

FORT LARNED: GARRISON ON THE CENTRAL
GREAT PLAINS

By

TIMOTHY ASHLEY ZWINK

Bachelor of Arts
Fort Hays State University
Hays, Kansas
1971

Master of Arts
Fort Hays State University
Hays, Kansas
1974

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
December, 1980



Copyright 1980

by

Timothy Ashley Zwink

All rights reserved. No part of this thesis may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system without permission in writing from this author.

1980D
Z98F
cop. 2



FORT LARNED: GARRISON ON THE CENTRAL
GREAT PLAINS

Thesis Approved:

Robert H. Gischer

Thesis Adviser

Bob Darcy

James Smalwood

George F. Jewsbury

Harold R. Mahan

Norman A. Durham

Dean of the Graduate College

PREFACE

Today Fort Larned is one of the best-preserved frontier fortifications in the United States. All of its stone structures erected after the Civil War, with the exception of a blockhouse, still stand, unlike other contemporary Central Great Plains forts. It was during a visit to the Fort Larned National Historic Site, approximately eight miles west of Larned, Kansas, when I realized that no detailed and documented study of the garrison existed to illustrate its unique contribution to the history of the Central Great Plains and the United States, which includes for the purposes of the study all or parts of the following states: Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. Consequently, it became my purpose to prepare a thoroughly researched work on the history of Fort Larned during its active years from 1859 to 1878, to illustrate its significance for the Santa Fe Trail, and to emphasize its importance as an example of a frontier military garrison on the Central Great Plains. To accomplish this, I have examined such factors as the reasons for its establishment, construction, soldier life, Indian relations, civilians, deactivation, and other related topics.

Although the major part of this study is on the frontier period of Fort Larned, I also have attempted briefly to show how Fort Larned's significance continues as a National Historic Site. While the National Park Service continues to restore the old fort to its frontier condition, it remains as a place where the visitor can see aspects of the frontier

military history of the United States through the display of museum exhibits, viewing restored exteriors and interiors of original buildings, guided tours, and living history projects developed by the staff at the fort.

At present, visitors come to see Fort Larned from all parts of the world. They turn south from United States Highway 156, approximately eight miles west of Larned, Kansas, pass a small roadside park, and cross Pawnee Fork Creek on a bridge to arrive at the fort. The post flag, flying in the center of the parade ground on a tall flagstaff, notifies tourists and visitors in the distance that they are nearing the old fort, just as travelers along the Santa Fe Trail saw the flag flying and knew they were nearing the protective confines of the post.

In conducting the research for this project, I incurred many debts. The staff at the National Archives in Washington, D. C., provided valuable assistance. The staff at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas, headed by Executive Director Joseph W. Snell, likewise gave much needed help and direction; in the same institution Mary Beth Dunhaupt, Marian A. Bond, and Vera K. Bridwell helped immeasurably in my search of newspaper sources, and Dr. Patricia A. Michaelis gave guidance in manuscript collections. Acknowledgment needs to be extended to John B. Philips and Vicki D. Philips, documents librarians of the Edmon Low Library at Oklahoma State University, for greatly facilitating my search for government materials.

My thanks go to Jimmy D. Taylor, Superintendent, B. William Henry, Jr., Park Historian, and George A. Elmore, Park Ranger, all of the Fort Larned National Historic Site, for giving their time, encouragement, and direction in my research efforts, as well as readily sharing their

knowledge and understanding of Fort Larned's history. Their gracious hospitality on research visits and their willingness to allow access to all of Fort Larned's records have earned my unending gratitude.

Those members of my graduate committee at Oklahoma State University who offered aid and encouragement during my graduate program and critically read this manuscript were especially helpful: Dr. Norbert R. Mahnken, Dr. James M. Smallwood, Dr. George F. Jewsbury, and Dr. Thomas G. Kielhorn. Special appreciation is due Dr. Robert E. Darcy who readily agreed to serve on my committee following the resignation of Dr. Kielhorn. Thanks also are extended to Dr. W. David Baird, the Chairman of the History Department of Oklahoma State University, for giving suggestions and encouragement in my research endeavors. To Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, my graduate adviser, goes my deepest gratitude for his diligent and patient editorial aid and instruction, his personal example of hard work, his unending dedication to history, and his guidance and encouragement.

Dr. Joe J. Struckle, the President, Dr. Stephen R. Hensley, the Dean of Instruction, and Dr. J. C. McCreight, the Director of the Division of Social Sciences, all of Northwestern Oklahoma State University, have given me special assistance. I am most grateful to them as well as to other administrators, faculty, and staff at Northwestern Oklahoma State University for providing the academic atmosphere in which I could complete this study. Likewise, Dr. Neil J. Hackett, Jr., of Oklahoma State University, William P. Corbett, of Northern Oklahoma College, Dr. Bob L. Blackburn, Jr., Director of Publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Donovan L. Reichenberger of Northwestern Oklahoma State University have given me help in innumerable ways vital

to the completion of my degree program. They have my deep appreciation.

Dr. Leo E. Oliva, farmer and scholar, should be thanked for lending me many of his personal research materials. It is to him that I attribute my initial desire to become a student of the Trans-Mississippi West. I likewise extend much gratitude to my parents, Robert A. and Vivian M. Zwink, for providing the environment in which to begin the quest for learning and knowledge. To my wife, Ann, I extend every heartfelt sentiment for her unwavering support and understanding; hopefully she fathoms the depths of my gratitude. Jason, our son, has my appreciation for attempting to understand why his father continually studied, researched, and wrote while pursuing graduate study. Despite the assistance from all those named and others not mentioned, any errors of commission or omission are mine, and I alone am responsible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. ENVIRONMENT	1
II. ESTABLISHMENT	34
III. PERSONNEL	52
IV. INDIAN RELATIONS	78
V. TROOP LIFE	105
VI. MEDICAL SERVICES	141
VII. CIVILIANS	166
VIII. DEACTIVATION	195
IX. REBIRTH	208
BIBLIOGRAPHY	226

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Environment of Fort Larned	2
2. Plan of Fort Larned	39

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT

During the mid-nineteenth century, many forts, posts, and garrisons were constructed in the Trans-Mississippi West, primarily for protective purposes. On the Central Great Plains portion, the federal government built forts to guard travelers moving across that broad expanse of land to mining districts and farming areas. Centrally located along this migratory route stood Fort Larned, one of the oldest and most important guardians of the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. Not only was Fort Larned significant to overland travel and trade, but it also became typical of other frontier forts on the Central Great Plains. In Fort Larned can be seen the developmental experience of the United States Army on the Central Great Plains, for the garrison and its soldiers witnessed many aspects of the growing Trans-Mississippi West and the nation.¹

Fort Larned was an integral part of an unfolding national plan for military deployment in the United States. When the nation acquired Louisiana Territory in 1803, the United States Army became a factor for the first time in the development of the Trans-Mississippi West. In general military leaders launched a policy in that region consisting of three phases for the establishment of frontier military posts. The initial phase, 1804-1845, was marked by the army maintaining a line of forts in advance of surging frontier settlements, thus creating a buffer military zone between pioneer settlers and native Indians. By this

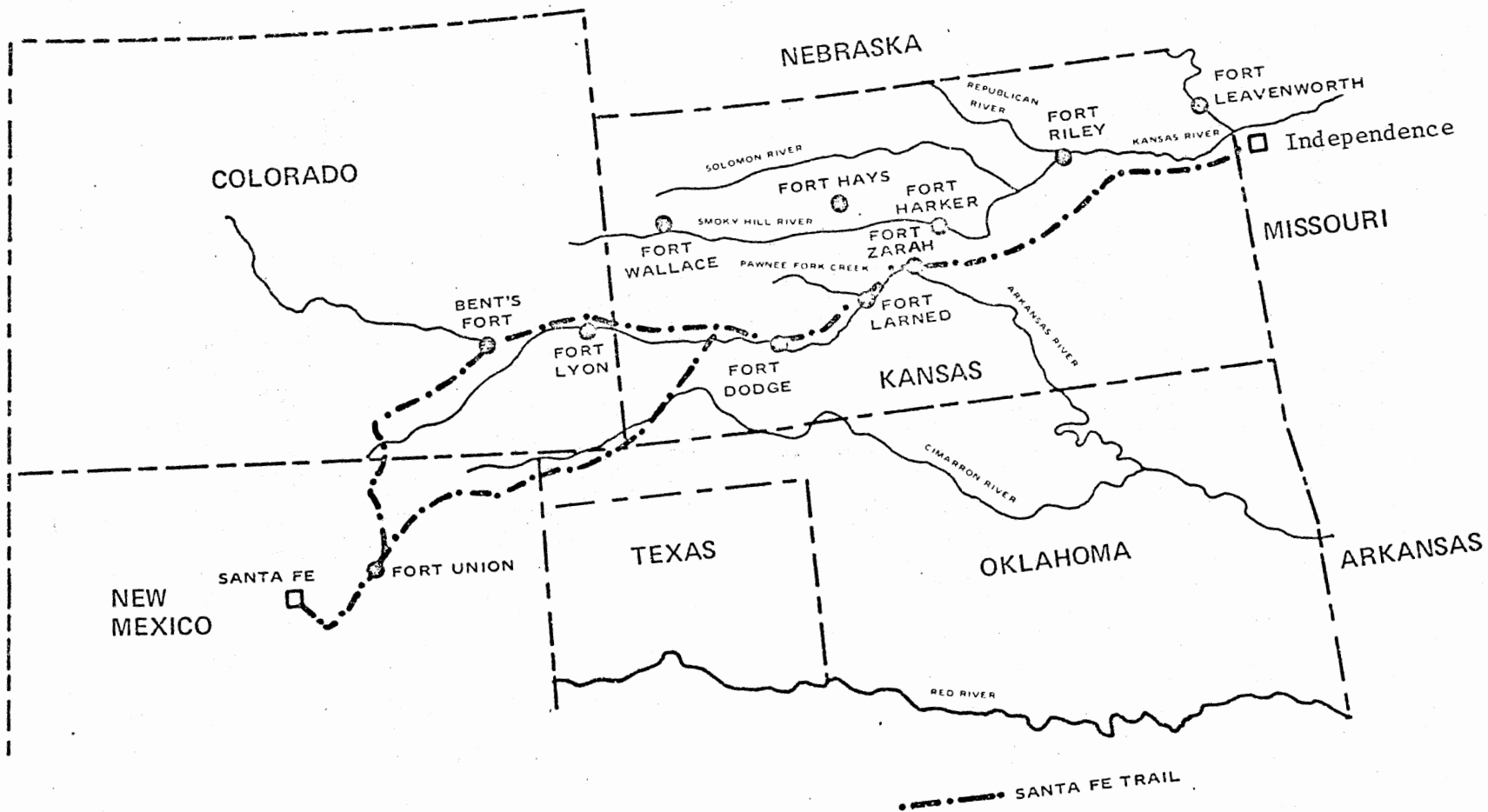


Figure 1. Environment of Fort Larned

procedure, the government planned to control the Indians, preventing them from committing anticipated attacks against advancing white frontiersmen. Officials in Washington, D. C., also desired to protect the Indians, particularly those removed previously from the eastern United States, by defusing potential intertribal warfare and by preventing illegal and unscrupulous activities of whites.²

The army, nevertheless, relied on military expeditions to control the Indians by show of strength, hoping to overawe the warriors of the Trans-Mississippi West. Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny supported this philosophy in 1845 when he said: "In lieu of the establishment of a military post . . . I would suggest that a military expedition . . . be made every two or three years. They would serve to keep the Indians perfectly quiet, reminding them of the facility and rapidity with which our dragoons can march through any part of their country." Kearny concluded: "there is no place where they can go but the dragoons can follow; and, as we are better mounted than they are, overtake them."³ The extent to which this policy prevailed became evident by the fact that on the eve of the Mexican War in 1845, only fifty-six military posts existed in the United States. Of that number, twenty-four were located west of the Mississippi River. These western forts defined the military frontier just prior to the Mexican War.⁴

The second phase of United States western military policy concerning forts covered the period from 1846 to the 1880s. During this era, the acquisition of new areas due to the Mexican War, the Oregon controversy, and the Texan revolution caused a revision in western military policy. The philosophy of establishing a permanent military buffer zone between whites and Indians became impractical. Consequently, the military policy

of the United States next called for control of Indians while settlers rapidly rushed into newly acquired lands in the Trans-Mississippi West. Immediately following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the army established forts to guard settled regions in California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Texas. Additionally, military garrisons were built along the major overland routes of travel to the western regions in order to maintain open lines of communication, transportation, and travel. These major roads included the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California trails.⁵

Thus the second phase of frontier military policy rapidly created a number of western forts. During this period all major western Indian wars occurred, resulting in the establishment of many permanent posts. These garrisons provided protection for the expanding agricultural frontier, the spontaneous mining districts, the cattlemen's advance, and other developments contributing to the accelerated growth of settlements in the Trans-Mississippi West.⁶

The transportation network grew as the overland roads were augmented by many stage lines, mail routes, and wagon trails for the freight-laden Conestoga wagons hauling goods and supplies to the most isolated western regions. The transcontinental railroads and accompanying telegraph lines became part of the growing transportation and communications scheme that eventually formed a web over the Trans-Mississippi West. The army played a major role in these events, initially acting as explorer and engineer by laying out routes of travel and mapping the unknown expanses while offering protection to travelers. Coinciding with these activities, the army constructed forts, both permanent and temporary. The military continued its policy of protecting Indians from whites, especially after the natives were removed to reservations during this second phase.

Usually newly constructed forts near these reserves guarded the land and its inhabitants from renegade whites while restraining any restive Indians from leaving their allotted land to raid. During this second phase of military planning, Fort Larned was established.⁷

The third phase, beginning at different times throughout the Trans-Mississippi West, was initiated by two important factors. First, Indian hostilities and conflict declined, resulting in a growing number of posts being abandoned as no longer useful. Second, improved transportation, primarily railroad, rendered unnecessary the maintenance of many forts that had served isolated areas and had acted as supply centers. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis predicted this outcome of western military policy pertaining to post construction as early as 1853 when he said: "The multiplication of small posts, however much it may appear to have been called for by the necessities of the service, is of more than doubtful policy. The system is expensive far beyond any good results that are attained by it." Davis explained that "it is injurious to the discipline, instruction, and efficiency of the troops, and it is believed that it often invites aggression by that exhibition of weakness which must inevitably attend the great dispersion of any force."⁸

Other governmental officials and military officers had voiced similar viewpoints, but the policy of building posts had continued during the second phase of western military policy development. Times changed, however, and it became practical and feasible to concentrate troops in large posts served expediently by railroads. Troops were dispatched rapidly to troubled locales over the railroads from central locations when needs dictated. This permitted the abandonment of numerous posts

in the Trans-Mississippi West during the 1870s and 1880s. By the turn of the century, the number of western posts had decreased significantly, with most remaining garrisons being located near Indian reservations or at central supply points. This third phase of western military policy marked the end of most frontier posts. Fort Larned was one of these. It had played a part in the larger governmental military plan, being established during the second phase to protect overland trails and transients and to guard Indians from whites and whites from Indians. It was abandoned during the third phase as a result of decreased Indian conflict and arrival of the railroads.⁹

As a policeman of the Santa Fe Trail, Fort Larned served as part of the government's network of posts on the Central Great Plains. The fort was typical of the garrisons with similar construction in the Central Great Plains area. The layout of plains posts had a sameness, generally being arranged around a parade ground. The officers and enlisted men's quarters, the storehouses, the commissary, the quartermaster's building, and shop structures all fronted on the parade ground. Due to the scarcity of trees, such plains posts as Fort Larned did not have a stockade enclosing the buildings. At some posts loopholes were constructed in the walls of buildings to provide protection for the structures. Fort Larned had buildings so equipped. Sentry posts regularly served as the initial warning system for the soldiers against possible Indian attack.¹⁰

Central Plains Indian warfare also dictated the architecture of Fort Larned and its contemporary military posts. The Indians were highly individualistic raiders who fought from horseback. Their military tactics were those of guerrilla warfare--hit and run. The native

warriors seldom engaged in the more traditional European military methods of frontal confrontation and avoided situations that called for siege warfare. The Central Great Plains Indians were content to restrict more of their acts of war to stealing the livestock of the forts or to using their military strength in ambush to attack small parties of soldiers on escort or detail duty.¹¹

Described as being everywhere without being anywhere, the plains Indian raiders often used the decoy-ambush tactic by luring a detachment of soldiers into pursuit, splitting into smaller groups with the intention of regrouping later. Besides being used as a method to elude capture, this tactic was designed to cause the pursuing troopers to break up also into smaller and smaller groups. The Indians then reorganized and attempted to isolate a small party of soldiers from its larger command. If this were possible, the Indians would attack the outnumbered soldiers. As a result military conflict between Indian and frontier soldier rarely included frontal attack or siege of the plains fort.¹²

The geography of the Central Great Plains additionally played a part in determining where, how, and why frontier forts were located in the region. The vast and rolling arid prairie land of the Central Great Plains, with scanty vegetation and sterile soil, skirted the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Winding its way through this region was the Arkansas River. The bottom land of this great river varied in width from a half-mile to two miles, and parts were covered with nutritious grass, providing sustenance for native wildlife. Branching off from the Arkansas River in the central region of present-day Kansas was Pawnee Fork Creek. This tributary flowed down from the north and contained clear, pure water coursing between high banks.¹³

To the south of the bottom lands of the Arkansas River and Pawnee Fork Creek lay numerous sand hills, providing winter shelter for the migratory herds of buffalo. North of the river and the creek stretched desolate prairie supporting predominantly buffalo grass, varieties of gourds, and various species of cactuses. A long swell in the terrain intermittently marked by an abrupt hill of sandstone gave the site a raw, natural beauty. Here, located about eight miles west of the confluence of the Arkansas River and Pawnee Fork Creek, Fort Larned would be founded.¹⁴

Francisco Vasques de Coronado and his Spanish soldiers were the first Europeans to visit the Central Great Plains region. Traveling from the pueblos of what is today New Mexico, Coronado and his men arrived on the Central Great Plains searching for the fabled riches of the Gran Quivira during the mid-1500s. Although the Spanish failed to find precious jewels and valuable metals, Coronado's party took note of the features of the region through which they marched. The Central Great Plains stretched in each direction as far as they eye could see, and the Spanish newcomers were impressed.¹⁵

The land that the Spanish crossed in the Central Great Plains featured a fickle climate. Blistering hot summers countered treacherous, cold winters. Winters could be mild and docile, only to undergo sudden changes as icy blasts from the north swept across the land. Severe blizzards could bring from inches to feet of snow, and when accompanied by high velocity winds, could create deep drifts. This made travel nearly impossible and caused the wind chill to drop substantially below the registered temperature. Man and beast venturing into the blizzard did so at the risk of life and limb by being lost or frozen.¹⁶

Just as suddenly as the blizzards could sweep the Central Great Plains, so could the warm, dry Chinook winds, signaling the coming of spring. These southerly winds melted large amounts of snow in little time, causing streams and rivers such as Pawnee Fork Creek and the Arkansas River to swell quickly and rush in torrents through the countryside. As summer arrived, weather conditions fluctuated. Warm and cold air often met, causing dreaded and often violent spring storms on the Central Great Plains such as vicious tornadoes, torrential rainfall, and destructive hail.¹⁷

During summer on the Central Great Plains, hot, windy, days parched the entire landscape, often causing drought and an annual rainfall of less than twenty inches. Occasionally summer rains came and revived the plains flora, thus allowing plantlife to eke out a marginal existence. This dry season led into autumn, a time of more contrast but with potentially stormy weather. Gradually the unpredictable warm autumn days began to chill, and the inhabitants of the area understood nature's signal that winter was near.¹⁸

Numerous varieties of wildlife lived on the Central Great Plains and frequented the locale of the Arkansas River because it usually offered water. Animals and birds ordinarily moved along the river and its tributaries such as Pawnee Fork Creek to obtain life-sustaining water. Mammals and fowl of all shapes, large and small, came to the waterways to drink. These animals captured the attention of people who traveled through or lived in the region.¹⁹

One of the smaller animal varieties of the Central Great Plains vicinity gaining attention was the prairie dog. These small rodents lived in "towns" or "colonies" containing intricate networks of

underground tunnels for defensive purposes. Henry M. Stanley, the famous Welsh explorer and journalist, visited the Central Great Plains in the 1860s and noted the prairie dog towns, reporting one to be "about seven miles long, and the burrows are found at nearly regular intervals, from twenty to thirty feet apart." Stanley also observed that the prairie dog made a sound that had a "resemblance between their chirping cry and a dog's bark."²⁰ Thousands of prairie dogs inhabited colonies covering many square miles of plains grassland.²¹

Another small animal of the region often obtained the undivided attention of people. The skunk fed on vegetation in the area and protected itself by a scent that it discharged in times of danger, making man and animal nauseous. During his travels on the Central Great Plains, Stanley gave an apt description of this animal: "Another species of animal was seen in great numbers, whose presence caused us great annoyance . . . the pole-cat [skunk], which invariably at our approach turned its dorsal extremities towards us, at which we all evinced a tendency to keep aloof, as it was anything but pleasant to breathe the fetid odour."²²

Larger predatory mammals roamed the Central Great Plains in search of prey. One such hunter was the wolf. It terrorized the plains in the nineteenth century, running in large packs, following its prey, and waiting for old, weak, sick, or young victims like buffalo to be separated from the safety of the main herd. "The grey wolf," Stanley noticed, "grows to the size of a big sheep dog, and has the appearance of a savage and dangerous beast; but prairie travellers unite in saying that he is a cowardly animal, and unless reinforced by great numbers will not attack man."²³

Predators such as the wolf spent much time pursuing two predominant, large animals of the Central Great Plains. The antelope and buffalo were the objects of countless hours of stalking by their enemies. The antelope relied almost solely on its speed to escape its pursuers. Strong hindsections provided the source for speeds that could climb to sixty miles an hour in short bursts. The antelope was reddish-brown with distinctive white and dark brown markings. It had horns branching into two prongs, and could stand up to a height of three feet at the shoulder. Thousands roamed the plains, and one frontiersman recalled seeing herds of thirty to fifty animals at one time in the vicinity of Fort Larned. The antelope, however, was curious, and the Plains Indians quickly learned this fact from observation. Many of these animals were lured to their death by the native hunters who attached feathers to sticks, providing objects to pique the curiosity of the fleet-footed antelope and draw them to their doom.²⁴

Migrating across the Central Great Plains, the buffalo used its size and weight as defense against predators. Also known as the bison, these large mammals often moved in large herds offering protection from stalking enemies such as the wolf, coyote, and occasional bear. When cornered, these shaggy animals used their horns and hooves to fend off attack. The buffalo relied on its keen sense of smell to detect danger, and once stampeded the herd could outrun all except its swiftest pursuers. Brownish in color, the buffalo bull could grow to nearly six feet and weigh a ton, while the female was somewhat smaller but just as imposing. When whites arrived on the Central Great Plains, the great herds of these animals were estimated to include 60,000,000 members, and when migrating could cut a swath twenty-five miles wide. The massive

herds of buffalo presented a formidable obstacle to advancing frontiersmen, but they also constituted a vital walking commissary for the native inhabitants of the region, the Central Great Plains Indians.²⁵

The Indians who lived on the Central Great Plains existed in harmony with nature. When Coronado and his men crossed the plains there were few tribes living on the prairies. The Spanish, however, reintroduced the horse to the Americas, and this development revolutionized the lifestyle of the Indians dwelling on the plains and its fringe regions. The horse provided mobility to the natives, thereby offering them the opportunity to travel onto the plains to follow the great buffalo herds, so important to the existence of these people.²⁶

The Indians of the Central Great Plains were part of a relatively recent migration to the region. Although the ancestors of these people arrived in North America at least 18,000 years ago, the buffalo-horse culture associated with the Central Great Plains Indians did not develop until the arrival of the Spanish and the horse. Prior to the reintroduction of the horse to the North American continent, many of the Indians lived on the edge of the plains in a semi-nomadic state, cultivating crops, gathering wild plants, dwelling in permanent earthen houses, and venturing onto the plains for seasonal buffalo hunts. Traveling by foot, the Indians used the dog as a beast of burden. This animal pulled household materials, supplies, and dressed meat on the travois, a vehicle of two trailing poles bearing a platform or net for the load. With the horse the Indians became mobile hunters, abandoning most of their agricultural activities and adopting gathering practices to supplement the meat gained by the hunt. The Central Great Plains Indians subsisted mainly on small game such as deer and antelope hunted

with their lances, bows, and arrows. The larger buffalo, however, was the mainstay not only of the Indian food supply but also of their culture.²⁷

The Central Great Plains Indians used the buffalo for economic, social, and religious purposes. The meat was used for food; skins were used for clothing and housing; hunting the shaggy beasts provided a way to prove the male's status in the tribe; buffalo robes were traded; bones were fashioned into numerous utensils and tools; and the skulls were used as focal points in religious ceremonies. The buffalo often was the central figure in countless folktales told orally by the Indians around campfires.²⁸

After leaving their permanent earthen dwellings to hunt the buffalo, the Central Great Plains Indians adopted the tipi, a conical, utilitarian home made of a frame of lodgepoles covered with buffalo hides. These lodges were made cool in the blistering heat of the summer and warm during icy wintry nights. They were portable homes, easily erected, dismantled, and transported by the women of the tribe.²⁹

As Spanish horses fell into the hands of more and more Central Great Plains Indians, their buffalo-horse culture took on distinctive characteristics. Warfare became central to their way of life, as intertribal conflicts with accompanying raiding activities increased. On the southern reaches of the Central Great Plains, the Comanches and their Plains Apache cousins began harassing their more sedentary neighbors. The Comanches eventually dominated even their Plains Apache allies. These warlike Indians quickly adopted the horse culture and became admired as master horsemen, earning the sobriquet "Lords of the Plains." The Comanches and Plains Apaches were joined by the Kiowas,

and they also adopted the nomadic horse and hunting culture. These Indians highly valued raiding as a social virtue, for by stealing, a warrior proved his manhood and carved a social niche for himself in his tribe. Great warriors were venerated, and the folklore consequently evolved in the various plains tribes helping perpetuate the desire to achieve warlike honors.³⁰

Located north of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches were the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Sioux. The Sioux Indians lived on the Northern Great Plains, occasionally drifting onto the Central Great Plains to visit relatives and to hunt game. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes roamed in the vicinity of the Arkansas and Republican rivers in Kansas, hunting and raiding like their contemporaries to the south and north. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes also adopted the horse culture and became expert in handling the animals. By the time of the arrival of whites on the Central Great Plains from the east, these Indian tribes had developed their hunting culture. The Central Great Plains Indians initially welcomed the whites, satisfied to trade with the newcomers and use them as allies against traditional enemies. When intruding whites threatened to alter the old lifestyle of the Central Great Plains Indians, however, the warriors of the prairies began to resist, especially as the interlopers poured onto the Central Great Plains, using major routes of travel such as the Santa Fe Trail.³¹

The primary reason for the establishment of Fort Larned was for protecting commerce carried over the Santa Fe Trail. The fort's initial duty was to guard mail and travelers from Indian attack on the eastern segment of the route; thus the fort was located in a notorious gathering ground for Indians of the Central Great Plains. Orders to the first

troops stationed at the fort were clear: "Garrison the post . . . escort the mails, east and west" and guard the Santa Fe Trail.³²

Stories of wealth gained by trading in Santa Fe, New Mexico, had caused enterprising frontiersmen to follow earlier chartered routes along the Arkansas River to that town. In the early nineteenth century, Santa Fe was a small settlement of about 2,000 inhabitants with large quantities of silver and gold coins, bullion, wool, furs, and mules. The New Mexicans, however, had few convenient market places. A long mountainous trail of some 1,500 miles led to Mexico City in the south. The New Mexicans were therefore burdened with surplus materials and distant markets resulting in a scarcity of desired manufactured goods in Santa Fe. The prospects of trade with the Anglo-Americans in the Mississippi River valley would be rewarding for all parties involved.³³

The Anglo-Americans wanted the furs, precious metals, and mules; the New Mexicans wanted the variety of manufactured items such as cotton cloth, cutlery, plain and fancy goods, hardware and tools, and other utensils and notions. The route between Santa Fe and the Mississippi River valley was shorter than the distance between the northern Spanish settlement and Mexico City. The first Anglo-American traders attempting to take advantage of this lucrative situation were uninformed of the fact that Santa Fe was governed by the Spanish who had strict mercantilistic laws restricting foreign trade. Numerous traders between 1804 and 1812 were introduced with sternness to Spanish law by being arrested and imprisoned in the jails of northern Mexican provinces. The Mexican Revolution of 1820, however, not only brought change in the Mexican government but also resulted in new trading laws regarding

foreign merchants. Santa Fe was opened for the first time to Anglo-American traders.³⁴

William Becknell, a Missouri trapper and trader, was the first Anglo-American to profit from the new Mexican law and is considered the founder of the Santa Fe trade. During the fall of 1821, Becknell travelled along the Arkansas River in a westerly direction with a contingent of approximately twenty men and a pack train of horses loaded with trade goods. He intended to barter for furs in the southern region of the Rocky Mountains. On their way through the rugged and tortuous Raton Pass, Becknell and his men encountered a party of Mexican soldiers who informed the Anglo-Americans of Mexican independence. The soldiers also told the Anglo-Americans that their trade goods would be welcomed in Mexico.³⁵

Wasting little time, Becknell's party changed direction and moved toward Santa Fe. There they traded their goods for silver and then returned to Becknell's hometown of Franklin, Missouri, in January of 1822. Becknell and his men recognized that great profits could be gained by an overland freight trade from Missouri to Santa Fe, for the New Mexicans had been paying inflated prices for goods channeled through the Mexican port of Vera Cruz.³⁶

Soon after Becknell's party left Santa Fe, other Anglo-Americans began to arrive, also eager to profit in the newly-opened market. On December 1, 1821, two weeks after Becknell departed for Missouri, Thomas James entered Santa Fe with a large stock of cloth which he hoped to trade. A merchant in St. Louis, James had not been able to sell his stock in that city. He remained in Santa Fe until June of 1822, trying to rid himself of the unwanted merchandise. Another party led by Jacob

Fowler and Hugh Glenn arrived in Santa Fe after Becknell and James. This group of eighteen rugged veteran frontiersmen also had been on a trading expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1821 when they encountered Mexican soldiers. Fowler was surprised to learn that Mexico had declared independence from Spain and desired to trade with Anglo-Americans. Quickly Fowler and Glenn turned their group south, traveling to Santa Fe, where they profitably traded until June of 1822, when they packed and headed home.³⁷

Earlier in 1821 Fowler had journeyed along the Arkansas River with his party. Fowler kept a journal, and on October 21, 1821, his diary entry described the locality near where Fort Larned would be established on the Pawnee Fork Creek branch of the Arkansas River. "We Steered South . . . West and at nine miles crossed a crick [Pawnee Fork] 40 feet Wide A Bold Running Stream about one futt deep and a few trees up it in sight," Fowler reported. "At ten Miles We Camped on the River Bank in a low bottom . . . In Sight the Sand Hills Still appeer on the South Side . . . While on the north are a Hard Black Soil With Some Progeting Rocks."³⁸ In this account Fowler noted the exposed sandstone rock later quarried for use in the construction of the permanent buildings at Fort Larned.³⁹

Becknell, meanwhile, was eager to capitalize on the Santa Fe trade, so he organized another expedition for the New Mexican market, leaving Franklin, Missouri, in June of 1822. Becknell's second party consisted of twenty-one men and three wagons heavily laden with trade goods valued at nearly \$5,000. Realizing the precarious nature of the steep Raton Pass, Becknell decided to take his wagons over a shorter but also more dangerous route across the Cimarron Desert. This unintentional action

opened the Santa Fe Trail, and numerous historians note 1822 as the formal beginning of the Santa Fe Trail trade.⁴⁰

The early expeditions to Santa Fe proved lucrative, and soon other entrepreneurs joined the rush for profits. By 1824 the Santa Fe trade increased to the point that 80 men, 25 wagons, 159 pack horses, and \$30,000 worth of merchandise traveled the trail to Santa Fe. There the goods were exchanged for \$190,000 worth of furs and silver. This profitable trade became well-established, and during the following years the volume continued to grow.⁴¹

During 1824 a party led by Augustus Storrs made the trek to Santa Fe, passing near Pawnee Fork Creek sometime in the middle of that year. M. M. Marmaduke traveled with the expedition and maintained a journal which he sent to Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, who then presented the records to Congress to justify appropriations for a survey of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri to Santa Fe.⁴²

Benton obtained a survey of the Santa Fe Trail because demands for governmental protection along the route had grown each year. A commission, consequently, was appointed by President John Quincy Adams to survey and mark the Santa Fe Trail, while also making an attempt to draw up treaties with native Indians such as the Osage and Kansa to secure safe passage of wagon caravans through the Indian lands. President Adams appointed Benjamin Reeves, Pierre Menard, and George C. Sibley as commissioners to carry out these duties.⁴³

During the official excursion, Commissioner Sibley kept a journal and recorded a description of the Pawnee Fork Creek area where Fort Larned eventually would be established. When the commission passed that point on September 1, 1825, Sibley commented on the abundance of elm,

ash, elder, cottonwood, and willow trees, as well as grape vines. He also wrote that Pawnee Fork Creek had high banks, a width of forty feet, a sandy bottom, and muddy water because of recent heavy rains. Noting the ford for the Santa Fe Trail at the foot of a rocky hill, Sibley pointed out that many names and Indian signs had been inscribed on the surrounding stone. This site later would become Camp Alert, the temporary location of Fort Larned.⁴⁴

The peace commissioners were less than successful in obtaining the signatures of the militant Comanche and Kiowa Indians on treaties, and these native warriors continued their harassment of Santa Fe caravans traveling across their land. In 1828 a trading party departed from Santa Fe for Missouri, but before it could reach its destination it had been attacked by the Comanche and Kiowa Indians. Of the party numbering between seventy and eighty, three were killed and a financial loss occurred estimated at \$30,000.⁴⁵

Traders complained to the federal government, demanding military protection for their lives and merchandise. Congress quickly met the requests and provided troops for escorting wagon trains along the Santa Fe Trail in United States territory. Major Bennett Riley was given the task of commanding three companies of infantry and one company of riflemen. Their escort duties began in the spring of 1829, marching along the Santa Fe Trail cutting through the traditional hunting grounds of the Central Great Plains Indians. The escort duties of these troops took them to the vicinity of Pawnee Fork Creek, a fact noted on June 30, 1829, when the soldiers were mustered for pay at a location on that stream. These troop escorts kept the Santa Fe Trail relatively safe until 1830, when an economy-minded Congress temporarily ended

appropriations for escorts. The traders then had to devise systems for their own self-defense.⁴⁶

The Santa Fe traders established efficient methods of organization and self-protection permitting them to continue profiting from the thriving Santa Fe trade. The merchants organizing the trading parties would begin gathering men, supplies, wagons, and livestock at Independence, Missouri, in the spring of the year. It took about a month of bustling activity to organize the groups, and then when the grass began to green the caravans would be ready to travel. Heavy Conestoga wagons, each carrying up to two tons of supplies, were pulled by ten or twelve oxen. The colorful teamsters and bullwhackers directed the serpentine wagon trains westward out of Independence on the 150 mile trail to the Neosho River and Council Grove, Kansas Territory. There the members of the trading parties selected their leaders for the duration of the journey through the ancestral lands of the Indians. A captain was chosen democratically by the members to oversee the entire caravan, and then the captain selected experienced men to serve as lieutenants in charge of small sections of about four wagons.⁴⁷

In early May the wagon train, under its new leadership, began the second leg of the trip, heading southwest for the big bend of the Arkansas River and the area where Fort Larned eventually would be located. Scouts rode in advance of the slowly moving Conestoga wagons, searching for signs of Indians. If indications of Indians were discovered, the scouts reported immediately to the captain who then commanded his lieutenants to form their wagons into parallel columns. If the Indians attacked, the wagons were maneuvered into a square

formation for protection. In this cautious manner the caravan moved toward Santa Fe at an average pace of fifteen miles per day.⁴⁸

From Council Grove the trading parties drove to the Arkansas River, fording it when practicable, and then moving onto the barren Cimarron Desert for a precarious sixty-mile push through Comanche and Kiowa land. Into northern New Mexico the wagons rolled at an even rate, but when Santa Fe was sighted, organization broke down and the bullwhackers drove the wagons in a dash for the adobe town.⁴⁹

With the arrival of the first Anglo-Americans and their merchandise, the peaceful town transformed into a lively marketplace. Citizens of the New Mexican capital turned out to welcome the traders, as did the local merchants and tavern owners who prepared to provide services and business for the weary but excited travelers. Trade flourished during the days immediately following the arrival of the Anglo-Americans. After the brisk trading finished, those merchants who had sold their goods began the 770-mile return trip to Independence. Other less successful Anglo-American businessmen often turned south with their remaining merchandise, hoping to trade in other Mexican towns. The Santa Fe trading system continued annually until the Mexican War temporarily halted the flow of commerce between Missouri and New Mexico.⁵⁰

Periodically traders and citizens of states and territories along the frontier renewed demands on Congress to provide more military protection for Santa Fe Trail commerce. The infantry, which earlier had been charged with protecting the wagon trains, had proven inefficient, especially in fights against the Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahoes. As a result of the infantry's inadequacy and the renewed public demands for action, Senator Benton appealed to Congress for aid. He proposed a bill

in the Senate providing for an appropriation of \$25,000 for mounted rangers. President Andrew Jackson supported Benton's plan and signed the bill on June 11, 1832. This legislation, however, was too late to protect the caravans that had left for Santa Fe earlier in the spring of that year.⁵¹

Further protection of travel on the Santa Fe Trail was proposed by Representative Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky in December of 1832. Johnson introduced a bill in the House of Representatives "for the more perfect defense of the frontier, being an act to convert the corps of rangers into a regiment of dragoons."⁵² The dragoons were early-day cavalry forces. The plan placed the army in immediate control of safeguarding Santa Fe Trail traffic, and the legislation passed both the House of Representatives and Senate on March 2, 1833. President Jackson, in signing the bill into law the same evening it passed Congress, guaranteed Santa Fe traders that they would have some semblance of formal protection from their government.⁵³

With Fort Leavenworth in Kansas Territory being the closest United States military post to the starting point of the Santa Fe Trail, the garrison provided the base from which dragoons generally operated. One such escort over the years was dispatched from Fort Leavenworth to accompany a caravan and impress the Indians with a show of United States military might. From May to July of 1843 the detachment, under the command of Captain Phillip St. George Cooke, was in the field, losing three men on June 15 along Pawnee Fork Creek, near where Fort Larned would be established.⁵⁴

As trade flourished the Santa Fe Trail became one of the most important commercial overland routes in the United States. During its

existence from 1822 to 1880, several million dollars worth of commerce passed along the trail, and the average yearly trade between 1822 and 1843 was \$130,000. In 1843, three years before the outbreak of the Mexican War and the temporary close of commerce, 430 wagons and 350 men crossed the well-worn path to Santa Fe. During these prewar years, however, the government provided few military escorts for the protection of trade passing between Independence and Santa Fe.⁵⁵

The Mexican War, fought between 1846 and 1848, and the subsequent American acquisition of vast new southwestern territories by the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 sparked additional commerce and travel on the Santa Fe Trail. Soon after the war the Seligman Brothers freighting firm of Kansas City, Missouri, began taking advantage of the growing postwar trade with Santa Fe. During one day in Kansas City, the freighting firm loaded eighty-three wagons with an average of 5,000 pounds each destined for company warehouses in Santa Fe. The Seligman Brothers made an estimated profit of \$51,000 on the merchandise.⁵⁶

The growing Santa Fe traffic during the post-Mexican War years brought a great western surge of emigrants, gold seekers, settlers, merchants, and adventurers. The Indians of the Central Great Plains felt threatened and became alarmed by this foreign intrusion into their homeland and resisted by attacking commerce, mail, and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. Texans in the 1840s drove many Comanche and Kiowa Indians to the north in the vicinity of the Santa Fe Trail. There they joined the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Plains Apache Indians in periodical harassment of traffic and travelers on the heavily-used road.⁵⁷

William Bent, a veteran trader and agent for the Upper Arkansas Indians, appealed to the federal government in October of 1859 for a permanent Indian treaty, while reporting that 60,000 whites had traveled the Santa Fe Trail during that year. He suggested that more military protection be afforded the increased traffic on the road. Bent also reported on his meeting with 2,500 Kiowa and Comanche warriors at the mouth of Walnut Creek, where the Indians told of their desire for peace. Bent, nevertheless, perceived a threat to Santa Fe Trail travel because of the growing number of Indians in the vicinity of the road. Bent asked A. M. Robinson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for a permanent military fortification on the Santa Fe Trail located between Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth in the east and Fort Union and Bent's Fort in the west. "I consider it essential to have two permanent stations for troops," Bent said, "one at the mouth of Pawnee Fork, and one at Big Timbers, both upon the Arkansas River. . . . To control them [Indians] it is essential to have among them the perpetual presence of a controlling military force."⁵⁸

The gold rush at this same time in the Cherry Creek area of what would become Colorado Territory in 1861 compounded problems with the Indians of the vicinity. Numerous gold seekers used the Santa Fe Trail to get to the Rocky Mountain mining camps. Increased tensions between Indians and whites resulted from additional travel along the Santa Fe Trail induced by the discovery of gold and the consequent depletion of Indian subsistence by white emigrants.⁵⁹

In addition to seeking protection for commerce and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail from possible Indian attacks, the government wanted assurance of safe delivery of mail from the East to western regions. The

government selected an official mail route along a segment of the Santa Fe Trail, and L. J. Berry was the surveyor. In 1859 the route was designated to start at Wyandotte, Kansas, and end at Pawnee Fork Creek, near the future site of Fort Larned. Mail protection thus provided the government another problem with which to contend.⁶⁰

No legal barrier existed to block the establishment of a mail station or military post at the point near Pawnee Fork Creek where Bent had suggested. Treaties made with the Plains Indians on Horse Creek in 1851 had cleared title to the land in question. The ground near Pawnee Fork Creek therefore belonged to the government.⁶¹

Because of these factors the War Department decided to build a military post on Pawnee Fork Creek. The Indians were congregating near the Santa Fe Trail and presenting a threat to the safe movement of traffic on the route because of increased travel caused by the Colorado gold rush and conflicts in Texas between whites and Indians. William Bent and A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had strongly suggested a military presence in the region, and more recently a mail escort station was desired. The absence of a military garrison in the area also influenced the decision to establish a post on Pawnee Fork Creek, about midway between Fort Leavenworth and Bent's Fort. The vicinity near Pawnee Fork Creek had gained notoriety as one of the most dangerous locales along the Santa Fe Trail, and nearby Coon Creek, Walnut Creek, and Pawnee Rock were favorite camping sites for the Indians of the area. War Department planners believed that a military post on Pawnee Fork Creek would subdue hostile Indian activities in the area and provide protection for the Santa Fe Trail. Consequently, the site for a military fortification selected by William Bent became Fort

Larned on October 22, 1859. Located at the base of Lookout Hill on the south bank of Pawnee Fork Creek about eight miles from its junction with the Arkansas River, the fort was established originally as the "Camp on the Pawnee Fork."⁶²

Within this setting Fort Larned was born. Like most other military posts environmental factors made it necessary. Slowly evolving War Department policy called for such a post, and the decision was tied directly to the expansion of whites into Indian lands of the Central Great Plains region. The Indian style of warfare dictated the location and architectural development of Fort Larned, as did the inception of the Santa Fe Trail. The geographic features and native animals of the Central Great Plains also contributed to the combination of factors that influenced the establishment of Fort Larned on the banks of Pawnee Fork Creek, for it was within this framework that the Central Great Plains Indians lived and hunted wildlife for their livelihood. It also was in this area that the same native warriors clashed with white intruders who threatened their way of life during the vast expansionist movement of the nineteenth century in the Trans-Mississippi West. Because of this varied, coincidental, and unique combination of environmental factors, Fort Larned came into being to serve the Santa Fe Trail, the Central Great Plains, and the United States.

FOOTNOTES

¹Marvin H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1 (November, 1931), p. 54.

²Robert W. Frazer, Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. xii-xiii.

³United States House of Representatives, "Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1845," 29th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 2 (Washington, D. C.: Ritchie and Heiss, 1845), p. 212.

⁴Ibid., p. 220.

⁵Frazer, Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898, p. xiv.

⁶Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

⁷Ibid.

⁸United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1853 (Washington, D. C.: Beverly Tucker, 1854), p. 6.

⁹United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1897 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 104-114.

¹⁰Philip Sheridan, Outline of Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri, 1876 (Fascimile Edition, Fort Collins, Colorado: Old Army Press, 1972), pp. 130-133; Frazer, Forts of the West: Military Forts and

Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898, p. 55.

¹¹Francis Haines, The Plains Indians (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976), pp. 183-194; Thomas E. Mails, The Mystic Warriors of the Plains (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1972), pp. 550-578.

¹²Robert G. Athearn, Forts on the Upper Missouri (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. 150; George A. Custer, My Life on the Plains (Edited by Milo M. Quaife, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 144-146.

¹³Fort Larned Records, p. 1, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 1, 9.

¹⁵Herbert E. Bolton, Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), pp. 1-325.

¹⁶Russell McKee, The Last West: A History of the Great Plains of North America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1974), throughout.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Henry M. Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia (2 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), Vol. I, pp. 22-23.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 22.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Theodore Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI (1909-1910), p. 570; Haines, The Plains Indians, pp. 21-22.

²⁵David A. Dary, The Buffalo Book: The Saga of an American Symbol (New York: Swallow Press, 1974), throughout.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.; Mails, The Mystic Warriors of the Plains, pp. 187-243.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Reginald Laubin and Gladys Laubin, The Indian Tipi: Its History, Construction and Use (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), throughout.

³⁰Haines, The Plains Indians, pp. 58-90, 183-194; Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), throughout; Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), throughout.

³¹George B. Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), throughout; Donald J. Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), throughout; Virginia Cole Trenholm, The Arapahoes, Our People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), throughout.

³²Topeka Capital-Journal (Topeka, Kansas), September 13, 1964, p. 13A; William E. Unrau, "The Story of Fort Larned," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), p. 257; "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), unpagged.

³³Josiah Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1926), p. 7; Leo E. Oliva, Soldiers on the

Santa Fe Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 5.

³⁴Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, pp. 5-6; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 4-7.

³⁵Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (2 vols., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1935), Vol. I, p. 499; Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, pp. 6-7; Thomas Becknell, "The Journals of Capt. Thomas [William] Becknell from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (January, 1910), pp. 76-79; Max L. Moorhead, New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 60.

³⁶Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, p. 7.

³⁷Thomas James, Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1916), pp. 49-95; Elliott Coues, ed., The Journal of Jacob Fowler, 1821-1822 (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898), p. 95; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, p. 8.

³⁸Coues, ed., The Journal of Jacob Fowler, 1821-1822, p. 41.

³⁹William E. Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, 1956), p. 7.

⁴⁰Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, pp. 7-8; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, p. 9; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 7.

⁴¹Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, p. 10; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 10-11.

⁴²Archer B. Hulbert, ed., Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe (Colorado Springs: Stewart Commission of Colorado College, 1933), pp. 69-73; Kate L. Gregg, ed., The Road to Santa Fe: Journals and Diaries of George C. Sibley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), p. 7; Frederic A. Culmer, "Marking the Santa Fe Trail," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1934), p. 78.

⁴³Gregg, ed., The Road to Santa Fe: Journals and Diaries of George C. Sibley, p. 8.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 72-73; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 8.

⁴⁵Otis E. Young, The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952), pp. 29-33.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 82; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 26-32.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 14-15; Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, pp. 19-37.

⁴⁸Ibid.; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 19-20; Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, pp. 102-106.

⁵¹Young, The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 169-170.

⁵²Ibid., p. 171; William A. Ganoe, The History of the United States Army (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943), p. 73.

⁵³Young, The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, p. 171.

⁵⁴William E. Connelley, ed., "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XII, No. 1 (June, 1925), p. 85.

⁵⁵Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. I, pp. 518-519; Topeka Capital-Journal, September 13, 1964, p. 13A.

⁵⁶Kansas City Star (Kansas City, Missouri), July 7, 1949, p. 3.

⁵⁷Walker Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1 (November, 1931), p. 24; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 12.

⁵⁸United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1859 (Washington, D. C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), p. 138.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 20-21; see Thomas D. Isern, "The Making of a Gold Rush: Pike's Peak, 1858-1860" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, 1975), for a concise coverage of the Colorado gold rush.

⁶⁰Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: Kansas State Printer, 1931), p. 23.

⁶¹Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 14.

⁶²John Albright and Douglas D. Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas (Denver: National Park Service, 1974), pp. 13-15; "Fort Larned," Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, 1700-1900, Vol. L, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Frazer, Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898, p. 55; Robert M. Utley, ed., Life in Custer's

Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1869

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 285.

CHAPTER II

ESTABLISHMENT

The original site of Fort Larned was on the south bank of Pawnee Fork Creek. To the Kiowa Indians the location was known as Aikon-Pa, meaning "dark timbers," or "shady river," and, to their cousins the Comanches the site was Manka-Guadalda-Pa, honoring one of their tribal chiefs killed at the location. The Indians of the region knew this area as a traditional campsite and would continue to use it as a rendezvous.¹

In September of 1859, a small cavalry detachment of the First Cavalry Regiment, under the command of First Lieutenant David Bell, following orders, took possession of the first Fort Larned site on the right bank of Pawnee Fork Creek and constructed crude shelters. The troopers were also to protect the mail and wagons passing over the Santa Fe Trail from the Indians. Soon Captain George N. Steuart, commanding seventy-five men of Company K, First Cavalry Regiment, was ordered from Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, with his company to establish a military post on Pawnee Fork Creek. Steuart and his command arrived on Pawnee Fork Creek on October 22, 1859, relieving Bell and his command. The location was on the Santa Fe Trail approximately 280 miles southwest of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, and about midway between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Here Steuart decided to establish the "Camp on the Pawnee Fork," the name given to the first Fort Larned site. The garrison retained its first name until February

12, 1860, when it was designated "Camp Alert" because soldiers had to be alert constantly for Indian raids.²

On the day following his arrival, Steuart began making plans for the initial structures at Pawnee Fork Camp. A member of Steuart's command, Captain Lambert B. Wolf, described this early construction program: "plans are made for the horse and cattle stable, also for officers' and company quarters, all of which are to be built of sod cut with spades by members of our company." Wolf explained, "Our stable is to be 100 feet square on the inside, wall 12 feet high and 3 feet thick at bottom and 2 feet thick at top, with a large gate in the south wall."³ On July 2, 1860, nevertheless, the encampment was depicted by a journalist as a "group of tents on the Headwaters of the Arkansas."⁴

The presence of a military post in the area was immediately noticed. Captain Steuart reported on October 30, 1859, that the mail station located near the post was safe and that mail service moved without interruption through the immediate vicinity. The Indians had gone to other regions to raid.⁵

In November of 1859, Colonel Edwin V. Sumner ordered most of the garrison at Pawnee Fork Creek to return for the winter to Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, approximately 155 miles to the northeast. In their place, Sumner sent First Lieutenant Bell and thirty men to continue occupation of the post and to provide escort service for the mail companies. Bell also had instructions to use his command as a construction crew for starting buildings at a permanent site. Between late 1859 and mid-summer of 1860, plans to build a permanent adobe post were carried out at a new location three miles west of Camp Alert. The new site had the natural advantage of being surrounded on three sides by

the channel of Pawnee Fork Creek, although the south side of the new location faced an open prairie.⁶

In May of 1860, Captain Henry W. Wessells and Companies G and K, Second Infantry Regiment, arrived at the new Camp Alert with orders to construct a permanent post. The exact location of the new site was latitude 38° 10' 10" north, longitude 98° 57' west. When Wessells' command camped, it located a few hundred yards north of the new location in a bend of Pawnee Fork Creek. On May 6, 1860, Wessells made a request to the adjutant general, Colonel Samuel Cooper, that the name of the post be changed to Fort Larned in honor of the army paymaster general, Colonel Benjamin Franklin Larned. Wessells' request was accepted and the new name for the fort was made official on May 29, 1860.⁷

Soon after Wessells' men arrived, they began preparations for constructing a set of adobe buildings. Wessells considered adobe an inferior building material and became disappointed when he learned that he was not going to use wood. The plans and work of the men culminated, nevertheless, in the completion of two sets of company quarters, a hospital, two sets of commanders' quarters, and a guardhouse. The two adobe company quarters were 212 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 12 feet high. These buildings were divided into squad rooms 60 feet long, a kitchen, a mess room, and an orderly room. The hospital stood on a bank of Pawnee Fork Creek, 130 feet behind the company quarters. Consisting of four rooms sixteen feet square and ten feet high, the hospital used two rooms for patients, while the other rooms were made into a kitchen and dispensary for hospital use. Laundress' quarters were also constructed with four rooms and dimensions similar to the hospital.⁸

Another building housed officers' quarters and stood 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 10 feet high, and was partitioned into small rooms. This building, as well as the others, was covered with poles and sod, leaving a breezeway beneath the eaves and providing more than sufficient ventilation. Secondary facilities constructed during the post's first year were made by digging into the banks of Pawnee Fork Creek. These makeshift structures housed a bakery and temporary soldiers' quarters. A small adobe meathouse served the garrison, as did a carriagehouse of canvas and pickets. A three-room picket building contained the blacksmith, carpenter, and saddler shops.⁹

Although an official survey of the Fort Larned Military Reservation never was completed, the area included sixteen square miles, according to General Order Number Twenty-Two issued by the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri in 1867. This order stated that the center of the reservation was located at the northwestern corner of the commanding officers' quarters that would be built in 1867. Fort Larned was destined to become the northernmost military post in the cordon of forts that stretched through Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) and Texas to Fort Duncan on the Rio Grande River. This line of defense defined the southwestern military frontier, and the troops at Fort Larned played a significant part in the government's police network on the Central Great Plains.¹⁰

Between 1860 and 1862 additional buildings of adobe and wood were erected at Fort Larned. Improvements also were made on the existing structures during 1862 and 1863. For example, in the summer of 1863 the trading firm of Crane and Weichselbaum completed a large stone building

at the post used as the sutler's store. In general, however, the first buildings at the fort were poorly constructed.¹¹

A decision to build a new and more permanent post at the Fort Larned site had been delayed because some military officers suggested that the fort should be built on a bluff five miles down Pawnee Fork Creek from its present site. Finally, military officials in Washington, D. C., decided to build a new fort on the site of the old post. Consequently, in July of 1866 the foundation of the first building, a stone commissary storeroom, was laid. Building activity was halted by the onset of cold weather, ending construction work until the following June.¹²

During the latter part of June of 1867, Assistant Quartermaster Captain Almon F. Rockwell arrived and began a new building program in earnest. Assistant Quartermaster Rockwell employed about 200 civilians to work on the new buildings, usually constructed of stone. Work progressed so rapidly that by the end of the year a number of buildings were nearly completed: officers' quarters; company quarters; quartermaster's storeroom; a building with separate shops for baker, wheelwright, carpenter, and blacksmith; and horse stables for Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment. Recreation for the troops was provided by a billiards room built by the post sutler and opened for both officers and enlisted men in October of 1867.¹³

During the winter of 1867-1868, nearly all civilian workers at Fort Larned were dismissed and work almost halted. In the early spring of 1868, however, work by the soldiers began as all available men of the garrison reported each day to clean the post's grounds. Debris was removed from nearby buildings, and the wooden walks of the post were renovated. In a little time the post appeared neat and attractive.¹⁴

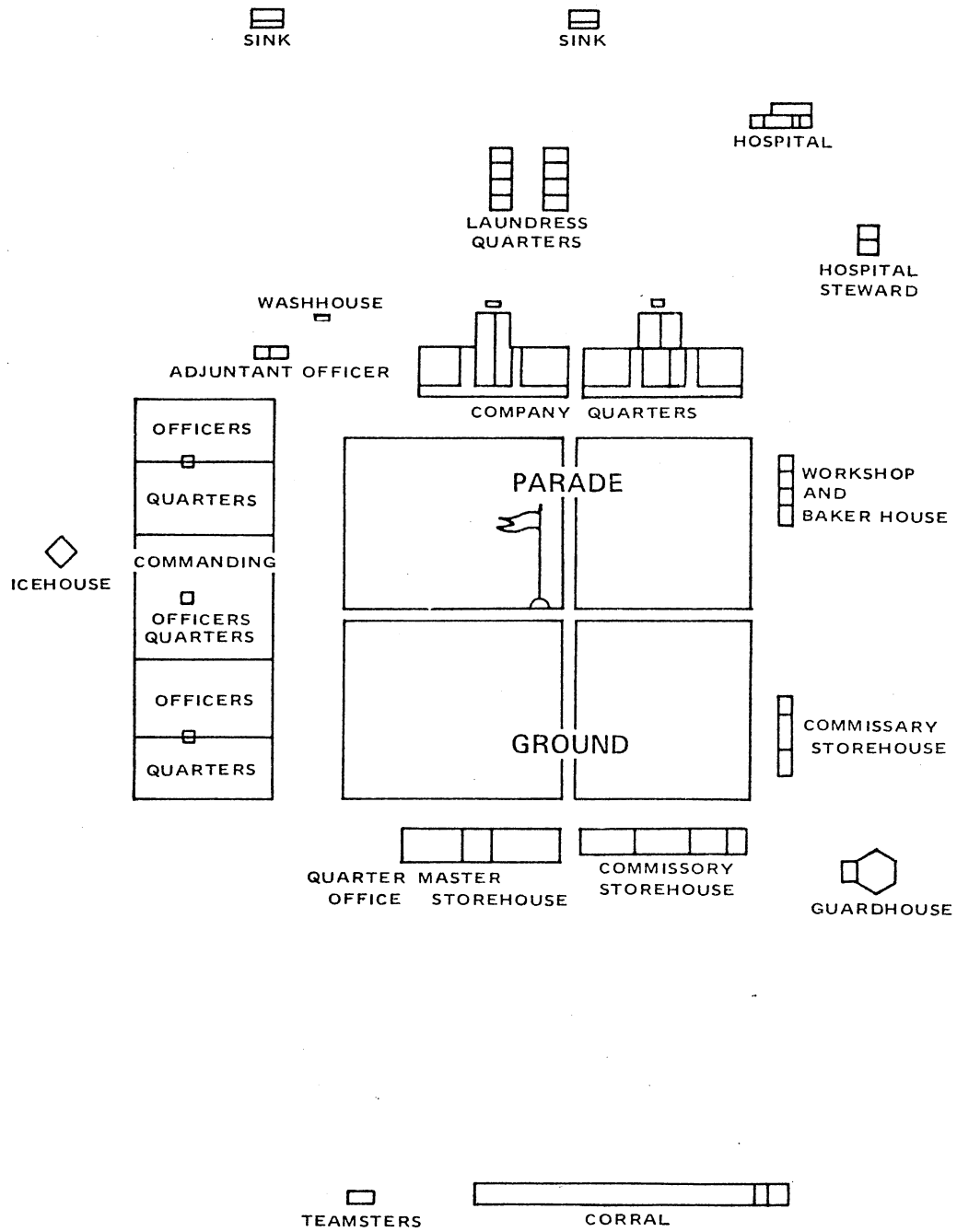


Figure 2. Plan of Fort Larned

During the summer of 1868, a small detail of workmen and the garrison's craftsman worked together almost to complete the construction of the new structures. In August about seventy civilians were hired and arrived at the fort to work on the new buildings. These men, civilians and soldiers, added kitchens to the company barracks, finished one set of officers' quarters while attaching porches to the fronts of these buildings, and erected a new commissary storehouse. Also during the summer a new post trader's building was completed containing a billiards room and bowling alley. According to the Post Surgeon William H. Forwood, it was "a very nice building." By the end of the summer, however, neither guardhouse nor new hospital had been constructed, which Forwood claimed "is very much needed."¹⁵

Throughout the construction period of 1866-1868, Fort Larned was rebuilt, using sandstone quarried from the post's location. The sandstone was used as the principal building material for the permanent structures, but pine timber was shipped from the East for construction also. The buildings were erected on four sides of a parade square. The ground on which the new post was built was a little lower than the average level of the surrounding prairie terrain. Drainage was not good, but that was of little consequence because of the scarcity of rainfall and the rapidity with which the generally parched earth absorbed every drop of moisture that touched it.¹⁶

Company quarters at Fort Larned were built on the north side of the square, facing south and consisting of two buildings. Each barracks contained two sets of company quarters. The enlisted men's quarters were forty feet long, forty feet wide, and twelve feet high. Each room was well-lighted and draft ventilated. The rooms were designed to provide

sleeping accommodations for one company each. The company mess rooms were thirty-eight feet long, twenty-one feet wide, and twelve feet high. The kitchen for company quarters was twenty-one feet long, fifteen feet wide, and twelve feet high. The kitchens were located in the rear of the mess hall under one roof for both companies in each barracks. The orderly room was twenty-six feet long, eleven feet wide, and twelve feet high, and the company storeroom was twelve feet long, fifteen feet wide, and twelve feet high. The entrance to each company room was from the front of the barracks into a hall thirteen feet long, ten feet wide, and twelve feet high. The orderly room and mess hall were on one side of the hall with the men's quarters located on the opposite side of the hallway.¹⁷

The officers' quarters at Fort Larned were constructed on the west side of the parade ground square. A center building was flanked by two longer buildings, and it was the commanding officer's quarters. It was one story high with a center hall and four rooms sixteen feet long and fourteen feet wide. The kitchen was sixteen feet long and nineteen feet wide, and the servants' rooms were over the kitchen. The servants' quarters were the only upstairs rooms at the post.¹⁸

The two longer junior officers' quarters were divided into four sets of quarters, but there was only one kitchen for each building. There were two rooms in each set of quarters that were fourteen feet long and sixteen feet wide. The kitchens were nineteen feet long and ten and one-half feet wide. The servants' quarters, located at the side of the buildings, were sixteen feet long and eight and one-half feet wide.¹⁹

The officers' quarters were plain but substantial, with long porches in front facing the parade ground and with small porches behind at the

side of the kitchens. All ceilings in the officers' quarters were fourteen feet high, but had no ventilation except by the doors and windows. The rooms were heated by stove fire. All the officers' quarters had large backyards enclosed with a high fence and contained sinks, commonly known as privies. Water for the officers' use was brought by wagon from Pawnee Fork Creek and placed in barrels in the backyards. Also, the officers had their stables behind their backyards.²⁰

The Fort Larned hospital building built in 1860 had undergone repairs by 1867. A source of constant complaint by the post surgeons, the hospital was considered "very much damaged with age and is especially [so] when contrasted with the new stone buildings a wretched apology for a hospital for the sick," chided Surgeon Forwood.²¹ By 1867 the roof had been shingled, a helpful change from the old sod and pole roof. The laundress' quarters were also located in old adobe buildings constructed in 1860, but they too had been renovated with shingle roofs, adding significantly to their comfort, according to a contemporary observer.²²

The post bakery stood on the east side of the parade quadrangle and was a structure twenty-seven feet long, eighteen feet wide, and twelve feet high. The bakery was located in a larger building that also housed the shops of the carpenter, wheelwright, painter, and blacksmith. The bakery had one large oven with a capacity for baking thirty-four loaves of bread at one time. In 1867 the bakery was manned by a chief and assistant baker, detailed from the enlisted men of the companies stationed at the post.²³

There were two commissary storerooms at Fort Larned in 1867. One stood on the east side of the parade ground and the other was located

on the south side of the square. The commissary building on the south side was 154 feet long and 27 feet wide, while the east side commissary storeroom was 80 feet long and 23 feet wide. Both were without ceilings except for two small rooms, the commissary office and the commissary officer's storeroom. The quartermaster storeroom stood on the south side of the quadrangle and was 158 feet long and 40 feet wide. It was built without a ceiling except for the quartermaster's office. The quartermaster and commissary storehouses on the south side of the parade ground bordered open prairie. Consequently, rifle loopholes were built into the south walls of both buildings for protective purposes.²⁴

A foundation for a new guardhouse forty feet square was laid on the east side of the parade ground, but the building was never completed. An old adobe guardhouse that previously had been used was abandoned in 1867, and the guard and prisoners moved to the hexagonal blockhouse converted into a new guardhouse. The blockhouse had been built in 1864 after an Indian attack and was intended for use as a defensive structure. The blockhouse was constructed from sandstone and had walls twenty-one and one-half feet long and sixteen feet high. Two rows of loopholes were built, one above the other, into the walls. The blockhouse had been renovated with a shingle roof and had a watchtower on its top. A small room on the side of the blockhouse was constructed of rough lumber for the sentry's use. The blockhouse and guard chamber stood at the southeast corner of the parade ground.²⁵

The adjutant's office was a small frame building sixteen feet long and twelve feet wide. It stood at the northwest corner of the quadrangle. Another smaller building was the icehouse located on the bank of Pawnee Fork Creek, behind the commanding officer's quarters.

The sides of the icehouse were constructed of earthen walls up to its eaves, and the roof was shingled. The ice was covered on the inside with straw or sawdust, leaving an air space of two feet between the covering and the roof. This was for the protection of ice from the heat of the sun. The icehouse had a capacity of four hundred tons of ice and was ventilated by a draft in its center.²⁶

At Fort Larned there were two sutler stores. One sutler store building was sixty feet long and forty feet wide. This building was completed in 1863, but five years later a spacious billiards room containing two tables was added on the back of the structure. The other sutler store stood about 100 yards south of the post. Built in 1867 of wood, it was fifty feet long and forty feet wide, had a billiards room with one table, and sported an attached bowling alley seventy feet long.²⁷

The parade ground was level, covered with buffalo grass, and had wide graveled walks encompassing the area and in front of all buildings. The flagstaff was impressive. It stood one hundred feet high in the center of the parade ground, and reportedly the flag could be seen from six to fifteen miles in all directions.²⁸

East of the post lay a dry ravine, nearly circular in shape, and surrounding a level piece of ground about a quarter mile in diameter. A small piece of flat land was in contact with Pawnee Fork Creek on one side. This level ground became an island when the creek was high, and hay stacks were placed there for dry storage. The original post cemetery also was located at the island's center, but a new site was selected three-fourths of a mile north of the fort on a small rise across the creek. The bodies at the old cemetery were reinterred at the new

site--at least those graves that were marked. The new burying ground was about an acre in size, shaped in a square, and enclosed by a high picket fence. It could be seen easily from the garrison.²⁹

A corral was located east of the small island in Pawnee Fork Creek and erected with poles on four sides of a square and roofed with mounds of hay. From 1867 to 1869, Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment was stationed at Fort Larned, and the horses of the command were stabled in a frame building nearly 200 feet long and 25 feet wide. Early in the morning of January 2, 1869, this stable burned, destroying approximately forty horses and a substantial amount of government property. This stable and an accompanying corral were located about fifty yards southeast of the parade ground. Beef cattle also were kept in this area, being slaughtered east of the corral on Pawnee Fork Creek about a half mile from the post.³⁰

There were several water wells that serviced the post. They were dug from fifteen to forty feet deep, but the water in most of the wells was sulphurous and not used. Four of the wells had cold water, but it was fouled with carbonate of lime. Officers' quarters, consequently, were supplied with water from Pawnee Fork Creek. The water was brought to the post in water wagons and was used instead of the water from the wells in the officers' backyards because it was less sulphurous.³¹

The physical appearance of the area around the post was as varied as the seasons, and it changed as did the time. Grass in early spring was green and beautiful. As early as July, however, the hot southwest winds came in blasts across the prairies, combining with the scarcity of rain to turn the once green grass into a dingy brown color. Prairie fires then began to appear on the horizon in the evenings, making the

summer months an extremely precarious season. Near the post Pawnee Fork Creek and the dry ravine were once lined with trees, but by the mid-1860s all but a solitary few had fallen prey to the axe-wielding soldier-lumbermen from the post. After the depletion of the wood supply on Pawnee Fork Creek and surrounding area, soldiers had to find wood for fuel on Walnut Creek, located from fifteen to twenty miles distant. That supply also was limited, however, and soon was likewise exhausted.³²

By the end of 1868, the garrison had taken on an air of permanence. While traveling through the vicinity during 1867, Welshman Henry M. Stanley confirmed this fact: "A complete change had been effected at Fort Larned. . . . The shabby, vermin-breeding adobe and wooden houses have been torn down, and new and stately buildings of hewn sandstone stand in their stead." Stanley noted that the "comfort of the troops has been taken into consideration by the architect and builder."³³ The buildings of the permanent post became the home of numerous soldiers who witnessed the history of Fort Larned as it unfolded.

Fort Larned early developed into a vital link in the defensive network of the frontier military establishment in the Trans-Mississippi West. Established to serve a definite purpose on the Santa Fe Trail, the post's importance grew as the years passed. Consequently, the need for a small escort station for mail, commerce, and travelers evolved into a necessity for a larger, permanent post at the strategic location on Pawnee Fork Creek. Once military officials finally decided that Fort Larned had basic worth in the defensive scheme on the frontier, they committed money, men, and materials for erecting an adequate, full-scale military installation. As a result of the government's commitment, Fort Larned was transformed during the 1860s from a small collection of tents,

dugouts, shacks, and temporary adobe structures into an imposing, permanent sandstone garrison.

FOOTNOTES

¹Francis Whitmore Cragin Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; Kinsley Graphic (Kinsley, Kansas), June 15, 1878, p. 4; Daily Times (Leavenworth, Kansas), September 30, 1859, p. 2, October 13, 1859, p. 2, December 23, 1859, p. 2; Kansas Press (Council Grove, Kansas), October 10, 1859, p. 2; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 13; Larned Press (Larned, Kansas), February 16, 1877, p. 2.

²Fort Larned Records, p. 1, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; George A. Root, ed., "Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3 (May, 1933), pp. 198-204; Fort Larned, November, December, 1859, January, February, 1860, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 119-122; "Fort Larned," Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, 1700-1900, Vol. L, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Great Bend Tribune (Great Bend, Kansas), July 19, 1947, p. 8; Tiller and Toiler (Larned, Kansas), October 23, 1947, p. 1; Merril J. Mattes, ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 8 (Winter, 1955), pp. 578-585; Morris F. Taylor,

"The Mail Station and the Military at Camp on Pawnee Fork, 1859-1860," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1970), p. 33; Kansas Press, November 7, 1859, p. 3, February 6, 1860, p. 2, April 2, 1860, p. 2; Daily Times, September 30, 1859, p. 2, October 10, 1859, p. 2, October 13, 1859, p. 2, December 23, 1859, p. 2.

³Root, ed., "Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 204.

⁴Daily Times, August 2, 1860, p. 2.

⁵Captain George N. Steuart to Adjutant General, October 30, 1859, Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Kansas Press, April 2, 1860, p. 2.

⁶First Lieutenant David Bell to Adjutant General, November 25, 1859, Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Fort Larned, November, 1859, Returns from United States Military Posts, ibid.; Fort Larned Records, p. 9, Medical History of Posts, ibid.; Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, pp. 562-563; Topeka Capital-Journal, September 13, 1964, p. 13A.

⁷Fort Larned Records, pp. 1-2, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; "Fort Larned," Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, 1700-1900, Vol. L, Record Group 94, National Archives; Captain Henry W. Wessells to Adjutant General, May 6, 1860, Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; General Order Number 14, May 29, 1860, ibid.

⁸"Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagged; Fort Larned Records, p. 9, Medical History of

Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁹Ibid.; "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagued.

¹⁰"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, pp. 299-300, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1871); "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagued; Larned Press, December 13, 1877, p. 2; Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic (Larned, Kansas), November 10, 1899, p. 4.

¹¹Fort Larned Records, pp. 1-2, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 567; "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagued.

¹²Fort Larned Records, p. 3, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹³Ibid., pp. 3-4; Fort Larned, June, September, December, 1867, Returns from United States Military Posts, ibid.

¹⁴Fort Larned Records, p. 4, Medical History of Posts, ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10; "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagued.

¹⁷Fort Larned Records, p. 10, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹⁸Ibid.; Jack Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972 (Larned, Kansas: Tiller and Toiler,

Inc., 1972), p. 8.

¹⁹Fort Larned Records, p. 10, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., pp. 10-11.

²⁴Ibid., p. 11.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. 12.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³³Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, pp. 222-223; Leavensorth Daily Conservative (Leavenworth, Kansas), July 2, 1867, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

PERSONNEL

The initial personnel at Pawnee Fork Camp was commanded by Captain George N. Steuart and consisted of seventy-five men of Company K, First Cavalry Regiment. These troops arrived at this temporary site in the fall of 1859, remaining there until November of that year. First Lieutenant David Bell and thirty men of the First Cavalry Regiment relieved Steuart's command which had been ordered to march northeast to Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, to spend the winter. Bell's small detachment of cavalry manned the Pawnee Fork Camp during the winter, starting construction of some permanent sod and adobe buildings while guarding the mail service traveling along the Santa Fe Trail. In early 1860 the Pawnee Fork Camp became Camp Alert because the garrison under Bell's command had to be ever vigilant for Indian raiding in the vicinity.¹

First Lieutenant Bell and his troopers weathered the harsh winter at the new garrison until May of 1860, when Captain Henry W. Wessells and Companies G and K, Second Infantry Regiment, arrived to occupy Camp Alert. The new command of Wessells consisted of 160 infantrymen; it was bolstered with 75 novice recruits on July 9 of 1860. These new troopers of Companies C and K of the Second Dragoon Regiment quickly were initiated to the rigors of western military duty. On the same day of the arrival of the Second Dragoon troopers, the soldiers began a campaign

against the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. By then the troops were stationed at Fort Larned, for the post had undergone its final name change and its location was fixed permanently.²

When November of 1860 arrived, the soldiers at Fort Larned marched for Fort Riley, complying with orders to spend the winter at that post to the east. The only soldiers remaining at Fort Larned were two commissioned line officers and a unit of fifty men selected equally from the four departed companies for the dubious duty of winter guard at the garrison. These remaining troops were charged with protecting the public property at the post. Until leaving, the departing soldiers had lived in shacks, and the sick had been treated in hospital huts. After these men left, the remaining guard moved into permanent quarters recently constructed. From November of 1860 to April of 1861, First Lieutenant Bell again commanded the winter guard at the post.³

In the spring of 1861, Captain Julius Hayden returned to Fort Larned with Companies H and C of the Second Infantry Regiment, replacing Wessells and his troops. By this time the Civil War was raging in the East, causing frontier posts such as Fort Larned to be maintained by greatly reduced numbers of men who were usually volunteer troops. The garrison was seriously undermanned if Fort Larned were to deal with major Indian uprisings, which high-ranking officers continually predicted as inevitable during the Civil War. But the War Department did little to strengthen defenses at the post with regular troops until the civil conflict ended in the East. Nevertheless, Hayden's command gained strength from the addition of Kansas volunteer troops in 1862. On June 20, 1862, Colonel Robert B. Mitchell, commander of the Third Kansas

Volunteer Battery, ordered Company B of that regiment to Fort Larned. This company remained at the post until August 4, 1862.⁴

On June 28, 1862, Companies B and C of the Second Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment departed from Fort Riley for Fort Larned. Captain Daniel S. Whittenhall commanded this force, taking charge of the administration of the post until the fall of the year when Captain H. N. F. Read, Ninth Kansas Volunteer Regiment, assumed command of the garrison. In October new troops came to Fort Larned in the form of Company H of the Twelfth Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment.⁵

In July of 1863, Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth took command of Fort Larned, serving in that capacity until receiving an appointment later that year as Indian agent for the Kiowas and Comanches. During Leavenworth's command at the post, the garrison consisted of fewer than 300 men. Replacing Leavenworth was Captain James W. Parmetar, Twelfth Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, who commanded the post periodically until mid-1864 when he was discharged from his position by court-martial on charges of drunkenness. A contemporary traveler described the situation at Fort Larned as "a mean place . . . with a drunken officer in command."⁶ Captain W. H. Backus, First Colorado Cavalry Volunteer Regiment, relieved the beleaguered Parmetar.⁷

Meanwhile, by December 31, 1864, the troop strength at Fort Larned consisted of Company H, Twelfth Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Company L, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, and one section of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Battery. Troops such as these filled in for regular troops fighting the Civil War in the East. These volunteer troops remained on the frontier, protecting both settlements and settlers against possible Indian attacks.⁸

Indian raids came from time to time. As the ranks of regular troops were depleted on the Central Great Plains at the outset of the Civil War, the Indians of the region became aware of the decreasing military strength and began to increase their raiding activity as early as 1862. By 1864 an Indian war swept the plains, but the volunteer troops mustered into duty were insufficient to protect against hostile Indians, to garrison frontier posts, and to guard the overland routes of travel. Consequently, Confederate prisoners of war were enlisted to fill the void. These "galvanized yankees" provided manpower for many western posts, including Fort Larned.⁹

During 1865 the enlisted Confederate prisoners of war were dispersed from their base at Fort Leavenworth to patrol along the rivers and trails on the plains, and at the same time they were ordered to reinforce various frontier forts. These repatriated Confederate soldiers were to help suppress Indian hostilities in the region. The former soldiers of the South were called United States Volunteers and were recruited from Northern prisoner of war camps at locations such as Chicago, Illinois. They took an oath of allegiance to the United States, but only on the condition that they would travel west and fight Indians and not their relatives in the South. "They wanted to get out of prison, were tired of the war, didn't want to go back into the service, did not want any more of the Southern Confederacy, [and] did not want to be exchanged," explained Captain Eugene Ware of the Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry Regiment.¹⁰

The paroled Confederate soldiers made their way west of the Mississippi River where they served on the frontier fighting Indians. It seemed to some contemporary observers that these ex-Confederates

were not the least offended by their "galvanized yankee" nickname. They were readily differentiated from Union troops by contemporaries such as a Fort Larned blacksmith who noted the arrival of the former Confederates at the garrison.¹¹

Initially the repatriated Confederates were received by other soldiers on the plains with skepticism, suspicion, and contempt. Frontier military commanders doubted that ex-Confederates would perform well, and when some deserted their commands soon after enlistment, it only confirmed the commanders' beliefs. They condemned this experiment and stated that they wanted no further former Confederates sent to serve in their commands. Attitudes changed, however, after the ex-Confederates served a few months on the prairies and illustrated their worth. Soon requests for more of the former Southern soldiers were made to various western headquarters.¹²

In March of 1865, when Union volunteer regiments fanned out from Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley, Companies E, F, and H of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment marched along the Santa Fe Trail for their assigned station at Fort Larned. "These Confederates . . . were a miserable looking, decrepit lot, run down physically, and unable to make a long march. They were to accompany a train of twenty-five wagons loaded with supplies about to be sent to Forts Ellsworth, Zarah, Larned and Dodge," noted William Darnell, a civilian teamster of the army. "On account of their poor physical condition," Darnell continued, "orders had been given to limit the daily marches of these 'galvanized soldiers' to eight miles a day, the teams also being limited to an eight-mile haul instead of the usual twenty-mile haul."¹³

The Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment gradually became accustomed to the high winds and constant dust on the Kansas plains. The regiment also adjusted to the harsh life of frontier soldiering at isolated prairie posts. These troops worked with fellow soldiers of the Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, and Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, stationed along the Santa Fe Trail to keep it open for commerce and communication. By May of 1865, the ex-Confederate regiments were integrated into the western military network in the District of the Upper Arkansas commanded by Colonel James H. Ford, Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment.¹⁴

During the early summer of 1865, Fort Larned became a tempting target for horse stealing raiders of the Central Great Plains Indian tribes. Mounts were being brought to the post nearly every week. At Fort Larned the horses were turned out to graze on the luxuriant grass growing between the adobe post buildings and along the banks of nearby Pawnee Fork Creek. Additional soldiers were arriving constantly, replacing those who were departing. On April 6 Company F of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment, commanded by Captain William Hayward, was transferred to the new sod post called Fort Dodge, sixty miles southwest on the Arkansas River. The military strength of Fort Larned, nevertheless, continued to be augmented because the post had been selected as the base of operations for a planned campaign against the Great Plains Indians. Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor led the foray to the north, and a simultaneous strike against the bands in the south was led by Major General Grenville M. Dodge. As part of the organization for these campaigns, Company F of the Second Volunteer Regiment was ordered back to Fort Larned from Fort Dodge, and at the post on Pawnee

Fork Creek the unit commenced training with mounted howitzers for possible use in the coming campaigns.¹⁵

Various companies of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment became actively involved in other preparations at Fort Larned for expeditions against the Kiowas and Comanches, planned for the late summer of 1865. Other regiments also were included in this major military mobilization effort. During this time Lieutenant Colonel Josias King, Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment, briefly was charged with command of the post. "We are about 1,000 miles from nowhere excepting it be the verges of hell, and I think we 'ain't no more nor' ten rods from that delightful spot," King related. This native of Minnesota commanded a contingent including soldiers of the Fourteenth Missouri Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, Third Wisconsin Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, and the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment. "I have been preparing for a raid after Indians," King commented, "intend to take 1,000 Cavalry, three companies Infantry and the Battery. Expect to have some fun as well as hard knocks."¹⁶ King also described recreational activities at Fort Larned, such as "buffalo hunts for amusement, chess and cribbage for recreation, and 'draw poker' for profit or loss."¹⁷

When preparation for the expedition at Fort Larned was at its peak, the policy makers in Washington, D. C., made a sudden change in direction. Both the Congress and the nation were tired of war, and the dominant mood in the country was opposed to a punitive campaign against the Indians, especially any expedition that might precipitate a lengthy war. "We believe it would be a war thrice the length of that lately waged against the Southern Confederacy and would entail great bloodshed

on our side as well as the other, and also enormous expense," an opponent of the planned Indian campaign confided.¹⁸ Consequently, governmental officials responded to the general national attitude of peacefulness and proposed instead the initiation of peace talks, thereby hoping to gain treaties with all hostile tribes on all sections of the Great Plains. Peace Commissioners were sent into the field to begin talks, and Brigadier General Connor, who had already begun his military move north of the Platte River, was recalled in the early fall of 1865.¹⁹

Throughout the Great Plains region military officers who had been mobilizing their troops for expeditions against the Indians were replaced by officers who had more experience in conducting peace talks with the Indians. Brigadier General John B. Sanborn was one of the latter type of military officer, and he took command of the District of the Upper Arkansas. During this peaceful period Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth secured an agreement on August 18, 1865, with Lone Wolf, Satanta, Ten Bears, and other chiefs of the Central and Southern Great Plains tribes. By these agreements the Indian leaders promised to stop raiding the frontier settlements and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. These tribal leaders also agreed to a later parlay on October 4, 1865, on Bluff Creek, approximately forty miles south of the Little Arkansas River, where an attempt would be made to achieve lasting peace between the federal government and the Indian tribes of the Central and Southern Great Plains sections. Christopher "Kit" Carson, famous scout and Indian fighter, endorsed Leavenworth's negotiations, and soon optimism grew over the possibility that peace might come to the Central and Southern Great Plains, Indian troubles would cease, and the Santa Fe Trail would be safe.²⁰

Meanwhile, military activities for the planned forays soon ceased at Fort Larned, and on August 28, 1865, orders were received for Companies F and H of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment stationed at the post to begin marching for Fort Riley. In this order district commander Brigadier General Sanborn pointed out that the tour of duty for the repatriated Confederates was to expire in approximately forty days.²¹

Before the troops of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment could depart from Fort Larned, a gruesome incident occurred nearby that emphasized the fact that the signatures of Indian leaders on peace agreements did not mean an end to Indian raids. The incident also delayed the return of the ex-Confederates to Fort Riley. At Ash Creek, approximately three miles north of Fort Larned, a messenger detail of four soldiers en route to Fort Zarah about thirty miles to the east was ambushed by Indians. One of the party escaped, made his way back to Fort Larned, and reported the attack. Immediately, a party was ordered to pursue the Indians.²²

Joining the detail in pursuit of the guilty Indians was post blacksmith William Mackey who described the discovery of the soldiers' bodies: "we found the first body, literally filled with arrows. About two miles further on we found another body filled with arrows, the hands taken off at the wrists, the feet taken off at the ankles, the heart taken out, and the head scalped." Mackey continued, "The third body was found within about 500 yards of the crossing of Ash creek, filled with arrows, hands and feet taken off, the head skinned and heart taken out and laid on the body. About a hundred yards off," Mackey recalled, "a wolf was scampering off with one hand. One of the men shot the wolf and

we got the hand. While we were gathering up the last body we spied the Indians making a dash for a train that was just passing Pawnee Rock." Mackey claimed, "We made a dash for them. The train formed its corral at once, and the Indians, seeing us coming up on the opposite side of the corral, bore off to the Arkansas river and we after them. But they had too much advantage in the start," Mackey lamented, "and were on the opposite bank among the sand-hills by the time we struck the river. We returned to the Rock and escorted the train into Larned. We had our dead with us, which were buried next day with military honors," Mackey detailed.²³

Because of incidents like this, the companies of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment were retained at Fort Larned until the treaties of the Little Arkansas were signed in October of 1865. At Leavenworth's councils with the Indian leaders, Companies F and H of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment comprised part of the military force assembled at the conference to impress the Indians with the military might of the United States.²⁴

Following the treaty councils the former Confederates stationed at Fort Larned departed for Fort Leavenworth. At that post on November 7, 1865, the officers and enlisted men of the Second Volunteer Infantry Regiment were mustered out of the United States Army. They had served commendably on the frontier, for as Brigadier General John Pope commented, "They are good soldiers, in good discipline."²⁵ These unique volunteers had played an important role in the garrisoning of Fort Larned during the Civil War years when the post was severely undermanned.

During the winter of 1865, units of the Forty-Eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment arrived at Fort Larned, with many of the

troops having to live in caves dug in the banks of Pawnee Fork Creek. Other soldiers pitched tents for shelter from the bitter winter weather. Although Fort Larned had been active for six years, adequate housing for men and storage space for supplies had not been provided. In December the volunteer troops were relieved from duty at Fort Larned, and Major Hiram Dryer of the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment arrived with replacements for the post. This change reflected the new military policy of volunteer troop discharge, for the Civil War had ended and regular troops were available for frontier duty.²⁶

In 1865 the geographical region that included Fort Larned was reorganized into a military division of the United States Army. The new division included the states of Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The territories of Nebraska, Dakota, and Montana were also part of the new administrative unit. This large region was named the Division of the Missouri, and it was subdivided into four departments: Dakota, Platte, Missouri, and Arkansas. The departments were commanded by major generals, and the Department of the Missouri had central headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. The Department of the Missouri was divided into four districts named Kansas, Upper Arkansas, New Mexico, and Indian Territory. Within the District of the Upper Arkansas were Forts Larned, Dodge, Zarah, Wallace, Hays, and Harker, the latter being the home of district headquarters.²⁷

After the military districts were established under the reorganization policy of the United States Army, Fort Larned and its contemporary frontier garrisons were directed to issue annual reports on its yearly post strength to the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D. C. These annual reports contained concise information

concerning the yearly troop manpower at Fort Larned during the remainder of its service to the government and the army.²⁸

As the barracks at Fort Larned were being finished in 1868, three companies of infantry and one of cavalry were garrisoned at the post. Companies B, C, and D of the Third Infantry Regiment and Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment were the units that contributed troops to the command strength. The Tenth Cavalry Regiment, a fledgling unit consisting of black troops and white officers, soon became known on the western frontier as the "buffalo soldiers."²⁹

At the end of the Civil War, nearly 180,000 black soldiers had served for the Union cause. The black soldiers who had performed commendably during the war did not disappear from the army when the guns were stilled at Appomattox. The need for additional troops in the Trans-Mississippi West prompted Radical Republicans in the United States Congress to insist that "blacks in blue" take their place in the regular army. Consequently, in March of 1866 the United States Senate considered an army bill providing for a standing force of sixty-seven regiments.³⁰

In the initial proposal the sixty-seven regiments were to be comprised of five artillery units, twelve cavalry units, and fifty infantry units. Eight of the infantry regiments were designated to be black units. Radical Republican Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, however, proposed an amendment to the army bill that provided for two of the cavalry regiments to be comprised of black enlisted men. Wade's amendment was accepted, and the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved the amended army bill. On July 28, 1866, blacks became part of the peacetime army, thereby receiving the opportunity to assist in the settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West.³¹

The amended army bill created the first black regiments in the regular army--the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, and the Thirty-Eighth, Thirty-Ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-First Infantry. When the United States Congress reorganized the army in March of 1869, the number of infantry regiments was reduced, and the four black infantry units were merged into the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth regiments.³²

The newly created black regiments faced numerous problems often linked with prejudice and discrimination. Pressure on black troops came from both within and without the army. This experiment, nevertheless, was considered a success. Black units exhibited considerable regimental pride and morale. Alcoholism, considered to be the curse of most frontier regiments, was nearly absent from the black companies in the Trans-Mississippi West. Desertion rates of the black regiments were the lowest in the post-Civil War army, although the units initially faced organizational and discipline problems. The black regimental desertion rate in 1867 was approximately four percent and in 1868 one percent, while the rate in the rest of the army was about twenty-five percent during the same time. During one twelve-month period, the Ninth Cavalry Regiment astonished military officials when they reported not a single desertion.³³

On the battlefield black troops served just as commendably. During the period of the Indian Wars from 1869 to 1890, black soldiers won fourteen Congressional Medals of Honor, nine Certificates of Merit, and twenty-nine Orders of Honorable Mention. These were the regiments that produced the black soldiers who served on the Central Great Plains and at Fort Larned.³⁴

During the spring and summer of 1867, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments moved to the West, marking the start of nearly two decades of continuous service in that region. General Ulysses S. Grant, commander in chief of the army, had earlier selected two noted Civil War officers to command the novice regiments. Colonel Edward Hatch of Iowa was assigned to the Ninth Cavalry Regiment and Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson of Illinois was assigned to the Tenth Cavalry Regiment.³⁵

During their initial year on the Central Great Plains, the black cavalrymen were given their distinctive nickname, "buffalo soldiers," by their Indian adversaries. The plains natives called the black troopers by this name because they saw a resemblance between the hair of the blacks and the hair of the buffalo. The Indians venerated the buffalo and apparently gave the black soldiers the name out of respect. As a result the men of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments readily accepted the name, wore it proudly, and the troopers of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment made the buffalo the predominant feature of their regimental crest.³⁶

In January of 1868, there were 310 officers and enlisted men stationed at Fort Larned under the command of Major Meridith H. Kidd of the Tenth Cavalry regiment. Captain Nicholas Nolan commanded the sole cavalry unit at the post, Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment. Captain William H. Forwood, post surgeon, and Captain Almon F. Rockwell, post quartermaster officer, completed the complement of captains at the garrison. Rockwell was the only trained quartermaster Fort Larned would have, for the other quartermaster officers were line officers detailed as acting assistant quartermasters. In command of all infantry companies at Fort Larned were First Lieutenant John P. Thompson, commanding Company

B; Second Lieutenant Lorenzo W. Cooke, commanding Company C; and First Lieutenant August Kaiser, commanding Company D. All of these officers were from the Third Infantry Regiment. Second Lieutenant Cooke also served as post adjutant and assistant commissary of subsistence.³⁷

By June of 1868, the number of officers at Fort Larned dropped to 7 and the number of troops decreased to 259. Captain Henry Asbury, Third Infantry Regiment, now commanded the post. Henry M. Stanley, when visiting Fort Larned, described Captain Asbury as "a gentleman who served with some distinction in the late war."³⁸ Surgeon Forwood was still at the post during this period. Nolan was the only other captain present, while First Lieutenant Kaiser with his Company D, Third Infantry Regiment, was on temporary duty serving the garrison at nearby Fort Zarah.³⁹

In July of 1868, the Seventh Cavalry Regiment camped near Fort Larned, with its seven companies under the command of Captain Frederick W. Benteen. Another officer present was Major Joel H. Elliott. The Seventh Cavalry Regiment troopers were on patrol, scouting the area in response to a recent outbreak of Indian raids in the vicinity. Fort Larned contributed to the Seventh Cavalry Regiment's efforts by providing a mountain howitzer, a prairie ammunition wagon, and ammunition.⁴⁰

In September of 1868, three companies remained at Fort Larned, two infantry and one cavalry. Company B of the Third Infantry Regiment was ordered to Fort Dodge, and Company K from Fort Dodge was returned to Fort Larned during the month. Company C of the Third Infantry Regiment and Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment were the other units at Fort Larned. The total number of officers at the post dwindled to 4 during the month, and the enlisted troop strength numbered 154.⁴¹

Scouts were sent from Fort Larned in November of 1868 to search out defiant Indians. Ten troopers of Captain Nicholas Nolan's Troop A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, used the garrison as their base of operations. On November 19 the detachment, under the command of Sergeant Augustus Wilson, came upon a small party of Indians and engaged the warriors in combat. A twenty-mile fight ensued, with these black soldiers killing two adversaries.⁴²

By December of 1868, the officer corps had increased to six. The enlisted force, however, had dropped to 150 men. In January of 1869, Major John E. Yard, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, commanded the garrison at Fort Larned. Companies C, D, and K of the Third Infantry Regiment and Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment provided the troop strength of 143 officers and enlisted men. During the month, however, Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment was transferred to Fort Zarah. The three companies of the Third Infantry Regiment comprised the garrison for the remainder of the year. In addition to Major Yard, Captain Daingerfield Parker, Third Infantry Regiment; Captain James A. Snyder, Third Infantry Regiment; and First Lieutenant Charles L. Umbstaetter commanded the fort during 1869. Troop strength varied from a low of 7 officers and 56 enlisted men in November to 6 officers and 137 enlisted men in January. On December 11 Company A of the Thirty-Seventh Infantry Regiment arrived at the garrison and consolidated with Companies C, D, and K of the Third Infantry Regiment.⁴³

For a time the garrison at Fort Larned was made up of approximately 100 to 200 soldiers during the first years of the 1870s. Later in the 1870s the number of men stationed at Fort Larned would gradually decrease until the post was deactivated in 1878. In 1870 Captain Parker, Third

Infantry Regiment, commanded the post from January through September, when Captain Verling K. Hart, Third Infantry Regiment, took over for the remainder of the year. During the year the Third Infantry Regiment supplied most of the troops who garrisoned the fort, with Companies C, D, B, and K of that regiment serving Fort Larned at different times. In November troopers of Company K, Seventh Cavalry Regiment arrived and temporarily augmented the command. The strength of Fort Larned ranged from a peak of 200 soldiers in February to a low of 47 soldiers in June.⁴⁴

During the first nine months of 1871, Companies B and C of the Third Infantry Regiment garrisoned Fort Larned. On October 31, three commissioned officers and forty-eight enlisted men of Company D, Sixth Infantry Regiment, arrived at Fort Larned, bolstering the command to 118 men. Captain Hart began the year commanding the garrison, but he was later succeeded by Captain Snyder; Major Richard I. Dodge, Third Infantry Regiment; Captain George E. Head, Third Infantry Regiment; and Major James P. Roy, Sixth Infantry Regiment. The year began with 183 officers and enlisted men stationed at Fort Larned, and that number decreased to 93 troops in September. At the end of the year, however, the troop numbers had climbed to 132 men of Companies B and C of the Third Infantry Regiment and Company D of the Sixth Infantry Regiment.⁴⁵

Troop strength continued to increase during 1872, as the soldiers of Fort Larned remained busy escorting the survey and construction crews of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad under construction in the vicinity of the garrison. During the first three months of the year, the number of men at the fort grew from 153 to 188. Companies B and C of the Third Infantry Regiment and Companies A and D, Sixth Infantry Regiment,

made up the command. Company A, Sixth Infantry Regiment, had joined the garrison on March 30. By the end of April, however, Company D, Sixth Infantry Regiment, had transferred to Fort Hays; Company C, Third Infantry Regiment, had marched to Fort Dodge; and Company C, Third Infantry Regiment, had left for Fort Wallace, leaving Fort Larned with a paltry command of fifty-seven officers and men. During the next month the command grew with the arrival of Companies D, E, and F of the Fifth Infantry Regiment and a new post commander, Captain Henry B. Bristol, of the same unit. In October Captain Simon Snyder, Fifth Infantry Regiment, took command of the post for two months, but in December Captain Bristol was back in command with a contingent of 148 men of Companies D, E, and F, Fifth Infantry Regiment.⁴⁶

From January of 1873 to June of 1874, Fort Larned was manned by companies of the Fifth Infantry Regiment, commanded by Captain Bristol and then Captain Simon Snyder. Various companies moved to and from Fort Larned from other neighboring posts such as Fort Dodge and Camp Supply, about 142 miles southwest in the Cherokee Outlet of Indian Territory. The soldiers continued to provide protection for railroad crews while affording manpower to garrison the frontier posts. Companies C, D, E, and F of the Fifth Infantry Regiment served at Fort Larned during this period, comprising commands that numbered from 185 men in both February and March of 1874 to 59 men in May of 1873.⁴⁷

Captain William J. Lyster, Nineteenth Infantry Regiment, assumed command of Fort Larned on June 27, 1874. With Captain Lyster came Companies A and B of the Nineteenth Infantry Regiment. At the same time the remaining men of Companies E and F of the Fifth Infantry Regiment left the garrison, Company E marching to Fort Riley and Company F

traveling to Fort Leavenworth. This left Captain Lyster with a meager command of four officers and sixty enlisted men. Captain Lyster commanded the fort until July of 1877 with a garrison that never exceeded ninety-seven soldiers. During Lyster's tenure troops of the Nineteenth Infantry Regiment were dispatched from Fort Larned on duties that included guarding the railroad west of Fort Dodge and protecting public property at Fort Riley. On June 17, 1877, Captain Lyster and twenty-seven men of Company B, Nineteenth Infantry Regiment, left Fort Larned for Camp Supply, Indian Territory, leaving Captain Jacob H. Smith in command of thirty-three men of Company D, Nineteenth Infantry Regiment. Captain Smith directed the activities at Fort Larned until its abandonment in July of 1878.⁴⁸

At 4:30 a.m., on July 13 of 1878, Company D of the Nineteenth Infantry Regiment marched from Fort Larned for Fort Dodge. Only a small maintenance force was retained at Fort Larned, guarding government property until the Fort Larned Military Reservation and its buildings were sold in 1882. This final police duty was performed by First Lieutenant John A. Payne and a few men of Company D of the Nineteenth Infantry Regiment. When First Lieutenant Payne and his command left Fort Larned, the era of military occupation by regular and volunteer troops was brought to an end.⁴⁹

Fort Larned needed troops to garrison its confines, and the post, in turn, provided a base for unique units like the Second Volunteer Regiment and the Tenth Cavalry Regiment to play a vital role in the development of the Trans-Mississippi West. A mutual relationship developed between the fort and the soldier, as each needed the other. When civil war threatened the United States in late 1860, most of the

regular troops stationed at Fort Larned were transferred east, leaving the post a skeletal command. Until the war's end volunteer regiments primarily manned the post, but then they were discharged and regular troops reassigned to the garrison. After the Civil War troop transfers in and out of Fort Larned were common because military officials used it as a base of operation to dispatch troops to problem areas on the Central Great Plains when Indian harassment threatened settlers, travelers, and railroad workers. The post also served as a haven to which soldiers could return after field campaigning. Due to this, numerous commanders and troops garrisoned at Fort Larned during its active military life, and the movement of personnel to and from it, indicated its importance as a significant military center on the Central Great Plains.

FOOTNOTES

¹Fort Larned, November, December, 1859, January, February, 1860, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Fort Larned Records, p. 1, Medical History of Posts, ibid.; "Fort Larned," Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, 1700-1900, Vol. L, ibid.; Mattes, ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, pp. 578-585; Captain George N. Steuart to Adjutant General, October 30, 1859, First Lieutenant David Bell to Adjutant General, November 25, 1859, Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²Fort Larned, May, June, July, 1860, Returns from United States Military Posts, ibid.; Fort Larned Records, p. 1, Medical History of Posts, ibid.; John Sedgwick, Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General (2 vols., New York: De Vinne Press, 1903), Vol. II, p. 11; Daily Times, August 2, 1860, p. 2.

³Fort Larned Records, pp. 1-2, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁴Ibid.; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 121; Fort Larned, June, July, August, 1862, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," pp. 58-59; Samuel J. Crawford, Kansas in the Sixties (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1911), pp. 40, 44.

⁵Ibid.; Fort Larned, June, July, August, September, October, 1862, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁶Ibid.; July, 1863, June, 1864; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 124; Glenn D. Bradley, "Fort Larned," Santa Fe Employee Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 7 (June, 1912), pp. 23-24; United States Department of War, War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (70 vols., 128 books, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, Pt. 1, p. 923; Elliott Coues, ed., The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-6-7 (3 vols., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895), Vol. II, p. 426n.

⁷Official Records, Ser. 1, Vol. XLVII, Pt. 1, p. 923; Fort Larned, July, 1864, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁸Ibid., December, 1864; Eugene F. Ware, The Indian War of 1864 (Topeka: Crane and Company, 1911), p. 430.

⁹Ibid.; Great Bend Tribune, July 19, 1947, p. 8; Council Grove Press (Council Grove, Kansas), July 6, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁰Ware, The Indian War of 1864, p. 401; Dee Brown, The Galvanized Yankees (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 4.

¹¹George A. Root, "Reminiscences of William Darnell," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), p. 505; Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, pp. 4-5; William H. Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X (1907-1908), p. 649.

¹²Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, p. 5.

¹³Root, "Reminiscences of William Darnell," Kansas Historical Collection, Vol. XVII, p. 505; Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, pp. 45-46.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 46, 50; Fort Larned, June, July, August, September, October, 1865, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, pp. 195-206; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 224-256; Larned Press, December 13, 1877, p. 2; Junction City Union (Junction City, Kansas), April 29, 1865, p. 3, July 8, 1865, p. 2; Kansas Daily Tribune (Lawrence, Kansas), October 10, 1865, p. 2; Daily Free Press (Atchison, Kansas), August 29, 1865, p. 2, September 26, 1865, p. 2; Daily Champion (Atchison, Kansas), October 21, 1865, p. 2; Council Grove Press (Council Grove, Kansas), October 6, 1865, p. 2.

¹⁶Fort Larned, June, July, August, September, October, 1865, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, p. 51.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸New York Times (New York, New York), September 15, 1865, p. 4; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 224-256.

¹⁹Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, pp. 195-206; Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, pp. 51-52.

²⁰Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 239-243; General Order Number 33, Headquarters, District of the Upper Arkansas, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, p. 52; Daily Times, October 27, 1865, p. 2; Junction City Union, August 12, 1865, p. 2, August 26, 1865, p. 2, October 28, 1865, p. 2.

²¹Fort Larned, August, 1865, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 1219.

²²Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 649-650.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Brown, The Galvanized Yankees, p. 53.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Fort Larned, October, November, 1865, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Junction City Union, September 23, 1865, p. 3; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 11; Fort Larned Records, pp. 2-3; Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²⁷United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1868 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), pp. 39-40; Marvin H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1 (November, 1931), pp. 61-62.

²⁸Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 61.

²⁹Fort Larned, June, 1868, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 16.

³⁰William H. Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp.

5-6; Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm (New York: Longman, 1956), p. 288; Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 26-28; Jack D. Foner, Blacks and the Military in American History (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp. 52-53.

³¹Ibid.; Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West, p. 6.

³²Foner, Blacks and the Military in American History, pp. 52-53.

³³Ibid., p. 53; Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indians, 1866-1891, pp. 26-27.

³⁴Foner, Blacks and the Military in American History, p. 53.

³⁵Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West, pp. 7, 17; General Ulysses S. Grant to Major General Philip H. Sheridan and Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, August 4, 1866, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³⁶Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West, pp. 25-26.

³⁷Fort Larned, January, 1868, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³⁸Ibid., June, 1868; Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, p. 28.

³⁹Fort Larned, June, 1868, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁴⁰Ibid., July, 1868; Captain Henry Asbury, Post Commander, Fort Larned, to Acting Assistant Quartermaster, Seventh Cavalry Regiment, July 14, 1868, Letters Received, Fort Larned, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁴¹Fort Larned, September, 1868, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁴²Ibid., November, 1868; Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West, p. 43.

⁴³Fort Larned, December, 1868, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December, 1869, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archaeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 17.

⁴⁴Ibid.; Fort Larned, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December, 1870, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1871.

⁴⁶Ibid., 1872.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1873, January, February, March, April, May, 1874.

⁴⁸Ibid., June, July, August, September, October, November, December, 1874, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December, 1875, 1876, 1877, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, 1878.

⁴⁹Ibid., July, 1878; United States Department of War, Report of the Adjutant General for the Year 1878 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 61; Tiller and Toiler, March 2, 1943, p. 1; Ford County Globe (Dodge City, Kansas), July 23, 1878, p. 2; Hays City Sentinel (Hays, Kansas), July 13, 1878, p. 3.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN RELATIONS

During the early years of the Santa Fe Trail, traders traveling the road from Missouri to Santa Fe often met large numbers of Indians. In April of 1859, a band of 800 Cheyennes and Arapahoes were reported by a military official en route to Santa Fe. In May of the same year, C. C. Barnes, a civilian, reported that he had encountered large numbers of belligerent Kiowas near Allison's Ranch, a few miles east of Pawnee Fork Creek in central Kansas Territory. Basically, these Indians were not on the warpath for scalps but were vigilant for a chance to steal from passing wagon trains. The Plains Indians also were poised to exact food in exchange for safe passage by the whites or ready to procure horses by any convenient means.¹

In October of 1859, William Bent related that the Kiowas and Comanches wanted their annuities distributed somewhere on the Arkansas River. The Treaty of Fort Atkinson in 1853 had established a distribution point at Beaver Creek in northwestern Indian Territory until a site more suitable could be found. Bent claimed that the Kiowas and Comanches had been gathering in the vicinity of Pawnee Fork Creek for some time; it was assumed, therefore, as early as 1860 that Fort Larned would make a practical Indian agency. Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth sent official reports to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C., from Fort Larned concerning the neighboring Indians in 1861. Ironically,

Fort Larned had been established to separate the Indians from the traffic on the Santa Fe Trail, but when it began operating as a distribution center for Indian annuity goods in 1862 and later as an Indian agency, the post would draw the Central Great Plains nomads to the area.²

Fort Larned acted as a way station and supply stop for mail riders along the Santa Fe Trail. William H. Ryus carried mail for Barnum, Veil, and Vickeroy in 1861; he claimed Fort Larned as his supply headquarters for the route between that post and Fort Lyon in Colorado Territory. The garrison also had a large corral for Santa Fe Trail freighters to use for their livestock while purchasing necessities from the fort's commissary storehouse.³

The fort also provided military escorts for wagon trains heading for Fort Lyon. Santa Fe freighter Parley Eaton reported seeing a wagon train eight miles long in 1862 en route to Fort Lyon with troops from Fort Larned acting as guards. During 1864 military protection for travelers on the Santa Fe Trail extended from Council Grove, Kansas, to Fort Larned. Apparently Fort Larned was bustling with activity during its formative years.⁴

After a general Indian war broke out in 1864 on the Central Great Plains, the federal government halted caravans traveling westward unless they had a minimum number of men. The next year orders from the military Department of the Missouri affected Fort Larned and the Santa Fe Trail traffic. Before any wagon train was permitted to enter Indian country, it had to meet certain guidelines: it needed to organize for defense, be properly armed, and agree to regulations established by the wagon train's captain. All groups had to consist of at least twenty

wagons and thirty men before they could proceed from posts like Fort Larned.⁵

By the early 1860s, therefore, Fort Larned had assumed major responsibility as the first permanent military post located southwest of Fort Riley, Kansas, along the eastern segment of the Santa Fe Trail. Fort Larned was charged with policing and protecting a vast amount of territory, and forthcoming Indian problems gave the garrison even more importance along the Arkansas River region.⁶

An initial conflict between Indians and an army force near what would become Fort Larned's location likely took place just one month prior to the establishment of Pawnee Fork Camp. On September 22, 1859, cavalry troopers on patrol shot and killed Big Pawnee, a Kiowa chief. The Kiowas quickly retaliated, because they had believed they were at peace and a treaty council was to take place. They were not prepared for the violent greeting they received from the soldiers. In the weeks following this incident and while the initial temporary tents were pitched at Pawnee Fork Camp, the Kiowas exacted revenge by killing a rancher at nearby Allison's Ranch. Two mail employees also fell to the wrath of the vengeful Kiowas at nearby Lookout Hill, a short distance from the fledgling garrison. Finally, the same Indians looted a wagon in the vicinity.⁷

In the following summer of 1860, Major John Sedgwick directed an expedition of 500 soldiers against the troublesome Kiowas and Comanches along the Santa Fe Trail vicinity, using Fort Larned as his base of operations. With Fort Larned serving in this capacity and being firmly established by that time, the Indians began to curtail their raiding on the Santa Fe Trail. Jesse Leavenworth confirmed this in August of 1861

by reporting from Fort Larned that the Indians had vacated that area of the Santa Fe Trail, which eased tensions and created optimistic hopes for a peaceful future.⁸

In January of 1862, the parsimonious Office of Indian Affairs named Fort Larned as a distribution center for Indian annuity goods for the Central Great Plains. Because Fort Larned was closer to Fort Riley than Fort Lyon, governmental officials believed that moving the distribution center to the Kansas post would save on freight charges that had to be paid for moving goods overland by wagons. Fort Larned also provided a location considerably distant from the territory of the Ute Indians, traditional enemies of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes. Consequently, it was determined that Fort Larned would provide a more peaceful location for the distribution of goods to these Central Great Plains Indian tribes. Another asset in Fort Larned's favor was the large herds of buffalo in the neighborhood of the post, which afforded the Indians the opportunity to supplement their annuity supplies and foodstuffs with fresh meat.⁹

When the Indians first arrived at Fort Larned to obtain their annuities, it was noticeably undermanned. If the Indians had been more belligerent at the time, they probably could have easily overrun the cluster of mud huts at almost any time. It was a precarious situation, but Fort Larned survived.¹⁰

During the Civil War years Fort Larned became indirectly involved in the conflict. On May 14, 1862, Confederate Brigadier General Albert Pike negotiated an alliance with some Kiowas and Seminoles in Texas. This agreement provided for a scheme by which the Indians would capture Forts Larned and Lyon. The plan was aborted, for when the grass grew

green and the weather was conducive, these Indians opted to go on their annual buffalo hunt instead of conducting the expeditions against the Union forts to the north.¹¹

Another potential crisis arose in June of 1862 when a large group of restive Indians threatened the garrison at Fort Larned. Troops were dispatched quickly from Fort Riley. Companies B and C of the Second Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment under the command of Captain Daniel S. Whittenhall marched to the fledgling post to quell the disturbance. After being issued Springfield rifles at Fort Larned, these troopers almost mutinied when they were told they had been detailed as infantrymen.¹²

On August 1, 1862, Fort Larned experienced more Indian trouble when Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians were prodded by white traders to take their annuities from a wagon train as it approached Fort Larned. Colonel Leavenworth, however, recognized the scheme and thwarted the plan by persuading the tribes to leave the wagon train alone and move away from the road.¹³

During 1863 additional Indian conflicts occurred in the locality of the garrison. More whites had poured into the area and fighting had accelerated over the Santa Fe Trail, causing the Indians to raid, to resist, and to steal for survival. This situation helped precipitate the so-called Nine Mile Ridge Massacre, seventy-five miles west of Fort Larned. There, in January of 1863, a band of hungry Indians surrounded a caravan as it made its evening camp. When the Indians asked for food, misunderstanding led to conflict in the camp of the anxious whites. A teamster wounded one of the Indians, causing the band to flee. The

Indians, however, returned the next morning and killed all members of the wagon train except a single survivor who escaped to Fort Larned.¹⁴

Other incidents took place at Fort Larned during 1863 straining Indian-white relations. Nearly 400 Kiowas entered the post proclaiming their desire to trade. Apparently this was a ruse and a diversion, for when the Kiowas left they stole 300 head of cattle, which they first stampeded.¹⁵

In August of 1863, an Indian chief was killed within the confines of Fort Larned. Little Heart, a Cheyenne, was traveling east from his village to Fort Larned, intending to buy whiskey, when he was shot by a young sentry. Upon investigation by officers at the fort, it was determined that the Cheyenne had been inebriated. When the lone, nervous sentry, Issac Marrs, had challenged the Indian to halt, the warrior tried to overrun him on horseback. Tension grew, but Colonel Leavenworth intervened and gave the angry Indians ample annuity goods. This temporarily pacified the Indians but not their memories. Again the garrison of Fort Larned, nevertheless, was spared a potential attack by a numerically superior force of plains warriors.¹⁶

The Civil War necessitated the use of Fort Larned in negotiations with Indians who were potential allies for the Union. S. G. Colley, agent for the District of the Upper Arkansas, traveled to Fort Larned from his headquarters at Fort Lyon to council with twenty-six chiefs of the Caddo Indian Confederacy. On January 25, 1863, Colley met with the Indian headmen who represented nearly 1,000 tribal members living on farms near Fort Cobb in southwestern Indian Territory. The Indians told Colley that their agent named Matthew Leeper had left them to join the Confederate Army. Averse to joining the Confederate cause, these

destitute Indians had moved north hoping to find aid and friendship. The Indians found the authorities at Fort Larned benevolent, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole authorized \$5,000 to assist them. The money was sent promptly to Colley for disbursement.¹⁷

The Indians of the Caddo Confederacy were farmers, so the money from Commissioner Dole was used to establish farms for the Indians along the banks of Pawnee Fork Creek. Two thousand acres were surveyed on the south side of the creek, and corn was planted during the spring of 1864. The site along Pawnee Fork Creek had been chosen instead of one near Fort Lyon because more water was available for the irrigation of crops. The irrigation system established by these Indians apparently was the initial attempt at large scale irrigation cultivation in the vicinity of Pawnee Fork Creek.¹⁸

The Caddo farming experience continued until the fall of 1864, when hostilities between white and red men intensified. Although by October 4, 1864, nearly 250 acres of corn were planted and buildings were being erected for the Caddoes, these Indians feared being caught in the escalating conflict. They moved to the southwest, finally settling between Cow and Crow creeks. They left everything--crops, buildings, and equipment--and what the restive Indians did not confiscate, Fort Larned soldiers and Santa Fe Trail travelers took.¹⁹

Late in 1863 Colonel Jesse Leavenworth was officially appointed Indian agent for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache Indians. Leavenworth had been recommended by Governor John Evans of Colorado Territory. The new agent established his headquarters at Fort Larned.²⁰

General Indian warfare swept the Central Great Plains during 1864. Conditions between Indian and white had worsened as increasing numbers

of white pioneers moved onto the plains, encroaching on Indian lands. The Indians began having increasing difficulty subsisting and maintaining their traditional buffalo-horse culture. Adding to the problem was the fact that most frontier military posts were undermanned, due to the continuing Civil War. Additionally, the officers and enlisted men stationed at these forts had little sympathy for the plight of the Indians who were generally viewed as their adversaries. On January 28, 1864, the soldiers of Fort Larned were reported to have been selling whiskey to the Indians, debauching the men and demoralizing the women.²¹

By July of 1864, the Kiowa, Comanche, Plains Apache, and Arapahoe Indians were encamped in the vicinity of Fort Larned. They had been near the post, for the most part, since the garrison was initially established as a military installation. These Indians reportedly had been committing various depredations and murders in the area; however, the majority of the tribes ostensibly were at peace.²²

On July 17, 1864, the garrison was manned by H and C Companies of the Twelfth Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, a battery of the First Colorado Volunteer Artillery Regiment, a section of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Battery, a company of the Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and two companies of the First Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. On that day the Indians were allowed to enter and move around the post without any restrictions. At the same time, however, they were planning a scheme to massacre the entire garrison.²³

A square dance was to be held, and there the soldiers would be away from their weapons. Meanwhile, the Indians planned to infiltrate the fort, and at a prearranged signal would launch a surprise attack. The scheme partially was exposed by accident. Approximately three hours

before the designated time for the attack and prior to the arrival of the Indians from their camps, a rumor circulated among the civilians and soldiers at the post, claiming that there was possible danger of Indian attack. The rumor reportedly originated from information that an interpreter had overheard from the Indians. Inasmuch as rumors of Indian attacks were quite common, there was no great alarm and no attention was given to the alleged attack. Neither Colonel Leavenworth, commander of the District of Kansas at the time, nor Captain James W. Parmetar, commander of Fort Larned, believed there was any imminent danger.²⁴

The officer of the day, nevertheless, decided to order the guards to keep all other Indians from entering the post. The Kiowa chief, Satank, was the leader of the attack, but when he approached a sentry near the sutler's store, he was refused entry into the garrison. Satank became irritated, and the Kiowa chieftan first shot an arrow at the sentry and then fired a revolver. Wounded in the hand, the guard returned the fire, killing a Mexican who was riding behind Satank, apparently the Kiowa's aide. This exchange of gunfire prematurely triggered the attack.²⁵

Consequently, the Indians abandoned their initial objective of a massacre and instead scrambled to confiscate the garrison's livestock. More than 200 mules and horses were lost--all the livestock of the post. Only the horses of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Battery remained, because they had training to run to the corral in such emergency situations. The Indians had tried to stampede them by riding and whooping around them, but the horses had broken for the corral, and all were saved. Skirmishes between soldiers and Indians continued near Fort Larned into the next day until they departed to raid other targets

on the Santa Fe Trail. During the retreat the Indians burned a crude bridge which had been built across Pawnee Fork Creek about a mile below the garrison.²⁶

In July of 1864, military officials in Washington, D. C., decided to use force to subdue the Indians who had been committing hostilities in the region. On July 27 Governor John Evans of Colorado Territory ordered all friendly Indians in the region to report to the nearest military post, thereby isolating the restive Indians in the field where the military could deal with them forcefully. This was believed to be a way by which belligerent Indians could be identified expediently from friendly Indians. The Sioux were directed to Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, the Arapahoe and Cheyenne of the Arkansas River region were to report to Fort Lyon, and the Arapahoe and Cheyenne of the Platte River area were ordered to Camp Collins, Colorado Territory. The remaining Kiowa and Comanche Indians were told to go to Fort Larned.²⁷

Throughout the summer of 1864 angry Indians raided Fort Larned, stealing many horses and mules in protest to the government's allotment of meager rations. Incidents like these elicited General Field Order Number Two from the headquarters of the Department of Kansas on July 31, 1864, directing that stockades or similar enclosures be built for all troops and livestock at frontier military posts. Included in this order was a specific chastisement for the troops at Fort Larned for not having a stone blockhouse or other adequate protection for their animals. The following year Colonel James H. Ford complied by ordering the construction of a stone blockhouse completed during the year.²⁸

Also during the summer of 1864 other raids occurred. Sixty teamsters were attacked near Coon Creek in the vicinity west of Fort

Larned. Many were killed, and Robert McGhee was rescued after being tortured by the Indians and was taken to the post hospital at Fort Larned.²⁹

White men likewise contributed to the conflict between Indians and whites. During the Civil War years on the Central Great Plains, former Methodist minister Colonel John M. Chivington led a regiment of revengeful Colorado volunteers from Denver, Colorado Territory. Chivington's command marched to the peaceful winter camp of Black Kettle and White Antelope, leaders of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes on Sand Creek, Colorado Territory. Early in the morning of a bitterly cold day in late November of 1864, Chivington's men attacked, indiscriminately killing men, women, and children. Some Indians escaped, however, and spread the story of this tragic affair to their friends and relatives across the Great Plains. For the next two years the central prairies virtually were inundated by a general Indian war.³⁰

After the attack and killing of the Indians, Colonel Leavenworth issued an official statement on January 9, 1865, from Fort Larned: "It is impossible for me to express to you the horror with which I view this transaction [Chivington Massacre]; it has destroyed the last vestige of confidence between red and white men . . . what can be done? Nothing, unless . . . the parties who were the cause of this wicked treatment of the Indians are properly dealt with."³¹ Statements like this voiced the controversy between the Office of Indian Affairs and the War Department concerning the methods by which the Indians should be treated.³²

The Indian problem escalated, and in February of 1865 Indian resistance was so intense that the army restricted travel between Forts Larned and Union to the first and fifteenth day of each month to provide

substantial military escort protection for travelers along the Santa Fe Trail. Wagon trains were halted at these posts along the trail until enough civilians gathered to justify a military escort.³³

Indians also struck near Fort Larned in March of 1865. They attacked four men en route to the new Fort Zarah, located thirty miles east of Fort Larned. The warriors killed and mutilated three whites, but one man fortunately escaped. A detachment from Fort Larned discovered the remains of the victims and reported the tragedy to the officials at the garrison after bringing the bodies to the post for burial.³⁴

In an effort to forge peaceful relations between white and Indian, Colonel Leavenworth asked his superiors to authorize a peace conference during the spring of 1865 with the Indians of his agency. Simultaneously, Colonel James H. Ford, commander of the District of the Upper Arkansas, was ordered to Fort Larned with directions to disregard peace overtures. Consequently, Ford organized a punitive expedition to destroy Indian resistance on the Central Great Plains. Governmental policy changed before the expedition moved, and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton abrogated Ford's orders on June 15, 1865, when President Andrew Johnson gave Colonel Leavenworth permission to hold treaty talks. The Kiowa, Comanche, Plains Apache, Arapahoe, and Cheyenne Indians agreed to meet and council in October of that year near the Little Arkansas River, situated approximately 125 miles southeast of Fort Larned.³⁵

At the ensuing conference Colonel Leavenworth was directed to retain his position as agent for the Kiowa and Comanche Indians with headquarters at Fort Larned. Also, an official Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and

Plains Apache agency was created at the post with Major Edward W. Wynkoop as the agent. He would take supervision of some 8,600 Plains Indians.³⁶

Signing of the treaties of the Little Arkansas River began on October 14, 1865, when the Cheyennes agreed to a treaty giving them annuities amounting to \$56,000 per year for forty years. They also agreed to occupy a reservation immediately south of Fort Larned. At the conference the Plains Apache broke confederation with the Kiowas and Comanches, allying instead with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. For annuities the Plains Apaches were promised \$16,000 per year for forty years.³⁷

The Kiowa and Comanche Indians delayed signing their treaty until October 18, when they agreed to annuities amounting to \$40,000 per year for forty years. The reserve they accepted was south of the Cimarron River in western Indian Territory.³⁸

These treaties allowed the Indians the retention of their hunting rights between the Arkansas and Platte rivers in return for the promise not to molest, harass, or camp within ten miles of towns, military posts, or overland trails. The reservations provided by the treaties were considered temporary by the government's commissioners, and they emphasized that a decision had been made to remove all Indians from Kansas in the future.³⁹

Not all Indians of the signatory tribes considered the treaties of the Little Arkansas River binding. Consequently, roving bands of restive Indians, especially Cheyennes, continued to conduct raids against whites on the Central Great Plains during 1866 and early 1867. This situation prompted military officials to authorize a punitive military expedition to chastise the recalcitrant Indians, especially the Cheyenne Dog

Soldiers, members of a militant warrior society of the tribe. Major General Winfield Scott Hancock of Civil War fame was given the command of the expedition and was charged with the duty of carrying out the orders. Before marching his men to Fort Larned, Major General Hancock explained the purpose of the expedition to the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Plains Apache agent, Major Wynkoop: "My object of making an expedition at this time is to show the Indians . . . that we are able to chastise any tribes who may molest people who are traveling across the plains." Hancock continued, "It is not our desire to bring on difficulties with the Indians, but to treat them with justice and according to our treaty stipulations, and desire especially in my dealings with them to act through their Agent as far as practicable." But Hancock warned, "I will go fully prepared for peace or war."⁴⁰

A few days later after writing Major Wynkoop in March of 1867, Major General Hancock received final authorization from Lieutenant General William T. Sherman: "I authorize you to organize, out of your present command, a sufficient force to go among these Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, or similar bands of Indians, and notify them that if they want war they can have it now; but if they decline the offer, then impress on them that they must stop their insolence and threats."⁴¹ With these directions in hand, Major General Hancock began organizing the expedition that would march to the Central Great Plains to display United States military force and to notify the Plains Indians of the demands of the United States Army.⁴²

Hancock's campaign forces assembled at Fort Riley, leaving the post on April 3, 1867, for Fort Larned, where they would arrive on April 7. At Fort Riley Battery B, Fourth Artillery Regiment, joined six companies

of the Thirty-Seventh Infantry Regiment. These two regiments were augmented by four companies of the Seventh Cavalry Regiment and another company of the Thirty-Seventh Infantry Regiment. Other contingents would join Major General Hancock's command until it numbered nearly 1,400 men. Accompanying the command with the Seventh Cavalry Regiment was Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. He was to lead the cavalry strike force that would pursue and destroy the Indians, if necessary. Besides his troops he commanded one detachment of white scouts and another of fifteen Delaware Indians under Fall Leaf. James B. "Wild Bill" Hickok, Jack Harvey, and Tom Atkins were three of the more noted white scouts along with Edmund Guerrier, a French-Indian guide and interpreter.⁴³

Indian agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth suggested and Major General Hancock agreed to hold a council with Cheyenne chiefs on April 13 about twenty miles up Pawnee Fork Creek from Fort Larned near the major Cheyenne village in the vicinity. The resulting council was fruitless, so Major General Hancock decided to move within a few miles of the village the following day. On his march toward the village, Hancock was met by the Dog Soldiers, and they proposed a council. Major General Hancock's understanding was that the Indians planned to remain in their village and that the council would be held the following day. Under the cover of night, however, the Indians--men, women, and children--made their escape. This incensed Hancock. He ordered Custer to pursue the fleeing Indians with cavalry troopers, but the flamboyant cavalry commander did not catch the fugitives. The Cheyennes fled north to the Smoky Hill River locale, where they raided and destroyed some mail stations of the Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company. When Custer's

dispatches arrived concerning the Indian activity, Major General Hancock ordered the Cheyenne village burned to the ground.⁴⁴

Hancock misunderstood the action of the Indians' flight and interpreted it as being deceit and treachery. Later he would find that the Indians thought that he was planning another Sand Creek massacre. "The nation knows and I know," Agent Wynkoop explained, "who General Hancock is--know him for the good, brave, faithful soldier, who had won the proud position he now holds through gallant and meritorious services; but the Indians were not aware of General Hancock's antecedents, and has no means of discriminating between him and Colonel Chivington or distinguishing the man from the monster."⁴⁵ Wynkoop also tried to show that Major Genral Hancock had acted hastily in burning the Indian village by pointing out that the major general had ordered six Indians killed at the Cimarron Crossing near Fort Dodge on the Santa Fe Trail prior to receiving word from Custer about raids on the Smoky Hill Trail. Custer's information was the justification that Hancock was using for his actions.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Hancock held a conference with the Kiowa Chief Satanta. At their meeting at Fort Larned, contemporary observers claimed that the major general was no match for the Kiowa chieftan when it came to oratory. Apparently Hancock was impressed so much with Satanta's promises of peace that he presented the Kiowa with a major general's coat and an accompanying yellow sash. Soon after the conference Satanta displayed his true feelings about peace with the whites when he wore his new military attire while stampeding the stock at Fort Dodge. When Hancock left the Central Great Plains at summer's end, it was clear that

the expedition to awe the Plains Indians with a show of military might had not been successful.⁴⁷

Sporadic raiding continued until the fall of 1867, when the Central Great Plains Indians agreed to meet for peace talks at Medicine Lodge Creek, about seventy-five miles south of Fort Larned. The conference was planned to solve Indian problems on the plains. Preliminary talks were held at Fort Larned, and the peace commissioners and Indian chiefs left the post for Medicine Lodge Creek on October 13, 1867. Concurrently, presents for the parley were being shipped from Fort Larned to the treaty site, a task taking nearly a month for completion. The quartermaster at the post was extremely busy during this time contracting civilian wagon trains and packing them with annuity goods. These present-laden wagons rumbled south to Medicine Lodge Creek for the upcoming conference.⁴⁸

At the Medicine Lodge Creek councils tons of annuities and presents were presented to the Indians. Many speeches were made, extolling the virtues of peace between Indian and white. Inevitably, the Indians signed treaties which ceded more of their cherished hunting land in return for new reservations in Indian Territory. The goal of the peace commissioners was to introduce the Indians to agriculture while providing annuity payments totaling one and a half million dollars for five signatory tribes--Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Plains Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa. With the treaties of Medicine Lodge Creek, which removed the majority of the Central Great Plains Indians from Kansas, the importance of Fort Larned as a military post would begin to wane. The pacification of the Central Great Plains Indians significantly reduced the usefulness for Fort Larned.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, whites cared little about the Indians' hunting grounds or paid little respect to governmental treaties. They tried to slaughter all buffalo on the plains for sport and profit. Tanned buffalo hides had become a valuable commodity for eastern leather traders; thus the demand for buffalo skins was great. Also, the rump and tongue meat was valued in eastern restaurants, and buffalo robes were used for clothing.⁵⁰

Consequently, the merchants on the plains did a booming business supplying buffalo hunters with bar lead, black powder, and basic foodstuffs. In the meantime the hunters made large profits by killing thousands of the beasts. Buffalo killers often spent their profits in saloons of various frontier communities, while the Indians watched the gradual disappearance of their walking commissary. The Central Great Plains warriors occasionally vented their frustrations by attacking the buffalo hunters or by raiding white settlers.⁵¹

This sporadic raiding caused orders to be issued to Agent Wynkoop to withhold all arms and ammunition from his agency Indians until they removed themselves to their new reservations provided by the treaties of Medicine Lodge Creek. Soon after the order was issued, however, Cheyenne warriors raided Kaw settlements in northeastern Kansas near Council Grove. Inasmuch as Wynkoop was unaware of the raids by his wards and because he believed his agency Indians would not deceive him, the agent bypassed orders and issued arms and ammunition to some of the Cheyennes. These Indians had argued that they needed guns to hunt game, otherwise their people would starve. These Indians did not hunt game, but instead used the weapons on a raiding foray to the Saline and Solomon

rivers in northern Kansas. There these Indians killed sixteen white farmers and violated several women.⁵²

Acting swiftly the army moved to punish the Indians for their crimes. Lieutenant General Sherman, commanding the Department of the Missouri, issued General Order Number Four on August 10, 1868, placing Major General Philip H. Sheridan in command of an expedition to drive the Indians south from Kansas, exterminating them if necessary. Consequently, Sheridan immediately began to organize a campaign to subdue the Indians of the Central Great Plains region.⁵³

Because of the prevailing Indian problems agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth terminated their service in the Office of Indian Affairs during September of 1868. On September 25 the Department of the Interior closed its annuity distribution center at Fort Larned. The location then was moved to Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, in closer proximity to the new Indian reservations.⁵⁴

During the winter of 1868-1869, Major General Sheridan conducted a campaign against the Central Great Plains Indians in order to chastise them for earlier hostile actions and end their resistance in the area. The result of the campaign would be Custer's expedition to the Washita River in western Indian Territory. The resulting massacre in late November of 1868 served to squelch Indian problems of an organized nature in the Fort Larned vicinity.⁵⁵

Troops remained at Fort Larned, nevertheless, but they saw little action fighting Indians. Early in the 1870s soldiers at the post were enlisted to subdue Wichita and Osage Indians harassing railroad construction crews, and in 1874 cavalry troopers engaged Indians in combat resulting in three cavalymen wounded and five Indians killed.

These Indians earlier had killed and scalped a man south of Dodge City, Kansas.⁵⁶

Newspapers recorded that 192 Indians and whites died in the Fort Larned vicinity during the decade from 1859 to 1869. Approximately another 200 persons were reported wounded. Consequently, nearly 400 red and white men, women, and children were casualties of the period when Fort Larned served as an active military post involved in Indian affairs.⁵⁷

Fort Larned was established to provide escorts on the Santa Fe Trail to protect mail, merchandise, and travelers from the Indians. This duty placed the garrison and its soldiers in the middle of Indian affairs in the Central Great Plains. The fort was used also as an annuity distribution center and Indian agency, resulting in many Indians constantly visiting the vicinity. Closeness brought clashes, but the fort and its personnel survived, and in time the native warriors and their families were removed from the area near Fort Larned to reservations in western Indian Territory. This relocation brought an end to a major reason for the fort's existence. The soldiers who served at the post during the Indian period of operations remained for nearly a decade and mainly conducted other duties.

FOOTNOTES

¹Manhattan Express (Manhattan, Kansas), October 29, 1859, p. 2; Daily Times, September 30, 1859, p. 2, October 10, 1859, p. 2, October 13, 1859, p. 2; October 18, 1859, p. 2, November 5, 1859, p. 2, December 23, 1859, p. 2, January 30, 1860, p. 2; LeRoy Hafen, ed., Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859 (Glendale, California: Arthur Clark Company, 1942), pp. 313-317.

²United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1859, p. 138; Charles J. Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties (3 vols., Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), Vol. II, p. 447; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 121; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 21.

³William H. Ryus, The Second William Penn: Treating with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail (Kansas City, Kansas: Frank T. Riley Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 13-14.

⁴Kansas Press, November 7, 1859, p. 3, February 6, 1860, p. 2, April 2, 1860, p. 2; Daily Times, December 23, 1859, p. 2; Topeka Daily Capital (Topeka, Kansas), September 29, 1907; Marvin H. Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 2 (February, 1932), p. 148.

⁵Milton Moore, "An Incident on the Upper Arkansas in 1864," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X (1907-1908), p. 414; Garfield, "Defense

of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 26.

⁶Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 24.

⁷Mattes, ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, pp. 579-583; Everett M. Brown, "Fort Larned, Camp on Pawnee Fork" (Unpublished Manuscript, Great Bend, Kansas, 1964), Fort Larned National Historic Site, pp. 50-51; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 116-118; Kansas Press, October 10, 1859, p. 2, December 5, 1859, p. 3.

⁸Fort Larned, July, August, 1860, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Sedgwick, Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General, Vol. II, pp. 11-13; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 121.

⁹Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 8.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, pp. 121-122.

¹²Fort Larned, June, 1862, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 31.

¹³Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 123.

¹⁴Ryus, The Second William Penn: Treating with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 16-20.

¹⁵Council Grove Press, July 13, 1863, p. 2; James F. Meline, Two Thousand Miles on Horseback (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1868), pp. 291-292.

¹⁶Council Grove Press, August 3, 1863, p. 3; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 126; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 164-167.

¹⁷United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 253-254.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 257-260; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 34.

¹⁹United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), pp. 287-288.

²⁰United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863, p. 245.

²¹United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864, p. 389; Council Grove Press, May 28, 1864, p. 3, June 4, 1864, p. 3, June 25, 1864, p. 2.

²²Ibid., July 2, 1864, p. 3, July 9, 1864, p. 3; Fort Larned Larned Records, pp. 2-3, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²³Ibid.; Fort Larned, July, 1864, Returns from United States Military Posts, ibid.

²⁴Fort Larned Records, pp. 2-3, Medical History of Posts, ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864, p. 362.

²⁸Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, Pt. 1, p. 923; United States Senate, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document 26 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 76; I. T. Burns, "A Brush with the Cheyennes," The Trail: A Magazine for Colorado, Vol. II, No. 11 (April, 1910), p. 7.

²⁹Daily Times, July 29, 1864, p. 2; Tiller and Toiler, May 16, 1913, p. 11; Brown, "Fort Larned, Camp on Pawnee Fork," pp. 200-204.

³⁰United States Senate, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document 26, throughout; Manhattan Independent (Manhattan, Kansas), December 13, 1864, p. 2; Daily Times, December 9, 1864, p. 2; Stanley Hoig, The Sand Creek Massacre (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), contains an in-depth study of this tragic event.

³¹United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 571.

³²Kansas Daily Tribune, January 7, 1865, p. 2; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 39; Leavenworth Daily Conservative, December 9, 1864, p. 2.

³³Special Order Number Forty-One and Forty-Two, February 10, 11, 1865, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, pp. 807-808, 817; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 11.

³⁴Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 649-650; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation

to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 39.

³⁵United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865, pp. 278-279, 573-576; Junction City Union, May 13, 1865, p. 3, May 27, 1865, p. 3, August 26, 1865, p. 2; Daily Times, October 27, 1865, p. 2.

³⁶United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 514.

³⁷United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 361; Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 679; Daily Champion, October 29, 1865, p. 2; Daily Free Press, October 19, 1865, p. 2, October 28, 1865, p. 2; Junction City Union, October 21, 1865, p. 3, November 18, 1865, p. 2.

³⁸United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867, pp. 361-362; Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 683-685.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 679-680.

⁴⁰United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868, p. 497; Major General Winfield Hancock to Major Edward W. Wynkoop, March 11, 1867, Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁴¹Lieutenant General William T. Sherman to Major General Winfield S. Hancock, March 14, 1867, Letters Received, ibid.

⁴²Timothy A. Zwink, "The Hancock-Custer Expedition of 1867" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1974), p. 39.

⁴³United States House of Representatives, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document 240 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), pp. 78-79; Melbourne C. Chandler, Of Garry Owen in Glory (Annadale, Virginia: Turnpike Press, 1960), pp. 2-3; Minnie Millbrook, "The West Breaks in General Custer," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), pp. 114-115; Hays Daily News (Hays, Kansas), September 25, 1966, p. 18; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, p. 272; Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, pp. 5-9; Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), p. 217; Custer, My Life on the Plains, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁴William Connelley, "The Treaty at Medicine Lodge," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), pp. 601-602; Zwink, "The Hancock-Custer Expedition of 1867," pp. 61-92.

⁴⁵United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867, p. 314.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 310-313.

⁴⁷Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, pp. 15-17; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 282-283; Daily Champion, July 28, 1867, p. 2; Daily Times, April 24, 1867, p. 4; Leavenworth Daily Conservative, May 1, 1867, p. 1; Kansas Daily Tribune, July 16, 1867, p. 2.

⁴⁸Kansas Daily Tribune, October 17, 1867, p. 2; Wyandotte Gazette (Wyandotte, Kansas), July 13, 1867, p. 2; Leavenworth Daily Conservative, October 6, 1867, p. 1; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, pp. 263-264.

⁴⁹Leavenworth Daily Conservative, October 26, 1867, p. 1, October 29, 1867, p. 1; Daily Times, October 31, 1867, p. 1; Kansas Daily

Tribune, November 1, 1867, p. 2; Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 754-764; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868, pp. 796-797.

⁵⁰Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 9.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1868, pp. 3-12; Manhattan Independent, August 22, 1868, p. 2; Leavenworth Daily Conservative, August 8, 1868, p. 1, August 23, 1868, p. 1.

⁵³Ibid., August 30, 1868, p. 1; United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1868, p. 8.

⁵⁴United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868, pp. 536-538.

⁵⁵Wilbur S. Nye, Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 129-139.

⁵⁶Topeka Daily Capital, June 24, 1928, p. 4B; Progress in Pawnee County (Supplement to the Tiller and Toiler, Larned, Kansas), December 31, 1952, unpagged.

⁵⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER V

TROOP LIFE

Soldiers serving at Fort Larned and in the Trans-Mississippi West found life hard, lonely, and thankless, with their daily existence filled with danger and difficulty. Usually there were too few of the frontiersmen in blue for the duties they were asked to perform. From the end of the War of 1812 to the start of the Mexican War, the United States Army maintained a strength of approximately 7,200 men. With the outbreak of the Mexican War, Congress increased troop authorization by 50,000 regular and volunteer soldiers. This number, however, was reduced with alacrity to prewar strength following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.¹

Debates raged in the United States Congress for an increase in military strength in order to police the western frontier, for the nation had grown significantly in land area between 1845 and 1848. Consequently, in 1850 Congress authorized an army strength of 14,000, and half a decade later it augmented this number by four new regiments, bringing the army to a size set by law at 18,000 troops. The Civil War caused the Union Army to grow to more than a million troops, but at the close of the war, Congress began reducing its size, slashing it to 54,302 men in 1866, 48,000 in 1868, 30,000 in 1870, and 25,000 in 1874. This army, constantly being reduced, was the force that was called upon to

supervise Reconstruction from 1865 to 1877 and to deal with the frontier Indian problem during the same time.²

A parsimonious Congress also voted little money for weapons and equipment during the immediate years following the Civil War. In 1866 Congress directed the army to use all war surplus before new materials and supplies would be issued. This meant, in many cases, that for the next ten years nearly all weapons and equipment would be outdated and obsolete.³

The army was filled with volunteers, except during the Civil War when Congress initiated the draft. A large number of the new recruits were recent immigrants, and during the period from 1817 to 1890 the average age of the novice troop was twenty-three. The 1870 census for Fort Larned reflected this fact, for soldiers were listed as coming from such diverse places as Canada, Ireland, Prussia, Russia, England, Holland, and Germany. Various reasons caused immigrants to volunteer. One attraction was that the army offered steady employment, while some viewed the life of a soldier as a challenge. The pay was meager, for troops received \$7 per month for infantry service and \$8 per month for cavalry work. This pay scale remained until 1854, when Congress increased it by \$4. Following the Civil War the monthly pay was set at \$13 for all soldiers. Benefits were included in such forms as free regular rations and free medical care.⁴

Another attraction causing men to enlist in the army was the lure of the Trans-Mississippi West. At times this factor drew undesirables like criminals to enlist for free passage to the Trans-Mississippi West, where they could serve undetected by civil authorities or escape to freedom. Some gold seekers enlisted also for free transportation to the

Trans-Mississippi West, where they often deserted and fled to the mining districts.⁵

After enlisting the new recruit seldom would transfer out of his assigned company and regiment during his period of service. He had little contact with other soldiers outside of his own outfit, even when stationed at small forts with a garrison of but one or two other companies. The enlisted man followed the military rules of a strict chain of command, which placed him under direct supervision of the noncommissioned officer. The first sergeant controlled most of the affairs of the company. Much of the success or failure of this command structure, nevertheless, depended on the temperament of the enlisted men and their officers rather than regulations, for the soldiers could be capricious or kind.⁶

Work details, constant campaigning, escort duty, and army regulations made daily life hard for the officer and recruit in the Trans-Mississippi West. Additionally, the soldier was expected to follow commands for discipline and obedience without question. Deviation from regulations or the Articles of War meant punishment, and this sometimes called for courts-martial.⁷

Because of the nature of isolated frontier military service and the lack of education of many new recruits, however, few charges were brought by enlisted men for injustice and brutality by officers and noncommissioned officers. Few of the noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers faced court-martial charges originating from the lower ranks, for the recruit usually realized the futility of trying to prosecute his superiors. For improper conduct enlisted men could be punished by various means and with relative impunity.⁸

During the 1860s soldiers serving at Fort Larned usually faced a garrison court-martial when they were charged with violation of rules that required convening such a court. The court was composed of three officers appointed by the commander of the post; this body could impose a maximum sentence of one month of hard labor and forfeiture of pay for the duration of the sentence.⁹

Crimes committed by commissioned officers or any serious misdeeds such as desertion, striking a superior officer, sleeping on sentry duty, or mutiny by enlisted men or noncommissioned officers necessitated convening a general court-martial. This tribunal consisted of thirteen officers, but because of numerous absences due to frontier duty, a minimum of five members was required at posts like Fort Larned. Departmental headquarters authorized the judges for the hearings. Consequently, general court-martial charges were returned to headquarters from Fort Larned requesting a new court because the required number of officers could not be convened. One such request was made in 1868 by the commanding officer at Fort Larned, Captain Daingerfield Parker, when he wrote: "The Court Martial which convened . . . [pursuant to] . . . Special Orders No. 122 . . . Hdqrs. Dept. of the Mo. has adjourned and it is respectfully recommended that another Court . . . [be] convened as there are but four members of the Original Court now at this post."¹⁰

The soldier serving on the Central Great Plains at such posts as Fort Larned had to obey numerous rules and laws, both civil and military. The Articles of War usually specifically established the law, but Article Ninety-Nine provided the military authorities a vague and elastic law which could be interpreted to apply in many situations when discipline appeared necessary by the officers. Article Ninety-Nine provided that:

"All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects, which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the foregoing articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general, or a regimental, garrison, or field officers court-martial, according to the nature and degrees of the offenses, and punished at the discretion of the court."¹¹ Article Ninety-Nine was used extensively at Fort Larned, for most cases tried at the garrison involved violations judged "prejudicial to good order and military discipline."¹²

Violation of post regulations also could result in court-martial proceedings at Fort Larned. These regulations were specific rules pertaining to the post's daily activities such as a directive making illegal the requisition of hay from post supplies without permission or taking wood from the post wood pile without orders. Another post regulation dealing with a similar problem was issued by post commander Captain Nicholas Nolan. He observed that "It having come to the notice of the Commanding Officer that some enlisted men either maliciously [sic] or through an unconsciousness of the crime they are committing have sold, bartered or given away to Indians visiting this Post Spiritous liquor." Nolan also noted that this was "causing them [the Indians] to appear in a frenzied state of intoxication thus disregarding existing orders and exposing themselves to severe punishment." Consequently, Nolan ordered all officers and enlisted men at Fort Larned to halt "this evil" of selling liquor to the Indians because it had caused "so many disasters."¹³

When military law was violated, a court-martial was convened. The accused party was arrested and sent to the guardhouse if an enlisted man,

but if it were an officer he would be confined to quarters. The post commander then had twenty-four hours to prefer charges and specifications. A soldier lawfully could not be held for more than eight days without trial unless there were special reasons a court-martial could not be gathered. This often resulted in lengthy delays in court-martial procedure, but many commanders considered it part of the sentence time or used it as a justification to drop charges. One example occurred at Fort Larned, when Captain Parker, the post commander, contacted the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri: "I have the honor to furnish the following list of soldiers in confinement at this Post with the date at which they were confined." Parker continued: "At the request of their Company Commanders based upon the fact that they have been already quite awhile in Confinement without being brought to trial, I respectfully ask that charges against them be withdrawn and the men returned to duty."¹⁴

Apparently procedure was strictly followed. At Fort Larned Second Lieutenant William N. Williams of Company B, Third Infantry Regiment, filed charges against a corporal, but the commanding officer returned the second lieutenant's petition with the note: "Respectfully returned for correction. The Spec. [specifications] must show what duty prisoner was on."¹⁵ Even members of the court-martial board failed to escape scrutiny, for when Second Lieutenant Benjamin F. Bell, recorder for a court-martial, appeared for duty without full dress uniform, the commanding officer of Fort Larned chided: "Bell is censored for his conduct and will be required to appear in proper uniform during the session of the court."¹⁶

If a soldier were convicted, a sentence was imposed by the court. Some punishments were mandatory for certain crimes, but often punishment was discretionary. Soldiers at Fort Larned were found guilty of such crimes as murder, desertion, sleeping at a duty post, theft of government property like livestock and weapons, absent without leave, and conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline. Sentences for these crimes ranged widely in severity and duration. Some of the punishments meted out at Fort Larned were dishonorable discharge, branding with the letter "D" on the left hip for desertion, five years in the penitentiary, confinement in the post guardhouse with only bread and water, forfeiture of pay, reduction in rank, hard labor in the cavalry stables, confinement in a sweatbox for six hours per day for five days, and walking in a circle in front of the guardhouse from reveille to retreat carrying a twenty-pound weight on the back for ten days with only twenty minutes for each meal.¹⁷

When sentence was rendered, the case was sent to a convening officer for review. Most times the results of the trial were approved, but the convening officer had the authority to declare a mistrial because of improper procedure, or he could suspend the sentence of the court. This, however, involved a long drawn-out process, and the relative isolation of Fort Larned resulted in slow action on appeals.¹⁸

In 1868 a case of a multiple court-martial occurred at Fort Larned. Charges were brought against Private Edward O'Connell, Company C, Third Infantry Regiment, and thirty-five of his colleagues in the same company. Facing charges of "Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," the soldiers had specifications filed against them that read: "In this that Priv. Edward O'Connell, Co. 'C' 3rd U.S. Infantry

did sign his name or allow the same to be signed to a complaint addressed to the Post Commandant regarding the rations furnished Co. 'C' 3rd U.S. Infantry without the knowledge of consent of his company commander."¹⁹ After a garrison court-martial convened and heard the evidence, it rendered a decision and punishment for the thirty-six men: "To be confined in charge of the guard on bread and water for the period of twenty-four hours: to walk a ring thirty feet in diameter carrying a log of twenty pounds in weight for the same time with the exception of one-half hour for each meal and to forfeit to the U.S. his pay proper for one calendar month."²⁰

The guardhouse was frequented by many of the soldiers stationed at Fort Larned. In the mid-1860s the guardhouse was located southeast of the parade ground. Post Surgeon William H. Forwood described it as being "of sandstone, 16 feet high in the form of a hexagon with 2-1/2 feet sides. There are two rows of loopholes, one above the other around the building."²¹ The bottom row of loopholes, however, was plastered shut at a later date. An officer of the day requested this because he had conclusive evidence that liquor in canteens and bottles was being passed through the loopholes early in the mornings to prisoners inside. A private of Company D, Nineteenth Infantry Regiment, was caught in the act of passing a bottle of whiskey to a friend incarcerated in the guardhouse after the lower loopholes had been closed. Apparently the soldiers found ways to smuggle liquor to their companions despite precautions taken by their superiors. In 1874 the post commander complained that the garrison's jail needed renovation, for he stated that it was "unfit for the purpose" of holding prisoners.²²

Discipline at Fort Larned was harsh, however, and confinement in the post guardhouse was less than comfortable. The frontier soldier learned to live within the military system of justice, or he led a life of misery. He had to be flexible, for military law was not. Just as military duty on the Central Great Plains was dreary, so also was service on the numerous court-martial boards. One officer wrote a poem entitled "Midsummer Musings" depicting this drab duty:

The worst of our dreary routing
Upon the bleak frontier,
Is to meet in solemn conclave
And these stupid cases hear.²³

Disciplinary action at Fort Larned was similar to other frontier military posts, and often it seemed harsh. Usually, however, sentences did not result in long periods of imprisonment, but there were exceptions. An example of such an anomaly concerned six privates of Company A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment. These troopers were dishonorably discharged from the army, branded with the letter "D" on the left hip (indicating their indiscretion was desertion), and forced to forfeit their pay and allowances while confined in the Missouri State Penitentiary for the rest of their enlistment periods.²⁴

Thieves often raided the woodpile at Fort Larned, and the assistant acting quartermaster complained about the need for a guard for that location. The haystack at Fort Larned was another common target for raiders during the late night and early morning hours. Guards were posted for protection in that vicinity also. In one instance during 1868, the quartermaster complained of lumber being stolen near the carpenter shop during the nights. The quartermaster also reported that six mules had been stolen by deserters.²⁵

Desertion was a common malady suffered by the army at its frontier garrisons, and Fort Larned was no exception. During the existence of the post as an active military establishment, numerous accounts of desertion were reported. This was a serious offense, and officers quickly dispatched other soldiers to capture the offenders. The gravity of the crime was illustrated by orders from Fort Larned in 1863 directing a detail of soldiers to "bring to this Post the deserter [Oscar] Heath dead or alive."²⁶ Often rewards were offered by the army for the return of fugitives, and during early 1867 the bounty was set at thirty dollars per deserter. More drastic action was taken by Major General Winfield S. Hancock during his campaign in 1867. When five cavalymen of the Seventh Cavalry Regiment deserted their command at Fort Larned, he ordered troopers from the black unit, the Tenth Cavalry Regiment, in pursuit. Hancock tersely commented about his action: "By sending black after white and white after black, we may have some result finally in checking desertions."²⁷ Apparently the practice of sending white soldiers after white deserters or members of one unit after their regimental colleagues had resulted in a negligible apprehension rate.

A common punishment for desertion was the branding of the letter "D" on the left hip. Evidently this practice came under the scrutiny and criticism of humanitarians who considered the penalty cruel and unusual punishment. The practice had its supporters, however, which was evidenced by a letter to the editor of the Army and Navy Journal in 1866. The anonymous contributor commented on not only the practice of branding for desertion but also on the general problem of desertion in the army. He complained that nearly "every muster-roll contains a disgracefully long list of those who have decided that 'desertion is the better part of

valor' . . . and the reputation, as well as the morale of the Army is suffering in consequence." The writer aired his belief that the army should make it law that all deserters be "tattooed or indelibly marked" with the letter "D" in order to promote better discipline. Continuing to editorialize the contributor admitted awareness "that certain wiseacres 'down East' have entered a legal protest against this punishment." Culminating the argument in support of branding, the writer emphasized: "The objection consists in the fact that the personal disfigurement is a permanent disgrace for a single, often hasty, transgression. Precisely. Let such be the penalty for every perjured violation of the soldier's solemn covenant to serve his country."²⁸

Discipline at Fort Larned applied not only to soldiers but also to animals in some peculiar incidents. In August of 1868, the quartermaster complained about a number of hogs running loose on the post grounds "that were destroying considerable . . . government property."²⁹ Early the next year another problem concerning animals surfaced at the garrison. In order to alleviate the situation, the post adjutant, First Lieutenant Charles L. Umbstaetter, Third Infantry Regiment, sent official notification to Surgeon Forwood that the commanding officer of the garrison had received numerous complaints about the surgeon's pet wolf chained to his quarters. The animal howled at night, consequently resulting in the commanding officer's order for the animal to be removed from the post "where it will not be an annoyance to the garrison."³⁰ Not only was the pet wolf declared a public nuisance, but the medical department also had an eight-month-old pet buffalo which was also ordered off the post.³¹

At times good discipline at frontier forts depended on the maintenance of friendly relations between black and white troops. Fort Larned was one of the few prairie posts that housed black troops. In 1868 black soldiers in the regular army were a relatively new addition, although they had served commendably during the Civil War as volunteers in the Union forces. Black troops, nevertheless, generally had been segregated from white soldiers. On the frontier at small posts such as Fort Larned, limited accommodations brought both black and white soldiers into close contact. Companies were often competitive, and the presence of infantry and cavalry troops in close proximity intensified long-standing rivalries between the older cavalry branch and the less elite infantry regiments.³²

At times rivalry emerged between black and white troops, even at Fort Larned. Chants such as the popular Civil War taunt "who ever saw a dead cavalryman" were, no doubt, modified into racial comments derisively aimed at the black troopers. Racial tensions were not removed by the Civil War, and the close living conditions at Fort Larned contributed to inevitable conflict at this garrison.³³

One such racial incident was recorded at Fort Larned after tensions had grown during the latter part of 1868 and had reached a kindling point during the winter of 1868-1869. In late December of 1868, black troopers of Company A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, went to the sutler's store and rented a pool table for their use. Meanwhile, two soldiers from Company C, Third Infantry Regiment, entered the billiards room and reportedly said, "We struck one nigger today and we can do it again."³⁴ A fight ensued between the black troopers and white infantrymen, but when the post commander, Major John E. Yard, heard the complaints about the

alleged black aggressors, he said, "I guess the only thing to do is get those blacks out of here."³⁵ Consequently, a race riot almost developed.

Major Yard sent Company A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, on duty during the night of January 1, 1869, to "do penance," the Fort Larned report read, by guarding a woodpile about a half mile from the fort. It recently had snowed fifteen inches and the weather was still stormy and bitterly cold. As the surgeon of Fort Larned said, the blacks "spent a cold night on the wood pile."³⁶ Meanwhile, in the absence of the black troops, the regiment's cavalry stables mysteriously caught fire on the morning of January 2 and burned to the ground. Lost in the fire were 39 horses, 30 tons of hay, 40 saddles, 500 bushels of grain, and 6,000 rounds of ammunition.³⁷

The post surgeon, William H. Forwood, was infuriated by this treatment of the black troops at Fort Larned. His sentiments were echoed by Second Lieutenant Benjamin F. Bell and Captain Nicholas Nolan, the two white officers of the black company. These officers complained of their company being ordered out to be punished and degraded "in a manner for the Offence of a few of the men."³⁸ They also commented that they thought that the company "to which the men belonged who were engaged in the disturbance" should receive the same treatment. Major Yard, however, denied that he sent Captain Nolan's black troops to the woodpile in order to degrade or punish them. Instead, he claimed he took the action to prevent a clash between the white and black troops at Fort Larned.³⁹

A board of investigation was held to inquire into the fire in the Tenth Cavalry Regiment's stables. After testimony that seemingly was weighted against Captain Nolan and his black troops, the board ruled that

Nolan had to pay \$5,000 in damages for losses in the fire. Captain Nolan, however, after many years would eventually exonerate himself of implication in the arson and receive compensation for his lost wages.⁴⁰

Racial tension continued until early on January 7, 1869, when the post commander ordered Company A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, to march from Fort Larned to Fort Zarah for duty at that post. Major Yard claimed that soon after the black troopers left it was discovered that someone had attempted to burn the barracks in which the Tenth Cavalry Regiment company had been quartered. A private of the Third Infantry Regiment found the smoldering fire and extinguished it. As Major Yard reported: "This was evidently the work of an incendiary."⁴¹

After this incident racial problems declined at Fort Larned. None was reported during the remainder of the service of the black troops at the garrison. They continued to perform their duties without incident in the vicinity of the post and along the Santa Fe Trail. Even before the racial incident they had performed commendably, for on October 28, 1868, Company A of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment from Fort Larned clashed with Indians at Beaver Creek near the post, and in November of the same year the black troopers fought the plains warriors between the garrison and Fort Dodge, resulting in a twenty-mile running battle.⁴²

On special occasions strict military discipline and regulations were observed at Fort Larned. When Major General Hancock's troops were stationed at the post during the spring of 1867, the troops adhered to rigid military code and practice. Henry M. Stanley, a newspaper correspondent traveling with the Hancock expedition, depicted the post and activities by writing: "Fort Larned . . . is a model of neatness. Everything is carried on according to the strict letter of the military

code. Guard mounting, inspection, and dress parade are announced by the familiar sounds of the fife and drum, accompanied by all the pomp and circumstance of military form."⁴³ Because Hancock was considered a dignitary, Stanley's description apparently was of a special event and likely was an exception to the ordinary functioning and appearance of the fort. Nevertheless, Hancock's visit was quite a contrast to the July 4, 1863, celebration at Fort Larned, which had been marked by troops drinking whiskey and running foot races for excitement.⁴⁴

For diversion and a break in the monotony of troop life at Fort Larned, during off-duty hours soldiers often hunted the plentiful buffalo and wolves in the vicinity of the garrison. The wolf hunters enjoyed themselves immensely while killing their prey and apparently made money from this recreational activity. The sportsmen sold the pelts they collected as a result of hunting the animals and sometimes by poisoning them.⁴⁵

Hunting and fishing proved to be both a way to combat boredom and to supplement the bland rations issued to the troops at Fort Larned. Buffalo generally were numerous near the garrison. Flocks of wild geese frequented the area as well as many ducks, such as teal and mallard found on Pawnee Fork Creek. The creek also provided good fishing for the soldiers from time to time, and they also hunted fox, deer, and antelope that might be nearby. When not hunting, fishing, or doing other things during free time, the troops also spent hours in the barracks, especially during evenings, conversing, telling stories, and reminiscing. Others might carve wood, whittle lead bullets, or stare at stars in the clear prairie sky to occupy their time. These activities helped the soldier relieve the tedium of duty at Fort Larned.⁴⁶

There were also other amusements and diversions to take the soldier's mind off his situation. He might browse through the sutler's store with the hope that a fracas in the billiards room might occur to provide some excitement. Generally, however, additional pastimes included horse racing, dominoes, and various types of gambling.⁴⁷

One occasion at Fort Larned in 1863 illustrated the popularity of horse racing among not only soldiers but also neighboring Indians. To prepare a race track, the soldiers and Indians worked together to dig ditches about four feet apart. The median between ditches was a raised barricade of earthen sod. The troopers and Indians then rode their horses through the ditches to pack the dirt. When the races commenced, betting was heavy, and the Indians often wagered their ponies, buffalo robes, and deer skins for the silver dollars bet by the soldiers.⁴⁸

In this particular instance Comanche and Kiowa warriors brought a black stallion from Texas to Fort Larned. The Indians considered their horse the finest on the plains, and they wagered accordingly. Word spread of the planned horse race, and soon several spectators came from a wide area to enjoy a barbecue and witness the race. The black stallion won the race, easily defeating the horse owned by the soldiers at Fort Larned. The victorious and delighted Indians celebrated winning the \$300 purse by spending their money on candy, canned goods, and whiskey obtained from the post sutler. The warriors then gave most of what they purchased to anyone near. Visiting soldiers from Fort Riley were so impressed with the Indians' black stallion that they purchased the animal for a paltry sum.⁴⁹

Two other sports also became popular at Fort Larned. Cockfighting developed into a favorite diversion for soldiers who raised and trained

their own fighting birds. Likewise, just prior to the abandonment of Fort Larned during 1878, the game of baseball was introduced to the soldiers at the garrison. This sport was greeted with considerable enthusiasm, but it became the source for numerous bruises and abrasions.⁵⁰

Amusements such as horse trading and card games like seven-up and gambol provided entertainment at Fort Larned. Poker games livened the evenings at the post, as Sutler Jesse Crane observed in commentating about the soldiers: "They have been playing a lively game of 'Poker' . . . since pay-day. I told them if they turned my room into a gambling den I could not stand to stay in it myself and would have to seek other quarters and lodging."⁵¹

Some soldiers at Fort Larned disliked vigorous forms of diversion. Occasionally some preferred more sedate types of recreation to relieve the boredom. In one particular incident a soldier at Fort Larned described his feelings of frustration for military service on the plains: "There are but a few persons here outside of the regular garrison and no sort of amusements going on, which makes it rather dull for me, evenings, but I generally pass the time in reading and writing when not at work." Then the soldier requested that "I would wish that my correspondents furnish me in reading matter, pamphlets, books and or papers, and hope to get something of that kind from you. Won't you send me occasionally?" He noted that a friend had "sent me a lot recently," but he lamented that he already has disposed of it.⁵²

By 1871 this soldier and others like him could find entertainment in the books that would be housed in the post library. Works by popular Victorian writers such as Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, and Honoré

de Balzac could be found on shelves in the library. Variety in reading was provided by books on drama, poetry, and political and natural history. For the culturally inclined, works by William Shakespeare also were available for reading by the troops.⁵³

Other reading materials appeared at Fort Larned also. Magazines and newspapers such as the Army and Navy Journal and the Leavenworth Daily Conservative were read by soldiers and their families after initial subscriptions began in 1867. Soldiers at the post spent \$60 for newspapers in 1869, indicating an apparent willingness to spend hard-earned money for reading material. In 1878 when the fort was closed, the garrison of four officers and thirty-two enlisted men had subscriptions costing more than \$50.⁵⁴

For bawdy entertainment the soldiers at Fort Larned patronized the Hog Ranch, located south of the garrison and near the military reservation. This establishment offended Christian personnel at Fort Larned. A disgusted observer commented that the location was a place of "bloodshed, death, and disorder," where troops squandered their money on gambling, drinking, and prostitutes. Purveyors of "carnal delights" and bootleg whiskey operated the Hog Ranch. Here the bored soldier found diversion and often disease when he came into contact with prostitutes and liquor made of dubious ingredients. When the lonesome soldier had his drink and played in the ongoing card games with itinerant card sharks, he often found himself pennyless on his way back to the fort. There he awaited his next monthly \$13 paycheck, hoping it would arrive on time.⁵⁵

The daily routine of a soldier at Fort Larned included cleaning the grounds. Contemporary accounts reported that the garrison grounds

generally were kept clean and in good condition. Often this chore of maintaining a good appearance at the fort was relegated to soldiers spending time in the guardhouse. Post Surgeon Forwood described this activity: "The garrison will be policed every morning immediately after reveille by the prisoners under the charge of the Provost Sergeant. A team will report every morning at the guard house."⁵⁶ This duty included numerous tasks ranging from collecting trash near buildings to cutting weeds around the parade ground. The chore of policing the grounds kept both regular and prisoner soldiers busy during much of the time.⁵⁷

The troops at Fort Larned also had fire regulations to follow. Potential fire on the prairie was a serious threat to the garrison, and this was reflected in the detailed fire regulations issued to frontier posts such as Fort Larned. Sometimes adverse conditions prevailed and the soldiers were unable adequately to fight fires using the prescribed fire-fighting techniques of the army. When fire broke out in January of 1869, the troops could not fight the blaze because the water was frozen by the wintry twenty-degree weather.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, fire duty became an important drill at Fort Larned, especially when Indian troubles in the vicinity had subsided. Official regulations called for the troops at the fort to organize into fire companies. One group of soldiers composed a bucket company, and the other made up a hook and ladder company. When a fire alarm sounded the men available formed a bucket brigade from Pawnee Fork Creek to the fire. According to an observer, "all persons having buckets or camp kettles" took them to the location where the line was formed. For safety precautions other soldiers were charged with the duty of having a water wagon filled every evening and positioned in strategic spots around the

fort in anticipation of potential fires. The officers at the post even requested a fire engine, but the requisition was denied by the quartermaster's headquarters, claiming that the garrison could provide sufficient fire protection by organizing an efficient bucket brigade.⁵⁹

All frontier posts like Fort Larned had rules concerning daily calls for duty based on 1863 regulations. These were modified to suit the desires of commanding officers at different posts. On November 4, 1868, the commanding officer at Fort Larned issued the following regulation pertaining to duty calls:

Reveille	A little before day break
Breakfast Call	7:00 AM
Surgeon's Call	8:00 AM
Fatigue Call	8:00 AM
Guard Mount	9:00 AM
Orderly Mount	12:00 PM
Recall from Fatigue	12:00 PM
Dinner Call	12:30 PM
Fatigue Call	1:00 PM
Recall from Fatigue	4:30 PM
Retreat	Sunset
Tattoo	8:30 PM
Taps	8:45 PM ⁶⁰

Sleepy troopers arose when reveille came at daybreak, and after a full day of work, the tired men were in their bunks when taps sounded at 8:45 p.m. When soldiers at Fort Larned were not pursuing recalcitrant Indians and renegade whites, they found the routine of post duty boring and monotonous. The men were assigned such fatigue duties as cutting and stacking hay, sawing lumber, repairing equipment, cleaning the garrison's grounds, and cutting ice for storage. Ice was needed for the use of soldiers at Fort Larned during the summer months. Consequently, cutting and storing an adequate ice supply was a fatigue duty of significant priority during the winter. Ice came from Pawnee Fork Creek, and soldiers kept constant watch at the post to determine when its thickness

was suitable for storage. At times ice was cut that measured sixteen inches in thickness, and during the winter of 1874 soldiers filled three icehouses and a shed attached to the commissary storehouse with ice for summer use.⁶¹

Gardening was a common activity of most soldiers at frontier garrisons such as Fort Larned, and the post garden was a typical feature at prairie army installations. The garden was a source of fresh vegetables such as tomatoes, onions, corn, lettuce, radishes, and beets used to supplement a rather bland diet of canned and dried fruits and vegetables. Post garden vegetables also provided for balanced diets and the prevention of scurvy, and consequently were important to living conditions.⁶²

A successful post garden at Fort Larned allowed the troops to avoid purchasing fresh vegetables from the post sutler, neighboring farmers, or friendly Indians at often exorbitant prices. The post garden was planted each year in the spring at Fort Larned with anticipation of a successful yield, but more often than not the results proved discouraging. Inevitably, heavy rains, hail, drought, scorching summer winds, prairie fires, and grasshoppers would devastate the garden plants. Because of the close proximity of Pawnee Fork Creek, irrigation was proposed as a solution to the problem of water scarcity. Even this attempt to sustain the garden failed because a steady supply of water could not be attained. During one particularly poor growing season the post surgeon complained: "The experiment of gardening has been tried here every spring since 1859 & has proved to be a total failure in every instance. Garden vegetables cannot successfully be raised here any more than they can in the Desert of Sahara."⁶³ This pessimistic view was

later countered by another post surgeon who commented that the gardening "experience of this year fully demonstrates that gardens may be cultivated at Fort Larned with results sufficient to warrant the labor."⁶⁴ Nature, of course, proved to be the determining factor each year in the success or failure of the post garden at Fort Larned.

Military life at Fort Larned reflected the dilemma faced by the frontier army. For a post such as Fort Larned to approach the self-sufficiency that military officials desired, manpower and time were needed. The numerous duties requiring regular attention included baking bread, preparing and distributing food, policing the grounds, hauling the garbage, supplying water, tending gardens, cleaning tools, posting daily guards, posting orders, writing official correspondence, and convening courts-martial periodically. Simultaneously, the post and its men were expected to escort wagon trains, patrol for potentially dangerous Indians, and provide troops for guard duty at various outposts in the region. Undoubtedly, garrisons like Fort Larned frequently felt the strain of trying to comply with all of their obligations.⁶⁵

The Santa Fe Trail continually was a central factor in troop life at Fort Larned. Travel over this road and the necessity for its protection caused a need for the fort and its personnel. During the Civil War, when the post was garrisoned primarily by volunteer troops, Indian threats to the substantial amount of commerce along the Santa Fe Trail enlarged into a major problem. To deal with the Indian threat, an escort system was developed between Fort Larned and Fort Lyon. Troop escorts from the two forts agreed to meet halfway, with soldiers from Fort Larned protecting wagons and mail coaches to the west while troops from Fort Lyon provided similar service to the east. When the trains

and escorts met, the soldiers exchanged caravans and headed toward their home garrison. This escort system continued during and after the Civil War, occasionally being modified to meet changing conditions on the frontier.⁶⁶

In February of 1866, orders from the Department of the Missouri established Fort Larned as a rendezvous point for westbound traffic along the Santa Fe Trail. This directive set the minimum number of wagons for a caravan at twenty. When the wagons met at Fort Larned, some would undergo repairs while others were issued government arms and ammunition. Evidently the government believed that the price of the armaments was much less than that of losing a wagon train to the raiding Indians. This policy also allowed the members of the caravans to supplement the usually undermanned troop escorts from Fort Larned. At times, however, requests for escorts became so numerous that in April of 1869 Captain Daingerfield Parker, the commander of Fort Larned, complained "that this garrison has become so depleted in numbers it is now impossible for me to furnish the almost constant demand for escorts to trains."⁶⁷ Some caravans wanted to avoid the problems of securing a military escort, so they often passed Fort Larned about four miles south, taking a route along the Arkansas River. Consequently, it became necessary for the commander at Fort Larned to station guards south of the post to intercept the wagon trains in order to compile statistics for the post's monthly reports to departmental headquarters.⁶⁸

Soldiers at Fort Larned also had to provide escort service for the mail company. Fort Larned was home station for the Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company, serving in that capacity from the early 1860s. When Indian raiding became a problem along the Santa Fe Trail, troops were

ordered to guard the mail company's property. The most dangerous area of travel along the Santa Fe Trail mail route was between Fort Larned and Fort Dodge. Usually mail delivery was sporadic, especially in 1868 when Indian raiding increased and mail deliveries were reduced to twice a week. Many troops were used to protect the trail and the mail; meanwhile, the commanding officer of Fort Larned met with other officers at Fort Hays and Fort Dodge in attempts to find a solution to the problem. When Indian difficulties decreased, the mail deliveries increased.⁶⁹

By 1872 the duties of soldiers at Fort Larned expanded to include the protection of construction crews of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. Troops also were sent to support crews building telegraph lines from the United States to Mexico. Duties such as these kept the soldiers of Fort Larned busy during the days, and the recruits knew they had post duties waiting for them at the garrison when they returned from escort service.⁷⁰

Although life was rugged on the plains at frontier posts, social elements were present at garrisons like Fort Larned. There the three officers' quarters stood close together, facilitating communication and creating a close sense of comradeship. Officers at the post usually established the tone of social activities. Sometimes guests en route to the garrison for formal gatherings were harassed by Indians. One group resorted to dumping a suitcase of dress clothes for the Indians who had stopped them; the purpose was to distract the warriors' attention while the group made its escape. Under less trying circumstances officers and enlisted men enjoyed frequent dances at the post.⁷¹

Both officers and enlisted men at Fort Larned conceived an innovative way to break the monotony at the frontier garrison. In the fall of 1865, the officers of the post purchased a printing press with the intention of improving morale by publishing a weekly newspaper named Plains. Ordered from St. Louis, the press cost \$239.55 but produced \$300 in revenue from initial subscriptions. The newspaper, therefore, began on a sound financial foundation, and the inaugural edition was published on November 11, 1865. A brief editorial in the newspaper contained the purpose for printing: "We are running a paper for our own amusement--for the fun of the thing--That's all--and why not, pray tell? Why not run a paper for fun, as well as play cards or billiards, or go to a saloon or a horse-race, or to hear [Henry Ward] BEECHER preach, all for fun?"⁷²

Editorials and advertisements graced the pages of the initial edition. The editors of Fort Larned's newspaper tried to inform their readers on topics such as one titled, "Ought Married People To Sleep Together?" The editors clearly took exception to a recommendation of a noted health periodical: "Hall's Journal of Health, which claims to be the highest authority in medical science, has taken a stand against married people sleeping together, but thinks they had better sleep in adjoining rooms. It says that kings and queens do not sleep together, and why should other people? Think of separating a newly married pair on a cold winter's night, because Hall's Journal of Health says so. You can go to grass, Mr. Hall."⁷³ Also humorous was an advertisement placed in the Plains: "Wanted.--At this office, a half dozen young ladies to learn the printing business. The foremen of this office will render all the assistance possible. None but good looking ones need

apply."⁷⁴ For reasons unknown other issues of the Plains were never published.

The officer corps on the Central Great Plains faced the same rigors experienced by enlisted men. Before the Civil War nearly three-quarters of all officers were graduates of the United States Military Academy. Many fought on opposing sides during the Civil War. Although numerous officers filling the officer corps were young, energetic, and competent, others were political hacks, martinets, petty tyrants, and incompetents. Officers, nevertheless, found themselves isolated on the frontier with their troops as part of the post-Civil War army. They were away from all forms of civilization and polite society, and companionship was found only with fellow officers, for fraternization with enlisted men was forbidden. Pay was meager for officers. A lieutenant after the Civil War drew \$40 per month, but from his salary he had to pay for his horse, equipment, clothing, and family expenses if he had one.⁷⁵

The officers and enlisted men who served at Fort Larned provided the manpower which enabled the garrison to exist successfully and to perform its numerous and varied duties. Although troop life at Central Great Plains posts such as Fort Larned was not only hard and dangerous but also dreary and monotonous, it was the lifestyle that many frontier soldiers expected or grew to accept. For most of the foreign-born recruits, life was much different from their European backgrounds, for it provided more opportunities for social and economic advancement than were available in their native lands. For many of the officers, duty in the Trans-Mississippi West was at best a place for potential promotion resulting from success in fighting Indians, and at worst a way of fulfilling their choice of a military career. Most enlisted men and

officers survived the rugged pioneer life at Fort Larned, and it is commendable that they performed as well as they did under the adverse conditions on the Central Great Plains.

FOOTNOTES

¹United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1853, pp. 11-12.

²Ibid.; United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1897, pp. 7-8; Frazer, Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898, pp. xviii-xix; Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891, pp. 10-18.

³Ibid.

⁴Fort Larned Census, 1870, Pawnee County, Kansas, Fort Larned National Historic Site; Jack D. Foner, The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1865-1888 (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), p. 15.

⁵Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891, p. 22; Lawrence A. Frost, The Court-Martial of General George Armstrong Custer (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 36.

⁶Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891, pp. 22-25.

⁷Foner, The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1865-1888, pp. 3-6; Thomas W. Lucke, "Military Justice on the Western Frontier: Fort Larned, 1868," Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 23-24.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 24-25; Captain Daingerfield Parker to Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, September 10, 1868, Letters Received, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹¹United States Department of War, Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861 with an Appendix Containing the Changes and Law Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 23.

¹²Lucke, "Military Justice on the Western Frontier: Fort Larned, 1868," Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXVI, p. 25.

¹³Post Regulations, Fort Larned, April 5, 1868, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Letter, September 11, 1868, September 23, 1868, Fort Larned, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴Captain Daingerfield Parker to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, October 25, 1868, ibid.; Lucke, "Military Justice on the Western Frontier: Fort Larned, 1868," Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXVI, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵Endorsement Number 242, August 20, 1868, Fort Larned, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁶Letter, January 11, 1868, Fort Larned, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

¹⁷"The Letter 'D'," Army and Navy Journal, March 3, 1866, Vol. III (1865-1866), p. 442; Captain William J. Lyster to Assistant Adjutant

General, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, October 31, 1876, Orders, July 7, 1862, November 4, 1862, Fort Larned, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Lucke, "Military Justice on the Western Frontier: Fort Larned, 1868," Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXVI, p. 27.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 27-28; Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 142-143.

¹⁹General Order Number 34, December 20, 1868, Fort Larned, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Fort Larned Records, p. 11, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²²Officer of the Day to Post Adjutant, February 27, 1870, Fort Larned, Quartermaster General's Office, Record Group 92, National Archives; Captain William J. Lyster to the Adjutant General, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, October 22, 1874, Captain William J. Lyster to Paul F. Curlett, November 24, 1876, Fort Larned, Letters Sent, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives.

²³Foner, The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reform, 1865-1888, p. 36.

²⁴General Order Number 150, August 25, 1868, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²⁵Acting Assistant Quartermaster to Commanding Officer, May 25, August 21, September 11, September 23, 1868, Fort Larned, Letters Sent,

Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

²⁶General Order Number 75, June 17, 1863, Fort Larned, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives.

²⁷Major General Andrew J. Smith to Commanding Officer, Fort Hays, January 14, 1867, Letters Received, Headquarters, District of the Upper Arkansas, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Major General Winfield S. Hancock to Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, May 2, 1867, Letters Sent, Records of the United States Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²⁸"The Letter 'D'," Army and Navy Journal, March 3, 1866, Vol. III, p. 442.

²⁹Acting Assistant Quartermaster to Company Commander, Fort Larned, August 21, 1868, Letters Sent, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

³⁰First Lieutenant Charles L. Umstaetter to Surgeon William H. Forwood, January 31, 1869, Fort Larned, Letters Sent, ibid.; Fort Larned Records, p. 105, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³¹Ibid.

³²Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 19.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Tape recording of paper given by Robert Nash, Lubbock, Texas, November 3, 1972, concerning racial troubles at Fort Larned, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Fort Larned Records, p. 105, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³⁷Manhattan Standard (Manhattan, Kansas), January 16, 1869, p. 3; Tape recording of paper given by Robert Nash, November 3, 1972, concerning racial troubles at Fort Larned, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

³⁸Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, January 12, 1869, Letters Sent, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Tape recording of paper given by Robert Nash, November 3, 1972, concerning racial troubles at Fort Larned, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

⁴¹Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, January 7, 1869, Letters Sent, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

⁴²Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 22.

⁴³Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁴⁴"Bypaths of Kansas History," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 1 (February, 1938), p. 100.

⁴⁵Plains (Fort Larned, Kansas), November 25, 1865, p. 3.

⁴⁶Fort Larned Records, pp. 97, 101, 106, 113, 114, 121, 138, 159, 265, 269, 297, 299, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 25; Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 570.

⁴⁷Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 24.

⁴⁸Ryus, The Second William Penn: Treating with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 57-58.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁵⁰Tiller and Toiler, March 2, 1943, p. 1; Fort Larned Records, p. 213, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁵¹Jesse Crane to Captain A. W. Burton, February 28, 1865, A. W. Burton Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 24.

⁵²Cardella E. Brown, Fort Larned, Kansas, to his aunt, February 8, 1866, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

⁵³Records of Fort Larned, Kansas, Post Library Book, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁴Commanding Officer to Post Surgeon, Fort Larned, November 3, 1869, Letters Received, Commanding Officer, Fort Larned to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, October 8, 1867,

Letters Sent, ibid.; "Ett" letter, January 4, 1878, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

⁵⁵George D. Freeman, Midnight and Noonday; or, The Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory Giving Twenty Years Experience on the Frontier (Caldwell, Kansas: G. D. Freeman, 1892), p. 285; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 8.

⁵⁶Fort Larned Records, p. 82, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 82, 91.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 89-90, 105; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 9.

⁵⁹Fort Larned Records, pp. 89-90, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Chief Quartermaster, Military Division of the Missouri to Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Missouri, November 27, 1867, Fort Larned, Reservation File, ibid.

⁶⁰Fort Larned Records, p. 97, Medical History of Posts, ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 82, 91, 93, 101, 105, 110, 155, 189.

⁶²Ibid., p. 173; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 27.

⁶³Fort Larned Records, pp. 117-118, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 173.

⁶⁵Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 30.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 28; "Instructions to Officers in Charge of Escorts," July 28, 1865, Fort Larned, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

⁶⁷General Order Number 27, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, February 28, 1866, United States Senate, 40th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 2 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), pp. 2-4; Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 644; Captain Daingerfield Parker to Commander, Department of the Missouri, April 19, 1869, Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, July 15, 1867, Letters Sent, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

⁶⁸Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, July 8, 1868, Letters Sent, ibid.

⁶⁹Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, December 16, 1867, Letters Sent, ibid.; Fort Larned Records, p. 85, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, p. 29.

⁷⁰Adjutant General, Department of War, to Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, December 16, 1867, Letters Received, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

⁷¹Tiller and Toiler, March 2, 1943, p. 1; "Historic Ft. Larned," Wheat Edition (Larned, Kansas, Supplement to Tiller and Toiler, 1919), unpagged; Larned Press, December 27, 1877, p. 3.

⁷²Plains, November 25, 1865, p. 2.

⁷³Ibid., p. 1.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁵Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891, pp. 18-22.

CHAPTER VI

MEDICAL SERVICES

Although Central Great Plains army garrisons like Fort Larned were overtaxed with duties due to a scarcity of troops, their problems were compounded by illness and injury. The medical division of the army had to combat excessive diseases and injuries suffered by the troops to maintain the military capability of the frontier garrisons. During the nineteenth century many medical explanations were unknown for such maladies as infections and ways by which disease was transmitted. Methods of treatment and prevention were almost unknown. Although severe limitations existed in medical knowledge, advances had been made in such areas as physiology, pathology, and diagnosis.¹

The frontier army medical corps was in charge of all health and hygiene aspects of soldier garrison life. These responsibilities included sanitation, diet, diagnosis, treatment, surgery, troop examinations, and compilation of medical records for the post. Like the regular army command, medical officers had to accomplish their duties with few personnel. During the post-Civil War period of congressional troop reductions to peacetime status, the medical department also was cut in numbers. In July of 1866, Congress reduced the medical corps of the army to a surgeon-general and staff of approximately 216 surgeons and assistant surgeons working in Washington, D. C., and in the field. These doctors were responsible for a reduced army numbering nearly 32,000

men scattered across the nation. Some 200 forts existed at this time, and the medical department could not meet all demands completely. Consequently, the government hired acting assistant surgeons to alleviate some of the medical burden of the regular staff. These were civilian physicians employed by government contract.²

Numerous problems confronted medical staffs at frontier posts. Post surgeons and their hospital stewards had to treat the ailments of the troops while simultaneously attempting to prevent additional disease. At Fort Larned cases of bronchitis, rheumatism, and catarrh (influenza) were attributed to environmental conditions like sudden weather changes on the Central Great Plains and poorly constructed and ventilated living quarters. The post's water supply obtained from Pawnee Fork Creek and briefly from water wells on the military reservation was blamed for sicknesses like diarrhea, typhoid fever, and constipation. Water from Pawnee Fork Creek was hauled to the post and stored in huge barrels located in the yards behind the enlisted men's barracks and the officers' quarters. The water wells at the garrison were dug to a depth of forty feet, but it soon was discovered that the water obtained was too sulfurous for healthy consumption by the soldiers.³

Because of the hygienic problems surrounding the procurement and distribution of the water, a number of cases of typhoid fever developed at Fort Larned in late 1865. Fortunately, only one death resulted from the epidemic. Private James Schofield, Company A, Forty-Eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, died on November 1 of that year. Later in November Gilbert Hyatt of Company H, Forty-Eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, was in critical condition in the post hospital, although it was reported that his chances for recovery were "for the

better." The nearby creek which supplied water for the fort also provided a haven for mosquitoes, and this resulted in malarial diseases like intermittent fever and chills.⁴

Traders supplied liquor to the troops at Fort Larned, thus compounding problems for the post surgeon when inebriated soldiers became ill, suffered aftereffects of their drinking, or injured themselves while in drunken stupors. One Santa Fe Trail freighter told of selling a barrel of whiskey to the stage station operator at Fort Larned. Inasmuch as the selling of whiskey was illegal on post grounds except by licensed traders, alcohol occasionally was smuggled onto the military reserve in ingenious ways such as under loads of hay. After buying the intoxicating spirits, the soldier either drank the whiskey or sold it. At Fort Larned soldiers were selling whiskey to Indians and demoralizing young Indian women. While visiting Fort Larned in April of 1864, H. T. Ketcham commented on this problem: "Dissipation, licentiousness and venereal disease prevail in and around the Fort to an astonishing extent."⁵ Some of the officers at the post apparently did little to control the flow of alcohol to the troops, for Captain A. W. Burton lightheartedly remarked in 1863 that Independence Day of that year was celebrated by "drinking a few pints of that seductive fluid denominated rot."⁶

Drunkennes, described as "the crying evil in the army," at times caused death at Fort Larned. In April of 1871, a private who had been drinking excessively for some days became insolent and abusive with a sergeant of his company. In an effort to quiet the private, the sergeant struck the recruit on the right temple with a rifle. The private died soon afterward of a fractured skull. Another private was admitted to the

post hospital at Fort Larned with diarrhea, but soon died of a perforated colon. When the post surgeon conducted the post mortem examination, he tersely reported that "the stuff sold as whiskey will kill."⁷

The neighboring Hog Ranch also contributed to the alcoholism problem at Fort Larned, and at the same time the brothel expedited the spread of venereal disease. In December of 1869, the fort's surgeon claimed that a considerable amount of syphilis was found among the soldiers of Company A, Thirty-Seventh Infantry Regiment. He noted that the "balance of the command is remarkably exempt."⁸

Various gunshot wounds occurred at Fort Larned; some were caused by Indians, some by whites. Other wounds resulted from accidents, and some were self-inflicted. Nevertheless, the victim nearly always came to the garrison hospital for treatment. Sprains, lacerations, and bruises were other medical problems confronted by the post's medical staff. To relieve the boredom at the isolated garrison, soldiers found various forms of entertainment and recreation providing excitement and an escape from the loneliness of plains military duty. Drinking alcohol and fighting were activities that often provided diversions for the troops, but they generally resulted in the need for medical attention.⁹

Many soldiers wrestled or played baseball, both of which at times required the doctor's handiwork. After baseball was introduced at the fort, the frontier physician treated a rash of injuries such as sores and bruises. Although it caused the surgeon extra work, he noted that the sport was "a great service in the way of improving the morale of the command."¹⁰ One soldier broke his thumb while enthusiastically participating in the new pastime at Fort Larned. In commenting on the accident, the surgeon explained that the "player had the hands raised

for a catch when he received the full force of the throw upon the thumb of the left hand, forcing it backwards and breaking the bone."¹¹

Despite the limitations of staff, knowledge, facilities, and equipment, the medical corps on the frontier did a commendable job of keeping the military force in a state of readiness. At the prairie garrisons the doctors and their aides served not only post personnel but also pioneer transients and neighboring Indians. The natives of the Central Great Plains frequently asked for medical aid at Fort Larned. Usually the Indians readily took medicine but were extremely apprehensive of surgical procedures. In 1868 the post surgeon, William H. Forwood, was able to persuade a young Cheyenne Indian to take chloroform in order to have a finger amputated.¹²

Another young Cheyenne Indian named Eagle Feather also voluntarily came to the post surgeon at Fort Larned with a compound fracture of the right thigh bone. This break was the result of an accidental gunshot wound from a forty-four caliber revolver. The wound was hemorrhaging seriously, but the young warrior refused surgery. During the next month abscesses developed and had to be opened to take out bone fragments infecting the wound. Each time chloroform was given. The wound gradually healed, but the post physician complained that the young man's "would be friends . . . tried to convince him . . . that I was killing him by slow degrees and from the first every prejudice and every superstition was brought to bear to shake his confidence and take him from me."¹³

Inflammation of the eyes plagued the Indians near Fort Larned. This ailment was believed to be caused by smoke from the Indians' lodge fires, although religious ceremonies also contributed to this medical problem.

A young Arapahoe warrior died at Fort Larned, and the lodge in which the body lay in repose was crowded the entire night with kinsmen chanting and dancing around the lodge fire centered in the tipi. In this instance the smoke reportedly was almost suffocating. In addition to the smoke of lodge fires irritating the eyes of the Indians, the high winds on the plains were believed to have a similar effect.¹⁴

There were other problems that affected the Indians near Fort Larned. Venereal diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhea were problems, with syphilis being more prevalent. Surgeon Forwood noted that the Indians either had little gonorrhea or paid scant attention to it, for he had not been called to treat any cases. Chills, fever, and lung disease were additional Indian ailments. The surgeon observed, however, that the Indians were relatively free of bowel problems and indigestion. He reported that they could exist for months in a healthy condition while eating solely a meat diet.¹⁵

The duties of the post surgeon at Fort Larned were numerous. He made sick calls, treated numerous afflictions, dispensed medicines and medical advice, performed both major and minor operations, attempted to maintain a hospital that to his chagrin was usually inadequate, and served the needs of both the soldiers and their families. The surgeon also supervised the work of aides, attendants, and stewards in the post hospital wards. Simultaneously, the medical officer kept his department's financial records at the post, performed coroner duties, and kept zoological, botanical, and weather records wherever he was stationed.¹⁶

Assistant Surgeon Alfred A. Woodhull at Fort Larned was an example of the post physician performing multiple duties. In addition to caring

for the sick and wounded, he took temperature readings and recorded the rainfall. In October of 1869, Woodhull complained that his weather instruments were less than accurate. "A new standard thermometer and rain guage were received at this post," he noted. "It was shown that the thermometer previously in use was utterly unreliable."¹⁷

The surgeons at Fort Larned also made observations of the surrounding vicinity, not only of the geography but also of celestial bodies. In November of 1868, Surgeon Forwood made note of a "fine display of meteors. . . . The average number of meteors that could be seen by one observer, when the shower was at its height, was about ten per minute, many of them were great brilliancy often leaving a smoky trace behind, which did not entirely disappear for some minutes." He commented further: "The line of their paths all seemed to radiate from a point in the constellation Leo."¹⁸ The doctors at Fort Larned also reported a solar eclipse in August of 1869 and a "magnificent aurora" in September of 1870.¹⁹

At the same time the doctors performed their required duties, they attempted to continue their professional research, searching for answers and cures to better living conditions at the post. Often medical theory was put into practice by the surgeons. For example, medical officers constantly were on the alert for inadequate ventilation of soldiers' quarters, believing that proper circulation of fresh air was a major factor in achieving good health. In October of 1869, the post surgeon at Fort Larned recommended to the post commander that ventilation be improved in the enlisted men's barracks by installing air ducts from the ceilings to the roofs. The commander approved the request, but the money-minded quartermaster's office disapproved of the idea.²⁰

In addition to suggestions about ventilation at Fort Larned, the post surgeon continuously attempted to obtain improvements for the hospital. At first it was housed in an adobe building for nearly a decade. Post physicians had petitioned their superiors for years asking for an appropriate facility. Surgeon Forwood was one of the doctors who made a forceful plea to the Surgeon General in October of 1868: "I have the honor to request that I may be furnished with one hospital in good order, for use of the sick at this post." He pointed out that the "adobe building now used for this purpose is about worn out and in a condition which renders it liable to fall down on the sick at every storm that comes. It has already given way in one wall, and has been propped up." Forwood explained that the "steward has spent most of the past summer in patching it up to keep out the dust and rain, and still more exertion will be required this winter to keep out the snow."²¹

Forwood reported that the hospital had been "frequently inspected by the post commander, and by other officers, and pronounced unfit for the proper treatment of the sick, and this unfitness becomes still more apparent by comparison with the new and commodious stone buildings occupied as store-rooms and offices, and with the comfortable houses of the officers." Caustically, the surgeon commented that it "was a custom in former times to look after the comfort of the sick as one of the first things in building a post, but here it seems to have been left to the last, and finally, by some oversight, neglected altogether." In summation Forwood expressed hope that "these just grounds of complaint may be speedily removed, by giving the matter the prompt attention which its importance demands."²² Initially this pointed request fell on deaf ears, but eventually Forwood's successor profited by receiving a new

building. Surgeon Alfred A. Woodhull was post physician when the hospital was moved in 1871 into the east wing of the cavalry barracks.²³

Because of the chief physician's numerous duties at Fort Larned and other Central Great Plains garrisons, hospital stewards were given many assignments that helped alleviate the surgeon's work load. The hospital aides prepared meals, changed bandages, provided proper diets for patients, and bathed the ill and injured. The army rotation system for post duty caused problems, for after an attendant was trained, he might be assigned to other duty or be transferred to another station with his company. Most soldiers assigned to medical detail had little, if any previous medical experience or knowledge, and the time and effort it took to train new stewards reduced the effectiveness of the medical corps at the post. Nevertheless, the garrison surgeon and his staff did the best they could.²⁴

Most medical problems at frontier garrisons like Fort Larned were caused by water supply, climate, and many soldiers living in close proximity in poorly constructed and inadequately ventilated barracks. The presence of few bathing facilities caused numerous boils on the soldiers. One surgeon at Fort Larned noted that the men generally bathed in Pawnee Fork Creek when conditions were right. The scarcity of sanitary facilities like baths at the post caused problems for the surgeon in implementing his plan for good health. As late as 1870, there were no water closets at Fort Larned. Facilities for the troops consisted of a small privy in the yard adjacent to each barracks. The post surgeon continually urged the commanding officer at the post to detail men to dig new and more privy holes while covering old in order to provide a healthier climate for the men at the fort. Related to these sanitation

conditions were such sicknesses as tonsillitis, catarrh, and other communicable diseases prevalent at the post. These ailments seemed to strike new recruits unaccustomed to the unpredictable Central Great Plains environment.²⁵

Afflictions such as bronchitis, malarial intermittent fever, and laryngitis also were acquired by the soldiers, and contagious illnesses generally swept quickly through Fort Larned and other frontier garrisons. These diseases, especially the feverish types, usually reduced the manpower of the post because they took soldiers from duty for an average of two to four days. Malarial intermittent fever and other fevers similar to it stalked the troops in all seasons and in all weather conditions. Nevertheless, the fevers were more prevalent from late spring to early fall. The summer season was a time especially conducive for the sicknesses, for this was the period when mosquitoes proliferated and carried the problem-causing fevers.²⁶

During the winter months at Fort Larned, fevers were replaced by ailments such as bronchitis and rheumatism. Bronchitis caused the lungs to swell, and rheumatism caused the joints to do likewise. Numerous reports of these winter and summer diseases tend to indicate that post buildings provided less than adequate protection from natural elements such as cold weather, high winds, and infectious insects.²⁷

Various other diseases and sicknesses were reported by post surgeons at Fort Larned. One of the diseases that appeared frequently at all frontier forts and during all seasons of the year was scurvy. This was a medical problem identified by bleeding and swollen gums. The victim also had bursting blood vessels in the skin and mucous membranes and spots on the skin. In addition, symptoms included weakness, anemia, and

soreness. The ailment was caused by a deficiency of vitamin C in the soldier's diet, and the problem was often alleviated when antiscorbutics (fresh vegetables) were added to the daily fare of the troops.²⁸

Rabid wolves in the vicinity of Fort Larned posed extraordinary medical hazards for the troops of the garrison and threaten life and limb on occasion. On August 5, 1868, a large grey wolf spread terror among the inhabitants at the fort. The animal charged onto the post grounds at approximately 10:00 p.m. Quickly it was realized that the wolf was rabid, for it furiously dashed into the hospital and attacked Corporal Mike McGuillicuddy of Company C, Third Infantry Regiment, who was convalescing in bed. The wolf bit the corporal severely on the left hand and right arm, nearly taking off the little finger on the soldier's left hand. The rabid animal then raced through a group of men and women sitting and visiting on Major Edward W. Wynkoop's front porch. There the wolf bit First Lieutenant John P. Thompson, Third Infantry Regiment, on both legs.²⁹

Soon afterward the animal attacked and bit Private Thomas Mason, Company A, Tenth Cavalry Regiment, who was on stable guard, lacerating his right foot in two places. In a short time the grey beast left its mark in all parts of the garrison, on both man and building. Rapidly moving, the wolf snapped at all things at hand, tearing tents, window curtains, bed clothing, and anything near its slashing fangs. An excited sentinel at the guardhouse fired over the wolf while it ran between his legs. At the hay stacks another guard finally killed the rabid wolf with a well-directed shot. The wolf was described as very large, and its "long jaws and teeth presented a most formidable appearance."³⁰

The surgeon of Fort Larned then had to treat the wounded soldiers. He cauterized the lacerations with nitrate of silver. Meanwhile, many Indians were camped in the vicinity of the fort, and the post doctor questioned them about their experiences with rabid wolves. The Indians told the surgeon that "mad" wolves appearing in their villages during that time of the year were not infrequent. They also said that after a rabid wolf entered their camp it made no attempt to escape, rushing "furiously from place to place until he is disabled."³¹ The Indians told the physician that they knew of no person who had recovered after receiving even the slightest scratch from the tooth of the rabid animal. Consequently, the Indians did not treat rabies victims. They told of how a warrior bitten by a rabid animal developed hydrophobia spasms. While delirious, the man threw himself into water and drowned, but his tribesmen did nothing.³²

A month after the wolf's attack, Corporal McGillicuddy began showing signs of hydrophobia. The surgeon had washed the man's wounds, but McGillicuddy refused to have his finger amputated. He died on September 9. A large Newfoundland dog had fought with the rabid wolf, and it developed symptoms of hydrophobia and died also. The other bitten soldiers, Thompson and Mason, were fortunate, for their wounds healed, and the men appeared to the surgeon "to be in perfect health."³³

Cholera on the Central Great Plains was an intermittent problem at frontier garrisons. An epidemic of the dreaded disease spread across the plains of Kansas during the summer of 1867, hitting Fort Larned and other frontier posts. The carrier of the epidemic was likely three companies of the Thirty-Eighth Infantry Regiment, but this assumption has been debated. A new interpretation contends that the disease was

carried by civilians, especially by employees of the quartermaster department who transported freight to the frontier posts.³⁴

Cholera struck suddenly and with devastating results. The disease was acquired by human contact with the comma-shaped cholera bacillus in contaminated food and water. The germ entered the body by way of the mouth, embedding itself in the intestine. There the bacillus released toxins, causing rapid dehydration. The effects of the disease were serious, for body tissues dried out and blood thickened. The kidneys ceased functioning because they were overburdened, resulting in toxic substances concentrating in the body. Consequently, if dehydration failed to kill, then kidney failure often resulted in death. Usually, without forewarning symptoms, the disease was acquired. While the disease rapidly developed, the victim experienced much vomiting and diarrhea, causing severe prostration and notable dehydration. The illness lasted briefly, usually three to five days, and often resulted in death.³⁵

Cholera came to Fort Larned in July of 1867. The episode unfolded that month when Governor Samuel J. Crawford of Kansas authorized the organization of four companies of state militia. These troops were charged with protecting graders working for the Union Pacific Railroad in western Kansas and with keeping the Santa Fe Trail passable for wagon trains and stage coaches. The militia companies were mustered in under the command of Major Horace L. Moore as the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment at Fort Harker, Kansas, on July 15. Cholera was present at the post, however, and some of the new recruits succumbed to the disease while they were taking their oath of service. This infected command carried the disease to Fort Larned.³⁶

Major Moore wasted little time in marching his command from the plagued garrison at Fort Harker to Fort Larned, leaving his sick behind. On July 28 when the volunteer cavalry camped near Fort Zarah at Pawnee Rock and had their evening meal, said Major Moore, the "peaceful camp became a hospital of screaming cholera patients. Men were seized with cramps in their stomachs, legs, and arms."³⁷ The company surgeon could do little, and by the next morning five troopers had died and thirty-six were gravely ill. The healthy soldiers loaded their sick companions into wagons and an ambulance and slowly moved toward Fort Larned.³⁸

Major Moore dispatched part of his command to inform the commanding officer at Fort Larned of his troop's medical situation. Upon the arrival of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment at Fort Larned, the sick of the command were placed under the care of the post surgeon at the garrison's hospital. Other than the five soldiers who died on the trail, all the remaining troopers of the volunteer command recovered from their illness except the company surgeon. The dedicated young doctor contracted the disease that he had courageously fought and died at Fort Larned. Alonzo Ballard, a member of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, commented about his company's experience: "I believe that cholera was amongst us for most every one of us was taken with diarrhea, vomiting and griping in the stomach."³⁹ After Ballard's regiment moved onto the plains a little west of Fort Larned, the cavalryman said: "this country appears to be quite healthy and I think we are clear from the cholera."⁴⁰

The Thirty-Eighth Infantry Regiment, commanded by Major Henry C. Merriam, also was at Fort Larned during July of 1867. The only illness in the command was shown by a sergeant in Company D who became sick on

July 3. Three days after Merriam's command moved from Fort Larned, the enlisted man died.⁴¹

John J. Marston, acting assistant surgeon at Fort Larned, reported that "epidemic cholera was brought to this post by two companies of the 38th infantry, under command of Major Merriam, en route to New Mexico, which arrived at this post on the 2d instant [July], having several cases of epidemic cholera along."⁴² The surgeon requested of the commanding officer at Fort Larned that the soldiers of the Thirty-Eighth Infantry Regiment not be allowed within two miles of the post, but his plea was denied. The two companies that allegedly were diseased were allowed to camp within 500 yards of the post for two days.⁴³

On July 6, 1867, the initial case of cholera appeared at Fort Larned, and two more followed within five days. Of these three cases, two proved fatal. One trooper of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment died, as did a woman at the post, Ann E. Coleman. Also during the first part of July, the quartermaster department was stricken, and eight of its employees developed cholera symptoms. Of the eight cases, four were fatal. By July 15 the disease had disappeared at Fort Larned, and no cases were reported among civilian or soldier population after that date. The post surgeon told of his efforts to curtail the disease at Fort Larned by noting that "all public trains and detachments of troops passing have more or less cases of this disease [cholera]; but all cases from these infected commands, when brought to this post for treatment, are treated in a quarantine hospital two miles distant from the post."⁴⁴

This quarantine policy was applied to a detachment of the Seventh Cavalry Regiment commanded by Major Joel H. Elliott. The detachment arrived at Fort Larned on July 12, but by the end of the month the

command had moved east to Walnut Creek. While in that vicinity, however, one of the troopers developed an illness that had all the symptoms of cholera. The soldier was taken to Fort Larned's quarantine hospital, where he died on August 1.⁴⁵

Other action was taken by medical personnel at Fort Larned as soon as cholera first appeared. Sanitation precautions were initiated at the garrison to prevent the spread of the disease. According to Acting Assistant Surgeon Marston, the men at the post were lectured on cleanliness. At the same time Marston said, the privies and "all foul places" were disinfected by using "unslaked lime and strong acids." Another precaution was taken when the contaminated quartermaster's employees were ordered to move a half-mile away from their regular camp at the fort.⁴⁶

The soldiers on the plains were not the only victims of cholera. Travelers along roads such as the Santa Fe Trail also were attacked by the dreaded disease. Freighter Charles Raber claimed that during the summer of 1867 "we had two very dangerous enemies to contend with--cholera and Indians."⁴⁷ Raber's eight-wagon train was one of the groups restricted from Fort Larned. His request for medical attention for his men also was refused by the post surgeon, he alleged. He viewed this bitterly: "I felt very sore for I thought we deserved better treatment, especially as we were engaged in hauling stores for 'Uncle Sam.'"⁴⁸

The cholera epidemic apparently subsided along the Santa Fe Trail about the end of July, although four more cases of cholera were reported on the trail during 1867--two fatal. Most travelers and settlers on the Kansas frontier feared the Indians of the Central Great Plains more than

they did cholera and its potential effects. The epidemic did little to curtail travel across the major immigrant trails through Kansas during this disease-riddled period.⁴⁹

Numerous surgeons served at Fort Larned during its existence, but of those who worked at the post, one of the most enigmatic was Assistant Surgeon John W. Brewer. During his tour of duty at the post, he managed to alienate most of the officer corps by his peculiar behavior. Born in Annapolis, Maryland, on November 28, 1840, Brewer attended Saint John's College in that city. After earning his Bachelor of Arts degree, he entered the University of Maryland Medical School. By October of 1862, Brewer had completed his medical studies, worked as a civilian doctor, took the army medical examination, and received an appointment as an assistant surgeon. After the Civil War Brewer served at the post hospital at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In March of 1871, a physician at the fort examined Brewer and determined that his colleague had malaria. The doctor also informed Brewer that the windy climate of the prairies aggravated a neuralgic condition that he had. Consequently, Brewer requested a transfer to the East but was refused. He instead was assigned to Fort Larned, arriving there in April of 1871.⁵⁰

Brewer soon became involved in controversy after his arrival at Fort Larned. In a conversation with First Lieutenant David A. Griffith on the porch of their officers' quarters, their talk turned to the chaplain's sixteen-year-old daughter, Susan McLeod. Brewer informed Griffith that he could tell that the chaplain's daughter was an "amorous girl" by observing her mouth and lips. Brewer also told the first lieutenant that the girl previously had engaged in an affair with an officer at Fort Delaware, Delaware. The conversation seemed harmless,

but several months later the McLeod girl became ill during a Sunday religious service and was sent home. Brewer was summoned to examine her. After his house call Brewer told Mrs. David Griffith that Susan McLeod had the symptoms of pregnancy and that he suspected First Lieutenant John P. Thompson to be the father. Brewer explained to Mrs. Griffith that Thompson previously had an affair with another woman at Fort Larned, had tired of her, and had begun his quest of Miss McLeod. The surgeon then spread this gossip to all the officers and their wives at the post. When the irate chaplain and his wife charged that Brewer had fabricated the story, the surgeon started a rumor that the chaplain's daughter, according to the medical report on Brewer, "had a disease which caused her to solicit intercourse with men."⁵¹

Controversy concerning Assistant Surgeon Brewer failed to subside, and soon the physician exhibited more erratic behavior. The furor of the incident involving the chaplain's daughter barely had faded when Brewer created excitement again after conducting an examination of the wife of Second Lieutenant Charles E. Campbell. Brewer had examined the Second Lieutenant's wife and had surgically removed a vaginal growth. But then the surgeon began to tell all officers and their wives, the medical report on Brewer revealed, "in intimate and explicit detail" the particulars of the examination and consequent surgery.⁵²

After the furor of the Campbell incident decreased, Brewer began to pursue Mrs. David A. Griffith. In the evening of November 2, 1871, the physician went to the Griffiths' section of the officers' quarters while Mrs. Griffith's husband was on temporary duty at Fort Hays, Kansas. Brewer told Mrs. Griffith of his love for her and degraded her husband by calling him an "incompetent and a fool" in an attempt to win her

favor. This unwelcomed courtship continued for three hours, a period when Brewer cried and periodically acted violently. Finally the surgeon left Mrs. Griffith at midnight. Two days later Brewer encountered the woman, again proclaiming his love for her. Frightened, the woman fled to the chaplain's quarters where she stayed until her husband returned. Chaplain McLeod noticed that when Mrs. Griffith arrived, her condition was "of extreme worry and excitement."⁵³

Brewer's unprofessional activities prompted the officers and their wives at Fort Larned to begin legal proceedings against the bizarre surgeon. Written testimony was collected by the accusers, but they decided to alter their course of action. Instead of filing charges the officers and their wives wrote to the department commander at Fort Leavenworth, informing him of Brewer's misconduct. The department commander maintained that he could do nothing unless the officers filed charges. Those at Fort Larned, therefore, decided to forget the action because of their belief that Brewer's behavior, his medical file revealed, had "probably stemmed from taking opium or morphine."⁵⁴

Action was taken by the medical director of the department at a later date. He ordered Brewer to report to his departmental officer where he observed the wayward physician for six weeks. After the observation Brewer was returned to Fort Larned, but he created no more controversy during the rest of his time at the garrison. The strange doctor left the post on April 23, 1872, and died soon in a mental institution.⁵⁵

The post surgeon and his staff at Fort Larned worked diligently to keep the garrison at its maximum strength by caring for the sick and wounded and by returning them to active duty as soon as possible.

Despite their hardships and the disadvantages of far less than perfect working conditions, the medical corps preformed a vital duty at Fort Larned. The physicians and stewards commendably served an already undermanned army by providing services that improved health, hygiene, and living conditions at the fort. These doctors also helped to maintain the physical well-being of the civilian and government employees who lived at the post. Even the Indians of the vicinity benefited from medical treatment by Fort Larned physicians and their staffs, as did many a traveler on the Santa Fe Trail. Without the medical corps at Fort Larned, the post would have been hard pressed to have functioned as well as it did.

FOOTNOTES

¹Percy M. Ashburn, A History of the Medical Department of the United States Army (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), p. 90.

²Ibid., p. 89.

³"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 300, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870.

⁴Ibid.; Plains, November 25, 1865, p. 3; Jerry B. Ramsey, "Fort Hays: An Analysis of the Federal Government's Military Activities on the Kansas Plains" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1972), pp. 77-78.

⁵Charles Raber, "Personal Recollections of Life on the Plains from 1860 to 1865," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVI (1923-1926), p. 322; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864, p. 401.

⁶"Bypaths of Kansas History," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, p. 100.

⁷Fort Larned Records, pp. 145, 193, 213, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁸Ibid., p. 149.

⁹Ibid., throughout.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 217.

¹¹Ibid., p. 213.

¹²Ibid., p. 81.

¹³Ibid., pp. 81, 89.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶David A. Clary, "The Role of the Army Surgeon in the West: Daniel Weisel at Fort Davis, Texas, 1868-1872," Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 54-55.

¹⁷Fort Larned Records, p. 141, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 120, 133.

²⁰"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 299, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870; Clary, "The Role of the Army Surgeon in the West: Daniel Weisel at Fort Davis, Texas, 1868-1872," Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

²¹"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 300, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870; Fort Larned Records, pp. 93-94, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 205.

²⁴Ramsey, "Fort Hays: An Analysis of the Federal Government's Military Activities on the Kansas Plains," pp. 81-82.

²⁵Fort Larned Records, p. 131, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; "Report on Barracks

and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, pp. 300, 308, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870.

²⁶Fort Larned Records, throughout, Register of Sick and Wounded, Field Records of Hospitals, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Herbert H. Waite, Disease Prevention (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1926), pp. 382-412.

²⁷Fort Larned Records, throughout, Register of Sick and Wounded, Field Records of Hospitals, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; "Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 305; United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870.

²⁸Fort Larned Records, throughout, Register of Sick and Wounded, Field Records of Hospitals, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Benjamin F. Miller and Claire B. Keane, Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Medicine and Nursing (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1972), p. 864.

²⁹Fort Larned Records, p. 85, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., p. 89.

³⁴Ramon Powers and Gene Younger, "Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1972), pp. 360-361.

- ³⁵Ibid., p. 352; Leavenworth Daily Conservative, August 3, 1867, p. 1.
- ³⁶Samuel J. Crawford, Kansas in the Sixties, p. 260; Daily Champion, July 28, 1867, p. 2.
- ³⁷Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI (1897-1900), pp. 35-36.
- ³⁸Ibid.; George B. Jenness, "The Battle of Beaver Creek," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. IX (1905-1906), pp. 443-444; Henderson Burgess, "The Eighteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and some Incidents Connected with its Service on the Plains," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XIII (1913-1914), pp. 534-536.
- ³⁹Leavenworth Daily Conservative, July 30, 1867, p. 1; Daily Free Press, August 5, 1867, p. 1; Hays Daily News, August 6, 1867, p. 8; Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p. 36.
- ⁴⁰Hays Daily News, August 6, 1867, p. 8.
- ⁴¹"Report on Epidemic Cholera and Yellow Fever in the Army of the United States, During the Year 1867," Circular Number 1, p. 39, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1867 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1868).
- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Ibid.
- ⁴⁴Ibid.
- ⁴⁵Fort Larned Records, p. 86, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.
- ⁴⁶"Report on Epidemic Cholera and Yellow Fever in the Army of the United States, During the Year 1867," Circular Number 1, p. 46, United

States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1867.

⁴⁷ Charles Raber, "Personal Recollections of Life on the Plains from 1860 to 1868," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVI, pp. 337-338.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Kansas Daily Tribune, July 27, 1867, p. 2; Powers and Younger, "Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, p. 388.

⁵⁰ John W. Brewer, Medical Officers' File, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵¹ Ibid.; A. Berl Clemensen, Historic Furnishing Study: Enlistedmen's Barracks and Post Hospital, HS-2, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas (Denver: National Park Service, 1979), pp. 116-117.

⁵² John W. Brewer, Medical Officers' File, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Clemensen, Historic Furnishing Study: Enlistedmen's Barracks and Post Hospital, HS-2, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, pp. 118-119.

CHAPTER VII

CIVILIANS

At Fort Larned civilians played a significant part in the operation and success of the garrison. They supplied the soldiers with goods and services and also helped the troops construct and repair the post's buildings. Dependents of the frontier soldiers also gave support to the men at the garrison and helped relieve the loneliness of monotonous military duty on the Central Great Plains. Other civilians rendered valuable service to the soldiers such as the post chaplain, who ministered to the religious needs of those who lived at the fort. Government agents also contributed to the mission of Fort Larned, and Indian agents, scouts, and negotiators who worked at the post influenced the course of Indian affairs at the garrison and in its vicinity.

The sutler was perhaps the most important of the civilians who lived and worked at Fort Larned. He owned and operated the store at the post that provided the soldiers with a variety of goods for their personal tastes. The troops at the fort supplemented the items issued by the quartermaster with those that they purchased at the army commissary storehouse and the sutler's store operated by civilians. The sutler provided foods that enlivened the bland rations issued at the post to both the enlisted men and their officers. Other luxuries such as shoes, soaps, toothbrushes, and civilian clothes likewise were found on the

shelves of the sutler's store. A soldier also could purchase cooking and eating utensils from the sutler such as pans, plates, and cups.¹

Clothing and munitions were popular items in the sutler's store at Fort Larned. Various types of boots, such as calf and split leather styles, were sold. A three-piece suit cost \$60, and gray and white shirts, suspenders, silk kerchiefs, and buckskin gloves were stocked also. For \$25 a soldier could buy a Colt revolver, holster, belt, bullet mold, and powder flask. Just browsing through the store provided entertainment for many bored soldiers.²

Probably the most items sold by the sutler to troops stationed at Fort Larned were food products. These consisted primarily of canned beans, oysters, lobsters, tomatoes, condensed milk, and sardines. These snacks provided relief from the usual army issued rations.³

Many other items sold by the sutler were considered by the soldier as near necessities. These included chewing and smoking tobacco, and incidental items like pocketknives, combs, and whisk brooms. Coffee, sugar, thread, whiskey, fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, and numerous other items also appeared on the sutler's stock lists. Consequently, the soldier generally had a variety of supplies from which to select, if he had the money to buy them.⁴

The original government appointment for the sutler's store at Fort Larned went to Jesse Crane in 1859. He then asked Theodore Weichselbaum to join him in the business venture at the frontier fort. Crane had made connections for the Fort Larned contract while he worked as a clerk for Bob Wilson, the original post sutler at Fort Riley. Crane and Weichselbaum forged a partnership for the sutler business at Fort Larned which became profitable for both.⁵

When Crane and Weichselbaum first traveled to the site of their sutler's store at Fort Larned, they were accompanied by soldiers of Company H, Second Infantry Regiment, sent to establish the permanent garrison. These troops were commanded by Captain Henry W. Wessells and Captain Julius Hayden. Weichselbaum apparently was satisfied with the military officers with whom he had to deal, for he described Captain Wessells as "a very fine old man."⁶ When the civilian entrepreneurs arrived, they brought with them the soldiers' baggage and provisions.⁷

The initial shipment of goods for Crane and Weichselbaum's sutler store was taken to Camp Alert, across a timbered ravine, northeast of where Fort Larned was being constructed. The sutler's store was established approximately six to eight months before the more permanent fort was completed. The two partners in the sutler business at the fledgling fort provided items for sale to soldier or civilian who wanted to pay the price. The goods at the sutler's store added variety to the soldier's ordinary fare in the mess hall, and on occasion the store stocked such coveted items as celery and turkeys. The enterprising Crane and Weichselbaum also transported the wives of the soldiers at Fort Larned from St. Louis, Missouri, for a fee of \$20 per passenger. Eventually the two sutlers built a bowling alley at the post in one of their buildings for the entertainment of the soldiers, travelers, and settlers who could afford the price.⁸

Weichselbaum and Crane had business interests at other sutler stores on the plains, and Weichselbaum did the purchasing for those establishments by traveling to St. Louis to buy the goods. The merchandise then was hauled by Weichselbaum's wagons from Leavenworth to their stores at various posts on the frontier. Crane's job was to

supervise the work at the posts where he and Weichselbaum had hired clerks. The head clerk at Fort Larned was George W. Crane, who worked in that position for one year. George W. Crane was the brother of his boss, Jesse. Another brother, Franklin L. Crane, also worked at the Fort Larned store.⁹

One of Weichselbaum's brothers, Albert, clerked as a sutler at Fort Dodge, but was killed in that vicinity on August 27, 1865. Weichselbaum's brother and a soldier went hunting but never returned. Albert's body was found later on a sand bar in the Arkansas River, but the soldier was never found. Weichselbaum learned of the unfortunate incident from another brother, Sam, who was working for him as a clerk at Fort Larned. Theodore Weichselbaum never determined whether his brother had been killed by Indians or by the soldier who had gone hunting with him.¹⁰

Weichselbaum later had a different partner, for John F. Tappan bought Crane's interest in the sutler stores at Forts Larned, Dodge, and Camp Supply. Tappan had been a first lieutenant of Company G, Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, during the Civil War. When he joined Weichselbaum in business, he bought out Crane and invested a capital of \$5,000 in the partnership.¹¹

At times the services of the post trader extended beyond the supply of the garrison. During July of 1864, Weichselbaum was involved in a rescue attempt. Major General Samuel R. Curtis was ordered to Fort Riley by the War Department to raise a militia detachment to march to Cow Creek on the Santa Fe Trail. Hostile Indians had corralled a wagon train at that location. The commander of Fort Riley, Captain James R. McClure, sent Weichselbaum to report to Curtis and act as the major

general's guide on the rescue mission. Weichselbaum also furnished a number of teams and drivers to haul supplies for the expedition of mercy. Curtis marched the Kansas militia from Davis and Pottawatomie counties to Fort Larned, where he borrowed Weichselbaum's horse to ride. Curtis had made the trip to Fort Larned in a four-mule ambulance. The Curtis expedition left Fort Larned, crossing the Arkansas River south of the garrison and scouting that vicinity. The command then crossed Pawnee Fork Creek and scoured the area to the east without seeing any Indians. Recrossing the Pawnee Fork Creek near the mouth of Walnut Creek, the party moved back to Fort Larned. Curtis and the militia returned empty-handed, finding no trace of Indians or wagon train. Apparently the presence of a military force in the area frightened the Indians into hiding and away from the caravan, and the wagons continued.¹²

The post sutlers at Fort Larned also dealt with the native nomads as well as the troopers. During November and December of 1864, the Cheyenne Indians asked Weichselbaum and Crane to trade with them in their winter camp, twenty miles southwest of Fort Larned on the Arkansas River. The Indians escorted the two sutlers, and the trading caravan forded the Arkansas River along the way. The sutlers traveled toward the Indian camp in their four-mule wagon loaded with supplies.¹³

The two Fort Larned sutlers originally planned to trade for a week, but the Arkansas River froze, and they were stranded in the Indian camp for a month. Meanwhile, they were treated with hospitality in the large Indian camp while trading their goods for buffalo robes and antelope skins. In the Indian camp Weichselbaum observed that the lodges were patterned after the Sibley army tent. He also noted that the Indians

gave Crane and himself their own personal lodge. Their Indian hosts fed them well, giving the traders soup in milk pans and roasted dog in other separate dishes. Weichselbaum reported that the Indians raised the dogs for eating purposes, and noted that the animals "were just as nice and fat as could be."¹⁴ The men were also served buffalo meat, some of which was cut into little pieces and mixed with berries into a sausage that made "very fine eating." In addition to the Cheyennes, Weichselbaum and Crane traded with Arapahoes and Kiowas who were visiting their cousins' winter camp.¹⁵

In 1862 Crane and Weichselbaum were authorized by the army to build their store at Fort Larned. Sergeant John K. Wright, Second Colorado Volunteer Infantry Regiment, stationed at the post, was given the contract to build the foundation of the store, designed as a large stone structure. The store had a back room where Weichselbaum slept, and visiting Indians often spent the night on the floor in the front of the store. On one occasion the sutlers hired a Cheyenne Indian to do chores around the store, but when his tribe went on the warpath, he gave his employers notice and left. The departure of the Indian was welcomed by military officials at Fort Larned, for they would not allow Indians near the garrison during times of conflict between natives and soldiers.¹⁶

Sutler Weichselbaum's work with Indians brought him into contact with Indian agents at Fort Larned. On one occasion Weichselbaum conflicted with Agent Jesse H. Leavenworth at the post. After Leavenworth had been appointed to his position as agent, he encountered the post sutler in a chance meeting. Weichselbaum had bought two good blankets from the Indians, but Leavenworth queried about how the trader

had obtained the goods. Weichselbaum told the Indian agent "to mind his own business, that I had bought and paid for them."¹⁷ Apparently Leavenworth had an assistant to back him when he made such pointed allegations, for Weichselbaum sarcastically commented that the "man who helped Leavenworth in his dirty work was a large man."¹⁸ The Fort Larned sutler charged Leavenworth with improprieties in his work as Indian agent, claiming the Indians were supposed to receive blankets as presents, "but Leavenworth traded them to the Indians for buffalo robes."¹⁹ Leavenworth, who made his headquarters at Fort Larned, was paid a small salary, which led Weichselbaum to intimate that Leavenworth might have used his position for personal gain because he "had to make his living from it."²⁰

In the fall of 1860, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commander of Fort Riley, had hired Weichselbaum and his crew to travel to Fort Larned to cut hay for the government's garrison. The hay contract provided Weichselbaum \$65 per day, starting from his departure from Fort Riley until his return to that post. Weichselbaum took approximately ten wagons and some ten extra hands. In the work crew were six large Germans who did the mowing with scythes. The sutler claimed he made a profit of twenty dollars per day for thirty days of work. His crew hauled the prairie grass ten miles from hay fields to the fort, but the workers had to secure water for their livestock from Coon Creek because the Arkansas River was too dry for their use. The prairie hay, however, was plentiful and tall, growing about one and one-half feet high in places. Adding to Weichselbaum's good fortune was the fact that the Indians left his work party alone. This early November expedition was a success, and the hay was cut and shipped to Fort Larned. The commander at Fort Riley

noted that he had given the contract to Weichselbaum because nobody else wanted the potentially hazardous job. The sutler, consequently, had accepted the job and the relatively high salary.²¹

Often soldiers served on extra duty cutting hay for Fort Larned. There was generally a shortage of manpower at the post, however, so the government hired civilian contractors to supply forage. For example, in addition to Weichselbaum's contract, in 1864 George Sanderson was given a contract to supply the garrison with 1,600 tons of hay at \$36 per ton. Also, in 1874 a man from the vicinity of Fort Dodge, most likely Robert Wright, was awarded a contract to supply the garrison with hay.²²

When the sutler failed to meet the needs of Fort Larned, he likely was replaced by the officers of the garrison. In April of 1873, the officers of Fort Larned hired Paul T. Curlett who replaced Henry Booth as post trader. The officers claimed that Booth "kept no variety or supply of goods." Curlett later obtained the wood contract in 1874 for Fort Larned through the bid of one of his employees. The sutler was paid \$9.20 per cord, and he hired local settlers to do the work. The settlers had lost their crops to grasshoppers, so they had to work for Curlett or starve. Curlett took advantage of this situation by paying his hired men \$7 per cord of wood supplied. Most of the wood cut came from Walnut Creek, for wood in the vicinity of Fort Larned had long been exhausted.²³

The post trader at Fort Larned often was verbally chastised for selling liquor to his customers. In 1863 the sutler not only was ordered to stop trading whiskey with the Indians, but he was also directed to "neither Give nor sell any intoxicating Liquor to any enlisted man of this Garrison."²⁴ In 1871 the sutler was told that "Hereafter no

intoxicating liquor [will] be sold to any citizen or enlisted men on this Reservation except by the drink without permission from the Commanding Officer."²⁵ Finally in 1878 after complaints were received from local citizens, orders were given by the department commander to "cause the sale of liquor by the post trader to be discontinued until further orders."²⁶

From time to time the trader had other types of problems with military personnel at Fort Larned. Post Sutler Henry Booth clashed with the troops at the fort when his personal livestock continually ravaged the post's vegetable garden planted and cultivated by enlisted men who sorely wanted fresh greens to brighten their usually bland diets.²⁷

Between the Civil War and 1869 Weichselbaum made many trips between forts where he had business interests. He often traveled between Fort Riley and Fort Larned. When the Indians were restive, the sutler made his trips at night, claiming the "Indians never fought after dark. They were afraid to tackle anything they could not see."²⁸ Weichselbaum also made the sixty-mile trip between Fort Larned and Fort Dodge a number of times alone. He noted that there was only one watering hole between the forts some twenty-six to thirty miles west of Fort Larned. But he knew that when he followed the river road, the trip was ten miles further.²⁹

This extensive traveling by Weichselbaum was necessary during the 1860s because he had been awarded several contracts putting up hay and supplying wood at Fort Larned and Fort Dodge. Weichselbaum also had financial interests in not only the sutler's store at Fort Larned, but also at Forts Dodge, Harker, Wallace, and Camp Supply. In May of 1869, Weichselbaum sold his interests in all of the post trading stores to Charles P. Tracy of St. Louis. Tracy earlier had received an appointment

as sutler at Fort Larned and Fort Dodge before making his deal with Weichselbaum.³⁰

Clerks working in the sutler's store at Fort Larned found it unnecessary to know the Indian language fluently in order to sell merchandise to the natives and to operate the store. Using Indian sign language predominantly, clerks quickly learned Indian words important in their trading transactions. One man worked for Crane and Weichselbaum for several years at Fort Larned, serving as the sutlers' interpreter. He had a Cheyenne wife, had lived with the Indians for many years, and could talk the language of all the Central Great Plains Indian tribes. He was a valuable asset for Crane and Weichselbaum, and they recognized that by paying him a monthly wage during the entire year whether he worked or not.³¹

A large trade item at the sutler store at Fort Larned was the buffalo robe. Crane and Weichselbaum hauled thousands of skins on their wagons to Leavenworth, where most were sold to W. C. Lowenstein for a cash price of \$5 to \$6 each. Weichselbaum claimed that Lowenstein made so much profit from the trade that he vacationed in Milan, Italy. The sutler also purchased buckskins and antelope pelts from the Indians as part of the hide trade. In 1867 journalist Henry M. Stanley noted that David A. Butterfield had a trading camp near the fort and had acquired approximately 3,000 "fine buffalo robes" from Indians in the vicinity. Also in Butterfield's camp was Charles Tracy, the "gentleman of St. Louis" who apparently was negotiating to buy the hides from Butterfield to ship to the East.³²

In 1860 James M. Harvey, later governor of Kansas, moved into the vicinity of Fort Larned and settled north of the military reservation.

Weichselbaum hired Harvey and his ox team for one of the sutler's contract jobs at Fort Larned. During the contract period Weichselbaum saved Harvey's life. Rabid wolves often were a hazard in the vicinity of Fort Larned, and near the post a large white wolf frothing at the mouth attacked Harvey. Weichselbaum fortunately was nearby and killed the wolf with an accurate shot from his revolver.³³

In March of 1865, a civilian blacksmith arrived at Fort Larned to take over supervision of the smith shop for the quartermaster. When Smithy William H. Mackey reached the post, each company stationed at the garrison had a horseshoer to do its work. Consequently, Mackey had little to do unless the soldier placed a work order through the quartermaster. Post Blacksmith Mackey also did repairs on wagons passing along the Santa Fe Trail. At this time at Fort Larned, wagon trains were not allowed to pass the garrison to the west unless they had the prescribed minimum number of wagons in a caravan. When the party was complete, soldiers provided escort service. During this time Mackey called his work "a pretty fat job," because he was paid a salary at Fort Larned and did extra work for Santa Fe Trail caravans and freighters.³⁴

While Mackey was working at Fort Larned in 1865, a company of repatriated ex-Confederate soldiers called "galvanized yankees" arrived at the fort. An officer of the company, according to Mackey, was a "Dutch lieutenant built like a beer keg, and very pompous."³⁵ Because the pretentious officer "ordered" Mackey to shoe his horse, the blacksmith became irritated. When the officer returned for his horse, the blacksmith told him he had not had time to do the work. Later the lieutenant repeated his demand that Mackey shoe his horse, but the blacksmith explained to the officer that he had to get an order from the

quartermaster. After trying other forceful approaches, the officer finally offered Mackey a \$5 gold piece and "asked" the blacksmith to shoe his horse. Mackey claimed he would have complied with the officer's wish "on his first call if he had not commanded me to do it," but the mischievous smithy also commented that "I always get some mirth besides pay for my work."³⁶ No doubt the officer failed to see the humor in the incident.

In 1867 the shop building was constructed at Fort Larned. The one-story structure was eighty-four feet by thirty feet and housed a bakery, wheelwright shop, harness shop, carpentry shop, and a blacksmith shop. Built of sandstone, this building was the workshop for men like Mackey who labored to keep the garrison's equipment in working order and the post's men supplied with bread.³⁷

For fuel the blacksmiths at Fort Larned of necessity had relied on forge coal shipped from the East to use in their work. An outcropping of lignite, a poor quality coal, soon was found in sufficient amounts twenty-five miles from the post and mined. As a result a coal shed was built at the garrison to protect the coal from exposure to the weather and possible deterioration. The demand for fuel was so great at the plains post that no trees could be found for miles because they had been cut for firewood and burned.³⁸

Civilian employees at Fort Larned like Mackey occasionally engaged in outside business ventures. During the summer of 1865, Mackey bought a herd of cattle in eastern Kansas, but waited until November to drive them to Fort Larned. On the return trip to the fort with his cattle, he was haunted by the fear that he would be attacked by Indians at any instant. At one point along his trail drive, the amateur cowboy thought

he saw, as he noted "the heads of the enemy" in some grass. Much to his relief, he discovered that the "enemy" was stumps of trees that had been cut for fuel at Fort Larned. Finally, after surviving the fear, weather, and a buffalo stampede, Mackey had his cattle home at Fort Larned with what he described as "little difficulty, but some experience."³⁹

Fresh meat was obtained easily to feed the soldiers, employees, and guests at Fort Larned, for many large herds of buffalo roamed in the vicinity. Second Lieutenant Charles E. Campbell and two other troopers had good fortune on a buffalo hunt near the fort, killing fifty-two of the animals, dressing the hindquarters, and bringing the meat back to the garrison where the soldiers hanged it to dry on the walls of the barracks of the enlisted men.⁴⁰

When wild game was scarce near Fort Larned, neighboring beef growers filled contracts to supply the post with meat. Albert H. Boyd and Al and George Fox, all early ranchers in the vicinity of the garrison, raised beef to feed the troops at Forts Larned, Dodge, and Hays. At times, however, the contractors had trouble with disease in their cattle herds. In early October of 1873, the post cattle herd was stricken by Texas cattle fever. Native cattle that had crossed the Texas cattle trails en route to Fort Larned were found to have fever. Of those cattle, twenty-six had died, and those which survived were thin and weak. Native cattle raised near the fort and Texas cattle were not affected by the disease. When cold weather commenced, the fever abated. No cure for the fever was known, so the troops had to weather the cattle epidemic. By November the cattle fever was gone. The beef contractor, however, was authorized to issue Texas beef to the soldiers in the meantime.⁴¹

At Fort Larned fresh vegetables were a luxury, just as they were at other plains posts. The fort newspaper, Plains, commented that "the arrival of a train loaded with antiscorbutics [potatoes] is a subject of congratulations for everybody."⁴² The editors continued: "Potatoes are a luxury in this section, and even a necessity, for many who are not sons of the Emerald Isle. The Commissary at Fort Leavenworth will please accept the thanks of us all, for the remembrance of our wants. Long live Colonel Morgan. May his shadow never grow less."⁴³ The soldiers realized that fresh vegetables were a luxury in a usually bland diet, but many also realized the necessity of eating antiscorbutics like potatoes and onions to prevent scurvy. In 1870 post traders reportedly were selling potatoes for \$2.50 per bushel, and tomatoes were going for \$1 per peck. To provide their own supply of vegetables and consequently forego paying these prices, soldiers at Fort Larned often tried to grow gardens, but nearly all efforts were futile, the Surgeon General noted, because of "deficient rains, intense heat, poor soil, grasshoppers and hail storms."⁴⁴

Fort Leavenworth was one of several large army depots providing supplies for frontier posts like Fort Larned. Fort Leavenworth was approximately 225 miles northeast of Fort Larned, causing freight to cost \$1 to \$4 per 100 pounds per 100 miles during the period from 1867 to 1870. Long distances from the supply depots and a cumbersome, intricate system of regulations caused the supply of Fort Larned and other garrisons like it to be less than adequate and efficient. Apparently the problems were compounded by corruption in the supply process in both civilian and governmental sectors.⁴⁵

Irwin, Jackman, and Company and Russell, Majors, and Waddell were the two primary freighting companies that nearly monopolized the shipment of goods to the posts on the plains. In 1860 these two large commercial firms sent 863 freight-laden wagons to Forts Larned, Garland, Lyon, and Union. Bent and Campbell was the major contractor for hauling Indian annuities, and they supplied fifty-seven wagons loaded with goods in one year. With the coming of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad to the Fort Larned vicinity in August of 1872, most of the wagon freighters were driven out of business.⁴⁶

In the 1860s the supply flow of food to Fort Larned was hindered at times by dishonest contractors, which increased the problem of inadequate food already plaguing the soldiers. In 1867 bacon reached frontier posts after having been stored in dugouts for two years. Not even the army itself at the time attempted to make the soldier's daily rations appetizing: "12 ounces of pork (or canned beef), or 1 pound and 4 ounces of fresh beef or, 22 ounces of salt beef. 18 ounces of salt bread or flour or, 1 pound of hard bread or 1 pound 4 ounces of corn meal."⁴⁷ To supplement these daily rations, the soldier was given every 100 days 15 pounds of beans or peas, or 10 pounds of rice or hominy; 10 pounds of green coffee beans, or 8 pounds of roasted coffee beans, or 2 pounds of tea; 15 pounds of sugar; 4 quarts of vinegar; 4 pounds of soap; 4 pounds of salt; 4 ounces of pepper; and 1 pound and 8 ounces of candles. For troops in the field, 4 pounds of yeast powder were provided for every 100 rations of flour.⁴⁸

The families of soldiers living at Fort Larned learned to deal with the often monotonous post life. These dependents supported the lives and morale of the soldiers while tasting the misery common to many army wives.

and children living at the frontier posts. Some of the wives worked at such jobs as washing laundry or teaching at the post school attended by both soldiers and children. Laundress women also lived at the post and performed duties for the soldiers. In addition to washing laundry, they at times acted as servants for officers and worked in the post hospital as aides. Civilian women were never great in number at the garrison, but they provided much needed assistance and variety to the usually dreary daily military routine.⁴⁹

The religious needs of the troops and their dependents at Fort Larned were the responsibility of the army and civilian chaplains. An editorial in the Army and Navy Journal illustrated the emphasis placed on the religious needs of the soldier and the duties of the post chaplain. The writer stated that "A chaplain is ordered to preach once a week because it is his duty. Officers and soldiers should be ordered diligently to attend Divine service, because it is their duty. It is a regimental training which they should enjoy under that authority which every well-bred soldier loves."⁵⁰

Father Felix P. Swenberg was one of the civilian clergymen at Fort Larned. Although an Indian missionary of the Catholic Church, Father Swenberg also ministered to the troops at the garrison. He preached to soldiers and civilians of all religious denominations at the post. He was noted as being an adept writer, speaker, preacher, and conversationalist. During his ministries the priest traveled across the thinly settled regions around Fort Larned, talking to those who would listen. Meanwhile, he often experienced hunger, thirst, and exposure on the unpredictable plains. Swenberg and other chaplains at the garrison

brought the soldiers and civilians the teachings and ministrations of the Christian religion.⁵¹

Indian agents and military scouts provided a vital service for Fort Larned and the government. These governmental employees dealt with the Indians and tried to aid the army in the job of policing and protecting the Central Great Plains region. The agents and scouts joined in preventing hostilities between Indian and white culture, and when fighting occurred they tried to bring a quick halt to the conflict.

Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth was the first Indian agent who used Fort Larned as a base of operations. By August of 1861, he was making official reports from Fort Larned on the demeanor of the Indians of the area. In 1863 he was appointed Indian agent for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache Indians. Later, in 1865, he was reappointed, being named Indian agent for the Kiowa and Comanche tribes. When the Central Great Plains Indians signed the treaties of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867, removing them to reservations south of the Arkansas River, the need for an Indian agent at Fort Larned ceased. Consequently, Leavenworth resigned his duties in 1868.⁵²

When the Caddo Indians arrived at Fort Larned in 1863 searching for refuge from Civil War activities in Indian Territory to the south, another Indian agent temporarily made his home at Fort Larned. This was J. W. Wright, a special Indian agent charged with taking care of Caddo affairs. Apparently he left the garrison the following year when the Caddo Indians moved from Fort Larned.⁵³

Another Indian agent at Fort Larned, Major Edward W. Wynkoop, had a significant influence on Indian affairs in the Central Great Plains area like Leavenworth. Wynkoop first was assigned the position of special

Indian agent in early 1866 and given the task of negotiating with the Indians of the Central Great Plains, especially the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. Later he became the regular Indian agent for the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Plains Apache of the Upper Arkansas Agency, replacing the allegedly incompetent and habitually drunken I. C. Taylor.⁵⁴

By November of 1866, Wynkoop had established his agency at Fort Larned, choosing the site for its central location within his agency jurisdiction. From his new agency he issued supplies to the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Plains Apache Indians, and apparently satisfied them. Wynkoop requested that the Office of Indian Affairs procure for him an order from the Secretary of War that would enable him to get transportation, quarters, and storage from any military post in his agency's territory, especially Fort Larned. He claimed that since his Indians were still in a nomadic state, it was necessary for him to have his headquarters in the field, "far removed from civilization," thus being "to a considerable degree dependent upon the Military Authorities" and needing the discretionary authority he requested.⁵⁵

When Wynkoop was first appointed Indian agent, he had located his agency at Fort Ellsworth (later Fort Harker), Kansas, but he soon realized the geographical disadvantages of that location. After moving to Fort Larned, he reported his change of agency headquarters to Superintendent Thomas Murphy. Wynkoop also conveyed his plans to stay at Fort Larned during the winter. He said that he had issued most of his stock of goods and was expecting a large contingent of Cheyennes to be coming to Fort Larned from the north and south. He also stated that he had been very busy since his arrival at the new agency headquarters, traveling constantly to visit his Indians. During these meetings he

had observed that the Indians were better contented than at any other time since he had arrived in the area. He also had reported that the leaders of the three tribes of his agency "want to do what is right."⁵⁶

Wynkoop again contacted Murphy to reemphasize the temper of the Indians of his agency. Wynkoop optimistically claimed that all his charges were "sensibly . . . quiet and peaceable, and I never knew them to be better satisfied or more peaceably disposed."⁵⁷ He said that recently numerous Cheyennes had arrived from the north to escape possible trouble with their warlike Sioux cousins. He emphasized that "many false rumors in regard to Indian affairs in this section of the Country are circulated but they are usually originated by parties to whom it would be a matter of personal interest to inaugurate an Indian war."⁵⁸

Wynkoop's agency at Fort Larned attracted Indians from outlying areas who viewed it as a sanctuary from military and civilian harassment.

Military officials heard the rumors that the Indians were planning to make war as soon as the grass grew green in the spring of 1867, so they ordered Major General Winfield S. Hancock onto the Central Great Plains with a military expedition to confront the warriors with war or peace. Wynkoop served the Indians of his agency at Fort Larned while Hancock carried out his orders, and the agent tried to protect his charges from possible conflict with the army. By fall of the next year, however, another punitive expedition was planned against the Indians of his agency. Realizing he could do little to protect his wards, Wynkoop resigned his position in September of 1868 on the eve of the Battle of the Washita.⁵⁹

Indian scouts also visited or worked at Fort Larned periodically during its existence. On November 12, 1865, the legendary Colonel

Christopher "Kit" Carson was at the garrison. A noted Indian fighter in the Navajo War of 1864 in New Mexico, Carson was passing through Fort Larned on his way to rejoin his regiment in New Mexico Territory. He had been a government commissioner at earlier peace councils with the Indians of the Fort Larned region, and he "spoke hopefully of the benefit to be derived," a journalist observed, "from the late treaty with the hostile Indians, in this vicinity."⁶⁰

Accompanying the Hancock expedition of 1867 was another famous frontier military scout and courier. James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok was at Fort Larned with the large military force. Newspaper correspondent Henry M. Stanley also rode with the Hancock entourage. Stanley called Hickok "one of the finest examples of that peculiar class known as frontiersman, ranger, hunter, and Indian scout. . . . He stands six feet one inch in his moccasins, and is as handsome a specimen of a man as could be found." Stanley explained: "He was dressed in fancy shirt and lethern leggings. He held himself straight and had broad, compact shoulders, was large chested, with small waist, and well-formed muscular limbs." The journalist claimed Hickok was "endowed with extraordinary power and agility, whose match in these respects it would be difficult to find. . . . He seems naturally fitted to perform daring actions."⁶¹

Stanley described two other men like Hickok who were hired as express riders and scouts for the Hancock column. Jack Harvey and Tom Atkins rode also with the expedition to Fort Larned and on into the Indian country. Harvey was depicted by Stanley as "more reckless than Hickok, and has won, for his wild and daring deeds, a name second only to that of 'Wild Bill.'"⁶²

According to the Missouri Democrat reporter, Atkins was equally as brave as the other scouts he described. Stanley recounted a story about Atkins taking command of a wagon train en route to Santa Fe in 1861 attacked by Comanche and Plains Apache Indians. In the ensuing battle "many an Indian bit the dust, the Indians retreated, leaving Atkins' little band masters of the situation," the journalist recorded.⁶³ During the same journey along the Santa Fe Trail, Atkins reportedly squelched a mutiny by the teamsters and took the caravan safely into the New Mexican capital city of Santa Fe.⁶⁴

Delaware Indians also served as scouts for the army. These Indians operated out of Fort Larned with the Hancock expedition when it was based at the garrison in the spring of 1867. Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer commanded this detachment of fifteen Indians under the immediate leadership of Fall Leaf.⁶⁵

During the various peace conferences with the Indians of the Central Great Plains region, numerous government peace commissioners stayed at Fort Larned. The commissioners who organized the treaties of the Little Arkansas River of 1865 were Brigadier General John B. Sanborn, president of the commission; Major General William S. Harney, commissioner; Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson, commissioner; Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth, commissioner; William Bent, commissioner; and Judge James Steele, commissioner. Many of the above commissioners like Carson, Bent, and Leavenworth had many years of experience in dealing with the Indians of the plains.⁶⁶

The commissioners of the Medicine Lodge Creek Treaty Council of 1867 also met at Fort Larned for a preliminary planning session. This group included: Major General Alfred H. Terry, commissioner; Major General

William S. Harney, commissioner; Major General James A. Hardie, commissioner; Missouri Senator John B. Henderson, commissioner; Kansas Senator Edmund G. Ross, commissioner; Kansas Governor Samuel J. Crawford, commissioner; former Kansas Lieutenant Governor Dr. Joseph P. Root, commissioner; Nathaniel G. Taylor, commissioner; Colonel John Tappan, commissioner; and A. S. H. White, secretary of the commission. These men moved from Fort Larned to Medicine Lodge Creek in south-central Kansas where they negotiated peace agreements with the Central Great Plains Indians during the fall of 1867.⁶⁷

The major eastern news services sent their leading correspondents to cover the Medicine Lodge Creek Treaty councils. These men followed the commissioners to Fort Larned. This group of newsseekers included John D. Howland, Harper's Weekly; S. F. Hall, Chicago Tribune; George C. Brown, Cincinnati Commercial; William Fayel, St. Louis Republican; Henry Stanley, Missouri Democrat; and H. J. Budd, Cincinnati Gazette. Other journalists joined this press corps to report on the transactions that resulted in a temporary peace for the Central Great Plains region.⁶⁸

Civilians served at Fort Larned in many capacities. Dependents of the soldiers stationed at the garrison played a unique role over the years by improving morale and the quality of life. Civilian employees such as the sutler and blacksmith provided valuable services for the troops at the post. At the same time men like the post chaplain tended to the religious needs of the same soldiers. When the duty of the garrison involved Indian affairs, various Indian agents, scouts, and government peace commissioners provided invaluable service to not only the government but also the troops and settlers of the immediate

vicinity. Thus civilian personnel at Fort Larned played a significant role in the continuing successful service of the post.

FOOTNOTES

¹Proceedings of Post Council of Administration, November 14, 1865, June 2, 1866, Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²Ibid., November 14, 1865.

³Ibid., June 2, 1866.

⁴Ibid., June 2, 1866, October 15, 1863.

⁵Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 562.

⁶Ibid., pp. 562-563.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, pp. 5, 8.

⁹Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, pp. 563-564, 564n, 570.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 564.

¹¹Ibid., p. 565.

¹²Ibid., pp. 565-566.

¹³Ibid., p. 567.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 569.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 568.

²²United States War Department, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1865 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 86; Fort Larned Records, pp. 85, 140; Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²³Ibid., pp. 136, 298; Council Grove Press, August 20, 1864, p. 2.

²⁴General Order Number 95, July 10, 1863, Fort Larned, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives.

²⁵Post Adjutant, Fort Larned, to Henry Booth, May 6, 1871, Letters Sent, ibid.

²⁶Telegram, Commander, Department of the Missouri, to Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, June 5, 1878, Letters Sent, ibid.; Pawnee County Herald (Larned, Kansas), May 1, 1878, p. 1.

²⁷Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 9.

²⁸Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 569.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 562.

³¹Ibid., p. 569.

³²Ibid., pp. 569-570; Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, p. 29.

³³Weichselbaum, "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI, pp. 570-571.

³⁴Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 649; Special Order Number 5, August 5, 1862, Fort Larned, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives.

³⁵Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 649.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Fort Larned Records, pp. 3, 10, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

³⁸Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 11.

³⁹Mackey, "Looking Backwards," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 650-651.

⁴⁰Tiller and Toiler, September 27, 1923, p. 1.

⁴¹Ibid., October 23, 1947, p. 1; Fort Larned Records, pp. 95, 98, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Larned Press, May 9, 1878, p. 2.

⁴²Plains, November 25, 1865, p. 3.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 300, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870.

⁴⁵Raymond L. Welty, "Supplying the Frontier Military Posts," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 2 (May, 1938), pp. 155-156, 169.

⁴⁶Glenn D. Bradley, "Fort Larned," Santa Fe Employee Magazine, Vol. VI, p. 25; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," pp. 81-82.

⁴⁷Welty, "Supplying the Frontier Military Posts," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, p. 161; United States Department of War, Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861 with an Appendix Containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863, p. 243.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Fort Larned Records, pp. 126, 138, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Albright and Scott, Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁰"Chaplains," Army and Navy Journal, November 5, 1864, Vol. II (1864-1865), p. 165.

⁵¹Kinsley Graphic, December 10, 1931, p. 26.

⁵²Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 121; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863, p. 245; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865, p. 711; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868, p. 536; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863, pp. 253-254.

⁵³Ibid., p. 260.

⁵⁴Major Edward W. Wynkoop to Thomas Murphy, December 9, 1866, James Harlan to D. N. Cooley, July 25, 1866, Letters Received, Office of

Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, pp. 261-262; Timothy A. Zwink, "E. W. Wynkoop and the Bluff Creek Council, 1866," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1977), pp. 217-239.

⁵⁵Major Edward W. Wynkoop to Lewis Bogy, November 26, 1866, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives.

⁵⁶Major Edward W. Wynkoop to Thomas Murphy, December 2, 1866, Letters Received, ibid.

⁵⁷Major Edward W. Wynkoop to Thomas Murphy, December 9, 1866, Letters Received, ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹George Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written from His Letters (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 254-255, 254n; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, p. 265; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, pp. 247, 247n; Nye, Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River, pp. 62-67; Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 184-185; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868, p. 536.

⁶⁰Plains, November 25, 1865, p. 3.

⁶¹Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, pp. 6-7; Thomas D. Isern, "Henry M. Stanley's Frontier Apprenticeship," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1978), p. 31.

⁶²Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 9.

⁶⁵Zwink, "The Hancock-Custer Expedition of 1867," pp. 46, 48;
Custer, My Life on the Plains, p. 67.

⁶⁶United States Department of the Interior, Report of the
Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865, p. 701.

⁶⁷Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia,
Vol. I, pp. 216-217.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 217.

CHAPTER VIII

DEACTIVATION

By 1870 it became increasingly clear that the government planned to abandon Fort Larned. The center for distribution of Indian annuity goods had been removed from Fort Larned to Fort Cobb during the fall of 1868. In 1870 commercial traffic in the vicinity of Fort Larned on the Santa Fe Trail was nearly absent because the Kansas Pacific Railroad had been completed about fifty miles north of the post. Another factor was the construction of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad near the post in August of 1872. These ingredients reduced the protective duties and consequently the need for Fort Larned, because troops could then be dispatched quickly over the rails to troubled spots on the Central Great Plains. Ironically, troops from Fort Larned protected railroad survey and construction crews building the rail line that eventually ended the usefulness of the garrison.¹

In 1872 Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Division of the Missouri, recommended the abandonment of Fort Larned because of the scarcity of reports of Indian troubles in the vicinity of the post. He also claimed that the buildings at the post were frail and temporary, a statement apparently made to justify his recommendation, for the buildings were then quite sturdy and permanent. This was verified by Brigadier General John Pope who reported during the same

year that "Forts Larned, Dodge and Lyon are substantial, well built posts, and will last a long time."²

Because of the threatening tone of Sheridan's statement, Kansas Governor James Harvey officially appealed to War Department officials in Washington, D. C., to retain troops at Fort Larned. He argued that Kansas citizens, and especially construction crew workers for the railroads, still needed protection from intermittent Indian raids. Harvey's pleas were heard, because troops continued to garrison Fort Larned. Gradual deactivation proceeded, nevertheless, but between 1872 and 1878 the fort continued to perform services for the surrounding area.³

A significant event in the life of Fort Larned occurred on July 20, 1872. On that day a construction train of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railroad puffed westward, arriving at Pawnee Fork Creek to the east of the post. Second Lieutenant DeHart G. Quinby and a detail of riflemen of the Fifth Infantry Regiment from Fort Larned assembled on a hill overlooking the end of the track and fired a salute to the approaching train. The efforts of the soldiers at Fort Larned had been successful, for they had protected the surveying and construction parties of railroad workers until they reached Pawnee Fork Creek. The troops continued to guard surveying and construction parties of the railroad, however, when the workers moved west of the post.⁴

With the arrival of the railroad, a new depot was established about seven miles east of Fort Larned. Located at the railroad depot was also a telegraph office, and a new townsite called Larned soon was laid out near the depot. Fort Larned then could receive supplies traveling overland at a constant rate of twenty-five miles an hour on the new

railroad. Soldiers from the post took wagons along a route that followed Pawnee Fork Creek to a bridge at Boyd's Crossing, then on to the railroad siding at Larned to pick up supplies destined for the fort.⁵

General William T. Sherman, commanding general of the army, predicted that when railroads brought sufficient numbers of white settlers to the Central Great Plains region, the Indians would cease to be a menace to the advance of the frontier. The railroad greatly cut government freighting costs. In 1867 the army spent \$511,908.24 moving men and materials along the Kansas Pacific Railroad, while wagon shipment would have cost \$1,358,291.06, more than double the rail rates. With reduced rail rates and increasing transportation service, the population on the Kansas plains would swell.⁶

In October of 1872, the governor of Kansas, James Harvey, requested a census of central Kansas to determine if there were enough people living in the area to justify the establishment of a county. During the summer of that year, Henry Booth, the sutler at Fort Larned, had gone to Washington, D. C., to secure authorization to locate a new land office at the townsite of Larned. By November of 1872, the governor had the necessary census information and declared Pawnee County organized. It was named in honor of the Pawnee Indians who inhabited the vicinity at an earlier date. The county's temporary commissioners were W. A. Russell, A. H. Boyd, and George B. Cox; F. C. Hawkins was named acting county sheriff, and D. A. Bright was appointed acting county clerk. Larned was declared the temporary county seat until official county elections were held.⁷

On November 4, 1872, organizational elections for Larned Township of Pawnee County were conducted in the sutler's store at Fort Larned.

Other elections took place in the towns of Larned, Criley, and Petersburg; these resulted in Boyd, Cox, and W. S. Patten being elected as county commissioners. George Nolan was elected the new county clerk, and W. A. Russell took the position of county treasurer. D. A. Bright, who had been the temporary county clerk, now took the position of register of deeds, probate judge, and county attorney, while Hawkins remained the sheriff of the new county. Simultaneously, Henry Booth was elected state representative. A special election was held to determine the county seat, and with a majority vote, Larned was the winner and declared the official center of county government.⁸

The influence of Fort Larned on the pacification of the region and the advance of the frontier was illustrated by the growth of Pawnee County. With the arrival of the railroad, pioneering settlers came also. Many arrived during the winter of 1873-1874, planning to settle on the land granted by the government to the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. In spring of 1874, an army officer at Fort Larned reported that "Many settlers have located in this County this spring. Larned is becoming quite a village."⁹ In November of 1874, nearly 200 votes were cast in the Pawnee County elections as compared to a total of 80 votes of a year before. The army official making this observation noted that "great is the increase" from just 1873 to 1874.¹⁰

Another indication of the population growth was that in 1873 Pawnee County had an evaluation of \$377,954. Just three years later the figure had increased to \$927,359.27. In that year the county had an area of 756 square miles and a population of 1.33 persons per square mile. The population was 1,006 persons living on 473,840 acres. Of the total land area in Pawnee County, 220,019 acres were classified as

tillable and mainly planted in wheat, a substantial cash crop of the area. In 1875 the wheat harvest averaged 15 bushels per acre, and the total income from this cutting was \$10,995.60 gleaned from 748 acres harvested.¹¹

The first building in the new county seat of Larned was owned by Henry Booth, who removed a sutler's structure from Fort Larned, where he had been a post trader. He moved the building by floating it down Pawnee Fork Creek to the new townsite. In the infant town Booth's building served as the first saloon, restaurant, church, and school. The versatile establishment also was used as a hotel for most new families during their first months in the area while they were getting settled. Larned's first legal residents were George Cox and his wife; Cox operated a combination saloon and restaurant. Henry Booth joined the Cox family in April of 1873, for at that time he moved his family from Fort Larned to the burgeoning townsite.¹²

Settlers who arrived with the railroad were not prepared for the harsh winter and other natural disasters leaving many of the novice pioneers destitute. During the winter of 1873-1874, many settlers requested army supplies stored at Fort Larned. Inasmuch as the supplies were not designated for relief purposes, the requests were denied.¹³

On August 3, 1873, another type of natural disaster hit the area, for on that day the sky darkened as grasshoppers inundated the land. The voracious insects devoured nearly everything edible. One contemporary observer said "the grasshoppers came and destroyed everything left in the gardens, eating even the onion tops. All the corn and vegetables in this county and several counties east, were destroyed by the swarms of grasshoppers; small grains, oats, wheat . . .

escaped their ravages."¹⁴ These grasshoppers struck west-central Kansas, destroying crops already suffering because of a severe drought.¹⁵

The drought and plague victims received some relief from the Kansas State Legislature in Topeka when it voted \$37,000 in state funds to help the suffering settlers. Some of the homesteaders of the Fort Larned vicinity worked for post trader Paul F. Curlett by cutting and stacking firewood at the post. Curlett had a contract with the army to supply fuel, and the trader paid his hired men either \$1 per day or \$7 per cord cut. This gave Curlett a handsome profit, for he was paid \$9.20 per cord by the government for the firewood.¹⁶

When the grasshopper plague struck Kansas, Mary A. Bickerdyke visited her sons living in Barton County, bordering on Pawnee County. She had captured the attention of the nation for her humanitarian work helping wounded Union soldiers during the recent Civil War. Becoming concerned about the condition of the suffering Kansans, she wrote to friends in Illinois and requested that they send relief. The destitute Kansans received twenty carloads of foodstuffs and clothing as the result of the kindness and caring of Mary A. Bickerdyke.¹⁷

The soldiers at Fort Larned helped their hapless neighbors during these troubled times when possible. As relief societies were formed to combat the demoralizing conditions, the troops at the post toiled diligently to render aid. During the winter of 1874-1875, soldiers from the garrison transported much needed supplies to the grateful citizens of Pawnee, Rice, McPherson, Barton, Reno, Edwards, and Rush counties of Kansas.¹⁸

In February of 1875, Congress authorized relief aid for destitute Kansans. By March the first issues of rations for the settlers were

being distributed throughout the area by the soldiers of Fort Larned. These troops also allocated government clothing and blankets to the nearby counties and their citizens hit hard by the weather and grasshoppers.¹⁹

Another type of terror struck the Kansas plains during November and December of 1874. Part of the Pawnee Indian tribe passed through the vicinity near Fort Larned, causing a great amount of anxiety among the settlers. These Indians were on the way to their reservation lands farther south of Fort Larned, but the post reported that they "terrified the settlers so much that many gave the Indians nearly all the provisions in their houses."²⁰ By this time the troops at Fort Larned had been reduced to a meager force of thirty-five men, barely enough to mount a patrol, let alone squelch a potential Indian war or instill confidence in a fearful public. The Indians, nevertheless, moved through the area, plundering the settlers but not causing any loss of life.²¹

Gradually parts of the Fort Larned military reservation, four miles square, were leased to local ranchers for pasture land. In 1876 Edward Everitt Frizell and Archie Ballinger leased reservation land and moved cattle onto southern parcels of the military reserve. These men noted the opportunity in ranching near the post should it be abandoned and the reservation land sold.²²

Farmers in the vicinity of Fort Larned proved the fertility of the land surrounding the post. "There is no doubt but that the soil in this locality is very rich," a garrison report noted, "and that good farming will be successfully carried on."²³ A large amount of the land was planted to wheat, for the local residents realized that the region "is eminently adapted for this grain," another post report observed.²⁴

Weather during the harvest season of 1877 was unusually good and the roads were developed enough so that the farmers could easily get their crops to market. Occasionally farmers became despondent when natural forces such as hot weather and hail storms reduced crop yields. Yet optimism generally remained high, and the Fort Larned report concluded that "this is the finest part of the state of Kansas, for farming purposes, and one more good year will fill up this county with settlers."²⁵

On October 3, 1878, Brigadier General John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri, reported to the War Department that Forts Larned, Hays, and Lyon were no longer needed for governmental service. He explained that a centralized force at Fort Wallace would provide adequate protection for the Central Great Plains area. Orders had been received at Fort Larned from the Department of the Missouri in June of that year directing the soldiers to deactivate the post as a military station. Public movable property was to be shipped to Fort Dodge, and the troops were to march to Fort Dodge also. Condemned public stationary property and some condemned movable property was to be sold at auction, and a small unit under the command of First Lieutenant John A. Payne remained at the post. Payne's detachment was to protect the property until Congress could pass legislation authorizing its sale.²⁶

Even the post cemetery at Fort Larned was eventually abandoned. Located approximately three-eighths of a mile northeast of the parade ground, the cemetery contained sixty-eight known graves. When the cemetery was officially relinquished on May 28, 1886, the bodies were exhumed by a hired man who was paid \$10 per grave. The disinterred

graves were left open, and they became a local attraction for curious sightseers.²⁷

The remains from the graves were removed to the Fort Leavenworth Military Cemetery. Prairie fires had obliterated most of the grave markers at the Fort Larned cemetery, rendering identification of the bodies impossible. At Fort Leavenworth the graves of the unknown soldiers were marked, "Soldiers from Fort Larned." From post records, the soldiers' remains identified and removed were Major James B. McIntyre, Sergeant James Mahoney, Corporal John North, Corporal Mike McGuillicuddy, Private Justin Langley, Private Patrick Driscoll, Private James Cox, Private G. Hyatt, and Private Joseph F. Schofield.²⁸

During the 1870s until its abandonment, Fort Larned experienced a transition. No longer was it a center for military activities against the Central Great Plains Indians, for it next performed the role of protecting and aiding railroad workers and incoming settlers. This new function the post played until military authorities deemed the garrison no longer necessary in the defensive scheme against Indians on the frontier. In its last years Fort Larned faithfully continued to serve the area and contribute as much as possible to the growth and development of the Great Plains.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4, p. 299, United States Department of War, Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870; Bradley, "Fort Larned," Santa Fe Employee Magazine, Vol. VI, p. 25; "Fort Larned," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, unpagued.

²Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, p. 250; United States Department of War, Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1872 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 48.

³Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 54.

⁴Commander, Fort Larned, to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, April 26, 1872, Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Sergeant M. Ferrell, Company E, Third Infantry Regiment, May 9, 1872, Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Adjutant General, United States Army, May 9, 1875, Letters Sent, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic, November 10, 1899, p. 4.

⁵Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Adjutant General, Division of the Missouri, April 5, 1875, Letters Sent, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives; Fort Larned Records, p. 298, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic, November 10, 1899, p. 4;

Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 9.

⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10; Crawford, Kansas in the Sixties, p. 385, Robert G. Athearn, William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 186.

⁷Fort Larned Records, p. 140, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic, November 10, 1899, p. 4.

⁸Ibid., November 17, 1899, p. 4.

⁹Fort Larned Records, p. 122, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Pawnee County Herald, February 17, 1877, p. 1.

¹⁰Fort Larned Records, p. 148, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹¹Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 12.

¹²Ibid., pp. 12-13; Fort Larned Records, p. 298, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic, November 10, 1899, p. 4.

¹³Larned Press, December 8, 1876, p. 1; James C. Malin, "J. A. Walker's Early History of Edwards County," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 3 (August, 1940), p. 266.

¹⁴Fort Larned Records, p. 132, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹⁵Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic, November 24, 1899, p. 4; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p.

¹⁶Ibid.; Fort Larned Records, p. 136, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

¹⁷Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 13.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Fort Larned Records, pp. 151, 162, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²⁰Ibid., p. 148.

²¹Ibid., p. 151.

²²Tiller and Toiler, October 23, 1947, p. 1.

²³Fort Larned Records, p. 181, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

²⁴Ibid., p. 185.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 109, 125, 165, 185, 217.

²⁶Commanding Officer, Fort Larned, to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, June 22, 1878, Letters Sent, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives; Fort Larned Records, pp. 224, 225, Medical History of Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, pp. 270-271; Tiller and Toiler, March 2, 1943, p. 1; Larned Press, April 27, 1877, p. 2.

²⁷Deputy Quartermaster General to Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Missouri, February 17, 1886, Reservation File, Fort Larned, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Tiller and Toiler, February 1, 1951, p. 1.

²⁸Larned Chronoscope (Larned, Kansas), April 30, 1886, p. 3; Acting Quartermaster, Fort Larned, to Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Missouri, May 2, 1873, Reservation File, Fort Larned, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

CHAPTER IX

REBIRTH

When the last troops left Fort Larned on July 13, 1878, settlers in the vicinity petitioned their congressmen for the opportunity of purchasing the sixteen sections of rich bottomland comprising the military reservation. Local citizens wanted the land for farming. United States Senator Preston B. Plumb of Kansas initiated legislation providing for the wishes of his constituents. Senator Plumb introduced Senate Bill Number 193 proposing the return of the military reservation land to the public domain so it could be purchased by private individuals. After being introduced in the Senate on March 25, 1879, the bill was read twice, then referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and then allowed to die in committee.¹

Senator Plumb again tried to obtain legislation for the sale of the Fort Larned Military Reservation on December 8, 1881, when he introduced a bill similar to Senate Bill Number 193. The new legislation was Senate Bill Number 346, was read twice, and then referred to the same committee which killed Plumb's original bill. The bill remained in committee until January 10, 1882, when the bill was reported to the Senate Committee of the Whole without any amendments. During debate of the bill, Senator Plumb presented an amendment proposing a change in the amount of land an individual could purchase. He suggested that the amount be increased from 80 acres to 160 acres. He argued that most

land laws of the United States provided for the sale of parcels in quarter sections. Plumb made one exception, saying that the quarter section on which the post buildings and government improvements were located should be appraised and then sold at a public or private sale, whichever the General Land Office deemed best. Plumb's amendment was accepted, and on August 2, 1882, the amended bill passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives. President Chester A. Arthur signed the bill into law five days later.²

When the Fort Larned Military Reservation land was prepared for disbursement, some of it became federal land-grant property of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. Improvements on Fort Larned land were located on Section 32, Township 21 South, Range 17 West. This 640-acre tract was purchased on March 13, 1884, when the land was sold at public auction in Larned. The section with improvements was sold by bids, the highest being \$11,056. The high bidders defaulted, however, resulting in the sale of the property for a paltry \$4,000. This transaction aroused suspicion, and an investigation was conducted by the General Land Office. The result of the inquiry was that the buyers had to make an additional payment of \$7,056, making the purchase price equal to the initial bid that defaulted. On June 12, 1885, the General Land Office officially recognized the purchase by the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association, and President Grover Cleveland's office verified the transaction by authorizing a patent for the property.³

The land owned by the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association was later mortgaged, eventually ending in the ownership of Johanna Froer of Lincoln County, Illinois. In 1902 Froer sold 3,000 acres of the old Fort Larned Military Reservation to Edward Everitt Frizell. At this

time about 250 acres of the land were under cultivation, with the remaining acres in native grass. By the mid-1950s the Frizell family had altered the use of the land, keeping only 200 acres in native grass and planting the rest in alfalfa and row crops.⁴

During the 1950s the Frizells employed approximately a half-dozen families who lived in the officers' quarters of old Fort Larned. The barracks that had housed the enlisted men during the frontier period were coupled into what was alleged to be one of the largest barns of the Middlewest during that time. The Frizells used the barracks as hay barns, adding upper stories and shingled roofs. Post buildings that lined the east side of the parade ground--the blacksmith and bakery shops--were converted into machine shops. The commissary and quartermaster buildings that stood on the south side of the quadrangle were used for hay barns and grain bins. The parade ground was left in native grass and fenced for livestock grazing.⁵

While the Frizells owned the Fort Larned ranch, as it was called, many neighbors in the vicinity used the pleasant surroundings for frequent picnics and outings. Some of the outings became annual affairs, and barn dances became a common form of local entertainment on the Frizell property. The Larned National Guard Unit even used the historic grounds for a sham battle during its training exercises.⁶

Probably the only reason the Fort Larned site was so well preserved was due to the efforts of Edward Everitt Frizell and his descendants, Edward Dumont Frizell, his wife, and their son, Robert R. Frizell. As co-owners of the Fort Larned ranch, the latter two Frizells preserved the old fort buildings. The Frizells and their neighbors soon began to realize the potential of the historic site as a tourist attraction.

Consequently, the owners erected signs which welcomed visitors to the old fort. The Kansas State Historical Society and the Kansas Highway Patrol also helped the publicity movement by placing a historical marker immediately north of the Fort Larned grounds on United States Highway 50.⁷

In the early 1950s various organizations approached the Frizells with proposals for selling the immediate Fort Larned grounds, buildings, and a limited tract of land surrounding the site so a public historic monument could be established. The Frizells agreed to sell the land and move if they were provided facilities similar to those the family currently owned. With this situation at hand, on January 10, 1955, United States Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas introduced a bill in Congress proposing that Fort Larned be made a National Historic Landmark. Carlson's bill was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to be studied.⁸

Coincidental to the congressional action historians from the National Park Service, a division of the Department of the Interior, toured Fort Larned. This was part of the government's National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. On September 9, 1955, Merrill J. Mattes, Regional Historian of Region Two of the National Park Service, headed the group investigating the fort's possibilities as a National Historic Landmark. Mattes and his aides were impressed with what they saw--the good condition of the original permanent buildings. After returning to his home office in Omaha, Nebraska, Mattes reported that there were several factors favorable to the designation of Fort Larned as some type of national historic site. The factors he listed in addition to the choice structures were that the government had no

established national historic site along the Santa Fe Trail and the post had potential as a tourist attraction because a federal highway was located just north of the garrison. Mattes's report verified the substance of Carlson's nomination since it recommended that Fort Larned become part of the National Park Service System.⁹

Because of the complimentary reports the National Park Service and the United States Department of the Interior began action to designate Fort Larned as a National Historic Landmark. On January 19, 1956, Kansas Fifth District United States Representative Clifford R. Hope received notification from Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, that Fort Larned had been selected as one of two Kansas sites to be considered for further study. Eleven historic sites in Kansas originally had been nominated. Other than Fort Larned the National Park Service was considering a section of the Santa Fe Trail between Dodge City and Cimarron, Kansas, as a possible National Historic Landmark.¹⁰

Aiding the effort to gain national recognition for the historic fort was journalist Ralph Wallace of Larned, Kansas. He organized the Fort Larned Historical Society in 1957 with the purpose of opening Fort Larned to the public as a tourist attraction. Another objective of the society included a lobbying effort to get recognition for the frontier military garrison by attracting the attention of appropriate officials in Washington, D. C. The ultimate goal was to persuade the United States government to accept Fort Larned as a historic site for preservation purposes. The Pawnee County Historical Society, active since 1923, agreed to assist the members of the Fort Larned Historical Society by lending their collection of artifacts for display in exhibits in the

post's original sandstone buildings. Consequently, both societies worked diligently to build and improve the historical displays at the garrison's museum.¹¹

The initial task undertaken by members of the Fort Larned Historical Society was the chore of removing materials that indicated modern occupancy. This was a monumental job because the fort had been used as a cattle ranch and farm since 1884. At the same time the society and other volunteers prepared the post buildings for museum exhibits. A military and pioneer museum was fashioned from one of the large enlisted men's barracks. One section of this building also served as a curio shop and tourist information-hospitality center. One of the three officers' quarters was furnished with historic furniture and ladies' gowns. Women's accessories were included in the display to illustrate changing fashions. Various horse-drawn vehicles from earlier years were appropriately displayed at the quartermaster building, and the commissary building housed a depiction of an early harness shop. The shop vividly illustrated its usefulness at posts such as Fort Larned, often garrisoned by cavalry troops.¹²

Fort Larned formally opened as a tourist site on May 19, 1957, under the direction and maintenance of the Fort Larned Historical Society. Many spectators visited the site to witness the inaugural and watch a spectacular demonstration of a mock battle between Indians and cavalry, both wearing authentic native dress and uniforms. In 1958 local supporters of the plan to achieve national recognition moved nearer their goal. Fort Larned received national recognition because of a cooperative effort by the Fort Larned Historical Society and the Columbia Broadcasting System. This communications corporation was on a

tour of the West to promote its upcoming season of frontier television shows. By efforts of society members, Fort Larned was chosen as a stopping point on the tour. Many well-known actors participated in the Columbia Broadcasting System campaign and the Fort Larned Historical Society's media event. The festive occasion was marked by a weekend of parades and activities. More than an estimated 30,000 visitors inundated the Fort Larned vicinity, and local, state, and national news representatives recorded the event. Tourists were introduced to the fort and its historical significance, resulting in a notable increase in the number of visitors to the site from that date.¹³

Another landmark was passed in the fort's history on June 6 and 7, 1959. Crowds again flocked to Fort Larned to celebrate its centennial birthday when citizens of Larned and interested visitors paid homage to the guardian of the Santa Fe Trail. The month of June was selected for the celebration instead of the more accurate month of October because of the unpredictability of the Kansas weather in the fall months. Two years later during the Kansas centennial, the fort again received much public acclaim for its role in the historical development of the Sunflower State. In January of the centennial year, the Fort Larned Historical Society submitted an application for the designation of Fort Larned as a National Historic Landmark. Consequently, the efforts of Fort Larned enthusiasts were rewarded on June 18, for the Department of the Interior awarded recognition to the post with a certificate and a bronze marker designating it as a National Historic Landmark. A celebration was held at Fort Larned to commemorate the occasion. Descendants of troops who served at the prairie post, soldiers from Fort Riley, and numerous other spectators traveled to the post to participate

in the event. Former Kansas Governor John Anderson accepted the bronze marker from the Department of the Interior for the citizens of the state.¹⁴

In making the decision to select Fort Larned as a National Historic Landmark, National Park Service historians determined that the significance of Fort Larned was that the garrison had been constructed by the United States Army to police and protect the dangerous portion of the eastern section of the Santa Fe Trail through Indian country. Although a number of military campaigns against the Central Great Plains Indians used Fort Larned as a base of operations, the National Park Service historians pointed out that the principal duty of the garrison and its troops was to perform escort service for wagon trains, mail coaches, and travelers along the main artery of overland commerce to the Southwest.¹⁵

In early 1962 the movement to make Fort Larned a national historic site received additional support with the following endorsement from the National Park Service: "The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, at its 46th meeting, April 30, to May 3, 1962, having noted that Fort Larned, Kansas, has been classified as possessing exceptional value in commemorating and illustrating the history of the United States, has given further consideration to this site and now recommends it for establishment in the National Park System as the Fort Larned National Historic Site."¹⁶ As a result on January 14, 1963, United States Senator Frank Carlson introduced another bill in the Senate providing for the establishment of Fort Larned as a national historic site. Soon afterward Kansas Congressman Robert J. Dole introduced a similar bill in the House of Representatives calling for

the purchase and administration of the proposed site by the National Park Service. These were not the first attempts by Carlson and Dole to ask the National Park Service to acquire and administer Fort Larned.¹⁷

Working together Carlson and Dole gained passage of their bills in Congress. Dole, in his efforts to persuade his colleagues to pass the bill, commented in the House of Representatives that "Fort Larned has been described as 'the most significant military post on the eastern portion of the Santa Fe Trail.' Fort Larned has been recommended by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments as having exceptional value in illustrating the history of the United States." Dole argued that it was "in the same class as Bent's Old Fort, Colo., and Fort Union, N. Mexico, which also played prominent roles in the history of the Santa Fe Trail. Both of these are administered as units of the national park system." In concluding the congressman stated: "I commend the committee for its favorable action and recommend to the House that H.R. 3071 be enacted as amended."¹⁸ Consequently, after favorable reports from various committees in the House of Representatives, it passed House of Representatives Bill Number 3071 on August 3, 1964.¹⁹

Hearings on Carlson's bill in the Senate began on June 22, 1964. Debate surrounded the amount of land to be purchased for the site. The question hinged on whether the National Park Service should acquire title to land with original wagon ruts of the Santa Fe Trail running near Fort Larned. Later the decision was reached to purchase the land containing the wagon ruts.²⁰

Finally, on August 18, 1964, the Senate unanimously passed Senate Bill Number 117, Carlson's bill amended to correspond with Dole's House

of Representatives Bill Number 3071. On August 31, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the bill into law, making Fort Larned the responsibility of the National Park Service for restoration, development, maintenance, and interpretation. This act meant that the original goal of the Fort Larned Historical Society was fulfilled, for Fort Larned was part of the National Park System. Congress appropriated money for the purchase of the fort and some of the Fort Larned Military Reservation land. It also financed the cost for initial maintenance of the site. The Pawnee County Historical Society, meantime, had merged with the Fort Larned Historical Society in 1962, retaining the latter's name. The reorganized and enlarged historical society cooperated with the National Park Service by jointly operating the site until 1973.²¹

The National Park Service soon began to acquire the land for the Fort Larned National Historic Site. With substantial cooperation from the owners, deeds to the land were furnished the government. Robert R. Frizell, Rita Sue Winter, Marlyn N. Brown, James R. Boyd, S. N. Moffet, and Paul Eikmeier sold land to the government for the National Historic Landmark. A number of these sellers had been active in the effort to make Fort Larned a national historic site. One of these promoters was Robert R. Frizell, who was co-owner with his mother of the location on which the post's building were located. He earlier had visited the National Park Service regional offices in Omaha, Nebraska, in February of 1961, asking for information about restoration and operation of the garrison as a tourist site. During the same visit Frizell also suggested the possibility of the National Park Service obtaining the fort for restoration and administration.²²

Parsimonious congressmen objected to the creation of the Fort Larned National Historic Site, but their calls for governmental economy were in vain. Public Law 88-541 provided \$1,237,000 to buy the land and develop the site, and in 1974 when work was completed on the enlisted men's barracks, the statutory expenditure ceiling was reached. Much restoration remained to be done at Fort Larned; therefore, it was necessary for Congress to authorize more funding to fully restore the historic site. Continually Kansas politicians, National Park Service officials, and many interested Kansas citizens worked diligently toward the goal of complete restoration.²³

When Robert R. Frizell formally opened Fort Larned as a tourist attraction on May 19, 1957, members of the Fort Larned Historical Society had many items on display in the west enlisted men's barracks on the parade ground. By 1973 the National Park Service had been appropriated enough money to begin its renovation program and maintain sole operation of the historic site. This meant that the Fort Larned Historical Society finally had to evacuate its location. When restoration work began on the barracks, the society removed its curio shop and museum artifacts nearby to the newly-built Santa Fe Trail Center museum, the new home for the Fort Larned Historical Society's activities and projects. The extent of interest of citizens of the Fort Larned area was illustrated by the fact that they collected enough money for constructing the new curio shop and museum and for hiring a permanent professional curator to direct the work and operation of the center. Located three miles west of Larned, Kansas, on United States Highway 156, the Santa Fe Trail Center complements Fort Larned by presenting the civilian aspects of Santa Fe Trail travel and subsequent settlement of the area. July of 1973,

nevertheless, was a nostalgic time for many members of the Fort Larned Historical Society when they abandoned Fort Larned, just like the frontiersmen in blue had done about a century earlier. The National Park Service was then in full control.²⁴

Since taking over the Fort Larned National Historic Site, the National Park Service not only has removed farm period items such as fences, corrals, sheds, and outbuildings, but also has completed the exteriors of the two enlisted men's barracks buildings on the north side of the parade ground. These buildings were completed in February of 1977, but the interior of the west barracks building was finished in 1979. Inside this barracks building is the visitor center housing the exhibit area. By early 1980 the external restoration of the quartermaster and shops building was completed. Other developments and improvements continue to be made by the National Park Service at Fort Larned.²⁵

Because of fortunate circumstances Fort Larned remains as a military monument to the past. While most frontier posts fell into ruins after deactivation, Fort Larned became the property of persons who put the old garrison into active use, thus preserving the structures because of their economic utility. The fort continued to serve as an agricultural installation until historical-minded civilians and government officials began the process of acquiring the post and restoring it to its frontier condition. Work, dedication, and cooperation by many Fort Larned supporters were necessary for the transformation of Fort Larned from a farming complex into a National Historic Site where visitors can learn about frontier military history on the Central Great Plains.

In retrospect, Fort Larned, like most other frontier military posts, was founded for a strategic purpose. For Fort Larned this reason was the vital duty of protecting mail, commerce, and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail from hostile Indians and renegade whites. Fort Larned integrated into the federal plan for a national defensive network in the Trans-Mississippi West, but on a grander scale, the post was one of a number of frontier forts established to protect the cutting edge of Anglo-American civilization when it ventured ahead of settlement to open new areas for development. Like other military installations Fort Larned's establishment was dictated by innumerable environmental factors on the Central Great Plains such as the geography, animals, Indians, the Santa Fe Trail, and settlers. Thus a group of uncontrollable circumstances combined to set the stage for Fort Larned.

Once established, Fort Larned performed its duty as a base of operations for soldiers on the Central Great Plains. Hundreds of troops came and departed from the garrison, for its central location on the plains and the Santa Fe Trail made it an ideal station for military deployment. The frontier soldiers stationed at Fort Larned faithfully performed their duties, just as their predecessors elsewhere carried out their orders in the age-old profession of soldiering. Troops, be they regular or volunteer, white or black, Anglo-American or Indian, lived and worked at the fort and learned to cope with the isolation and monotony of frontier military life.

Fort Larned and its forces dealt with Central Great Plains Indians as both friend and foe. As on all parts of the frontier, the soldier's duty at Fort Larned was to act as a buffer between white and red people, but often the troops were caught in the middle of a cultural clash.

There were desirable and undesirable soldiers, Indians, and civilians, with the unworthy often undoing all efforts of the worthy to establish peace. The soldiers, however, were agents of the government, and when the citizens of the United States desired more land, officials in Washington, D. C., ultimately supported the whites, and the native inhabitants of the Central Great Plains lost more and more of their once-large domain. This was the dilemma confronting officers and enlisted men at Fort Larned while they worked to preserve peace on the plains.

Fort Larned developed into a small community on the plains, existing as such until the railroad arrived in the early 1870s, when Santa Fe Trail traffic virtually ceased. The fort had police protection as well as other personal services for both military and civilian residents and visitors. The sutler provided necessities and luxuries for purchase, as did the quartermaster and commissary officers at the post. Various forms of recreation also were available for the temporal needs of soldier and civilian, and spiritual services were present for those wanting enrichment of the soul. Civilians living and working at Fort Larned provided support for the troops and contact with non-military lifestyles. This situation resulted in the opportunity for the soldier to escape, at least vicariously, from the often boring routine of frontier soldiering. Fort Larned was not completely isolated, however, because travel over the Santa Fe Trail continuously brought new faces to the fort, both military and civilian, until the railroad arrived. This constant movement of travelers and soldiers in and out of the garrison meant that the post usually retained contact with other forts and cities.

When the railroad appeared near Fort Larned and the days of the post were numbered, the garrison turned to conducting routine military duty in the immediate vicinity of the post and occasionally performed public services for citizens in new neighboring communities such as the town of Larned. This type of public relations activity was not uncommon for military installations on the frontier, for government officials attempted to establish harmonious relations between posts and towns.

From its deactivation to the present, Fort Larned underwent many transitions, but the post structures remained and continued to serve useful purposes. Because of this constant utilization and the fact that a number of interested persons realized the historical significance of Fort Larned, the old post survived, unlike other contemporary Central Great Plains forts. It is perhaps a miracle that fire, nature, or human apathy at some time since Fort Larned's deactivation did not bring its demise. The original charm and character of Fort Larned has remained throughout the years to bring its unique history to present and future generations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Fort Larned, July, 1878, Returns from United States Military Posts, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; United States Congress, Congressional Record, 46th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), Vol. IX, Pt. 1, p. 63; Larned Press, December 13, 1877, p. 2.

²United States Congress, Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), Vol. XIII, Pt. 7, pp. 55, 304, 1081, 6696-6697, 6762, 6800, 6998.

³United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1884 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), Vol. I, p. 28; Abstract, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Taylor Abstract Company, Larned, Kansas, as found in the office of the Pawnee County Register of Deeds, Larned, Kansas.

⁴Ibid.; Hutchison News Herald (Hutchison, Kansas), June 20, 1954, p. 27.

⁵Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," pp. 97-98.

⁶Tiller and Toiler, February 1, 1951, p. 1.

⁷Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 98; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 15.

⁸United States Congress, Congressional Record, 84th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), Vol. CI,

Pt. 1, p. 163; Hutchison News Herald, June 20, 1954, p. 27.

⁹Tiller and Toiler, September 7, 1955, p. 1; Thomas W. Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III (1975), p. 106.

¹⁰Ibid.; Unrau, "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," p. 100.

¹¹Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County, 1872-1972, p. 15; Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III, p. 114; Harold James, comp., "Our Story," p. 4, Santa Fe Trail Center, Larned, Kansas, 1976.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 5; Zygmund, ed., Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee County 1872-1972, p. 15.

¹⁴Ibid.; James, comp., "Our Story," p. 5.

¹⁵Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III, p. 106.

¹⁶"Actions of Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments," May 4, 1962, Background Book, Proposed Fort Larned National Historic Site, National Park Service, Fort Larned National Historic Site.

¹⁷United States Senate, Senate Bill Number 117, 88th Congress, 1st Session, January 14, 1963; United States House of Representatives, House Bill Number 3071, 88th Congress, 1st Session, January 31, 1963.

¹⁸United States Congress, Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), Vol. CX, Pt. 13, p. 17817.

- ¹⁹Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III, pp. 108-109.
- ²⁰Ibid., pp. 109-110.
- ²¹Kansas City Star, September 1, 1964, p. 1; United States Congress, Public Law 88-541, 88th Congress, 2nd Session; James, comp., "Our Story," pp. 5-6.
- ²²Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III, pp. 111-112; Abstract, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Taylor Abstract Company, Larned, Kansas, as found in the office of the Pawnee County Register of Deeds, Larned, Kansas.
- ²³Lucke, "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis," Prairie Scout, Vol. III, p. 114.
- ²⁴Ibid., pp. 114-115; James, comp., "Our Story," pp. 1, 3-9, 15.
- ²⁵Interview, Jimmy D. Taylor, Superintendent, Fort Larned National Historic Site, with author, March 30, 1980.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

- Background Book, Proposed Fort Larned National Historic Site. "Actions of Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments," May 4, 1962, National Park Service. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.
- Brown, Everett M. "Fort Larned, Camp on Pawnee Fork." Unpublished Manuscript, Great Bend, Kansas, 1964. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.
- Fort Larned Census, 1870. Pawnee County, Kansas. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas
- Letter. Brown, Cardella E., Fort Larned, February 8, 1866. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.
- Letter. "Ett" letter, January 4, 1878. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.
- Letter. "Instructions to Officers in Charge of Escorts," July 28, 1865, Fort Larned. Fort Larned National Historic Site.
- National Archives, Washington, D. C.
- Adjutant General's Office. Record Group 94.
- Field Records of Hospitals, Register of Sick and Wounded, Fort Larned Records, Fort Larned, Kansas.
- "Fort Larned," Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, 1700-1900, Vol. L.

General Orders.

General Orders, District of the Upper Arkansas.

General Orders, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters Sent, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters Received.

Letters Received, District of the Upper Arkansas.

Letters Received, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Medical History of Posts, Fort Larned Records, Fort Larned,
Kansas.

Medical Officers' Files.

Reservation File, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Returns from United States Military Posts, Fort Larned,
Kansas, 1859-1878.

Office of Indian Affairs. Record Group 75.

Letters Received.

Quartermaster General's Office. Record Group 92.

Endorsements, Fort Larned, Kansas.

General Orders, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters Sent, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters Received.

Letters Received, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Post Regulations, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Records of the United States Army, Continental Commands, 1821-1920.

Record Group 393.

Letters, Fort Larned.

Letters Sent.

Letters Sent, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters Received, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Post Library Book, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Proceedings of Post Council of Administration, Fort Larned,
Kansas.

United States Army Commands. Record Group 98.

General Orders, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Letters.

Letters Sent, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Special Orders, Fort Larned, Kansas.

Papers. Burton, Augustus W. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka,
Kansas.

Papers. Cragin, Francis Whitmore. Western History Collection, Denver
Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Register of Deeds. Pawnee County, Kansas. Abstract, Fort Larned
National Historic Site, Taylor Abstract Company, Larned, Kansas.
Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.

Transcript. Tape recording of paper given by Robert Nash, November 3,
1972. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.

Newspapers

Council Grove Press (Council Grove, Kansas), 1860-1865.

Daily Champion (Atchison, Kansas), 1865, 1867.

Daily Free Press (Atchison, Kansas), 1865, 1867-1868.

Daily Times (Leavenworth, Kansas), 1859-1860, 1864-1865, 1867.

Dodge City Messenger (Dodge City, Kansas), 1874.

Edwards County Leader (Kinsley, Kansas), 1877-1878.

Ford County Globe (Dodge City, Kansas), 1878.

- Great Bend Tribune (Great Bend, Kansas), 1947.
- Hays City Sentinel (Hays, Kansas), 1878.
- Hays Daily News (Hays, Kansas), 1961, 1966.
- Hutchison News Herald (Hutchison, Kansas), 1954.
- Junction City Union (Junction City, Kansas), 1865-1866.
- Kansas City Star (Kansas City, Missouri), 1949, 1964.
- Kansas Daily Tribune (Lawrence, Kansas), 1864-1865, 1867.
- Kansas Press (Council Grove, Kansas), 1859-1860, 1863, 1876.
- Kinsley Graphic (Kinsley, Kansas), 1878, 1931.
- Larned Chronoscope (Larned, Kansas), 1878-1879, 1882, 1886.
- Larned Optic (Larned, Kansas), 1878.
- Larned Press (Larned, Kansas), 1876-1878.
- Larned Weekly Eagle-Optic (Larned, Kansas), 1899.
- Leavenworth Daily Conservative (Leavenworth, Kansas), 1864-1865,
1867-1868.
- Manhattan Express (Manhattan, Kansas), 1859.
- Manhattan Independent (Manhattan, Kansas), 1864-1868.
- Manhattan Standard (Manhattan, Kansas), 1869.
- New York Times (New York, New York), 1865.
- Pawnee County Herald (Larned, Kansas), 1877, 1898.
- Plains (Fort Larned, Kansas), 1865.
- Tiller and Toiler (Larned, Kansas), 1913, 1923, 1943, 1947, 1951, 1955.
- Topeka Daily Capital (Topeka, Kansas), 1907, 1928.
- Topeka Capital-Journal (Topeka, Kansas), 1964.
- Topeka Tribune (Topeka, Kansas), 1859.
- Wyandotte Gazette (Wyandotte, Kansas), 1867.

Government Documents

- Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903. 2 vols. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.
- Kappler, Charles, ed. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 3 vols. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.
- United States Congress. Congressional Record, 46th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1879. Vol. IX, Pt. 1.
- United States Congress. Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1882. Vol. XIII, Pt. 7.
- United States Congress. Congressional Record, 84th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1955. Vol. CI, Pt. 1.
- United States Congress. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964. Vol. CX, Pt. 13.
- United States Congress. Public Law 88-541, 88th Congress, 2nd Session.
- United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1859. Washington, D. C.: George W. Bowman, 1860.
- United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1865.

United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866.

United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1868.

United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869.

United States Department of the Interior. Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1884. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1885.

United States Department of War. Report of the Adjutant General for the Year 1878. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1879.

United States Department of War. "Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1845." United States House of Representatives, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 2. Washington, D. C.: Ritchie and Heiss, 1845.

United States Department of War. Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1853. Washington, D. C.: Beverly Tucker, 1854.

United States Department of War. Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1865. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866.

United States Department of War. Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1868. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869.

- United States Department of War. Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1872. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1873.
- United States Department of War. Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1897. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897.
- United States Department of War. Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1867. "Report on Epidemic Cholera and Yellow Fever in the Army of the United States During the Year 1867," Circular Number 1. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1868.
- United States Department of War. Report of the Surgeon General for the Year 1870. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular Number 4. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1871.
- United States Department of War. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861 with an Appendix Containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.
- United States Department of War. War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. 70 vols., 120 books. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.
- United States House of Representatives. 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document 240. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1869.
- United States House of Representatives. House Bill Number 3071, 88th Congress, 1st Session, January 31, 1863.
- United States Senate. 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document 26. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1867.

United States Senate. 40th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 2.

Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1867.

United States Senate. Senate Bill Number 117, 88th Congress, 1st

Session, January 14, 1963.

Interview

Interview. Taylor, Jimmy D., Superintendent, Fort Larned National

Historical Site, with author, March 30, 1980.

Theses

Isern, Thomas D. "The Making of a Gold Rush: Pike's Peak, 1858-1860."

Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, 1975.

Ramsey, Jerry B. "Fort Hays: An Analysis of the Federal Government's

Military Activity on the Kansas Plains." Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1972.

Unrau, William E. "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to

the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians." Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, 1956.

Zwink, Timothy A. "The Hancock-Custer Expedition of 1867." Unpublished

Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1974.

Articles

Becknell, Thomas. "The Journals of Capt. Thomas [William] Becknell from

Boone's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River."

- Missouri Historical Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (January, 1910), pp. 65-84.
- Bradley, Glenn D. "Fort Larned." Santa Fe Employee Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 7 (June, 1912), pp. 21-34.
- Burgess, Henerson L. "The Eighteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and some Incidents Connected with its Service on the Plains." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XIII (1913-1914), pp. 534-538.
- Burns, I. T. "A Brush with the Cheyennes." The Trail: A Magazine for Colorado, Vol. II, No. 11 (April, 1910), pp. 14-18.
- "Bypaths of Kansas History." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 1 (February, 1938), pp. 98-105.
- "Chaplains." Army and Navy Journal, November 5, 1864, Vol. II (1864-1865), p. 165.
- Clary, David A. "The Role of the Army Surgeon in the West: Daniel Weisel at Fort Davis, Texas, 1868-1872." Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 53-66.
- Connelley, William E., ed. "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XII, No. 1 (June, 1925), pp. 72-98.
- _____. "The Treaty Held at Medicine Lodge." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), pp. 601-606.
- Culmer, Frederic A. "Marking the Santa Fe Trail." New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1934), pp. 78-93.
- Garfield, Marvin H. "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 2 (February, 1932), pp. 140-152.

- _____. "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1 (November, 1931), pp. 50-62.
- Isern, Thomas D. "Henry M. Stanley's Frontier Apprenticeship." Montana: The Magazine of Western History, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1978), pp. 26-35.
- Jenness, George B. "The Battle on Beaver Creek." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. IX (1905-1906), pp. 443-452.
- "The Letter 'D'." Army and Navy Journal, March 3, 1866, Vol. III (1865-1866), p. 442.
- Lucke, Thomas W. "The Establishment of Fort Larned National Historic Site: A Legislative Synopsis." Prairie Scout, Vol. III (1975), pp. 105-115.
- _____. "Military Justice on the Western Frontier: Fort Larned, 1868." Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1978), pp. 23-28.
- Mackey, William H. "Looking Backwards." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X (1907-1908), pp. 642-651.
- Malin, James C. "Indian Policy and Westward Expansion." University of Kansas Humanistic Studies, Vol. II, No. 3 (November, 1921), pp. 11-108.
- _____. "J. A. Walker's Early History of Edwards County." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 3 (August, 1940), pp. 259-284.
- Mattes, Merril J., ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 8 (Winter, 1955), pp. 569-587.

- Millbrook, Minnie. "The West Breaks in General Custer." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), pp. 113-148.
- Montgomery, Mrs. Frank C. "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), pp. 189-283.
- Moore, Horace L. "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI (1897-1900), pp. 35-47.
- Moore, Milton. "An Incident on the Upper Arkansas in 1864." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X (1907-1908), pp. 414-417.
- Powers, Ramon, and Younger, Gene. "Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1971), pp. 353-393.
- Raber, Charles. "Personal Recollections of Life on the Plains from 1860 to 1868." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVI (1923-1925), pp. 316-341.
- Root, George A., ed. "Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3 (May, 1932), pp. 195-210.
- _____. "Reminiscences of William Darnell." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVII (1926-1928), pp. 479-513.
- Taylor, Morris F. "The Mail Station and the Military at Camp on Pawnee Fork, 1859-1860." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1970), pp. 27-39.
- Unrau, William E. "The Story of Fort Larned." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), pp. 257-280.

- Weichselbaum, Theodore. "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908." Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI (1909-1910), pp. 561-571.
- Welty, Raymond L. "Supplying the Frontier Military Posts." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 2 (May, 1938), pp. 154-169.
- Woods, B. Z. "History of Fort Larned." Aerend: A Kansas Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 1 (Winter, 1934), pp. 3-10.
- Wyman, Walker. "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1 (November, 1931), pp. 17-27.
- Zwink, Timothy A. "E. W. Wynkoop and the Bluff Creek Council, 1866." Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1977), pp. 217-239.

Pamphlets

- "Fort Larned." National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1975.
- "Historic Ft. Larned." Wheat Edition. Larned, Kansas: Supplement to the Tiller and Toiler, 1919.
- James, Harold, comp. "Our Story." Santa Fe Trail Center, Larned, Kansas.
- Progress in Pawnee County. Larned, Kansas: Supplement to the Tiller and Toiler, December 31, 1952.

Books

- Albright, John, and Scott, Douglas D. Historical Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic

- Site, Kansas. Denver: National Park Service, 1974.
- Asburn, Percy M. A History of the Medical Department of the United States Army. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929.
- Athearn, Robert G. Forts on the Upper Missouri. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956.
- _____. William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- Berthrong, Donald. The Southern Cheyennes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Bolton, Herbert E. Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949.
- Brown, Dee. The Galvanized Yankees. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963.
- Chandler, Melbourne C. Of Garry Owen in Glory. Annadale, Virginia: Turnpike Press, 1960.
- Chittenden, Hiram M. The American Fur Trade of the Far West. 2 vols. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902.
- Clemensen, A. Berle. Historical Furnishing Study: Enlistedmen's Barracks and Post Hospital, HS-2, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas. Denver: National Park Service, 1979.
- Cornish, Dudley T. The Sable Arm. New York: Longman, 1956.
- Coues, Elliott, ed. The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-6-7. 3 vols. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895.
- _____, ed. The Journal of Jacob Fowler, 1821-1822. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898.

- Crawford, Samuel J. Kansas in the Sixties. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1911.
- Custer, George A. My Life on the Plains. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
- Dary, David A. The Buffalo Book: The Saga of an American Symbol. New York: Swallow Press, 1974.
- Foner, Jack D. Blacks and the Military in American History. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- _____. The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1865-1889. New York: Humanities Press, 1970.
- Frazer, Robert W. Forts of the West: Military Posts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.
- Freeman, George D. Midnight and Noonday; or, The Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory Giving Twenty Years Experience on the Frontier. Caldwell, Kansas: G. D. Freeman, 1892.
- Frost, Lawrence A. The Court-Martial of George Armstrong Custer. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.
- Ganoe, William A. The History of the United States Army. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943.
- Gregg, Josiah. The Commerce of the Prairies. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1926.
- Gregg, Kate L., ed. The Road to Santa Fe: Journals and Diaries of George C. Sibley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.
- Grinnell, George B. The Fighting Cheyennes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

- Hafen, LeRoy, ed. Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859. Glendale, California: Arthur Clark Company, 1942.
- Haines, Francis. The Plains Indians. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976.
- Hamersly, Thomas H. S. Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States of America, From 1776 to 1887. New York: Thomas H. S. Hamersly, 1888.
- Hoig, Stanley. The Sand Creek Massacre. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.
- Hulbert, Archer B., ed. Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe. Colorado Springs: Stewart Commission of Colorado College, 1933.
- Hyde, George. Life of George Bent: Written from His Letters. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.
- Ingersol, L. D. A History of the War Department of the United States. Washington, D. C.: Francis B. Monhum, 1879.
- Inman, Henry. The Old Santa Fe Trail. Topeka: Crane and Company, 1908.
- James, Thomas. Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1916.
- Jones, Douglas C. The Treaty of Medicine Lodge. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Knight, Oliver. Following the Indian Wars: The Story of Newspaper Correspondents among the Indian Campaigners. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.
- Laubin, Reginald, and Laubin, Gladys. The Indian Tipi: Its History, Construction and Use. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

- Leckie, William H. The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- Mails, Thomas E. The Mystic Warriors of the Plains. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1972.
- Mayhall, Mildred P. The Kiowas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- McKee, Russell. The Last West: A History of the Great Plains of North America. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974.
- Meline, James F. Two Thousand Miles on Horseback. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867.
- Miller, Benjamin F., and Keane, Claire B. Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Medicine and Nursing. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1972.
- Moorhead, Max L. New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Nye, Wilbur S. Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.
- Oliva, Leo E. Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- Rickey, Jr., Don. Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Ryus, William H. The Second William Penn: Treating with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail. Kansas City, Kansas: Frank T. Riley Publishing Company, 1913.

- Sedgwick, John. Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General. 2 vols.
New York: De Vinne Press, 1903.
- Sheridan, Philip H. Outline of Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri, 1876. Facsimile Edition. Fort Collins, Colorado:
Old Army Press, 1972.
- Stanley, Henry M. My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia.
2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- Thompson, Gerald. The Army and the Navajo: The Bosque Redondo Experiment 1863-1868. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976.
- Trenholm, Virginia C. The Arapahoes, Our People. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society.
Topeka: Kansas State Printer, 1931.
- Utley, Robert M. Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973.
- _____, ed. Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1869. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Waite, Herbert H. Disease Prevention. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1926.
- Wallace, Ernest, and Hoebel, E. Adamson. The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.
- Ware, Eugene F. The Indian War of 1864. Topeka: Crane and Company, 1911.
- Young, Otis E. The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail.
Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952.

Zygmund, Jack, ed. Panorama of Progress: A Century of Living, Pawnee
County 1872-1972. Larned, Kansas: Tiller and Toiler, Inc., 1972.

VITA

Timothy Ashley Zwink

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: FORT LARNED: GARRISON ON THE CENTRAL GREAT PLAINS

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Council Grove, Kansas, January 8, 1949, the son of Robert A. and Vivian M. Zwink.

Education: Graduated from Macksville High School, Macksville, Kansas, in May, 1967; received Bachelor of Arts degree in History at Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas, in May, 1971; received Master of Arts degree in History at Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas, in May, 1974; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, in December, 1980.

Professional Experience: Public school teacher, Hays, Kansas, school district, 1972-1976; graduate fellowship in the History Department, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas, 1973; graduate teaching assistant in the History Department, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1976-1979; Assistant Professor of History, Northwestern Oklahoma State University, Alva, Oklahoma, 1979-1980.