off at Spring Hill, Tenn., Schofield was able to maneuver out of the trap and hand Hood massive casualties at the Battle of Franklin. For his action there, he earned the rank of brigadier general in the regular army (Nov. 30, 1864), and the brevet rank of major general (March 13, 1865). He worked with his old adversary Maj. Gen. George Thomas (who had recommended his dismissal from West Point) to secure victory at the Battle of Nashville and ended the war in North Carolina with Sherman's army.

Schofield was secretary of war from June 1868 to March 1869. He later recommended that Pearl Harbor be developed as a port in the Hawaiian Islands, served as superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy and was commanding general of the U.S. Army from 1888-1895. He was promoted to lieutenant general Feb. 5, 1895. Schofield died in St. Augustine, Fla., March 4, 1906, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, was named after him.

Sweeny was moved to colonel of the 52nd Illinois, the regiment he led at Fort Donelson. He was a brigade commander at Shiloh and later took over a brigade at the Battle of Corinth. Promoted to brigadier general March 16, 1862, Sweeny ascended to command the XVI Corps 2nd Division. At the Battle of Atlanta, Sweeny's division was hit by Hood's flank attack. During the fight, he had his own skirmish by sparring physically with Maj. Gen. Grenville Dodge, his corps commander, after Dodge personally directed one of Sweeny's brigades. Sweeny was court martialed, but acquitted.

After the war, Sweeny led the Fenian invasion of Canada (which sought to free Ireland from British rule), but was arrested. He returned to the U.S. Army, retiring in 1870 as a brigadier general. Sweeny died in Astoria, N.Y. (on Long Island) April 10, 1892, and was buried at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Steele was made colonel of the 8th Iowa Sept. 23, 1861. He was promoted to brigadier general Jan. 29, 1862, commanding in southwest Missouri. He led troops there until the capture of Helena, Ark., Moved to Vicksburg, Steele fought under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman at Chickasaw Bluffs and Arkansas Post.

Steele was promoted to major general March 17, 1863, and commanded the XV Corps during the Vicksburg Campaign. He moved to the Department of Arkansas in command of VII Corps. He led the unsuccessful Camden Expedition in support of the Red River Campaign. At the end of the war, he led a division against Mobile, Alabama. After the war, Steele stayed in the army and commanded the Department of Columbia as well as the 20th Infantry as a colonel. He was fatally injured in a carriage accident in California and died in San Mateo, Calif., Jan. 12, 1868.

Osterhaus went to the 12th Missouri, a unit he helped to start, as its colonel. At the Battle of Pea Ridge, Osterhaus' infantry held firm and that helped the Federals win the fight. Osterhaus was promoted to brigadier general June 9, 1882, and given a division in the Army of Southwest Missouri. The division was transferred to Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant during the Vicksburg Campaign and Osterhaus led his men in the Battle of Champion's Hill. At Big Black River, he was wounded.



Osterhaus returned in time for the Battle of Missionary Ridge and then during the Atlanta Campaign. He briefly commanded the XV Corps, being promoted to major general July 23, 1864. He ended the war in the west. Discharged in January of 1866, Osterhaus started a hardware factory and export business. He was named U.S. deputy counsel in Mannheim, Germany, in March of 1898. On March 3, 1905, Osterhaus was named a brigadier general in the regular U.S. Army. He died Jan. 2, 1917, in Duisburg, Germany, and was buried in Coblenz, Germany.

Salomon, who in 1860 defeated Ulysses S. Grant for the office of St. Louis County engineer, stayed in command of the 5th Missouri Regiment until its enlistment ended Aug. 26, 1861. He then went to the 9th Wisconsin Infantry, fighting in Arkansas and survived the war with the rank of brevet brigadier general of volunteers to rank from March 13, 1865.

The Battle of Wilson's Creek was a fast, bloody, hot affair which acquainted many men who later ascended to high ranks to the cruelties of war. It also served to force many to make hard choices about whether or not they should remain loyal to the government of the United States or to the once-legal Missouri government.

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## ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Army of the West (BG Nathaniel Lyon)	1st Brigade (MAJ Samuel D. Sturgis)	<p>Battalion of Regulars (CAPT Joseph B. Plummer, CAPT Charles C. Gilbert, CAPT Daniel Huston, jr.) Strength: 300 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle</p> <p>2nd Missouri Infantry Battalion (MAJ Peter J. Osterhaus) Strength: 150 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Minie Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket</p> <p>Kansas Rangers (CAPT Samuel N. Wood) Strength: 150 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Company D, 1st U.S. Cavalry (LT Charles W. Canfield) Strength: 200 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Company F, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT James Totten, LT George O. Sokalski) Strength: 84 Quality: 2.65+++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer</p>
	2nd Brigade (COL Franz Sigel)	<p>3rd Missouri Infantry (LTC Anselm Albert) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.45 Guns: 60% Smoothbore Musket / 40% Improvised</p> <p>5th Missouri Infantry (COL Charles E. Salomon) Strength: 490 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Minie Rifle / 50% Improvised</p> <p>Company I, 1st U.S. Cavalry (CAPT Eugene A. Carr) Strength: 65 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Company C, 2nd U.S. Dragoons (LT Charles E. Farran) Strength: 60 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Backof's Missouri Light Artillery (MAJ Franz Backof, CAPT Gustavus A. Schaefer, LT Edward Schuetzenbach) Strength: 60 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer</p> <p>Backof's Artillery section Strength: 25 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore</p> <p>Supply Wagons (Sigel's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p>
	3rd Brigade	<p>Battalion of Regulars (CAPT Frederick Steele, LT Warren L. Lothrop, SGT John Morine) Strength: 275 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle</p> <p>1st Missouri Infantry (COL Francis P. Blair, jr., LTC George L. Andrews, CAPT Theodore Yates) Strength: 775 Quality: 3.2+ Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Shotgun</p> <p>Du Bois's Battery (LT John V. Du Bois) Strength: 66 Quality: 3.75 Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 12-pd. Howitzer</p>
	4th Brigade, CAPT Thomas W. Sweeney	<p>1st Iowa Infantry (COL John F. Bates, LTC William H. Merritt, MAJ Asbury B. Porter) Strength: 800 Quality: 3.8++++ Guns: 10% Minie Rifle / 90% Smoothbore Musket</p> <p>1st Kansas Infantry (COL George, MAJ John H. Halderman) Strength: 800 Quality: 3.25+ Guns: 40% Minie Rifle / 60% Smoothbore Musket</p> <p>2nd Kansas Infantry (COL Robert B. Mitchell, LTC Charles Blair) Strength: 600 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 40% Minie Rifle / 60% Smoothbore Musket</p> <p>13th Illinois Battalion (LT James Beardsley) Strength: 21 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p>
		<p>Voerster's Pioneer Company (CAPT John D. Voerster) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Sharps Rifle</p> <p>Switzer's Dade County Home Guard (CAPT Theodore A. Switzer) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Wright's Dade County Home Guard (CAPT Clark Wright) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine</p> <p>Supply Wagons (Lyon's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p> <p>Supply Wagons (Lyon's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p>

## ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Western Army (BG Benjamin McCulloch)	McCulloch's Brigade (COL James M. McIntosh)	<p>McRae's Arkansas Infantry (COL Dandridge McRae) Strength: 220 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 100% Improvised</p> <p>3rd Louisiana Infantry (COL Louis Hebert, LTC Samuel M. Hyams, MAJ William F. Tunnard) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.5++ Guns: 10% Springfield Rifle / 90% Mississippi Rifle</p> <p>South Kansas-Texas Cavalry (COL Elkanah B. Greer, LTC Walter P. Lane, MAJ George W. Chilton) Strength: 800 Quality: 2.35+ Guns: 70% Sharps Carbine / 30% Improvised</p> <p>1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles (COL Thomas J. Churchill) Strength: 600 Quality: 2.3 Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised</p> <p>2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles (COL James M. McIntosh, LTC Benjamin T. Embry) Strength: 400 Quality: 2.5+ Guns: 50% Breechloading Carbine / 50% Shotgun</p>
	Arkansas State Troops (BG Nicholas B. Pearce)	<p>3rd Arkansas Infantry (COL John R. Gratiot) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 10% Minie Rifle / 90% Smoothbore Musket</p> <p>4th Arkansas Infantry (COL Jonathan D. Walker, COL Frank A. Rector) Strength: 550 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 30% Smoothbore Musket / 70% Improvised</p> <p>5th Arkansas Infantry (COL Tom P. Dockery) Strength: 650 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 40% Smoothbore Musket / 60% Improvised</p> <p>Carroll's Arkansas Cavalry (CAPT Charles A. Carroll) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 60% Breechloading Carbine / 40% Improvised</p> <p>1st Arkansas Cavalry (COL DeRosey Carroll) Strength: 350 Quality: 2.3++ Guns: 50% Breechloading Carbine / 50% Improvised</p> <p>Fort Smith Light Battery (CAPT John G. Reid) Strength: 73 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore</p> <p>Pulaski Light Battery (CAPT William E. Woodruff, LT Omer R. Weaver, LT Lewis B. Brown) Strength: 71 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer</p>
		<p>Supply Wagons (Western Army) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p>
		<p>Supply Wagons (Western Army) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised</p>



## ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Missouri State Guard (MG Sterling (Old Pap) Price)	3rd Division (BG John B. Clark, Sr.)	Burbridge's Infantry (COL John Q. Burbridge, MAJ John B. Clark, Jr.) Strength: 270 Quality: 2.6+ Guns: 85% Smoothbore Musket / 15% Mississippi Rifle Major's Cavalry (LTC James P. Major) Strength: 273 Quality: 2.55 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised
	4th Division (BG William Y. Slack)	Hughes's Infantry (COL John T. Hughes) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.9+ Guns: 15% Shotgun / 85% Improvised Hughes's Extra Battalion (MAJ John C.C. Thornton) Strength: 150 Quality: 1.8 Guns: 10% Shotgun / 90% Improvised Rives's Cavalry (COL Benjamin A. Rives, LTC A.J. Austin) Strength: 284 Quality: 2.45 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised
	6th Division (BG Mosby M. Parsons)	Kelly's Infantry (COL Joseph M. Kelly) Strength: 142 Quality: 2.65+ Guns: 20% Shotgun / 80% Improvised Brown's Cavalry (COL William B. Brown) Strength: 320 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 70% Shotgun / 30% Improvised Guibor's Battery (CAPT Henry Guibor, LT William P. Barlow) Strength: 61 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
	7th Division (BG James H. McBride, LTC Edgar Asbury)	1st Infantry (COL Edmond Wingo) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 95% Improvised / 5% Shotgun 2nd Infantry (COL John A. Foster) Strength: 305 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 80% Improvised / 20% Shotgun Campbell's Cavalry (CAPT Leonidas S. Campbell) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised
	8th Division (BG James S. Rains)	WEIGHTMAN'S INFANTRY (COL RICHARD H. WEIGHTMAN) 1st Infantry (LTC Thomas H. Rosser) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 20% Shotgun / 80% Improvised 2nd Infantry (COL John R. Graves, MAJ Ezra M. Brashear) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 10% Shotgun / 90% Improvised 3rd Infantry (COL Edgar V. Hurst) Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised 4th Infantry (battalion) (LTC Walter S. O'Kane, MAJ Thomas H. Murray) Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 40% Shotgun / 60% Improvised 5th Infantry (COL James J. Clarkson) Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 25% Shotgun / 75% Improvised CAWTHON'S CAVALRY BRIGADE (COL JAMES CAWTHON) Hunter's Cavalry (COL Dewitt C. Hunter) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised Peyton's Cavalry (COL Robert L.Y. Peyton) Strength: 460 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised McCowan's Cavalry (LTC James McCowan) Strength: 450 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised Bledsoe's Battery (CAPT Hiram M. Bledsoe) Strength: 65 Quality: 2.5+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 12-pd. Howitzer
		Supply Wagons (Missouri State Guard) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Missouri State Guard) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised